

Transactions  
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London  
and Middlesex  
Historical Society

PART IV.



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# London and Middlesex Historical Society

Transactions 1911-12

## The Battle at Longwoods

J. I. Poole, B.A.

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## Reminiscences of Mrs. Gilbert Porte

Miss Priddis

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## The Mackenzies of Hyde Park

Mrs. Evans

1913.

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The London and Middlesex Historical Society was organized in the year 1901. Its objects are to promote historical research and to collect and preserve records and other historical material that may be of use to the future historians of our country. Its funds are devoted exclusively to these objects; there are no salaried officers.

The Public Library Board grants the Society the free use of a room for its meetings, which are held on the third Tuesday evening of each month, from October to April, inclusive, and to which the public are invited—admission always free. Membership in the Society is open to any person interested in its objects, and is maintained by the payment of an annual fee of fifty cents.

# TRANSACTIONS 1911-12

1911

Oct. 24—

**The Roman Catholic Church in Canada (Part I.)**  
President Murphy.

Nov. 21—

**Imperialism**  
John Stevenson, Esq.

Dec. 19—

**The Bar of Middlesex (Part I.)**  
Judge D. J. Hughes.

1912

Jan. 16—

**Earlier History of the Western University**  
President N. C. James, M.A.

Feb. 20—

**Reminiscences of a Sheriff's Office**  
Sheriff D. M. Cameron.

March 19—

**The Bar of Middlesex (Part II.)**  
Thos. H. Purdom, K. C.

April 16—

**Some Politicians of Early London**  
Cl. T. Campbell, M.D.

May 21—

**Ceremonial of Six Nations (Indian)**  
Prof. Dearness, M.A.

# THE FIGHT AT BATTLE HILL

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## INTRODUCTION.

The following narrative of the fight at "Battle Hill," or rather of Longwood (which is the name set forth in nearly all the early records) is written with a three-fold object.

In the first place, I was anxious, from a personal standpoint, to become familiar with its details; secondly, it occurred to me that this piece of local history should be rescued from the oblivion into which it had apparently fallen; and thirdly, this account is given to the public at the instance of the Middlesex Historical Society, through my friend, Mr. Frank E. Leonard, of London, Ontario, one of its officers, who communicated with me to the above effect, while I was residing and practicing at Comber, Ontario, and the good work of which society, I fear, is not being sufficiently appreciated by the county generally.

No doubt it will be conceded on all hands that the details of this, the only fight that took place within the limits of the present county of Middlesex during the war of 1812-14, should by all means be kept in remembrance from the fact that, unlike such counties as Lincoln, Welland, Essex, Kent and some others, its historic ground is very considerably circumscribed.

The writer has tried by all available means in his power to make the statements contained within the pages of the

accompanying story correct to a degree, and in the interests of historical accuracy, criticism, from whatever source it may come, is cheerfully invited.

Traditional evidence in the writing of this narrative has been almost entirely left out of the question. It has, in nearly every instance in which it was taken into consideration, been so flatly contradictory of the official and other contemporary documents as to be practically worthless, and thus has been, for the above reasons, laid aside almost altogether.

From my own experience as a legal practitioner, I find that a writer of any sort cannot be too particular in thoroughly sifting and weighing the various kinds and degrees of evidence placed before him, and that idea has, it is hoped, been constantly kept before me in the preparation of this short, historical sketch.

¶This recital, as it now appears, varies in some particulars considerably from the narrative as it appeared in my paper read at London, Ontario, in May, 1903, for the reason that I have discovered since that time much new documentary evidence, which has been used in correcting and adding to my manuscript. If failures have been made in the production of this rehearsal, either through errors, or in any other way, it is earnestly trusted that some of my readers at least will take the trouble to set me right.

¶I cannot conclude without expressing my thanks to the following gentlemen who, among others, have assisted me by all means in their power in the production of this pamphlet, namely:—Judge Woods, of Chatham, Ontario; Colonel E. Porter Thompson, late of Frankfort, Kentucky; Mr. C. M. Burton, of Detroit, Michigan; Mr. Avern Pardoe and Colonel Irving, of Toronto, Ontario, and Lt.-Col. Cruickshank, of Niagara Falls, Ontario, and also the Registrars of Deeds at Chatham, Simcoe and Guelph, Ont. In nearly every instance in which I have communicated with parties asking for information in the preparation of this pamphlet (and they were not few) assistance has been cheerfully and promptly given.

“Pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.”—Vergil Aeneid, B. 2, V. 317.

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Often and often during my childhood and High School days did I visit the scene of this action, hoping to find some relics of an engagement in which our arms suffered a reverse, but I was always unsuccessful in my little explorations. In fact I met with very indifferent success when I turned to the people who I thought might possibly know something concerning the details of this struggle, which after all seemed to be nothing more than a mere memory, the particulars of which were beyond a hope of successful resurrection. When again I looked into the current histories of my native land which I was able to lay hold of, at that time, I was again doomed to disappointment, and very bitter disappointment too, as this conflict in many of them was not even mentioned, while in others it was only barely alluded to, and thus my curiosity was not in the least degree satisfied.

Some of those whom I questioned thought that the Americans were the victors, and others thought that the British were the victors, while a third party seemed only to be amused at my youthful anxieties respecting the details and result of an almost forgotten fight, and skilfully concealed their want of knowledge of the matter in hand by a knowing smile. And thus the affair dropped almost entirely out of my own mind for more than a decade.

Maturer years, however, brought the subject back to my recollection with increased interest, as the scene of this struggle is located within a very few miles of the home where I passed the earlier period of my life. As succeeding years followed, greater facilities presented themselves to me for acquiring contemporary documentary evidences of what did actually transpire in connection with this action, thus enabling me to give at least a tolerably correct account of an event so intimately connected with the past history of a locality, now embraced within the limits of the present county of Middlesex, and of the township of Mosa more especially.

The result of my enquiries is now given to the public, and in order that the events immediately preceding, and leading up to this engagement may be better understood, I propose to lay before my readers a brief resume of the war between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family.

Without going fully into the causes of the war of 1812-14, I might simply state that the ostensible reason for it was the

dissatisfaction which the American authorities felt at the "right of search" exercised by the British, in overhauling their vessels to seek for deserters from the British navy. But the real cause of the memorable struggle lay in the desire of the United States to conquer Upper and Lower Canada, as well as the other British North American provinces, and thus annex their territories to those of the great Republic.

President Madison, in many respects a well-meaning man, coerced by such of his political friends as John Caldwell Calhoun and Henry Clay, "yielded against the dictates of his better judgment and thereby brought on three years of war against the Mother Country, which gave not one compensating advantage." War was thus accordingly declared on the 18th day of June, 1812, although public opinion in the New England States of the Union strongly condemned the Federal Government in its hostility towards Great Britain.

Right here it may perhaps be not out of place to observe that the Americans themselves exercised the same "right of search" in regard to a British vessel in 1861 which they complained that Great Britain had done in 1812.

The Indians of the West and Northwest, smarting under the stings produced by their defeat under Elksottawa, or Laulewasekaw, the prophet-brother of the renowned Tecumseh, by the Americans under General William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe on Nov. 7th, 1811, and influenced also by Col. Matthew Elliott, the British Commandant at Amherstburg, were inclined at first to ally themselves with the British, but after the capture of the American post at Mackinac by Captain Charles Roberts at the very commencement of the war, they, naturally anxious to be on the winning side, showed no hesitation, in a very large measure, in casting in their fortunes with the British, and arraying themselves against the hated "Longknives."

The surrender of Fort Detroit by the American general William Hull, on Aug. 16th, 1812, to the British under Maj. Gen. Sir Isaac Brock, assisted by a large body of Indians under Tecumseh, the head chief of the Shawanoes, soon followed.

Thus ended in disaster and disgrace the first invasion of Canada, since by the terms of this capitulation the whole American army of the Northwest, consisting of 2,500 men with their arms and military magazines, including an armed brig, passed into the hands of the British authorities, as did also the entire possession of the then territory of Michigan, which included besides the present State of that name the adjoining one of Wisconsin and portions of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

After this brilliant feat of arms, Brock hastily proceeded to Fort George on the Niagara River, leaving Colonel Henry Proc-

ter (not Procter) in command of the troops of the Right Division, with headquarters at Sandwich, and Lieut.-Col. Robert Nicol of the Norfolk Militia in charge of the garrison at Detroit, while the Indians under Tecumseh and Roundhead (Brandy-Jack) retired to the country opposite Amherstburg, on the Michigan side of the Detroit River, in the vicinity of Brownstown, now Gibraltar.

On October 13th, 1812, the victory of Queenstown Heights was achieved, but unfortunately for Canada, her success was dearly purchased by the death of Brock, who fell, almost in the first stages of the action.

Col. Procter in the early part of January, 1813, having crossed the Detroit River from Amherstburg, and being again joined by the Indians under Tecumseh, totally routed the Americans under Brig.-Gen. James Winchester, who, with the greater portion of his army, was taken prisoner at River Basin, forty miles below Detroit, January 22nd, 1813. Turning upon Gen. Clay, he defeated him also, at the Battle of the Miami, May 5th, 1813, and would have captured Fort Meigs had he been assisted by the Indians as promptly as he had a right to expect.

After an unsuccessful attack upon Fort Stephenson, Aug. 1st, 1813, he recrossed the River at Amherstburg, and retired temporarily to Sandwich, leaving the Indians in the neighborhood of the former place.

On September 10th, 1813, was fought the naval battle of Lake Erie, in which the British fleet under Captain Robert Herriott Barclay, a veteran of the Nile and of Trafalgar, was defeated by the American squadron under Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, who captured every vessel and after the fight towed them into the harbor of Sandusky.

At this point it may perhaps be well to notice that although Perry is often spoken of as "Commodore," yet he held no such rank in the American navy. Isaac Chauncey was the commodore, and Perry's commission as post-captain only dates from the day of his victory over Barclay, namely, Sept. 10th, 1813.

Procter's frequent calls for reinforcements from headquarters on the Niagara frontier, where Major General Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe commanded, were unheeded, (and in fact could not be spared), and thus he was compelled to undertake the arduous task of leading his diminutive force of 850 British and Canadians, besides a body of about a thousand Indians under Tecumseh, to a place where they might hope to make a successful stand against Harrison's army of 3,500 men, having first arranged with the Indians' chieftain that they should face the enemy at Chatham or Moravian Town. The loss of the fleet had deprived Procter (now Major-General) of the only means

of communication open to him with his friends on the Niagara frontier, except by the roads, if such they might be called, stretching along the Detroit and Thames rivers, and thence through the boggy forests away to the east.

Procter abandoned Amherstburg on Sept. 24th, 1813, and calling in the garrisons of Sandwich and Detroit as he proceeded, retreated as rapidly as circumstances would permit, closely followed by Harrison, who crossed the Detroit River at its mouth, and occupied Amherstburg only three days after the departure of Procter from that same place. Having been joined at Sandwich by his detachment of 1,500 Kentucky mounted riflemen under Governor Isaac Shelby, an old Revolutionary veteran, Harrison closely pursued Procter's worn-out and dispirited force, and reached a point on the north bank of the Thames, a mile and a half west of Moravian Town, on Oct. 5th, only two hours after the arrival of the British and their Indian allies at this same locality.

The British troops had received no pay for several months, and three gunboats and one brig, which accompanied the army as it marched along the banks of the aforesaid rivers, had to be destroyed, along with their cargoes, including the ammunition for the troops, to prevent their becoming the prizes of the swift-footed and exultant foe. Procter, too, was on bad terms with the rank and file of his army, and his knowledge of bushfighting was of the most meagre description, and between him and Tecumseh there was an entire lack of sympathy, without which in any case success need scarcely be even hoped for.

Thus when the handful of British troops, now reduced to 476 men through sickness, desertions and captures on the way, turned to face their enemy near Moravian Town, in the tall forest, thickly strewn with autumn leaves, on the afternoon of October 5th, 1813, the expressions used by many of them showed that they were ready to strike a last blow, but they instinctively felt that it was indeed to be the last. Many of our readers are already familiar with the details of this engagement, which lasted only about twenty minutes, terminating with Procter's defeat and the death of Tecumseh, who fell by the pistol shot of an officer of the Kentucky Mounted Infantry, while in the act of hurling his tomahawk at the already wounded horseman.

After this victory, which was followed up by a short pursuit of the remaining British, Harrison returned with his army to Detroit and finally withdrew to Lower Sandusky (now Free-mont) with a view of assisting his friends in their projected invasion of the Niagara frontier, having left Lieut-Col. Anthony Butler in command of the garrison at Detroit. After another garrison had been placed at Amherstburg, the Kentucky troops

were marched home, and disbanded on Nov. 4th, 1813, and new levies were raised in that State for service on the Canadian frontier in the early part of February, 1814.

A large portion of Procter's little army, reduced in strength to 476 effective soldiers, and consisting of the 1st Battalion of the 41st Regiment together with thirty or forty members of the 10th Royal Veterans and twenty Light Canadian Dragoons, were taken prisoners, and for a time ignominiously confined within the strong walls of a local penitentiary at Frankfort. Procter himself, having escaped with his family, his personal staff and the Dragoons, made considerable effort to rally his remaining troops after the battle, and was nearly taken prisoner in the pursuit that followed. Lieut. Richard Bullock of the 41st, with about fifty of his company, eluded the observation of the watchful foe by a rapid flight through the thick woods, and after many vicissitudes finally joined the wreck of Procter's command at Ancaster, about three weeks after the defeat at Moravian Town. This whole force now only numbered 246 troops, not including the Indians. Henceforth, we hear no more of Procter during the war, nor of the Right Division of the British army operating in Upper Canada, the remainder of which was now merged into the command of the Centre Division, under Col. (afterwards Maj.-Gen.) John Vincent, with headquarters at Burlington.

Shortly before the 1st of January, 1814, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Gordon Drummond established a small outpost of the Centre Division at Delaware, a little village upon the Thames, about thirty-four miles east of Moravian Town, and about twelve miles west of the site of the present City of London. This village then consisted of only a few straggling houses, and a saw mill close by. This force was stationed at this place for the purpose of acting as a corps of observation over and keeping in check the straggling bands of American Militia who were constantly harrassing the peaceful inhabitants of the London District. It comprised the Flank Companies of the Royal Scots, and a light company of the 89th Regiment, a detachment of Canadian (Kent) Militia, and a small body of Rangers, the whole being under the command of Captain Stewart, the full strength of which amounted to 196 men. Stewart was frequently obliged during the months of January and February to send out reconnoitering expeditions down the Thames, and even into the vicinity of Sandwich for the purpose of checking the desultory incursions of the enemy above referred to.

In order to act as a counterpoise to, and neutralize as far as possible the effect of the establishment of the British post at Delaware, Lieut.-Col. Butler, who still held command at Detroit,

established a similar post at McLearn's, near Dolsen's Farm, on the banks of the Thames about two miles below where the city of Chatham now stands, at which station was placed a company of thirty-nine American regulars under Lieut. Larwell. The British having been apprised of the situation of this corps, Lieut. Medcalf with thirty-three regulars and militia marched through the woods from the Rond Eau and surprised it in the silent watches of the night (Dec. 23, 1813) capturing the whole party without loss of killed on either side, and only five Americans wounded.

Butler did not think proper to re-establish this post, but contented himself with sending out foraging expeditions from Detroit as before. In one of these incursions Captain Lee with a company of Michigan Rangers captured and carried off as prisoners Col. Baby, Capt. Springer, and several others of the Canadian Militia, who were most active in the defence of their country. Springer was the postmaster at Delaware, and an old U. E. Loyalist, having first seen the light of day near Albany in the State of New York, and after his removal to Canada became a Justice of the Peace, and during the war held the rank of captain in the Militia of Upper Canada. Springer's horses and sleigh were also taken on this occasion, the captain being tied down in the bottom of the box and in this manner conveyed to Kentucky, crossing the Detroit River on the ice. In a subsequent expedition, Lee also took and carried away into captivity Major Townsley of the same branch of the Canadian service. This individual was a native of Connecticut and another of that noble and heroic band who braving even death itself dared to be loyal to the old flag with its glorious traditions and take up arms to defend from invasion the fair and free soil of their adopted home. That he was a man of considerable merit seems to be established by the fact that his enemies characterize him as "the most active and vindictive partizan of the British in Upper Canada."

Butler, however, finding his hold upon the south-western portion of the province rather uncertain, determined to make an attack upon someone or other of the British posts in the interior, and by its capture and destruction rid himself of the repeated onsets from which his wild and turbulent foragers suffered at the hands of their stubborn and resolute foe. Accordingly on Feb. 21st, 1814, he resolved upon despatching Captain Andrew Hunter Holmes of the 24th U. S. (Tennessee) Infantry with a detachment from this regiment and also from those of the 26th Vermont, the 27th New York and the 28th Kentucky, together with two pieces of artillery. Holmes was directed to march against either Port Talbot or Delaware, as circumstances

would permit or the exigencies of the situation might require. At this time a period of comparative tranquility seemed to prevail, and since in consequence thereof Captain Stewart was not molested in his little post at Delaware and as the militia was no longer considered necessary to aid in its maintenance, he concluded to order it home.

However, as the sequel will show, this short season of apparent peace was more imaginary than real. Holmes, immediately upon receiving his instructions from his superior officer, set out from Amherstburg, and having reached Pointe au Pelee, found the roads between that place and the Rond Eau to be so much obstructed by fallen timber, deep snow, thickets and wet swamps, that he was obliged to abandon his guns at Pointe au Pelee, and trust to his small arms for the reduction of the British post at Port Talbot. The climate of this part of the country being less severe in winter than in the more northerly sections, the soil in the woods rarely freezes to such an extent as to allow the passage therein of such a relatively heavy load as a six pounder (the calibre of Holmes' guns) and in fact often makes insecure footing for a horse of ordinary weight.

Captain Gill with his company of Michigan Rangers, and Captain Lee with a troop of Michigan Militia Dragoons, having pursued some Canadian (Kent) Militia up the Thames under Lieut. McGregor, effected a junction with Holmes, at the Rond Eau, without serious obstruction, so that Holmes' total strength now numbered 180 men. He at once resumed his march for Port Talbot, but soon changed his determination upon hearing that his advance guard had fallen in with some Canadian militia, who he imagined would carry to Port Talbot the news of his coming, and then concluded to make an attempt to surprise Delaware. The settled conviction on the part of the British appeared to him to be that he intended avoiding Delaware and proceed to Port Talbot, which would in that event, leave his rear open to attack, so that for this reason, also, he concluded to abandon his intended expedition to the latter place, and make a sudden rush upon the former, as indeed by his instructions from Butler he was authorized to do. He therefore altered his route and directed his march towards Delaware. Having crossed the Thames a short distance below Moravian Town, he proceeded rapidly along the forest highway leading through the "Long Woods," a huge natural park extending from the site of the present village of Thamesville to Delaware, a distance of about thirty-seven miles and embracing within its woody domains an area of about 190,000 square acres.

Almost in the very heart of this dreary solitude, at that time, lived with his family a quaint and lonely individual named

George Ward, whose dwelling was known as "Ward's Station," and whose memory is practically immortalized in the designation of the present village of Wardsville. Whether for advance or for retreat, the by-path, for it was very little more, leading through this forest was such as the nicely gravelled and automobile imagination of the present day can scarcely be expected to clearly apprehend. The road, such as it was, followed in some places the northerly bank of the sluggish and winding Thames, and at others where cutting off bends, stretched at some distance from the river, when after passing east of where Wardsville now stands, the traveller finds himself entirely removed from the stream, until he reaches Delaware. The Townships of Mosa and Ekfrid were then unknown to geography, and the territory now embraced within the limits of these smiling municipalities was then occupied by wandering bands of Chippewa Indians. Neither was this region then a part of the present County of Middlesex, which, at this period of our history, included on the north bank of the Thames only the Township of London, while the remainder thereof lay on the opposite side of the river and embraced a large part of the lands now included within the limits of the County of Elgin, as it now exists.

Holmes' force, being nearly all mounted, traversed the sloughs of this unmitigated wilderness with wonderful celerity. The troops of which the invaders force was composed, and styled by American writers as "Mounted Infantry," were for the most part hunters, trappers and sportsmen, and, says Coffin, "inured to the wilderness, and between whom and the Indians there existed a constant warfare and deadly hatred. As we might expect in men leading wild and reckless lives, there existed among them confused and unconventional ideas as to the rights of personal property, combined with a marvellous tendency towards violating them. Supple and athletic, fearless, daring, sometimes vindictive, and frequently, chivalrous towards a conquered foe, arrayed in a hunting frock and leathern trousers fringed with tassels, they were trained to cover their bodies behind trees from which they fired, without exposing themselves to any greater extent than was really necessary. They were not cavalry as we understand the term, as not a man among them carried a sword, but simply a rifle, and for fighting at close quarters there were fastened to their belt the cruel knife and awful tomahawk. Thus the hardy pioneers of Kentucky and Tennessee presented an appearance at once formidable as well as picturesque. Their usual tactics were to follow up the enemy on horseback, and then dismounting from their docile steeds, step behind trees, and ply the unerring rifle. In the case of the roads being difficult for travel to footmen they often each took up one of them, be-

hind, on the backs of their trusty horses, and thus the march of the foot was greatly accelerated and a large stretch of country was in this way covered in a brief period of time.

These statements will now explain the rapid march of Holmes from Amherstburg to within fifteen miles of Delaware, and back to Fort Detroit. When Holmes reached a point in the woody and snow-covered bridle path "only fifteen miles from Delaware, on the 3rd inst., we received intelligence," he says in his report, "that the enemy had left Delaware with the intention of descending the river, and that we should probably meet him in one hour, that his force consisted of a light company from the Royal Scots, mustering for duty one hundred and twenty men, a light company from the 89th Regiment of foot (efficiency not known), Caldwell's Indians, and McGregor's militia, amounting in all to about 300 men." This information was evidently not given to Holmes by any of his own scouts, since, had this been the case, he would have thus informed his superior officer, as he was always quite anxious that his skill should be exhibited to the best advantage, when making his report to Butler. In speaking with reference to this very event, Armstrong says, "when arrived at fifteen miles of his object he was informed by a person not unfriendly to the United States that the fact of his approach was already known to Captain Stewart, the commandant of the post, who to meet it had collected a considerable force, which if he (Holmes) pursued his march on the Delaware road, he would in all probability soon encounter." Holmes seems therefore to have procured his information (which was nearly correct) respecting his opponents' force from a renegade Canadian. This person seems to have met Holmes in advance of the British, since, according to his own report, the American officer was told that the British force was probably within one hour's march of him. Not knowing the ground he at once retreated to what was then known as "Twenty Mile Creek," so called from its being about twenty miles west of Delaware, this stream being also about three miles east of Ward's Station, and having re-crossed it on a bridge, took up an excellent position on its western bank, now known as "Battle Hill."

Captain Gill, with about twenty Michigan Rangers was left by Holmes to cover the retreat, and watch the movements of the pursuing Canadian Rangers, under Caldwell. Holmes' command had originally amounted to 180 men, but hunger, cold and fatigue had brought on illness, and although none had died, yet all were much disheartened, and sixteen were sent home since they were unable to withstand the hardships connected with this wearisome march, so that his total strength now numbered 164 men. The main body of the Americans had barely encamped

before it was joined by Gill with his American Rangers who had been driven in after exchanging a few shots with the Canadian Rangers who had vainly attempted to reconnoitre, although he was able to give the main body sufficient time to make good its retreat to Twenty Mile Creek. The remaining portion of the day and also the night were turned to good account by the American commandant. Disaffection had crept into the ranks of the invaders, and both officers and men loudly demanded that a retreat should be made still further, since many of them had suffered severely from fatigue and exposure, and alleged that others had been permitted to return home for these very same reasons. Holmes therefore was obliged to call a council of his officers to determine whether they should endeavor to maintain their present position, or retreat, and on this question there was considerable diversity of opinion. The Captain and his Adjutant, Ensign Heard, however, were strongly opposed to the latter alternative, and the impression finally prevailed that they should "conquer the British or perish in the attempt."

The strengthening of his position was then proceeded with, which was fortified by an abattis on three sides formed of logs, piled upon each other breast high, and faced on the outside with brushwood. The portion of the hills looking immediately to the east, and over which the road crossed, was also slightly strengthened in the same way. These hills, besides being very steep, were covered with water, which was brought up from the creek during the night in no stinted draughts, and being quickly frozen into ice, owing to the intense cold, was then concealed by snow being thrown thereon, so that the American position, previously naturally strong, was now practically unassailable.

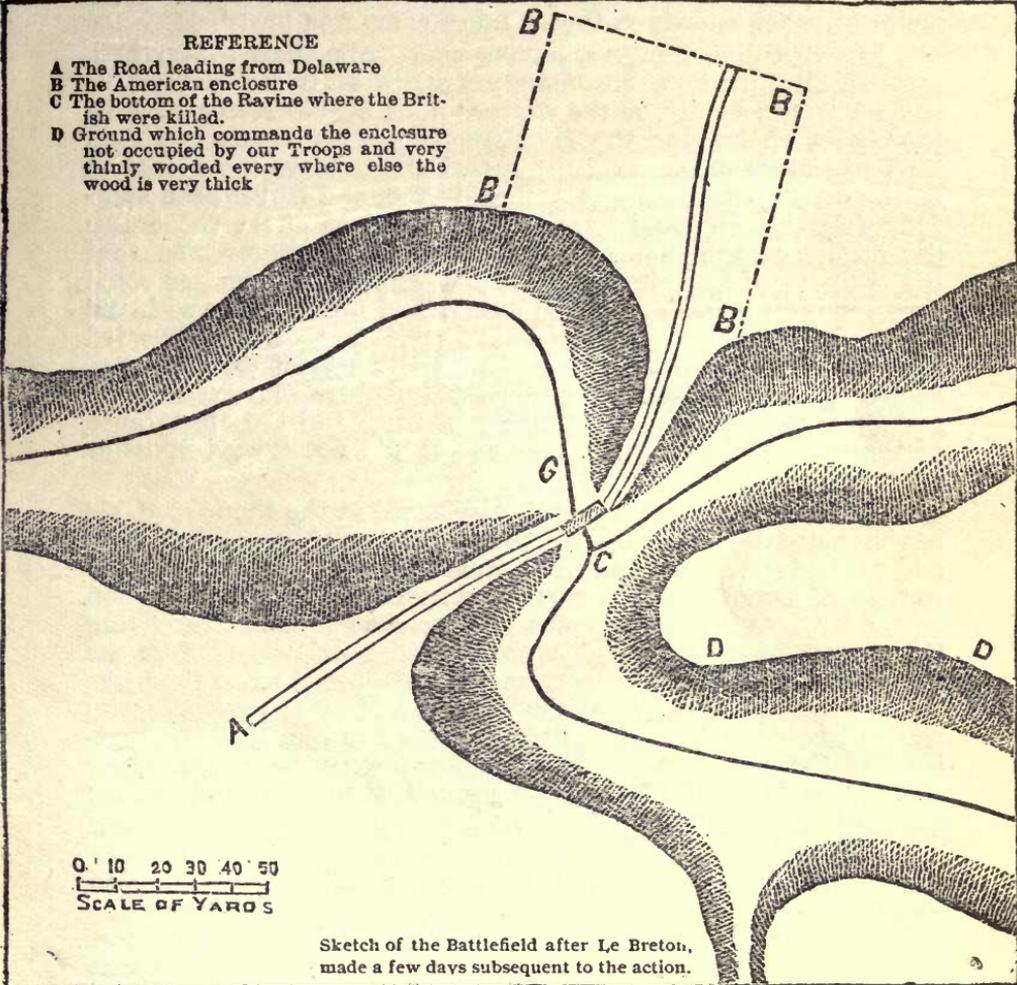
The Canadian Rangers spent the night of the 3rd on the plain to the rear of the eastern hills, between which and the American camp lay a rather deep valley through which from north to south flows the creek which finally empties itself into the Thames about a mile south from where the road, now known as the Longwoods Road, crosses the hills. Although the ground is now cleared away, and the forest trees no longer wave their massive branches over the hills, the creek and the ravine, still the western bank is yet an admirable location for defensive purposes, as against an enemy advancing from the east, and the American position was therefore well selected.

Stewart having received notification, late on the night of the third, from Captain William Caldwell that he had met with a party of Americans on that very day, sent Captain James Lewis Basden at daylight, on the morning of the fourth with the Regulars consisting of the companies previously mentioned, together with the company of the Kent Militia, under Lieut. McGregor,

and about forty Indians, Wyandots and Pottawattomies, acting as scouts, under Captain "Billy" Caldwell, a half-breed, to the support of the Rangers. Stewart himself was detained for several hours at Delaware, upon urgent business, with Col. Elliott, one of the survivors of Moravian Town, and not really expecting

## REFERENCE

- A The Road leading from Delaware
- B The American enclosure
- C The bottom of the Ravine where the British were killed.
- D Ground which commands the enclosure not occupied by our Troops and very thinly wooded every where else the wood is very thick



an action immediately, much to his subsequent regret was not present at the fight that followed. Being all on foot their march was necessarily laborious over the lightly crested snow, through which they broke at every step. On the right hand and on the left, as they passed along, rose the primeval, woods in which were

great beech and maple trees, mantled in dazzling sheets of snow, and Nature herself was enshrouded in funereal white, and except for the steady tramp of the troops, while they proceeded on their way the forest was as silent as the grave. At Twenty Mile Creek all was quiet, until the first dim redness tinged the eastern sky, and the hills and the woods grew visible in the morning light, when suddenly, the sound of arms was heard.

The Canadian Rangers, having risen from their wintry bed, were all alert, and after exchanging a few scattered, ineffective shots with the enemy, on the western hills, hastily retreated with the object of drawing the invaders from their strong position. This stratagem of inducing the Americans to leave their location on the opposite heights was well contrived, and had it been skillfully followed up could hardly have failed to effect the entire destruction of the enemy's force. Holmes, on discovering that the company of Canadian Rangers had disappeared, waited some time for their return, and then despatched Lieut. Knox with the Michigan Rangers to reconnoitre, and upon his return he reported that the Canadians had retreated with the utmost precipitation, leaving articles of baggage and camp furniture scattered about, and that judging from the number of fires, and the appearance of the trail, the strength of the enemy did not exceed sixty or seventy men.

The American commandant, displeased at the thought of his having retreated on the previous day from such a slender force, and assuming that he had been previously wrongly informed as to the real strength of his opponents, now abandoned his position on the western hills and commenced a close pursuit of the flying Canadians, intending to endeavor to capture Delaware before the end of the day. He, however, had not proceeded more than five miles, when Captain Lee of the Michigan Militia Dragoons, who was in advance of the main body, reported to him that the British and Canadians in considerable force were now arranging themselves in order of battle on ground of their own choosing; Caldwell, in the meantime, having been joined by the main body under Basden.

At this time the golden opportunity of making a flank movement through the woods, and thus cutting off the Americans from a retreat to Twenty Mile Creek, presented itself to Basden. In fact he was strongly urged to do this by those of his men who were familiar with the physical features of the locality, and particularly by the two Caldwells. But as he was by no means a strategist, he neglected doing so, and consequently lost his move in this game of military tactics. Had this been done, Holmes, in all probability, would have been driven towards Delaware or Port Talbot, and without forage or other supplies, placed between two

fires, in which case his entire command would have been either ultimately destroyed or compelled to surrender. Having taken advantage of Basden's blunder, he rapidly retreated and was thus finally enabled to resume his former position on the western bank of the creek, and at once began preparations for the struggle, notwithstanding the complaints of many of his men, who again strongly pressed him to retreat farther. Nor was this rapid retreat without its effect upon the mind of Basden, who only saw in Holmes' swift movements, the effects of fear and a settled design on the part of his foeman to avoid a conflict.

The American troops being indifferently drilled, were formed in a hollow square, with the baggage and horses in the centre, in order to avoid the necessity of attempting military evolutions in action, which they were unable to perform. The brow of the west hill overhanging the creek, across which elevation stretched the road, was occupied by the detachment of the 24th Tennessee and 28th Kentucky, while those of the 26th Vermont and 27th New York defended the hills and the breastwork on the north side of the American position, the ravine here making a slight bend in a northwesterly direction, a very short distance beyond the north side of the road. The Michigan Rangers occupied a position on the west side of the square, while the Michigan Militia Dragoons stood on the south side of the American camp, the ravine here making another bend almost due south, as the waters of the creek rush onward and mingle with those of the Thames. These hills are all quite steep, and besides forming commanding eminences, about fifteen or twenty feet high, were fortified by long breastworks as above described.

Basden, then a young man of only twenty-nine years of age, like many others of the old school of British officers, believed that almost anything could be accomplished by dash and spirit, and that the enemy's entrenchments could be taken by storm, confidently expecting that he would thus be able to teach the Americans such a lesson that in the future they would positively desist from making any further foraging raids into Upper Canada. Had he been governed by prudence and judgment he would in all probability, have succeeded in doing so, but being as indiscreet as he was brave, he recklessly ordered a direct front attack, instead of, in the first instance, endeavoring to turn the enemy's flank, thus repeating and accentuating the mistake made by himself during the previous part of the day. The desultory skirmishes with the enemy, occurring in connection with the advance and retreat of the Americans previously alluded to, in conjunction with the great depth of snow, for it was fully fifteen inches deep, tended greatly to retard the advance of the British and Canadians, so that it was about five o'clock in the afternoon of

Friday, the 4th day of March, 1814, when they arrived on the eastern heights of the wide and deep ravine, through which Twenty Mile Creek discharges its waters. The company of Kent Militia under McGregor and the company of Canadian Rangers under Caldwell were instructed to make a flank movement up the valley, above the north side of the road, and upon the enemy's left where the detachments of the 26th and 27th were posted, and the Indians under Captain "Billy" Caldwell were dispatched to turn his right, where were stationed the Michigan Militia Dragoons and Rangers, while the British Regulars were to make an attack upon the centre of the American position defended by the detachments from the 24th and 28th.

Comparatively deadly work soon began. A more efficient corps for the flanking service to the left of the American position could scarcely have been selected from the whole irregular force in Upper Canada than this handful of men, fifty in number, led by McGregor and Caldwell, sheltering themselves behind trees as they noiselessly proceeded until they had passed up the ravine, under a heavy fire, to turn that portion of the invader's intrenchments, held by the soldiers of Vermont and New York, and then sounded their bugles, according to previous orders. The Indians, uttering their shrill war-cries, and also fighting from behind trees at a more respectful distance, engaged the right of the enemy, but owing to the fact that the latter had the advantage of an intrenched post, while the former fought from behind trees only, they were thus comparatively easily kept at bay.

It was, however, in the centre of the enemy's position where the struggle of the day took place. While the flanking movements were being made, the British Regulars commenced firing heavily upon the position held by the troops of Tennessee and Kentucky, these being the detachments from the 24th and 28th American Regulars. The foe, to the accompaniment of loud cries from the 28th of "Hurrah for Kentucky!" "Hurrah for Kentucky!" from their sheltered positions returned the fire with equal spirit and determination. Basden, putting himself at the head of the Royal Scots detachment, determined to try to carry by storm the main portion of the enemy's position, and for this purpose an advance was made from the eastern hills in double quick time, down a tongue of land sloping towards the western eminence, occupied by the 24th and 28th, and along which projection the road at that time ran, and being almost parallel with the southern limit of the modern highway. The road being exceedingly narrow the detachment was formed "into an open column of sections right in front," in which order it proceeded down the slope and over the bridge, which crossed the creek, being met at every step by a fire from the enemy posted on the

heights above, which decimated their ranks, but failed to dampen their glowing ardour. The hill upon which the 24th and 28th detachments had taken their position, "actually at this moment," says Thompson, "presented the appearance of a volcano belching forth cataracts of streaming fire, and dense columns of smoke; the air was filled with one continued roar of musketry, resembling the roar of a thousand drums, and as if to add a more terrific grandeur to the scene, the sun shot forth a few partial rays through the dense forest upon the conflicting parties," several of whom beheld this grand fountain of light, that afternoon, for the last time upon earth.

The detachment having passed the bridge which spanned the creek, advanced to the foot of the western hills and within fifteen or twenty paces of the enemy posted behind the breastwork on the brow of the hill, from which was still poured into their ranks a most destructive fire. Here another occurrence of greater moment and of much more appalling nature presented itself to the minds of the brave Regulars and filled them with apprehension, altogether unprepared, as they were, for such an event. The face of the western hill, covered with ice, almost as slippery as glass and concealed by a slight covering of snow, was found to be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to climb. The enemy, screened behind the brow of the hill, discharging their fatal rifles with such startling effect as to practically destroy front section of their opponent's advance, and those who followed, says Holmes, "were much thinned and wounded" as the men of the 24th and 28th detachments, from their almost impregnable situation from above, fired volley after volley into the surging mass below.

Many were the brave attempts to overcome this unexpected natural obstacle, and reach the enemy's lines above. Basden himself, at the head of the foremost section, reached a point within three yards of the position held by the adversary, when a bullet, fired with fatal precision, laid him low, dangerously wounded in the upper part of the right thigh. As the invaders fought behind cover, few, if any of them, were struck during this vain but brave attempt of the British Regulars to carry the hill. The troops were therefore reluctantly obliged to abandon the charge and take refuge in diffused order behind trees at the bottom of the ravine, and at from twenty to thirty paces from the American line, and place their sole dependence upon the rifle.

This change of tactics, nevertheless, was largely neutralized from the fact that the enemy's regulars were now ordered to kneel upon the ground, so that the brow of the heights might protect them as far as possible from their opponents' view. The firing on both sides was still carried on with great vivacity. The

cover afforded the British by the trees, however, proved in many cases to be quite insufficient, by reason of their frequently standing in squads behind the same tree, while the enemy discharged their rifles upon them from an extended front. The crisis of the day, at all events, was now over. From the close and rapid firing of the enemy stationed upon the heights, and also from the favored nature of their situation, the British dared not uncover, and under the circumstances, a second charge up the hill was entirely out of the question. On the right flank of the enemy, the Indian attack was from the beginning necessarily weak, although they fought from behind trees, yet owing to the protected character of their antagonists' position, and the inherent inability of the red man to make any such attack as the circumstances of this particular case required, the American lines were at this point also incapable of being carried. On the enemy's left flank, however, the Canadian Rangers and Militia were on the point of scaling the invaders' works, when, through the failure of the front attack by the Regulars, and not being properly supported in consequence thereof, they were also repulsed.

Unable to sustain the unequal conflict, and favored also by the fast approaching shades of night, the British, amid repeated shouts of "Hurrah for Kentucky!" from the detachment of the 28th still ringing in their ears, withdrew, after a close and gallant contest extending over a period of an hour and a half.

Ensign Mills of the 89th, upon whom the command devolved after the fall of Basden, wrote from the field just after the conclusion of the fight to Captain Stewart and handed his letter giving a few details of the fight to him. It will be remembered that Stewart was detained at Delaware and only arrived at the field near the conclusion of the action. In his letter, among other things, Mills says, "I have the satisfaction to assure you that every man did his duty, and that we retired in perfectly good order." On the day following the engagement (March 5th) Stewart wrote to Maj.-Gen. Riall, who was afterwards taken prisoner at the battle of Lundy's Lane, July 25th, 1814, a brief account of this action, and enclosed Ensign Mills' letter. After having concluded his business at Delaware, Stewart hurried through the forest towards Twenty Mile Creek, and reached Battle Hill just previous to the close of the action, and on the following morning wrote Riall to the above effect, from a place where a stream crosses the Longwoods Road in the present Township of Ekfrid, adjacent to where the present Loop Line of the Grand Trunk Railway also intersects the aforesaid road.

The losses of the British in this action were considerable, taking into account the number of men engaged, and amounted in all to 14 killed, 52 wounded (six of whom died within one week

after the action) and one missing. Volunteer Piggett who had joined the detachment of the 89th only a few days before this action, besides being wounded was also taken prisoner. The detailed account of British losses is as follows:

1. Royal Scots Flank Company—Captain D. Johnson and nine rank and file, killed; Lieut. A. McDonald, three sergeants, thirty-one rank and file, wounded, and one bugler missing.

2. 89th Light Company—Lieut. P. Graeme and three rank and file, killed; Captain Basden, one sergeant and seven rank and file, wounded; Volunteer Piggett taken prisoner.

3. Kent Militia and Rangers—Lieut. John McGregor, Sergeant John Coll and five rank and file, wounded.

No account seems to have been taken of any killed or wounded among the Indians.

The losses of the invaders, owing to their having fought from a sheltered position, only amounted to four killed and three wounded, including a non-commissioned officer. Says Kingsford, "Although great gallantry was shown in the attack, it was most ill-judged, and led to the serious casualties already narrated, with no prospect of success." The American Commandant forbore to pursue the British when they retired from the fatal ravines and over the eastern hills, as he was well aware that should he do so the same advantage of position would then accrue to them which had that afternoon been so highly beneficial to himself. Had he advanced into the ravine from his position on the western hills he would in all probability have been caught by the British in the identical trap in which they themselves had such hurtful experience only an hour or so previously, and of which they would in that event be very likely to make good use, especially as the creek could only be crossed by means of the same bridge over which the gallant Regulars had passed so lately were he to commence a pursuit by means of mounted troops. Moreover, his soldiers being greatly fatigued and frost-bitten, and their shoes cut to pieces by the frozen ground, he was unable on this account, also to follow up his foes on foot. The above reasons given by this clever officer for not pursuing the British and taking advantage of his victory, seem at first sight to savor rather of the nature of excuses than reasons, yet taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case there is much to be said in favor of his conclusions. The British force engaged in this action amounted to 240 men, composed of the following corps:

Royal Scots Flank Company .....	101 men
89th Regiment Light Company .....	45 men
Militia and Rangers .....	50 men

Indians ..... 44 men

Total ..... 240 men

The whole American strength engaged in this conflict numbered one hundred and sixty-four men, computed as follows:

Regulars ..... 94 men

Rangers and Militia Dragoons ..... 70 men

Total ..... 164 men

The latter had, however, the inestimable advantage of a superior location, together with an excellent knowledge of bush fighting, which threw the possibilities as well as the probabilities of success into their hands from the very beginning of the action. The great inequality of loss in this fight is therefore to be attributed to the judicious position chosen by Holmes (or rather chosen by the renegade Canadian who, according to tradition, selected it for him and also suggested pouring water on the face of the hill to make ice), who compelled Basden to attack him at a very great disadvantage; and this very event of itself, we are assured by one writer, more than his bravery deserves the reward of success. "Possessing also the advantage of dress which renders him undistinguishable to the eye of a foeman, the American backwoodsman enters into a contest with the British Regular, whose glaring uniform and shining accoutrements are objects too conspicuous to be missed, while his utter ignorance of a mode of warfare in which courage and discipline are completely worthless, renders the struggle for mastery still more unequal." Holmes states that he behaved very humanely towards the killed and wounded British, not even allowing his men to remove the shoes from off the feet of the slain although many of his own men were then marching in their stocking feet. He also gives special credit, in his report to Lieut.-Col. Butler, for their services in this contest to Lieutenants Knox and Henry of the 28th Kentucky and Jackson and Potter of the 24th Tennessee detachments, as well as Captain Lee of the Michigan Militia Dragoons. Sailing-Master Darling, who had upon setting out on this expedition, volunteered to command the artillery which was subsequently abandoned at Pointe au Pelee, is also thanked for the part he took in this engagement. He likewise expresses his gratitude to Ensign Heard of the 28th for his services in connection with this victory. Heard acted as Holmes' adjutant and rendered him valuable assistance at the conference of officers, on the night previous to the fight, concerning the advisability of a retreat or a contest with the foe.

Holmes was, however, well aware that, notwithstanding his success at "Battle Hill," his prospects for the capture of either

Delaware or Port Talbot were now more remote than ever, since a superior force—although a lately beaten one—lay between him and either of these places, and he could not hope for a blunder like Basden's to be repeated. He therefore began a rapid march from the field at Twenty Mile Creek at nine o'clock on the evening of this action of Friday, March 4th 1814, and reached Detroit, a distance of about ninety miles from the scene of his late conflict, in time to allow Butler to make a short report of the fight to Major-General Harrison, under date of March 7th, which report was transmitted to headquarters through Lieut. Shannon of the 27th New York.

It will thus be seen that Holmes felt ill at ease while a single mile intervened between his command and the palisaded fort on the American side of the Detroit River. Under date March 10th he issued a much fuller report of action to Butler, which was afterwards forwarded to Harrison. In speaking of this expedition, says Gen. Armstrong "it may be enough to say, that having a worthless object, and inadequate means, it ought not to have been adopted, for of what importance to the United States would have been the capture or destruction of a blockhouse in the heart of the enemy's country, more than one hundred miles distant from our frontier, and which, if held would have been difficult to sustain, and if destroyed, easily reinstated."

On the day following the engagement, the British detachments, after having definitely ascertained by a flank movement through the woods north of the road that the enemy had disappeared, resumed their former position at Delaware, which was more than once raided during the continuance of the war.

On March 7th Stewart received a communication from Riall requesting him to retreat from Delaware in consequence of a report, which subsequently turned out to be incorrect, that a body of 500 Americans were now advancing up the Thames for the purpose of making an attack upon the post. On the 10th Stewart and the regulars arrived at the Village of Oxford, now Oxford Centre, leaving the Rangers under Caldwell a short distance from where the City of London now stands.

The ground upon which this conflict took place is now known as south half of lot seven, in the first range north of the Longwoods Road, in the Township of Mosa, and County of Middlesex, and the north half of lot seven, in the first range south of Longwoods Road in the same township. The former lands were granted by the Crown to the late David Conradt by patent bearing date the 3rd day of November, 1830, and the latter were also granted by Crown patent to the late Jeremiah Grey on the 22nd day of July, 1831.

Formerly pieces of old muskets, rifles, military buttons,

bullets and other reminders of an age of strife, were from time to time picked up on the scene of this forest conflict at Battle Hill. These finds, however, became rarer and rarer as time passed on, until now they have, to all intents and purposes, ceased to have existence, notwithstanding the efforts of the modern relic hunter. The late Jeremiah Grey, of whom mention has just been made, ploughed up at the edge of the creek in the ravine, about the year 1870, the skeleton of some poor long-forgotten victim of Basden's wild charge up the western heights. Some time previous to this discovery, the bones of another soldier, (evidently an American) were disinterred in the sandfield, just in the rear of the position occupied by the 24th and 28th detachments of the invader's force on that bleak afternoon of Friday, the 4th day of March, 1814.

Local tradition did not neglect, for many years, to throw a weird mantle over many occurrences connected with this fight in the woods, and invest them with a halo of romance, the product of entirely too fruitful imaginations to be of any value for historical accuracy. In the case of the battles of Tours and Poitiers (732), and of Bannockburn (1314), and also of many others, the inhabitant of the locality would gravely inform the passing traveler that by night would be heard the neighing and tramping of horses, the clash of arms, the groans of the wounded, the shrieks of the dying and the shouts of the combatants. We are also told that in the instance of Battle Hill during the years now past and gone would be dimly seen the ghosts of the slain, silently flitting over the hills in the small, quiet hours of darkness, warning the living against disturbing the repose of the dead, and frightening the more timid against invading their dread mysterious haunts; all of which sounds strangely like the story of the fabled Giant of the Canary Islands.

Beautiful tales of treasure buried at the time of the conflict in this forest, and subsequently recovered by means of a map showing its whereabouts, have also been related, and in truth committed to writing, regardless of the fact that the troops who fought at Twenty Mile Creek had no treasure to bury. This last remark, I think, suggests the question: What would a corps of Whites and Indians, numbering only 240 men, and marching out from Delaware to fight an enemy whom they might meet at almost any moment, be doing with treasure? Would it not be left at Delaware, or better still, at headquarters on Burlington Heights? Inasmuch as the British force sent out from Delaware for a mere temporary purpose intended to return to the same place after having fought the enemy, it seems scarcely reasonable to suppose that treasure would be carried along with it, be encumbered thereby, and then carried back to

Delaware. In fact it may be added that the story of the treasure buried at Battle Hill, and afterwards recovered by means of a chart seems to be borrowed largely from the narrative of the search, through the same instrumentality, for the long lost hoard of the Inca, Atahualpah, one of the last native sovereigns of the ancient empire of Peru, with just sufficient imaginative coloring applied thereto, as would give the tale a local application to this particular case. The writer once remembers being shown where search was made for the army chest of Procter, hidden after his defeat at Moravian Town. As a matter of history he had no army chest to hide. But the prodigality of the human imagination is as boundless and unlimited as immensity itself. The fierce light of modern intelligence is nevertheless fast dispelling and scattering to the winds all such popular illusions and consigning them to their proper place in the regions of a buried and forgotten past.

The muse of history has time and again sung the praises of the courageous and unsuccessful assault made by the soldiers of Pickett's Brigade of the Confederate army upon Cemetery Hill, the key to the Federal position, on the last day of the fierce battle of Gettysburg, July 3rd, 1863. She has been equally loud in her commendations of the gallant charge of the British troops upon the rocky precipices of Spion Kop during the late war in South Africa, and which has become familiar to nearly every person living throughout the length and breadth of our land. But it may be said, and in fact repeated, that within the limits of the County of Middlesex to-day there are not perhaps a dozen individuals familiar with the correct official accounts of this equally brave and daring attack upon the icy snow-clad heights at Battle Hill on the cold winter's afternoon of Friday, the 4th day of March, 1814.

Canadians, as a rule, make no boast of their loyalty any more than they do of the other manly virtues which they quite properly claim to be their national characteristics. The hillsides overshadowing the ravine at Twenty Mile Creek are the monuments of the gallant dead reposing beneath their shades; their names and the heroic efforts which they made at this place and set forth in the pages of history are the inscriptions recorded thereon. Even at this date can we not, by copying the lessons set so admirably before us by other sister societies, place a simple memorial here, commemorating the heroic death at Battle Hill of Captain Johnston and Lieutenant Graeme, as well as the other brave and unnamed regulars who died that Canada might live and our glorious heritage of freedom be preserved to us throughout the succeeding ages. The hand would surely wither which could desecrate that stone.

## APPENDIX A.

Adjutant-General's Office, Quebec, 10th March, 1814—  
General Orders.

His Excellency, the commander of the forces, has received from Lieut.-General Drummond, the report of Captain Stewart of the Royal Scots, of an affair which took place between the detachment under the orders of that officer and a body of the enemy, on the 4th inst., at Longwood, in advance of Delaware town.

Captain Stewart reports that receiving a report late on the night of the 3rd inst., from Captain Caldwell that a party of the enemy had been seen in Long Wood, he directed the Flank Companies of the Royal Scots and the Light Company of the 89th Regiment, under the immediate command of Captain Basden, 89th Regiment, to march at daybreak to the support of Captain Caldwell; and at five o'clock in the evening the enemy was discovered in very superior force, posted on a commanding eminence, strongly intrenched with log breastworks; this post was instantly attacked in the most gallant manner by the flanked companies in front, while Captain Caldwell's company of Rangers and a detachment of the Loyal Kent Militia made a flank movement to the right, and a small band of Indians to the left, with a view of gaining the rear of the position, and after repeated efforts to dislodge the enemy, in an arduous and spirited contest of an hour and a half duration, which terminated with the daylight, the troops were reluctantly withdrawn, having suffered severely, principally in officers. The enemy has since abandoned his position in Longwood.

List of the wounded, killed and missing:

Royal Scots Light Company—1 captain, 9 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant, 3 sergeants, 31 rank and file, wounded; 1 bugler, missing.

89th Light Company—1 lieutenant, 3 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 sergeant and 7 rank and file, wounded; Volunteer Piggott wounded and taken prisoner.

Loyal Kent Volunteers—1 lieutenant, 1 sergeant and 5 rank and file, wounded.

Names of officers killed and wounded:

Captain D. Johnston, Royal Scots, and Lieutenant P. Graeme, 89th Regiment, killed; Captain Basden, 89th Regiment, and Lieutenant A. McDonald, Royal Scots, wounded.

(Author's Note—Lieut. John McGregor, Loyal Kent Volunteers, wounded, and thereby lost an arm, and Sergeant John Call, also wounded. Of the wounded, above set forth, six died within a week afterwards. John Shaw, William Shaw and John

Mitchell, all members of the Kent Volunteers, were among the wounded, and William Shaw was one of those who died of wounds.)

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**Ensign Mills to Captain Stewart.**

Longwood, March 4th, 1814.

I beg to acquaint you that this afternoon about five o'clock, the party commanded by Captain Basden of the 29th Regiment came up with the enemy in force of nearly 500 men and, after an action of an hour and a half, in which I am concerned to state our loss is very considerable, the troops were withdrawn in consequence of the great superiority of the enemy's number. I have the satisfaction to assure you every man did his duty, and that we retired in perfect good order. I have the honor to be, Sir, etc., etc.

J. Mills, Ensign, 89th Light Company.

Captain Stewart, Royal Scots.

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**Captain Stewart to Major-General Riall.**

Fourteen Mile Creek, March 5th, 1814.

Sir:—Having received a report from Captain Caldwell late on the night of the 3rd, stating that he had fallen in with a party of the Americans that day in his advance through the Long Wood, the flank companies of the Royals and 89th Regiment moved early yesterday morning to his support, and at five o'clock in the afternoon came up with them, who were posted on a commanding eminence, strongly intrenched by a log breastwork; they were instantly most gallantly attacked in front by the two companies of the Royal and 89th. At the same time the Kent Militia and Captain Caldwell's company of Rangers made a flank movement to the right, and a small party of Indians to the left, to gain the rear of the enemy's position, and after repeated efforts to dislodge them without effect, the troops were most reluctantly withdrawn.

I regret that our loss is very considerable. I enclose a letter from Ensign Mills of the 89th Regiment, who remained in command of the troops in this affair, every other officer being killed or wounded. I was detained at Delaware several hours after the movement of the two companies, making arrangements with Colonel Elliott of the Indian department for a particular service in which the Indians were to be employed, which I regret prevented my joining the troops till the close of the action. Information is just received that the Americans have retreated from

their position. I herewith enclose a return of the killed and wounded and missing.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

A. STEWART,  
Capt. R. Scots, Lieut.-Col., London District.  
Major-General Riall, etc., etc.

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York, March 9th, 1814.

Sir:—I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the copy of a report received from Major-General Riall from Captain Stewart of the Royal Scots Light Company, relative to an affair which took place in advance of Delaware Town between the detachment under his orders and a body of the enemy from the westward.

I regret to state that our loss has been considerable in proportion to the numbers engaged, and that notwithstanding the daring gallantry displayed on the occasion, finding it impracticable to dislodge the enemy from the security of his breastwork, the troops were reluctantly withdrawn, after an action of an hour and a half. It is reported that the enemy have since retired from their position.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,  
GORDON DRUMMOND, Lieut.-Gen.

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**Captain Basden to Captain Stewart.**

Oxford, March 13th, 1814.

Sir:—I take the earliest opportunity, being a little recovered, to inform you of the circumstances which took place on the 4th inst. for the early information of Major General Riall, commanding the right division of the army.

Having on the evening of the 3rd received your orders to march the next morning, I paraded in consequence and received further directions, viz., to move forward, support Capt. Caldwell's detachment, and push on as far as Ward's with the whole. I moved on, found Capt. Caldwell with the whole of his party at the Fourteen Mile Creek. He had seen the enemy that morning in numbers, supposed 150 or 200, drawn up in an irregular column, about 5 or 6 miles from his present position (the Fourteen Mile Creek). I here refreshed the men and waited a very long time in expectation of some Indians (conceiving that a party was following me, five only arrived), and it growing late in the day I proceeded, leaving Mr. Fraser of the Indian department

with orders to hurry on such Indians as might come up. On approaching the place where the enemy had been before seen, it was observed by the smoke and some noise that they were occupying the same ground. I therefore made my dispositions for an immediate attack, it growing late. They were posted on the opposite side of a ravine, on a high bank close to the road, and I thought I could perceive a slight brush wood fence thrown up, as I presumed, to obstruct the road. The Kent Volunteers with the Rangers, I directed to file through the woods, to my left (right?), and by making an extensive circle they were to post themselves in the rear of the enemy, get as near as possible, not to fire a shot, but to sound a bugle, whenever the position was properly secured and they were prepared to advance. Mr. Fraser now arrived with about 23 Indians. These I stationed to flank my right (left?), and advance with the main body. At the sound of the bugle the flank companies moved on in open column of sections (the 89th Light Company being weak in subdivisions) led by the Royals, with an advance from them. The enemy commenced their fire immediately on our appearance, and when the head of the column had preceded a short distance down the hill, the firing from the enemy was so severe as to occasion a check, they instantly cheered and rushed on, making for the road on the opposite side, with the intention of carrying this fence. However, this was found impossible, the ascent being so steep and slippery. I now desired the men to follow me, and I moved in the ravine to the right, for some distance under an uncommon fire. On ascending and gaining the top of the bank, I was very much surprised to observe another face of a work. I placed the men in extended order under cover of the trees, and the action was kept up with great vigor till dusk, when that of the enemy became very feeble. I now determined to send to the point on the top of the hill (from where the action commenced) for more men to strengthen the party I had then with me, and on their arrival to strain the enemy's position agreeable to my first intention. At the instant I received a severe wound in the thigh, and was under the necessity of going to the rear; before I had proceeded far the enemy's fire had ceased—at this period only I received your orders to retire which order I forwarded to the officer commanding on the field. A few minutes after I met yourself. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your very humble obedient servant,

JAS. L. BASDEN, Capt. 89th Reg.

Capt. Stewart, Royal Scots, Com'g, etc., etc.

### Captain Basden's Report Reviewed.

Basden's letter to Stewart, read between the lines, seems to be apologetic and wanting in spirit, and apparently is quite as remarkable for what it actually omits as for what it really contains. Colonel Le Breton, in writing from Delaware under date of March 8, 1814, regarding this fight says: "As the report of our unfortunate and truly lamentable expedition has reached the General (Riall), you are no doubt acquainted with the circumstances, shall therefore forebear making any comments," evidently thought that the least said about the fight would be the best for all parties concerned. Basden's previous experience in Bengal and among the Mahrattas, at that period seems to have unfitted him to carry through successfully such a mission as the one in question herein. His refusal to accept the counsel tendered him by the two Caldwells, to make a wide flanking tour through the woods instead of attacking the enemy in front, prepared the way for the subsequent disaster that followed. He only mentions twenty-eight Indians as being attached to his force, while all the other authorities give a relatively, considerably larger number. Volunteer Piggott, who was present in the action, says they numbered from forty to sixty. The best authorities say that the total force under Basden was 240 men, and as from various sources we know the exact number of Regulars, Rangers and Militia taking part in this action, and subtracting the sum total of these from the grand total of the fighting force we thus arrive at the number of Indians as 44, which practically agrees with Piggott's statement.

He flatly contradicts the British official report of this action, wherein is set forth the fact that the Militia and Rangers were stationed to the right of the Regulars and the Indians to the left, whereas Basden's statement is exactly to the contrary effect. Holmes also contradicts both Basden and the British general orders, when he says that both the Indians and the Militia were stationed on the right, or rather, "across the ravine above the road," which conveys exactly the same meaning. Capt. Stewart's letter to Major-General Riall, bearing date March 5th, 1814, the day after the action, precisely agrees with the general orders in stating that the Militia and Rangers were stationed on the right of the Regulars, and the Indians on the left, and thus contradicts both Holmes and Basden. As before mentioned, Holmes also disagrees with Basden when he says that both the Militia and Indians were placed "across the ravine above the road," which indicates that they were both on the right of the Regulars, whereas Basden states that only the Indians were on the right of the Regulars, and the Militia on the left thereof. Holmes, under the term "Militia" includes both Rangers and Militia,

while the British and Canadian authorities clearly exhibit a difference between Militia and Rangers. Basden's letter is written on March 13th, 1814, while he was yet lying ill through his severe wound. A sick man, painfully wounded as Basden was, is not likely to remember past events as clearly as another person, having his faculties completely unimpaired. Stewart, too, arrived at the scene of the action just before its close, and therefore was as well informed under any circumstances as Basden could possibly be, and his report is written on the day following the action, whereas Basden's letter was not written until nine days afterwards. The whole tone of this report appears to be apologetic, rather than explanatory, although, of course, incidentally, a considerable number of interesting details are exhibited therein.

The flanking movement of which he speaks, is by no means, the one which he was previously counselled to make. The one in question was made simultaneously with the direct front attack, whereas he was previously urged to make a wide turning movement to the right from Fourteen Mile Creek and thus prevent Holmes from ever reaching his old position on the Western hills at Twenty Mile Creek (Battle Hill). The flank movement first above referred to was made too late to be of any practical value to Basden, and thus the attainment of the proposed object entirely depended upon the success of the front attack to be made by the Regulars upon the main position of the Americans. The Regulars were unable to succeed in this attack in front and thus the whole plan of action egregiously failed, largely through the slippery condition of the hills upon the summit of which the enemy was posted. He, like Holmes, says nothing about water having been poured upon the face of the western hills by the enemy to make ice, but notes its slippery condition. Thompson, however, who was one of the Royal Scots, mentions this very fact and this is also abundantly corroborated by local tradition. The loss of the fight is therefore to be attributed to the failure of the front attack from the above mentioned cause, rather than to the fact of his severe wound, upon which he seems to lay altogether too much stress, in trying to account for his defeat. To do him justice, he seems, however, to have profited in after years from the drastic lesson, taught him at Battle Hill. He gives no details of the relative strength of the opposing parties, and reminds Stewart that the troops retreated through the giving of orders to that effect by that officer. Stewart could not possibly order otherwise, seeing the false position in which Basden had placed the troops. He refers to Geo. Ward's dwelling in the woods, which places beyond doubt, chronologically, what

the family tradition states about his living on the present site of Wardsville, at least as early as the war.

## APPENDIX B.

**Letter from Captain Holmes to Lieutenant-Colonel Butler, Commanding at Detroit, and Transmitted to the Department of War by General Harrison.**

Fort Covington, March 10th, 1814.

Sir:—I have the honor to submit in writing, that the expedition sent under my command against the enemy's posts by your special orders of the 21st ultimo, had the good fortune on the 4th inst. to meet and subdue a force double its own, fresh from the barracks, and led by a distinguished officer. I had been compelled to leave the artillery, by the invincible difficulties of the route from Point Au Plait to the Round O. No wheel carriage of any kind had ever attempted it before and none will ever pass it until the brush and fallen timber are cut away and the swamp causewayed or drained. After joining Capt. Gill I began the march for Fort Talbot, but was soon convinced of its being impossible to reach the fort in time to secure any force which might be there or adjacent. This conviction, united with the information that the enemy had a large force at Delaware upon the Thames, that I should be expected at Fort Talbot, and consequently that a previous descent upon Delaware might deceive the foe, and lead him to expose to me some point in defending others he might think menaced, and coupled with the possibility that hearing of Capt. Gill's march to the Round O, by McGregor's militia, whom he had pursued, a detachment had descended the Thames to intercept him, determined me to exercise the discretion allowed by the order, and to strike at once upon the river.

On the 3rd inst., when only fifteen miles from Delaware we received intelligence that the enemy had left Delaware with the intention of descending the river and that we should probably meet him in one hour; that his force consisted of a light company from the Royal Scots, mustering for duty one hundred and twenty men; a light company from the 89th Regiment of foot (efficiency not known); Caldwell's Indians and McGregor's militia; amounting in all to about three hundred men. My command had not originally exceeded one hundred and eighty in rank and file. Hunger, cold and fatigue had brought on disease, and though none had died, all were exceedingly depressed, and sixteen had been ordered home as unable to continue the march. I resolved therefore to avoid conflict on equal grounds and

immediately retreated five miles for the sake of a good position, on the western bank of Twenty Mile Creek, leaving Gill, with twenty Rangers to cover the retreat, and to watch the enemy's motions. We had camped but a few minutes, when Capt. Gill joined, after exchanging shots with the enemy's advance in vainly attempting to reconnoitre his force. The Twenty Mile Creek runs from north to south, through a deep wide ravine, and of course is flanked east and west by lofty heights. My camp was formed upon the western heights. The enemy's upon the opposite. During the night of the 3rd all was quiet. At sunrise on the 4th, the enemy appeared thinly upon the opposite heights, fired upon us without effect, and vanished. After waiting some time for their reappearance, Lieut. Knox of the Rangers was sent to reconnoitre. Upon his return, he reported the enemy had retreated to the utmost precipitation, leaving his baggage scattered upon the road, and that his trail and fires made him out not more than seventy men. Mortified at the supposition of having retrograded from this diminutive force, I instantly commenced the pursuit, with the design of attacking Delaware before the opening of another day. We did not, however, proceed beyond five miles, when Capt. Lee, commanding the advance, discovered the enemy in considerable force, arranging himself for battle. The symptoms of fear and flight were now easily traced to the purpose of seducing me from the heights and so far the plan had succeeded, but the enemy had failed to improve the advantage. If he had thrown his chief force across the ravine above the road, and occupied our camp when relinquished, thus obstructing my communication to the rear, I should have been driven upon Delaware against a superior force, since found to be stationed there, or forced to take the wilderness for Fort Talbot, without forage or provisions. Heaven averted this calamity. We soon regained the position at Twenty Mile Creek, and though the Rangers were greatly disheartened by the retreat, and to a man insisted upon not fighting the enemy, we decided an exhibit to that spot a scene of death or victory.

I was induced to adopt the order of a hollow square, to prevent the necessity of evolution, which I knew all the troops were incompetent to perform in action. The detachments of the 24th and 28th infantry occupied the brow of the heights. The detachment from the garrison at Detroit formed the north front of the square, the Rangers the west, the Militia the south. Our horses and baggage stood in the centre. The enemy threw his Militia and Indians across the ravine above the road and commenced action with savage yells and bugles sounding from the north, west and south. His regulars at the same time charged down the road from the opposite heights,

crossed the bridge, charged up the heights we occupied within twenty steps of the American line, and against the most destructive fire. But his front section was shot to pieces. Those who followed were much thinned and wounded. His officers were soon cut down, and his antagonists continued to evince a degree of animation that bespoke at once their boldness and security. He therefore abandoned the charge, and took cover in the woods at diffused order, between fifteen, twenty and thirty paces of our line, and placed all hope upon his ammunition.

Our regulars being uncovered, were ordered to kneel, that the brow of the heights might partly screen them from the enemy's view. The firing increased on both sides with great vivacity. But the crisis was over. I knew the enemy dared not uncover, and of course no second charge would be attempted. On the north, west and south front the fire had been sustained with much coolness, and with considerable loss to the foe. Our troops on these fronts being protected by logs hastily thrown together, the enemy not charging, both the rifle and musket were aimed at leisure, perhaps always told. The enemy at last became persuaded that Providence had sealed the fortune of the day. His cover on the east front was insufficient; for as he had charged in column of sections, and therefore, when dispersing on either side of the road, was unable to extend his flanks, and as our regulars presented an extended front from the beginning, it is evident that a common sized tree could not protect even one man, much less the squads that often stood and breathed their last together; and yet upon his regulars the enemy relied for victory. In concert therefore, and favored by the shades of twilight he commenced a general retreat after one hour's close and gallant conflict.

I did not pursue for the following reasons: 1. We had triumphed against numbers and discipline, and were therefore under no obligation of honor to incur additional hazard. 2. In these requisites (numbers and discipline) the enemy were still superior, and the night would have insured success to ambuscade. 3. The enemy's bugle sounded close upon the opposite heights. If then we pursued, we must have passed over him as he did to us, because the creek could not be passed on horseback at no other point, and the troops being fatigued and frostbitten, their shoes cut to pieces by frozen ground, it was not possible to pursue on foot. It follows, that the attempt to pursue would have given the enemy the same advantage that produced the defeat.

Our loss in killed and wounded amounted to a non-commissioned officer and six privates; with the blood of between eighty and ninety brave Englishmen, and among them four officers,

avenged their fall. The commander, Capt. Basden, of the 89th, is supposed to have been killed at an early stage of the contest. The whole American force in action consisted of one hundred and fifty rank and file, of whom seventy were militia, including the Rangers. The enemy's regulars alone were from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty strong, and his militia and Indians fought upon three fronts of our square.

I am much indebted to all my regular officers, and I trust their names will be mentioned to the army and to the War Department. Without intending a discrimination it must be acknowledged that the exertions of Lieut. Knox and Henry of the 28th and Jackson and Potter of the 24th were most conspicuous because fortune had opposed them to the main strength of the foe. Capt. Lee of the Michigan Dragoons was of great assistance before the action at the head of the advance and spies; and my warmest thanks are due to the acting sailing-master Darling, of the United States schooner Summers, who had volunteered to command the artillery. Ensign Heard of the 28th, acting as a volunteer adjutant, merits my acknowledgments, and especially for his zeal in defending my opinion against a final retreat, when others permitted their hopes to sink beneath the pressure of the movement.

The enemy's wounded and prisoners were treated with the utmost humanity. Some of our men were marching in their stockinged feet, but they were not permitted to take a shoe even from the dead.

I have the honor, to be with perfect respect, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) A. H. HOLMES, Captain 24th Infantry.  
Lieutenant-Colonel Butler, commanding the Territory  
of Michigan and its dependencies.

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### Captain Holmes' Report Reviewed.

In speaking of his reasons for changing his route from Port Talbot to Delaware when he arrived at the Rond Eau Holmes' report is so confused that it is difficult, if not almost impossible to arrive at his real meaning. Fortunately General Armstrong and others throw light on this point, and plainly tell us that Holmes concluded that McGregor, who had been pursued up the Thames by Captain Lee, would very probably carry the news to Port Talbot of the coming of the enemy and thus throw the British and Canadians upon the alert. Holmes calls Port Talbot, "Fort Talbot."

Farther on he says, "On the 3rd inst., when only fifteen miles from Delaware, we received intelligence that the enemy had left

Delaware, with the intention of descending the river, and that we should probably meet him in one hour," etc. He evidently now refers to the Canadian Rangers under Caldwell, who formed an advance guard of the British force. It will be remembered that Caldwell, in his advance through the woods, discovered the proximity of the Americans, word of which he sent to Captain Stewart at Delaware, which information reached the latter late on the night of the 3rd. Holmes does not state how he got information of the British movements, of their strength, and the different detachments of which it was composed. Had it been through his own scouts, he would not likely have left us in the dark on this point. Armstrong plainly states that this information was given "by a person not unfriendly to the United States." He clearly sees Basden's blunder in not outflanking him, on the 4th, after he had been drawn from his advantageous position at Twenty Mile Creek by Caldwell, earlier in the day. He estimates his fighting strength, in one part of his report, somewhat below what other contemporary American authorities say it was, in another part of this same report agrees with them. He augments the British and Canadian force to 300 men, when, as a matter of fact, it was just 240, including Indians. Volunteer Piggott of the 89th Light Company, who was taken prisoner, could have given him more correct information on this point, and in fact, Butler's report to Harrison, dated March 7th, put the British strength at 236 men as stated by "prisoners"—Piggott was the only prisoner taken. The effect of the fire of the detachments of the 24th and regulars of the 28th upon the British is largely exaggerated, and he says nothing about pouring water along the face of the western hill to make ice and covering up the deception with snow. This last statement is supported by the authority of Thompson, and traditional evidence on this point is also very abundant. The writer, among other sources, procured information about throwing water on the hill to make ice and then covering it with snow to entrap the British, from an old gentleman who in turn got it from a member of the militia—John T. Doane—who was present at this action in the Long Woods. While praising his officers for the assistance they gave him in winning this victory at Battle Hill he neglects to give any credit to the Canadian who, tradition strongly asserts, suggested to Holmes to throw water on the hillside, on the western bank of Twenty Mile Creek, besides informing him as to the whereabouts of the excellent position here taken by the invaders as well as for the information given him as to the movements and position of the British at Delaware on the 3rd, and also the strength of the force. Basden, rash as he was on that occasion, would, in all probability have won the day, but for this unlooked for event of throwing

water on the hills to the west. The number of British killed and wounded is considerably exaggerated relative to the number engaged, and though he praises them for their gallantry, he gives no reasons for his own rapid retreat to Detroit, immediately after the conclusion of the fight.

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**Lieut.-Col. Butler to Major-General Harrison.**

Dear Sir:—"By Lieut. Shannon of the United States Infantry I have the honor of informing you that a detachment of troops under my command, led by Captain Holmes of the 24th United States Infantry, has obtained a signal victory over the enemy. The affair took place on the 4th inst., about a hundred miles from this place on the River de French. Our force consisted of not more than 160 Rangers and mounted infantry. The enemy from their own acknowledgment, had about 240. The fine light company of Scots Greys is totally destroyed; they led the attack most gallantly and their commander fell within ten paces of our front line. The light company of the 89th has also suffered severely; one officer of the company fell, one is a prisoner and another is said to be badly wounded. In killed, wounded and prisoners the enemy lost about eighty, whilst on our part there was but four killed and four wounded. The great disparity in the loss on each side is to be attributed to the very judicious position occupied by Captain Holmes, who compelled the enemy to attack him at a great disadvantage. This, even more than his gallantry, merits the laurel.

Captain Holmes has just returned and will furnish a detailed account of the expedition which shall be immediately transmitted to you.

Enemy's forces as stated by prisoners:

Royal Scots .....	101
89th Regiment .....	45
Militia .....	50
Indians .....	40 to 60

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A. BUTLER,

Lieut.-Col. Commandant at Detroit.

Detroit, March 7th, 1814.

(Author's Note—Butler uses the word "prisoners." There was only one prisoner taken, namely, Volunteer Piggott.)

## APPENDIX C.

## NOTES—PERSONAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

James Madison, the fourth President of the United States, was a native of Virginia, and held office during two terms, viz., from March 4th, 1809, till March 4th, 1817. During his term the second war between the United States and Great Britain took place. Personally, he was opposed to the war, declaring it unrighteous, as well as unnecessary. His peculiar ambition, however, was allowed to overcome his judgment, since many of the leaders of the political party to which he belonged, refused to support his nomination for a second presidential term unless he sanctioned the commencement of hostilities, which, after much hesitation, he accordingly did. He died in 1836, aged 85 years.

Roundhead, a celebrated chief of the Wyandots, headed one-half of his nation on the side of the British at the beginning of the war, as did another chief, Walk-in-the-Water, command the other half of the tribe, on the side of the Americans. His Indian name was Staw-yeh-tauh, but was also known as Brandy-Jack from his dissolute habits. It was he who took General James Winchester prisoner at the battle of River Raisin, and personally conducted him to Procter. He died in August, 1813, aged about 60 years.

General William Hull was an old Revolutionary veteran, and upon the breaking out of the war was appointed to the command of the Northwest. He failed to capture Amherstburg, owing to the arrival of Brock from Niagara with timely assistance, and was in time besieged in Detroit and compelled to surrender the place, August 16th, 1812. For this act he was court-martialed and condemned to death, but his life was spared through the clemency of the President, by reason of his services on behalf of his country during the war of the Revolution. His wife was named Sarah Fuller and from her he had eight daughters and one son, Abraham Fuller Hull. This son was born in 1786, graduated from Harvard Law School in 1805, and was the third attorney ever admitted to practice by the Detroit bar. He entered the army in 1811, and was his father's adjutant when Detroit surrendered. Was a captain of the 9th U. S. Infantry when he was killed at the battle of Lundy's Lane, July 25th, 1814, aged 28 years, where his grave is still shown on the battlefield. General Hull died in November, 1825, at Newton, Massachusetts, and his wife the following year. Documents recently unearthed by Mr. C. M. Burton, of Detroit, show that Gen. Lewis Cass, and not Hull, was to blame for the surrender of that city to Brock.

Detroit (the Narrows) was founded in 1701 by La Motte-Cadillac, and soon became an important trading post during the

period of French domination in Canada. When Capt. Beletre surrendered the place to Major Rogers in 1760 it contained about 250 inhabitants. After having withstood a prolonged siege by Pontiac, extending over about a year and a half (1763-1764) it remained a British possession until it was acquired by the United States under John Jay's Treaty, in 1796. It again passed under British rule for a brief period from August 16th, 1812, till September 28th, 1813, when the garrison was withdrawn by Procter during his disastrous retreat from Amherstburg to Moravian Town. Although the settlement was called Detroit, yet the fort itself was formerly named Ponchartrain, and stood back from the river, at some distance, and was surrounded by a high wooden palisade. The streets at this time were very narrow, and the houses nearly all wooden, and built closely together. In 1812 its population had grown to about 2,500.

Sandwich, originally called L'Assomption, was a French Catholic Mission as early as 1747, although its present existing records carry the reader back only to 1760. After the conquest in 1760 its name was changed to its present designation, and it still contains many reminders of a departed age. During the campaign of 1812 and 1813 it was Procter's headquarters.

The parish still bears its former French name, slightly modified to "Assumption." In 1817 it had 260 inhabited houses, with a population of about 1,000.

Tippecanoe River, a tributary of the Wabash, is in the western part of the State of Indiana, and memorable for the battle fought on its banks, November 7th, 1811, between the Americans under Harrison, and the Shawanees, with other allied Indian tribes, under Elksottawa or Laulewasekaw, a brother of Tecumseh, and in the temporary absence of the latter. The Indians were defeated, with a loss of 40 killed, while the Americans had 62 killed and 126 wounded. Some thirty years ago the Legislature of the State appropriated \$35,000 to erect an iron fence around the battlefield, to replace the former wooden one.

Tecumseh, or Tek-kum-thai, which means, in the Shawanee tongue, "a tiger crouching for his prey," the great Indian warrior and statesman, was born on the banks of the Mad River, in Ohio, in the year 1768. He seems to have been imbued with a fierce hatred of the American nation, and endeavored by all means possible to prevent the territories of the Indians from being appropriated by them. In most respects he was certainly a remarkable man, and in breadth of ideas, together with his unbounded influence over the savage tribes of the continent, was no unworthy successor of the renowned Pontiac (1763), or of the equally famous Pometacon, or Metacomet, chief of the Wampanoags (1676.) He was humane towards a fallen foe, and in dram-

atic eloquence among Indians, has seldom been equalled, much less surpassed. He loyally stood by the British while he lived, and was present at all the important battles, in which the army of the Right Division was engaged. Had his advice been acted upon, the Americans would have been met on the banks of the Detroit River, at their landing place, below Amherstburg, and the disaster of Moravian Town probably averted. The most popular authority appears to state that he was killed at the battle of Moravian Town, Oct. 5th, 1813, by Col. Richard M. Johnson, a Kentuckian. But this is disputed by Capt. "Billy" Caldwell, a half-breed, who was present at this action, and who always maintained that Johnson slew a Pattawattomie brave, and not Tecumseh. James Knaggs (1780-1860) who fought in the American army there and knew Tecumseh personally, was strongly of a different opinion, which was set forth in an affidavit made by him and exhibited in Ross' History of the Knaggs Family, which stated that without a shadow of doubt, Tecumseh was slain by Johnson.

Amherstburg, named after Sir Jeffrey Amherst, Governor-General of Canada, by Robert Rogers, who visited its site in 1763 while on his way from Montreal to receive the capitulation of Detroit, was founded in 1795, and the British garrison withdrawn to this place in the following year from Detroit. The land upon which Amherstburg now stands, including an area of seven miles square, was, however, granted to Jonathan and Jacob Schifflin on October 13th, 1783, by the Ottawa Indians for a very trifling amount, which grant was afterwards annulled by the British Government, whereupon the Schifflins retired to New York City, and there became wealthy before they died. Although originally called Fort Amherstburg the place was known as Malden during the war of 1812-14, but subsequently the name Amherstburg was resumed. Harrison took up his quarters here for a short time after his victory at Moravian Town, and it is said that "he neither threatened nor molested the inhabitants" during the residence at the post. In 1817 Amherstburg contained 108 inhabited houses, with a population of 675. Its natural, and also its historic attractions, at the present day, are truly wonderful. The past and the present, the old and the new, exist here side by side, furnishing an almost unlimited amount of food for reflection to the observant stranger sojourning within its gates. During the war it remained in possession of the Americans, according to their accounts, from Sept. 24th, 1813, but according to British accounts from Sept. 27th, 1813, until July 1st, 1815, when the place was evacuated by them. This post was the only portion of British territory held by the enemy at the conclusion of the war.

William Henry Harrison was born in Virginia in 1773, and having graduated from Hampden Sidney College, applied himself

to the study of medicine. He broke off his professional studies without taking his degree and entered the army, and distinguishing himself in the Indian wars, finally became Lieut.-Gov. of the American Northwest Territories. In 1799 he entered Congress, and soon afterwards was appointed Governor of the Territory of Michigan. His victories at Tippancanoe, Nov. 7th, 1811, and Moravian Town, October 5th, 1813, as well as his success as an administrator, gave him great influence in the councils of his nation. He was defeated in the Presidential campaign of 1836, but was elected November 4th, 1840, and inaugurated March 4th, 1841, but lived only one month after he had become President. As a military officer he was gentle and humane.

Col. Richard Mentor Johnson, the alleged slayer of Tecumseh, held the position of Vice-President of the United States during the term of 1837-1841. He was born in Kentucky in 1781, and was elected member of the United States Congress during the war of 1812-14. He was an attorney by profession, and died in his native state in 1850.

Isaac Shelby was a veteran of the Revolution and a man of great energy and force of character. He was born in 1750 and was the first Governor of Kentucky as a state, and held office during two different terms, namely, 1790-2 and 1812-14. He commanded a body of 1,500 mounted riflemen from his state during the campaign 1813, and was present at the battle of Moravian Town. He was of Welsh descent and died in 1826. By profession he was a land surveyor, as was also his father before him.

Major-General Henry Procter, who was defeated at Moravian Town by Harrison, seems to be often confused with another officer of the same name, who also served in the war, if we should be allowed to judge from the erroneous manner in which his name is frequently spelled.

Henry Procter was born in 1765 and at the age of 16 entered the army. His conduct of the Michigan campaign of 1813 was indeed quite creditable; with less than 1,000 white troops and a very unreliable Indian force, he destroyed three American armies, each as large as his own. He seems to receive more than his full share of the blame for his conduct at the retreat from Amherstburg to Moravian Town. This retreat was conducted badly enough in all conscience, and deserved a large amount of censure, but to lay all the blame at his door seems quite unreasonable and unfair. Reinforcements that he asked for from headquarters, and, in fact, could not be spared, were never sent, and as a consequence he and his soldiers became dispirited because of this neglect. For his defeat at Moravian Town he was suspended from service, and pay for six months, by decree, dated 9th September, 1815. He died in 1822 at Bath, England.

Lieut.-Gen. Henry Adolphus Proctor was born in 1784, came to Canada with his regiment in 1814, and served on the Niagara frontier. He died in Wales in 1859.

George Ward, of Ward's Station, was born in Ireland in 1743. He was the eldest son of the family and in early life became a soldier, as did also his brothers. After a military career, both in England and Ireland in the 58th Foot, he embarked with his regiment, the 62nd Foot, for Quebec on May 29th, 1776. He afterwards saw severe fighting during the Revolutionary War, both in Canada and in the revolted colonies, remaining in the struggle until its close in 1783. He was present at the action (among others) which ended in the surrender of Burgoyne, at Saratoga Springs, to the Americans in 1777. He retired from the service in 1796, in which he had been a sergeant in the 24th Foot, and a sergeant-major in the 105th Foot, and took up his residence near where Chatham now stands. He there became the original patentee of lot 67, in the "Old Survey" of that city, having procured it from the Crown in 1802.

In the following year he disposed of his farm in that vicinity, which he had obtained as a military grant, and removed about thirty-five miles farther up the Thames, to the site of the present Village of Wardsville, for many years afterwards known as Ward's Station. Owing to difficulties with the Chippewa Indians Ward was in 1809 obliged to quit his newly found home in the Long Woods and return to the "Old Settlement" near Chatham. In 1812 he again took his abode in the "Forty Mile Wood" as it was then sometimes called.

At the commencement of the war he was appointed drill instructor in the Kent Militia, in which capacity he acted for a brief period with indeed very indifferent success, and was also in the former part of the war a dispatch carrier. Ward witnessed the surrender of Detroit to Brock (Aug. 16th, 1812) and followed Procter on the occasion of the disastrous retreat of the latter from Moravian Town to Burlington. Although he seems to have suffered considerably, in a financial way, from losses to his crops and buildings, during the war, from both friends and foes, yet on the whole, he appears to have been fairly generously recompensed therefor. In fact, he seems to have fared better than many others in this respect, notably those at Port Dover and elsewhere, who lost their property during the war.

Ward's loyalty to the British Crown was, however, at times, very seriously called into question, and during his latter years was always under a cloud of suspicion for having given, as was alleged, such advice and information as largely enabled the invaders to win the day at "Battle Hill." General Armstrong's narrative seems to confirm this opinion, and, in fact, Ward was

openly charged by Captain Caldwell of the Canadian Rangers and others with being a traitor. One of his sons was killed at the siege of Fort Erie, Nov. 28th, 1813, and two others, named William and John respectively, served for a time in McGregor's Company of the Kent Volunteers. For several years his house, which stood on the west bank of Paint Creek, in the northwest angle on lot 16, range 1, south of the Longwoods Road, Mosa, where he kept a sort of caravansary, was known as Ward's Station. John Howison, who stopped over night there on Christmas eve of 1819, speaks of Ward's hospitality towards those of his guests who were at all inclined to be communicative. When the township of Mosa was surveyed in 1820, by Mahlon Burwell, he complained to the Government that he was only allowed the patent to lots 16 and 17, south of the aforesaid road, along with that to the south half of lot 16 on the north thereof, containing, in all, about 200 acres. His claim to more land was put forth on the ground of his former military services, apparently ignoring the fact that he had already received his reward therefor in the form of a grant at the "Old Settlement." On April 13th, 1825, patents to the above lands were issued to Ward and his three sons, William Ward, Alexander Daniel Ward and Talbot St. John Ward, as tenants in common. He died at his home in Wardsville about 1832, and is buried there. The property at Chatham herebefore mentioned, was on Dec. 11th, 1837, disposed of, his widow, Margaret Ward, and son, William Ward, joining in the deed of conveyance. Many of his descendants still reside at or near the present Village of Wardsville, Alexander Daniel Ward died at Wardsville in the autumn of 1876, and his only sister, a Mrs. Banning, died at a very advanced age about 1882. Ward was by religion an Episcopalian. It will be noticed that Captain Basden in his report of the fight at Battle Hill refers to Ward's place of residence. He was then the only settler living in the "Long Woods" belt.

(Note.—The writer intends at some future time to make the life of Ward the subject of a separate paper, and for that reason, the above biography is comparatively brief.)

Dolsen's farm is situated on the north side of the Thames River, in the Township of Dover East, in the County of Kent, about two and one-half miles below the Town of Chatham, and is known as lots 18 and 19, in the first concession of the aforesaid township. The patent of this farm was issued to Matthew Dolsen, originally Van Dolsen, in 1796. His loyalty to the British Crown seems to have sat very lightly upon his shoulders (if indeed he had any) as he deserted to the Americans in the early stages of the war. While he remained on the American side of the border assisting the enemies of his country, his wife and

family for a time enjoyed the protection of the Canadian Government until they finally joined him at Detroit, where he amassed an ample fortune and an unreliable reputation. A late Canadian senator, who knew his record well, gives him a very poor certificate of character. The first house erected on the farm was constructed of hewed logs, which was afterwards replaced by one of bricks. His son, John Dolsen, born in 1782, inherited the farm from his father, and kept a general country store, and was also the registrar of deeds. The farm subsequently descended to Uriah John Dolsen, a son of John, who afterwards sold it. It is now owned by James Scott Gray, a member of the firm of William Gray & Sons, Chatham, and is still known as the "Dolsen Farm."

There is another farm on the south side of the Thames, in the Township of Raleigh, Kent County, which was settled upon by Isaac Dolsen, a brother of Matthew, and is situated about six miles below Chatham. The American army, while advancing up the river in pursuit of Procter, (who, however, marched up the north side) crossed over his farm and left some reminders of their stay here. In the walls of the old farm house still standing are shown the bullet holes of their rifle shots. The old Dolsen burying ground is on this farm.

Hezekiah Jackson enlisted in the State of Tennessee, as an ensign in the 24th U. S. Infantry, on March 13th, 1813, and appointed 3rd lieutenant on the 15th day of August, 1813, which commission he held when he fought at Battle Hill under Holmes, by whom he is specially mentioned for meritorious conduct in that action. He was afterwards transferred to the U. S. 2nd Rifles on May 28th, 1814, but finally returned to his old regiment the 24th U. S. Infantry, on the 29th July, 1814. He accompanied Holmes and Cotgrove in their ill starred expedition against Fort Michilimackinac and was killed in the attack upon the post on the morning of August 4th, 1814. His remains, along with those of Holmes, who was also slain there, were shipped to Detroit and buried side by side in the old Protestant cemetery there (See Holmes.)

Moravian Town, originally called Fairfield, was settled by the Delaware Indians in 1792. They were largely Christians, and were accompanied by missionaries of the Moravian persuasion, hence the name "Moravian Town," which was applied to the settlement as early as 1795. The Moravian Reserve at one time extended along both banks of the Thames a few miles above Thamesville, but now lies entirely on the south side of that river. These Delawares formerly came from the Muskingum River country, in the State of Ohio. They were called Delawares from the fact that they had previously resided on the banks of the

Delaware River. The original seats of both Delawares and Wyandots seem to have been in the Ungava District of the Labrador Peninsula.

Oliver Hazard Perry—of naval fame—was a native of Rhode Island and was only 28 years of age when he achieved his victory over Captain Barclay, Sept. 10th, 1813, which was the first and only naval battle in which he was ever engaged. His statue now stands in Wade Park, Cleveland. He is often spoken of as Commodore Perry, when, as a matter of fact, he never held a higher rank than that of Post-Captain. He died in 1819.

Robert Herriott Barclay saw considerable of service in the British navy before his defeat by Perry. He served under Nelson at the Nile (1798) Trafalgar (1805) where he lost an arm. Had he displayed the same energy in fitting up his fleet as Perry did, the result of the battle of Lake Erie might have been different, even with the slender resources at his command. For his defeat he was tried by court-martial and acquitted. He died at Edinburgh, May 8th, 1837, aged 52 years, so that he and Perry were of the same age.

John T. Doan was a militia man, who fought at Battle Hill and afterwards was present at the battle of Lundy's Lane, July 25th, 1814, during which he is said to have lain concealed behind a pile of fence rails, securely screened from the plunging balls of the American rifles. He afterwards lived on a farm in the Township of Yarmouth, in the County of Elgin, and died about 1863. He was one of the authorities for the statement that the invaders poured water on the face of Battle Hill to make ice, but does not appear to say at whose suggestion this was done. However, other traditional authorities, through different sources, by their agreement seem to establish this last question beyond all doubt. The family were originally Pennsylvania Dutch and came from Bucks County in that state, and his father and uncles are said to have been members of Butler's Rangers during the Revolutionary War. His brother, Joshua G. Doan, was executed in London, Ont., in January, 1840, for complicity in the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-38.

John Mitchell, who appears to have resided in the Township of Dunwich, in the County of Elgin, near Port Talbot, was also in this action at Battle Hill as a member of the militia and was wounded there and rendered unfit for service. The report says that he was plundered by the enemy and left with a wife and small family destitute of the necessaries of life. In April, 1815, he received the sum of £25 as a partial compensation for his losses, and in May, 1816, he was granted the further sum of £20, with the same object in view. Both these amounts were paid him by the Loyal and Patriotic Society. His name appears

among those entitled to a grant of land for services as militiamen during the war.

John B. Laughton was born at Detroit in 1787 while it was yet a British possession. When in 1796 many residents of English, Irish and Scotch nationalities, "preferring not to be Yankees," as Laughton expressed it, crossed over to the Canadian side of the Detroit River, the family to which he belonged came also and settled at Chatham, where in 1802, John Laugh-1812, accepted the commission from Fort Washington, now Cincinnati, in the then territory of Mississippi on April 29th, 1812.

On June 8th, 1813, he was promoted to the rank of major and assistant adjutant-general. Having resigned this commission on ton, the father, obtained the patent to lot 10 in the Old Survey of that place. On Jan. 7th, 1808, John B. Laughton, then residing at Sandwich, sold this property, the father having died in the meantime. From Sandwich, where he dwelt, he saw the white flag (a table cloth) unfurled, that proclaimed the surrender of Detroit in 1812. He was a member of the Kent Militia, and was present at the action at Battle Hill and also at the battle of Chippewa, July 5th, 1814, where his brother was killed. He was also present at the action at Lundy's Lane, July 25th, 1814, where he was taken prisoner and carried off to Greenbush, opposite Albany. After his release he again took up his residence at Sandwich, during which period he held office as one of the wardens of St. John's Episcopal Church, of that town, during the years 1838-1840, and again in 1844. He died at Sandwich on Dec. 26th, 1879, aged 92 years, and so far as is known was the last survivor of the fight at Battle Hill.

Isaac Lee first took service in a troop of Michigan militia dragoons, commanded by Captain Richard Smith, having been enrolled on May 11th, 1812. He shortly afterwards commanded a small body of mounted militia, recruited from the vicinity of River Raisin, now French Town, in the State of Michigan, in which corps he held the rank of captain from October, 1813, till April, 1814, and distinguished himself by the capture of Colonel Francis Baby, already referred to. He took part in the action at Battle Hill and received the thanks of his superior officer, Captain Holmes, for his gallant conduct there. James Knaggs (1780-1860), the captor of John McGregor, of Sandwich, and M. P. P. for the County of Kent, served under Lee as a private in his Michigan Militia Dragoons, spoken of by Harrison as "River Raisin men, the best troops in the world." After the war he was appointed justice of the peace for the district of Erie, Michigan, May 9th, 1816, and was afterwards appointed assistant registrar of Macomb County, Michigan, July 14th, 1817.

Ensign Heard was a grandson of the celebrated Morgan of

Revolutionary fame, and served as adjutant to Captain Holmes in his expedition from Amherstburg, which resulted in the action at Battle Hill. He is specially mentioned by Holmes and praised for his assistance in preventing a further retreat from Twenty Mile Creek against the judgment of the other officers who strongly pressed Holmes not to make a stand at this place, but fall back closer to the base of operations before engaging with the British. He was slain on the night of August 12th, 1814, in a naval skirmish near Fort Erie, in which the American schooners, Ohio and Somers, were captured by Captain Dobbs of the British Royal navy and a force of 75 men in nine boats. It will be noticed that Heard was killed just eight days after the death of Captain Holmes, the victor at Battle Hill.

Twenty Mile Creek (not to be confounded with Twenty Mile Creek on the Niagara Peninsula) is not known by that name today, and in fact there does not appear to be a man now living who ever knew it by that name. Although called Twenty Mile Creek in old records written during and shortly after the war, it is now popularly known as "Battle Hill Creek." In the original field notes of the Township of Mosa, written in the spring of 1820, it is referred to as "A brook where the Battle of Long Woods was fought during the late war."

Francis Baby (pronounced Bawbee), the ninth child of Jacques Duperon Baby (the friend of Major Gladwin and of Pontiac) was born at Detroit in September, 1768. He married Fanny Abbott on September 5th, 1795, who was only 16 years old. In his time held several offices, which among others were Deputy Lieutenant for Essex County, commissioner of the peace, justice of the peace, and was also a member of the Upper Canadian House of Assembly, having represented Essex, and the now extinct County of Suffolk from 1792 to 1796. The farm, consisting of 1,000 acres, upon which he lived, is now included within the limits of the present City of Windsor. He was appointed colonel of the militia in the early part of the war and was wounded at the battle of Moravian Town, and was one of the very few officers in Procter's army who escaped to the Niagara frontier. Having returned from there in the early part of 1814 he established a small post on that river, below where Chatham now stands. Lieut.-Col. Butler having been apprised of this, sent Captain Isaac Lee with a party of Michigan Militia Dragoons to reconnoitre and, if possible, disperse this force. Lee gained the rear of Baby without being observed, and having scattered his force in all directions, took Baby prisoner, February 3rd, 1814. He returned to his farm after the war, where he died, Nov. 22nd, 1858, after having taken part in the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-38, and fought in the battle of Windsor, December 4th, 1838.

Alexander Stewart, who was in charge of the post of observation at Delaware during the latter part of 1813, and the early part of 1814, was born in Scotland, and while yet a young man entered the army as ensign of the 1st Foot (otherwise known as the Royal Scots Regiment) on January 12th, 1796. He was afterwards advanced on November 4th, 1799, to the rank of lieutenant of the 4th Foot, and transferred to the 1st Foot as lieutenant on May 30th, 1800, and promoted to the grade of captain on August 23rd, 1804. His other positions were brevet-major, 4th June, 1814, major of the 1st Foot, December 1st, 1814, and lieutenant-colonel in the same regiment on November 23rd, 1815. He retired from the service on half-pay with the rank of lieutenant-colonel on March 25th, 1816, and died in 1822. While the action at Battle Hill was being fought, Stewart was on the way there from Delaware, having been previously detained at that place, in endeavoring to send some Wyandots with ammunition to their brethren on the St. Clair River.

James Lewis Basden, C. B., was born in Westmoreland, England, on February 29th, 1785, and appointed ensign of the 94th Foot on January 12th, 1800, and lieutenant in the same regiment on March 17th, 1801.

In this latter capacity he took part in the Mahratta War in Hindoostan during the years 1803-4-5, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, and was present at the taking of Burhampor, Asseerghur, Argaum, Lasselgaum, Chawdore, Jauluah and Gwilleghur. On December 30th, 1806, he was advanced to the rank of captain in the 89th, a position which he held when he commanded the British and Canadians at the time of his defeat in the action of the "Long Woods," Friday, March 4th, 1814. In consequence of a severe wound received at this place, in the upper part of the right thigh, he was recompensed with one year's full pay in addition to his regular salary. The other actions in which he took part, during the war of 1812-14, were the taking of Black Rock and Buffalo, December 30th, 1813, Lundy's Lane, July 25th, 1814, where he was again wounded (this time slightly), and Fort Erie, August 15th, 1814. After this event he was promoted to the rank of brevet-major for his services in the war, December 30th, 1815, and became a major of the 89th on November 25th, 1821. With this rank he served in the first Burmese war, 1824-25 and fought under Sir Archibald Campbell at the taking of Rangoon, and Tavy and Mergui, under Sir E. Miles. His next promotion was Brevet Lieut.-Col. 89th Foot, 7th of July, 1838. He retired on full pay on the 16th of June, 1843, and was afterwards promoted to the position of brevet colonel, November 28th, 1854. For his distinguished services in the field he was finally rewarded by his sovereign with

the distinction of Companion of the Bath, and was specially mentioned in the Home Dispatches of the Governor-General of India. He died on May 22nd, 1856.

Andrew Hunter Holmes was a native of Virginia, and having been appointed captain in the 24th U. S. Infantry March 12th, September 4th, 1813, he returned to his former grade as captain in the 24th, which rank he held when sent out by Lieut.-Col. Butler to lead the expedition into Upper Canada, which resulted in his victory at Battle Hill, March 4th, 1814, and subsequent rapid retreat to Detroit. For his success in this action he was again promoted to the position of major in the 32nd U. S. Infantry, April 18th, 1814, and appointed military commandant at the post of Amherstburg, where excessive mildness does not appear to have been, by any means, the chief characteristic of his administration. In the early part of July, 1814, he was sent out as second in command of an expedition under Col. George Crogan, the ultimate object of which was the capture of Fort Michilimackinac. After considerable plundering and destruction of property at Sault Ste. Marie, the British, maintaining that the property was private and belonging to the Hudson Bay Co. and the Americans holding that it was really public and belonging to the British Government, the Americans disembarked on Mackinaw Island on the morning of August 4th, 1814, for the purpose of attacking the fort. Their regulars, amounting to 430, formed the second line of attack under the command of Holmes, while the first line, composed of militia, was commanded by Col. Cotgrove. Before going into action Mr. Holmes was strongly advised by a Mr. Simon Davenport to exchange his uniform for plain clothes, as he would be made a marked man by the Winnebago Indians, in the British service, whose village near the Sault he had caused to be destroyed, but he obstinately replied that a uniform was made to wear, and he was going to wear it. In leading his troops in the attack upon the British position, five balls entered his chest, from the effect of which he was instantly killed (August 4th, 1814).

When his men retreated after their unsuccessful assault his body was left on the field, and concealed by some British soldiers under leaves and fence rails to prevent an outrage by the Indians. Shortly afterwards it was discovered by two Frenchmen who stripped the corpse naked and carried off all its belongings. The British Commandant, upon hearing of this, declared that he would shoot the rascals at once, unless the uniform, watch, papers and other valuables of the fallen officer were immediately restored to his friends, which they unwillingly did, and with the body, were given over to the proper authorities. Holmes' sword, however, fell into the hands of the Indians and by them was

presented to George Johnston (1796-1861), the half-breed son of John Johnston (1762-1828), a British trader residing at the Sault. Lieutenant Jackson of the 2th U. S. Infantry, who fought under Holmes at Battle Hill, was also slain in this attack upon Fort Mackinaw, which happened exactly five months after the fight at the former place. On August 17th, 1814, the bodies of Holmes and Jackson were brought to Detroit on an American vessel and buried side by side in the old Protestant cemetery there, and minute guns fired over their graves. After the conclusion of the war Fort Mackinaw was restored to the Americans, and by them was called Fort Holmes from the name of this officer.

"Billy" Caldwell was the son of Colonel William Caldwell, an old Revolutionary officer of Irish nationality, and a captain in Butler's Rangers, who emigrated from Virginia in 1784, and a Pottawaomie woman. He was born near Amherstburg, and in August, 1812, we find him at Fort Dearborn, now Chicago, where he was instrumental in saving the lives of some white settlers from massacre at the hands of the Indians. He fought on the side of the British during the war and was present at all the battles in which the army of the Right Division took part from River Raisin, 22nd of January, 1813, until the battle of the Thames, near Moravian Town, October 5th, 1813. He then joined the army of the Centre Division and was present at the engagement at Battle Hill, where he commanded a small body of Pottawattomies and Wyandots. He was the Saganah or chief of the former tribe. After the conclusion of the war he returned to Fort Dearborn and from there went to Council Bluffs, Iowa, where he died in 1835. He was present as a witness at the trial of Procter for military incapacity in 1815. The writer was once shown the rifle which he carried in the actions at Moravian Town and Battle Hill, and his pleasure could perhaps be better imagined than described, as he examined this grim old relic of the interesting events of nearly a century ago.

William Caldwell, a half brother of "Billy," the son of Colonel William Caldwell, above named, and his wife, Susan Baby, was born on his father's farm, just outside the limits of Amherstburg, in 1784. He served in the war as a lieutenant in the first Essex Militia, and was present with his father and brothers, at the battle of the Thames, near Moravian Town. At the engagement at Battle Hill he commanded a small body of Canadian Rangers as captain and had his advice been followed this fight would certainly have had a different ending. After the war he returned to Amherstburg, where he married Ruth Johnson, in 1822. He lived at Amherstburg during the remaining portion of his life and died there in 1873. He was by religion a Roman Catholic.

William Henry enlisted as second lieutenant in the 28th U. S. Infantry in Kentucky on May 20th, 1813, and was subsequently raised to the rank of first lieutenant in the same regiment, which commission he held when he fought at Battle Hill. He was honorably discharged from the service on June 15th, 1815, and died on February 6th, 1846. He is also made mention of by Holmes for gallant conduct at Battle Hill.

Ebenezer Knox entered the service, in the then Territory of Mississippi, as an ensign in the 21st U. S. Infantry, on March 12th, 1812, and for dishonorable conduct was expelled from the army on March 2nd, 1813. He appears to have again enlisted in the 28th Kentucky and was present at the fight at Battle Hill in the capacity of lieutenant in that regiment. He seems to have worked hard to remove the stain caused by his previous conduct, as Holmes praises him in his report on the action at Battle Hill.

John C. Potter was enrolled as a third lieutenant in the 26th U. S. Infantry (Vermont) and fought at Battle Hill, his name being one of those specially mentioned in the report of Holmes, the commanding officer, for his valuable service there. He was transferred to the 24th Kentucky Infantry on July 29th, 1814, and was present at the attack on Fort Mackinaw, August 4th, 1814, where Holmes and Lieutenant Jackson were killed. He was promoted on October 17th, 1814, to the rank of second lieutenant, and honorably discharged in June, 1815.

The Longwoods Road was, during the closing years of the eighteenth century, merely a trail running through the Long Woods (whence its name) and extending north of the Thames River, from London to Chatham. Lieut.-Governor Simcoe made a trip over it in 1793, when travelling from Niagara to the south-westerly portion of the then Province of Upper Canada. During the year 1800 this trail was somewhat improved and made only tolerably fit for the transportation of troops, artillery and military stores. When the Township of Mosa was surveyed in 1820 by the late Mahlon Burwell (grandfather of the present family of that name, in the Township of Caradoc), the road was in some measure straightened by cutting off some of its angles and bends, but nevertheless, it by means represents a straight line. This newly-surveyed road was then taken as a base line in surveying to the Thames in the townships of Mosa, Ekfrid and Caradoc, each range being parallel to this road. Two ranges of lots on the north side of the road were similarly surveyed, and farther to the north, straight lines were then run. Tremaine's Map of the County of Middlesex, bearing date 1862, very well illustrates the above remarks. In the earliest maps it is shown as "Road leading through the Long Woods."

In November, 1824, fifty-eight lots on the south side of the

road in the Long Woods tract were set apart to be granted to persons who would assist in making the road a proper means of communication between the Western District (Kent, Essex and Lambton) and the other settled portions of the province, and the whole matter was placed in the hands of Colonel Talbot for execution. With what measure of success this scheme was attended the writer is not prepared to state.

The County of Kent originally extended from Hudson Bay to the Mississippi River and included Detroit and Sandwich, among other posts. Its narrowest part represented a strip of land four miles wide in the northern portion of the present County of Essex, stretching along the eastern shores of the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair, from Sandwich to the Thames River. It included all the remaining portion of the then Province of Upper Canada, not contained in the original nineteen counties which included Essex on the west and Glengarry on the east, and was certainly the largest county on record. The portion of the county now lying within the limits of the United States was lost to it by John Jay's Treaty of 1796, otherwise its boundaries remained unchanged until after the war.

The Thames River is first exhibited in Bellini's map of 1744, but without giving it a name. Appended to this map is a note stating that it had been explored for eighty leagues from its mouth, without meeting a rapid or obstacle of any sort. Previous to and for a long time after this date it was called by the Chippewa Indians the "Ask-un-e-see-be" or the "Antlered River," alluding to its appearance at Upper Forks, where London now stands. In 1745 it was called by the French trappers, who frequented its neighborhood, "La Riviere La Tranche" or simply "La Tranche," from its trench-like appearance from its mouth up towards the present site of Chatham. In fact, it is yet often called "La Tranche" by many of the older French-Canadian inhabitants who reside below Chatham. Peter Bell's map of 1772 calls it the "New River," which name it retained, at least officially, until May 22nd, 1784, as shown by a grant of land from the Indians to the Canadian Government of that date. It was called by its present name in 1793 by Lieut.-Governor Simcoe, who, English as he was, if nothing else, abolished native names all over the Province, substituting therefor Anglo-Saxon appellations, which have neither sense nor reason when applied to the physical features of Canada. It is pleasing to note, however, that out of the general wreck a few native names still survived. The late William Baby, formerly collector of customs at Windsor, Ontario, and nephew of the late Colonel Francis Baby, sailed down this river from London to Chatham in a small boat, amid immense cakes of floating ice, in the early spring of 1834.

John McGregor was born in Argyleshire, Scotland. His name, apparently, first appears in Canadian records as the original patentee of lot 20, in the 5th concession of the Township of Walsingham, in the present County of Norfolk, Ontario, containing 200 acres. This patent bears date the 31st day of March, 1807. Just before the opening of the war he was residing in the woods of the Township of Dover East, in the County of Kent, and near the Thames River. Shortly after the commencement of hostilities he received his first military commission in July, 1812, as ensign in Captain John Dolsen's company of the Royal Kent Volunteers. During the year 1813 he was promoted to the grade of lieutenant in this same branch of the service, which position he held as late as May, 1814, and certainly he appears to have been very active in the defence of his adopted country. In the month of December, 1813, McGregor, with seven of his company, assisted Lieut. Medcalf, with twenty-five regulars and volunteers in the capture of thirty-nine U. S. regulars at McLears, near Dolsen's farm, about fifteen miles from the mouth of the Thames River. This feat was accomplished about an hour before daylight, without any loss to the British and Canadians, but five Americans were wounded. In his report bearing date December 23rd, 1813, Medcalf says, among other things:

To Lieutenant McGregor I am under particular obligations for his zeal and assistance; his local knowledge of the country greatly facilitated the execution of the enterprise."

In February, 1814, McGregor, with some of his men, was pursued up the Thames by Captains Gill and Lee, of the Michigan Rangers and Militia Dragoons respectively, but having made good his escape, joined the regulars at Delaware under Captain Stewart. Immediately after this, McGregor took part in the action at "Battle Hill," March 4th, 1814, where, although he was severely wounded in the arm, which was subsequently amputated in consequence thereof, he played his part so well that his name is mentioned with approval in some of the military annals of his day. He, however, does not appear to have been any too popular among the men over whom he was placed in command.

Shortly after the fight at Battle Hill a number of them deserted through dissatisfaction with McGregor, the direct cause of which at this comparatively distant day does not clearly appear. In the month of June, 1814, he was promoted to a captaincy in the Kent Volunteers, and after the close of the war was placed on the retired list, with a pension of £20 per annum. On April 16, 1819, and while he was still living in Dover East, he sold his farm in Walsingham to John McGregor, of Sandwich, merchant and M. P. P. for the County of Kent, the consideration therefor being £175. The Captain does not appear to have

ever owned any land in Dover East. On December 15th, 1820, an allotment was made by the Government to McGregor for his military services of the north halves of lots 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15, and the south halves of lots 12, 13 and 14, and also the south-west quarter of lot 15, in the first concession of the old Township of Sombra (as then constituted), now the Gore of the Township of Chatham, in the County of Kent, containing 900 acres, more or less. The order granting this allotment appears to have been stayed on account of a dispute respecting the south half of lot 11, but was finally approved of on June 30th, 1821. McGregor seems to have died in the early part of the year 1823. In March of that year a petition was forwarded by Mary McGregor to Sir Peregrine Maitland, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, which stated among other things, that she was the widow of Captain John McGregor, of the Kent Volunteers, who was severely wounded in action at the Long Woods, and that by reason of his death she was left in very reduced circumstances, with six children under sixteen years of age to support, and asked that she receive her husband's pension just as if he were still alive, and had served in the regular army instead of in the militia. This petition received the usual "most serious consideration" and it was not until the following October that a reply thereto was vouchsafed, to the effect that the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury regretted that they had no funds to grant Mrs. McGregor the assistance which she solicited. The patent to the aforesaid lands was issued by the Heir and Devisee Commissioners on July 31st, 1831, to Donald McGregor, George McGregor, Alex. McGregor, Gregor McGregor, David McGregor, John McGregor, Isaac Brock McGregor, Elizabeth McDougall, wife of Arch. McDougall, Margaret McDonald, wife of John McDonald, and Annie McGregor, spinster, all of the Township of Dover, in the County of Kent, the devisees named in the last will and testament of the late John McGregor, of the Kent Volunteers, deceased, as tenants in common. Besides those just above named, McGregor appears to have had other children, namely William, Mary and James, who served in his father's company of the Kent Volunteers, and of whom an account is hereinafter written. The Village of Wallaceburg South now stands upon a portion of lot 13, and the Sydenham River intersects lots 12 and 13. The present police magistrate of the Town of Wallaceburg, Mr. A. McDougall, is a nephew of the aforesaid Elizabeth McDougall.

McGregor's company of Loyal Kent Volunteers was largely recruited from the Scotch settlers, originally located in the Baldoon Settlement, near Wallaceburg, by Lord Selkirk, in 1804, after whose castle in Scotland the place took its name. A perusal

of the Muster Roll of McGregor's Company plainly establishes the nationality of those enrolled thereon.

Lauchlin McDougall was a member of McGregor's company and fought at Battle Hill. In the Muster Roll he is reported as "wounded and unfit for service." He was one of the original Baldoon settlers and erected the first house (a log shanty) in Wallaceburg in 1822.

John McDonald the son-in-law of Captain McGregor, also served in the war as a member of his company of Kent Volunteers.

James McGregor was a son of Lieutenant (afterwards captain) John McGregor, previously mentioned, and in 1802 became the patentee from the Crown of lot 6, in the "Old Survey" of the townsite of Chatham, then popularly known as the "Lower Forks." Prior to the breaking out of the war he resided in the Township of Howard, in the County of Kent, while his father lived in the Township of Dover East, in the same county. At the commencement of hostilities he enlisted as a private in Captain John Dolsen's company of Kent Volunteers, in which same company his father served as an ensign, sergeant, lieutenant and finally as a captain. James was present at the surrender of Detroit to the British, August 16th, 1812, and afterwards served under Major-General Henry Procter, taking part in the action at River Raisin, January 22nd, 1813, and the siege of Fort Meigs, on the Miami, or Maumee River, Ohio, in April, 1813. After the disastrous defeat of the latter officer at Moravian Town, October 5th, 1813, and consequent disappearance of the army of the right division as a fighting unit, the Kent Volunteers became attached to the army of the centre division under Lieutenant-General Drummond. McGregor assisted in the taking of Fort Niagara, December 19th, 1813, and was present in the action of the Long Woods (or Battle Hill), March 4th, 1814, and was there slightly wounded. He was injured in all five times during the war. The last and most serious occasion was in a skirmish with the enemy on Thames River, July 19th, 1814, where a musket ball, fired from behind, passed through the hip and lodged near the groin, just under the skin. He never fully recovered from the effect of this wound, which continued to trouble him through life, and rendered him almost entirely unable to earn a livelihood. Shortly after the month of April, 1814, upon the promotion of his father to the captaincy of his company he was appointed lieutenant, which rank he held until the close of the war. McGregor, like his father, was at the conclusion of the struggle granted a yearly pension of £20, payable from July 9th, 1814, the date of his last and severest wound. This pension he regularly received until July, 1821, when, by an act of the Legislature of the Province,

which provided that militia pensioners submit themselves to a medical examination before being granted any further assistance from the Government, McGregor lost his pension through the medical board having reported that he was not sufficiently disabled to warrant a continuation of his yearly allowance. Having vainly applied to the Legislature for a special act, granting him relief, he finally appealed to Lord Dalhousie, the governor-general, for another medical examination at Quebec, which was granted, and his case was then reported favorably. This proceeding on the part of Dalhousie was indeed quite illegal, since it aimed at setting aside the authority of a board, regularly constituted under an act of the Legislature. There is no doubt but what the system (or perhaps want of system) of granting pensions was subject to much abuse, men frequently obtaining them without having any legal or moral right thereto, and it was to correct abuses with regard to pensions that this act was passed. Apparently in this case the medical board pushed matters too far, as appears to be evident, having regard to McGregor's last infirmity, caused by his painful wound. To do him justice, he was certainly woefully ignorant of ordinary modes of conducting business, since we find that in July, 1821, he gave powers of attorney to three different persons to collect his pension, besides making personal application for it. The strange mode of procedure caused his arrest at the instance of Mr. W. W. Baldwin (father of the late Hon. Robert Baldwin) who appears to have acted at that time as a sort of solicitor for the treasury. He was now living in the Township of Flamboro West, in the County of Wentworth, and in very poor circumstances too. The Government, on July 12th, 1825, granted him the north halves of lots 16 and 17, concession 5, and the east half of lot 17, concession 4, in the Township of Garafraxa West, in the County of Wellington, Ontario, containing in all 500 acres, more or less. These lands he sold on December 5th, 1828, to the Hon. John Henry Dunn, who was then receiver-general of the Province, for the modest sum of £62 10s., his wife, Nancy McGregor (formerly Nancy Purvis, a daughter of the late Col. Purvis) joining in the conveyance to bar dower. According to the family traditions McGregor's pension was never restored to him, although Sir Peregrine Maitland, the then Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada, in a communication to Lord Bathurst, bearing date February 10th, 1827, stated that he had been induced from the circumstances to restore it. His lot in the "Old Survey" of Chatham was, on October 26th, 1849, sold by McGregor's son, Andrew, who is described as of the Township of Howard in the County of Kent. Lieut. McGregor had also another son, John Jas. McGregor, who died in the Township of Beverly in Wentworth County in Decem-

ber, 1890. McGregor answered his last roll-call in 1842, having in that year been accidentally killed by a fall from his horse at Cook's Hollow about a mile and a half from his farm in Flamboro West. The sword of this officer remained in the possession of the family for a couple of generations, until their removal from their home in Flamboro West to Hamilton, when it was unfortunately either lost or stolen, and thus this precious family relic finally disappeared and became lost to the world.

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# Reminiscences of Mrs. Gilbert Porte

By Harriet Priddis, May 20, 1902.

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Though the history of the pioneer women of London records no daring deed, like that of Abigail Becker, nor historic tramp, like that of Laura Secord, yet every life is a record of such patient endurance of privations, such brave battling with danger, such a wonderful gift for resourceful adaptability, that the simplest story of the old days must bear, within itself, the stirring elements of romance.

While they took no active part in the national or political happenings of the day, it may be interesting to us, and to those that come after us, to hear from their own lips how these public events affected their simple lives. For this reason I have selected for my paper the reminiscences of Mrs. Gilbert Porte, who is today, May 20th, 1902, the oldest continuous resident in London.

My parents, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew McCormick, left Donaghadee, County Down, Ireland, in April, 1829, and reached London, Canada West, in the early summer of the same year. I was then two years and a half old, having been born in Donaghadee on the 31st January, 1827. After arriving here, we stopped with my Uncle Owrey, at Lambeth, for some time, as we could get no shelter in the settlement till the Rev. Mr. Boswell left his house on the north side of York Street, between Thames and Ridout Streets, where Seale's Terrace now stands. It was a very draughty old log building, and the snow would come through the crevices in the wall on our breakfast table. But, such as it was, the only Episcopal service in London, at that time, was held in the kitchen of Boswell's house. As soon as possible, my father secured the grant from Col. Talbot of a lot on the same street, a block further east, and in the spring built a comfortable log house, which was the eighteenth house built in London; and we were the twentieth family to reside here.

The most important adventure of my childhood was being lost in the woods with my little brother within a stone throw of our own home. My mother, after missing us, searched quietly for some time, till, evening beginning to close in, she became alarmed and called in the assistance of all the neighborhood. Our little dog, "Cubbie," came running up, barking and pulling at mother's skirt. Mr. Simeon Morrill advised following its lead;

and, sure enough, that took them to just where we were—in a little shanty occupied by a tailor on the north-west corner of Richmond and York Streets. The good man and his wife had done all they could to pacify us; but we were in great distress, for we knew we were lost; the forest was very dense and dark, and we had wandered about for some time.

The great feature in the landscape in those days was "the creek." I don't remember where it rose—away off in the woods, somewhere east, I suppose. It crossed behind where the Tecumseh now stands, and entered the river a little south of York Street Bridge. Its practical use was supplying water to Morrill's and Hyman's tanneries. I can see it all before me like a panorama; but more change has been caused to the views around London by the cutting down of hills and the building up of gullies than anything else. A great many little, rough, wooden bridges crossed the creek. I remember one especially leading to Proudfoot's Church, which stood far back on the lot, so as to be on high, dry ground, on York Street, about half way between Richmond and Talbot Streets. London has earlier days than I can remember, for York Street Bridge seems always to have been built; and I have often seen it in the early days chained to the immense butternut trees, which were then so plentiful on the banks of the river, to keep it from floating away with the floods.

One of these immense trees at the foot of Richmond Street was quite a land-mark in its day. As it leaned a little to the south, its branches stretched almost across the river, and there was not a boy in the village who could not show you beneath their shade the best speckled trout hole in the world, and a comfortable seat among the branches from which to throw the line.

Indians were such familiar figures that the children had no thought of being frightened at them, though our mothers did not care to have them come in their houses from a general idea that they were not clean. They would sit on the side of the road (there was grass everywhere, when there was not snow), and we'd take out a pail of milk or buttermilk and some bread to them.

My mother had, one day, taken a fine batch of bread from the bake kettles (for we had no stoves, but open fire places with pothooks and kettles), and set it steaming on the dresser. When looking up, she found the doorway darkened by a big Indian, grunting and pointing to his mouth and then to the bread. By signs she made him understand to help himself to the bread. He stalked over, took the biggest loaf and left. She always said he might have taken the whole six without her objecting, so that he left.

They were grateful, too; for one day two of them arrived with a stick across their shoulders supporting a fine deer. They slipped the carcass out of its hide, for they had it ready stripped, and grunting, "For good Cormick; for good Cormick," took their departure with the skin. Judge Wilson, who was a young man, then just married, lived opposite and helped my father cut it up and had one-quarter. Of course, all provision was useful in a new settlement; but venison was not such a treat then as it is now. My father once, going to the back door, found a deer browsing from the twigs of a tree he had cut down the day before. He did not have a gun on hand, and before he could get one, the animal was lost in the woods.

I knew McGregor's Tavern, which always seems to be the beginning of every London history, very well, as it was quite near our house—on the south-west corner of King and Ridout Streets. Ever since I can remember, even before the rebellion, it was a nice looking building. But I have often and often heard Mr. James Williams say when he was a boy about eleven (1826), he was crossing from the Webster settlement to Westminster with Mr. Webster, they saw smoke among the trees and decided Indians were camping near the Forks. On reaching the spot, they looked on the very beginning of the Forest City. Two men had felled some trees, using the brush, covered with quilts, for their beds. The smoke which had attracted attention was smudge to deaden the activity of the mosquitoes. The men were busy preparing logs for the shack, which was to become a land-mark; and a tavern has ever since, and does to this day, stand on the site of McGregor's.

Mail came from the old conuntry every two or three months, and one never knew when to expect it. I remember my mother once paid a dollar postage on a letter that had done some unnecessary travelling. We used to go to the post office out the Governor's Road, through the woods to Major Schofield's farm, where the Sacred Heart Convent now stands.

It was a log house of the usual style, though there was afterwards a frame addition added to either side. We always waited in the front room, where there was a fire-place, while the Major brought our letters from the room behind, as that was the family bedroom. Mr. Lawrason bought part of the farm, and the building of his mansion was quite an epoch in the town's history.

Other comforts of life besides letters were not to be depended upon, and were often delayed by wind and weather and bad roads. At one time there was not a needle to be found in the village till Mr. O'Brien's or Mr. Lawrason's new stock arrived by Jenning's teams from Hamilton. Mothers with ragged little

girls, or hardly decently covered little boys, went among friends begging for the loan of the priceless little one-eyed machine. Finally my mother bethought her of a pin-cushion that had accompanied her from old Ireland and done duty on board ship. She ripped it open, and behold! a mine of wealth pushed into the sawdust by mischievous little fingers—needles for everybody. Neighbors were all kind to one another in that small community, but some were better able to help than others; and Mrs. Simeon Morrill was a true Mother in Israel to inexperienced young housekeepers, fresh from the country where bread and butter, candles and soap were bought ready-made. Many and many a day she spent in giving private lessons in domestic economy, and cheering hearts discouraged by hardships and incapacity.

Anecdotes of Col. Talbot's brusqueness and eccentricity have always been plentiful and apparently interesting in the London district. He seemed never to forget a face he had seen nor a block of ground he had granted. My father bought from Mr. Van Warmer the south-west corner of Horton and Richmond Streets, and not finding the deed quite straight (the owner was an American who had not taken the oath of allegiance), he decided to make sure by getting an original grant from the Colonel. The old gentleman looked sharply at my father, and then turning to his maps, snapped out, "I gave you a grant before, and why do you come bothering for more than your due?" When my father explained the circumstances, he was quite reasonable, granted his request, and freely discussed the prospects of the country and settlement.

There were plenty of good private schools in London from the earliest days. Sheriff Glass, in reminiscent mood, always declared I attended school with him in a building on York Street, near Thames Street, kept by a cooper and his wife. When the cooper got tired of teaching, he went back to his trade (the tapping of his hammer somewhat distracting our attention), and his wife taught for a spell. When domestic affairs required her attention, the cooper once more became school-master. I cannot recall this scene, often described by my old friend, but I distinctly remember a little school on York Street, where a big bear was chained up in the front yard, whether to keep us in order or for a plaything and pet, I cannot say. I was getting to be a big girl when I went to Miss Stinson's school, away up on North Street, now Carling, on the north-east corner of Talbot Street. The house still stands as it then was with the school-room facing North Street, but there is now a little brick addition on Talbot Street. Dr. Stinson lived a few doors north, in the house with a good many steps going up to the front door, now occupied by Mr. Pritchard. It is one of the oldest houses in town, and we

thought it a very handsome place then, though it is much improved now. Young Dr. Owrey, a student of Dr. Stinson, was the first white man drowned at the Forks, but there have been many, many deaths in the treacherous river since.

After leaving Miss Stinson, I went to Mr. Taylor's school on Horton, near Talbot Street. The pupils were both boys and girls, and he coached students preparing for professions at the same time. While I attended, Mr. Thomas Scatchard and Mr. Ephraim Parke had desks on the girls' side of the room, and were subjects of great interest. Mr. and Mrs. Talbot started a school on the corner of Richmond and North Streets, where the Bank of British North America now stands. They were both considered very clever, but did not teach very long. The building was moved many years ago to a few doors further east, and may still be seen very little changed in appearance—No. 197 Queen's Avenue. Mrs. Talbot taught the girls up stairs, her husband the boys down stairs.

The town was growing rapidly; the rebellion was quelled. The military occupied the barracks and social distinctions were being marked by the time. I became a pupil of Mrs. Pringle's Young Ladies' School, and I remember so well when Mrs. Richardson, mother of Mrs. Judge Hughes and Mrs. Judge Horton, started in opposition a more fashionable and expensive establishment, and took away quite a number of pupils. This, of course, raised some feeling of resentment. One day the girls, in passing, came up and looked in our window, naturally interested in the old place. You ought to have seen Mrs. Pringle's indignation as she exclaimed, "Go away directly, you rude girls. If this is all the manners you learn at your fashionable establishment, you might better have remained where you were." Mrs. Pringle was quite artistic, and under her instruction we did very elaborate and quite expensive fancy work. She used to paint the faces and hands on white satin, and we worked the figures and landscapes in colored silk, with varied success; every girl had her sampler in those days, while the mats and footstools in fine crewel work are certainly proof of our perseverance. Then we had many little notions which I think quite as pretty as the fancy work of the present day—rice work, pricked work, etc. etc. I never saw a rag mat till long after I married. Mr. Pringle was as gifted as his wife. He was a cabinet maker by trade, and built an organ entirely himself. He put it in the English Church on trial a few Sundays before it was burned down (Ash Wednesday, 1844), and, as it was not insured, he lost the labor of years.

We celebrated the last coronation (Queen Victoria) in great style, though, of course, we did not hear of it for many weeks

after the event occurred. But we were all ready, and when the news came a holiday was proclaimed, and we did justice to the occasion. Every window had its own candle, and in some few extra loyal or extra extravagant cases, every pane of glass, and when the panes were so much smaller than they are now, that meant quite a show. But the greatest effort was made just opposite the Court House. A big hole was dug near the centre of the street and filled with wood for a bonfire. Over it was erected a tripod of very tall posts bound together by chains, from which was suspended an immense tar barrel with the blazing tar pouring out from all sides and dropping on the bonfire below. I still think I have never seen so grand a sight.

I remember the anxious times of the rebellion very well, though I could never quite make out what 'twas all about. People who only read the account in the histories cannot realize the terror of the wild rumors, the difficulty of communication (and consequent suspense), with fathers, husbands and brothers marching off to fight rebels, who were mostly neighbors from over the river.

One bright moonlight night, when one could see to read distinctly, there came a tremendous knocking at the door. My father called, "Who's there?" "Hamilton (sheriff), and Askin (Colonel); come on, and bring your gun." "Haven't got one." "Then bring an axe-helve, stick or something. We hear the rebels are to take possession of the Court House. Who else shall we call up?"

They got together eighteen citizens who for some time guarded the Court House. Then the militia poured in from the country around, and we had ten or more billeted for several days. My mother gave them possession of the kitchen with the bedroom off it, and did her family cooking by snatches as she could best manage when they were away on duty. They lay on the floor at night with a big fire blazing on the hearth the whole time. One Sunday, following the first outbreak, the authorities put gates on York Street bridge. I do not remember anything about Blackfriars bridge. Of course, it was built then, but it was so far away we children did not take it into consideration. It was years and years after before there was anything but a ferry at Wellington Street.

Life generally was disorganized; with the men away, women gathered in groups at each other's houses. As my mother had four children she could not well leave home, so the neighbors came to her. I have often heard her tell of one occasion when three friends were stopping with her. They saw a strange-looking woman come to the gate. When she rapped my mother called "Who's there?"

"A foe"; in a man's voice.

"Then, what are you doing here? This is McCormick's."

"I know it, the pickets are after me. Help me off or my life will be at your door." My mother gave him food, Mrs. Franks a shilling, and they let him out a back door. He ran down the bank and crossed the river on the ice, as he said he would be all right if he could get to Westminster. He had hardly got well off the place before the picket arrived, asking if they had seen a strange woman. They said no, but a strange man had gone by that road, pointing to the opposite direction taken by the fugitive. We always rather gloried in the rumor that this was Lyon McKenzie. My father was away most of the time, as he was color sergeant under Col. Askin. At one time, when they were in Malden, the Colonel said, "Come here, McCormick," and as they stood by a grave, continued with a sigh, "Many and many a time she has carried me on her back."

The regulars were sent for at the first outbreak, but it took them so long to travel the distance (the 32nd came the whole way from Halifax on sleighs) that things had pretty well quieted down before they arrived. I remember being so disappointed when I saw them march through the town, that their coats were not red; but a big soldier threw open his grey overcoat, and my small woman's eyes were delighted with the sight of the red coat, which afterward seemed to take possession of the town. We had five of them billeted on us. Every resident was obliged to accommodate a certain number till the Government secured Dennis O'Brian's new block for a barracks.

Hard times followed the rebellion. Flour was \$14.00 a barrel, and small loaves of bakers' bread a York shilling each. To add to the trouble there came an epidemic of hydrophobia. Whether one mad dog did all the damage, or whether it could have been in the air I never heard; but the excitement was intense, and a mad dog chase was a common occurrence. Poor little "Cubie" fell a victim. Most of the cows were bitten and sacrificed; and the loss of milk was a serious hardship to mothers and housekeepers in the prevailing distress.

The residence of the military in our midst, the contract for the barracks, and the start given to building generally, made life easier; and we young folks thought it quite gay. As Dr. O'Flarity, of the 83rd Regiment, lived quite near us on the southeast corner of Richmond and Horton streets, we saw a good deal of what was going on, and were once allowed to attend an amateur performance at a theatre on Wellington street, where the public library now stands. Standing trees supported the board roof and stumps, sawed off pretty evenly, supported the rough board seats. We went in a dark passageway by a door on North street. Dr.

O'Flarity acted the part of a ghost; so I suppose the play was Hamlet, but that I don't remember. There were many complaints of the recklessness and lawlessness of the young officers; no doubt they thought they were out in the woods, and did not take into account the rights of property. As there were no bathrooms in the barracks it was quite a common sight to see squads of men being taken down to the river for a dip. There was one company they called the "flying artillery." It would come rushing down the main street at any hour, and everything had to get out of its way; and it was only just out for a drill, or to exercise the horses.

The most important event of the military life of the early days was the funeral of Col. Maitland. He died at the mess house, about where Garvey's grocery store now stands on Dundas street, and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard. Being in the winter, the coffin was carried on a gun sleigh.

Sir James Alexander took the house opposite ours after the O'Flarity's left, and was very kind and neighborly. He was a fine looking man, very quiet and unassuming in manner; but Lady Alexander was a great sport, and a daring horsewoman. They had high hurdles built on Horton Street near their house, and used to run races and jump on the public street.

The big fires of London are now spoken of as being a blessing, making a way for better buildings; but they were regarded as a terrible calamity at the time; and there were dark suggestions of our town being doomed. I was married at home in 1845 after the burning of the old church (Ash Wednesday, 1846), and before the completion of the new (Ash Wednesday, 1846). Mr. Cronyn said he would not have married me in my father's house if he had had a church for me to go to. The next Sunday we attended services in the Mechanics' Hall, which then stood on the Court House Square, when the alarm of fire was given, and everyone rushed out. There were 190 houses destroyed before the fire was got under control. My eldest son was the first child christened in the New St. Paul's.

When the railway came in 1854 everything was changed. The last signs of pioneer days soon passed away. London was made a city in 1855. St. Paul's chimes called the congregation to worship. My little boys attended the public schools. Business men had private boxes in the post office, from which they took their own mail, and the Great Western train bore our letters twice a day past blocks of houses where I so well remember an unbroken forest.

# The Mackenzies of Hyde Park

By Mrs. Evans, May 17, 1904.

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The researches of the Middlesex Historical Society into the records of the western part of the province have stimulated a spirit of enquiry among the descendants of the earlier settlers, which cannot fail to have interesting results. Reminiscences are the order of the day. Memories are busy recalling facts and circumstances almost forgotten, and that would almost certainly have been entirely forgotten in another generation. The discovery of the old minute book of the Township of London a few weeks ago was a valuable find. It is almost a doomsday book of the township for the year 1820. The first township meeting was held on the first Monday in January, 1819, at the house of Joshua Applegarth, that gentleman acting as clerk. At that time the site of the city was a part of the township, and apparently not regarded as the most important part either. At this meeting the assessors, roadmasters, pound-keepers and wardens were appointed for the current year. In those early days office holding was no sinecure, and the settlers were obliged to take their turn at it. Each year saw almost an entire change of officials. At the second meeting Mr. Duncan Mackenzie was elected town clerk. He held the position for ten years, which must be regarded as a marvel of permanency. He resigned in 1830, and in the next nineteen years the township had no less than eleven clerks, most of them being satisfied with one year's experience.

From the very first Mr. Duncan Mackenzie took an important part in the affairs of the district. He was born on the 12th of August, 1787, at Ruthven in the parish of Moy, Invernesshire, just at the beginning of the throes of the French Revolution. His boyhood was passed among rumors of wars, and it is not surprising that his first act on coming of age was to enlist against Bonaparte. On the second of April, 1808, he joined the Fifth Battalion of Royal Artillery, and remained in active service until the final overthrow of Napoleon, to which he contributed his share at the battle of Waterloo. Immediately after the peace and the consequent disbandment of the troops, Mr. Mackenzie married Margaret Barclay, also a native of Invernesshire, and decided to come to Canada where grants of land were being given to British veterans on the most favorable terms.

Mr. Mackenzie and his wife sailed for Canada in 1817, and

shortly after their arrival, their eldest daughter, Anne, was born at Miramachi, Nova Scotia.

Mr. Mackenzie's objective point was Col. Talbot's residence, as he had the control of all the Government land in this district. They reached Col. Talbot's on the 21st October, 1818, and at once secured a grant of Lot 23, in the fourth concession of London Township. They took possession on the 17th of November, the site of the present City of London being at that time an unbroken forest. The grant consisted of eight hundred acres, but Mr. Mackenzie relinquished six hundred of these to incoming settlers. The log cabin which he first occupied soon grew too small, and "Dalmagarry Cottage" was built, a house that is still standing, and judging from its present appearance, it must have been quite an imposing mansion for those times. A free hospitality was, and is still, exercised within its walls; and there were few Scotchmen in the district that were not acquainted with its interior.

The nearest neighbor was Margaret Routledge, whose brothers gave the name to Hyde Park, and who afterwards married Mr. Carling, father of Sir John Carling. The public notice of the marriage was fastened to a beech tree, which is still standing, and of which Sir John Carling spoke of in his reminiscences before the Society.

On December 19th, 1818, Mr. Mackenzie's second daughter, Mary, was born, the first white female child born in the district, and the oldest living native white person in this neighborhood. She is now eighty-six years of age, in full possession of all her faculties, a regular attendant at the Presbyterian Church at Hyde Park, three-quarters of a mile away, and quite capable of superintending the dinner for the family on Sundays when the weather prevents her attending church. She is also an expert needle-woman, being quite at home on such fine and intricate work as netting, doilies, etc. Mrs. Macdonald resides with her son-in-law, Mr. Donald McMillan, for many years connected with the London Mutual Insurance Company, though now retired.

It is not easy to understand at the present day the difficulties the early settlers had to encounter, particularly settlers from the Old Country, ignorant as they were of the conditions of life in Canada. The long voyage in a sailing vessel across the ocean was the slightest of their troubles. When they came to the St. Lawrence rapids they had fifty miles of jolting over a rough wagon road. At Prescott they were able to take boat for Kingston, seventy miles further up. Toronto, or, as it was then called, York, was a hundred and seventy miles further. From York they crossed to the mouth of the Niagara River, where they again took wagon for Queenston, seven miles distant; and

from that town, still by wagon, to Fort Erie, a distance of twenty-nine miles. At Fort Erie, they took boat for Long Point, eighty miles away, paying £17-6s for the trip. Another boat brought them to Kettle Creek, a distance of sixty miles, for which they paid £3-5s, and £1-1s paid their wagon fare from there to this city. They were just twenty-seven days making the journey from Cornwall to Col. Talbot's house—days that no doubt impressed them strongly, with the extent of their adopted country.

On their farm they had the usual privations of all early settlers, although as this district was settled with comparative rapidity, their hardships was much less than in many other parts of the province. Forty years after Mrs. Duncan Mackenzie settled near Hyde Park, the wolves made it impossible to raise sheep west of Chatham; nor was there a single market for any kind of produce between Chatham and Windsor. And yet there were numerous little settlements scattered through that district as old as Hyde Park settlement.

The absence of roads was, of course, one of the main difficulties with which the early settlers had to contend. Of roads, as we understand them now, there did not exist one in the province. Twenty years after Mr. Mackenzie settled at Hyde Park, the only piece of gravelled road in Ontario was on Yonge Street, between Toronto and Thornhill, about twelve miles. The other roads were just cut through the woods, with trunks of trees thrown across wherever the ground was swampy. Even these "Corduroy roads," as they were called, were few and far between, being the stage routes between the different towns and villages. The ordinary side roads and concession lines were narrow tracks winding among the trees, obstructed here and there with fallen logs, which it was easier to go around than remove, and blazed at intervals, so that in the day time a person with good eye-sight would have very little difficulty in finding his way. Of bridges, there were none; and when streams had to be crossed the road was blazed to a shallow part where it could be forded. At the forks of the river, just below the present Court House, a family named Beverly established a ferry; but its operations were very uncertain. Ague was very prevalent in all these settlements, the Beverly family suffering greatly; and when the passengers had to wait for hours for some one to ferry them across, they used to say they were waiting until some of the family would stop shaking. The ford at the forks was therefore the principle thoroughfare. When our big sewer system was being put down a few years ago, the old corduroy road leading to the ford was struck on Ridout Street, at a depth of seven feet below the surface.

This absence of roads naturally had the effect of isolating the different settlements, and, to a certain extent, every individual settler. Each family was in a measure compelled to be self-sustaining and self-reliant. The first orchard in this neighborhood was planted by Mr. Mackenzie with trees grown from apple seeds which he brought with him from the old country. Instead of handsome cooking stoves the settlers had the crane and pot hooks, which with a pair of tongs decorated every chimney. Each family made its own soap and candles, made its own yarn, and worked it up into mittens, stockings, comforters, etc., and made in fact, most of its own clothes and furniture. For fancy furniture, the neighborhood was indebted to John Fralick, a sort of universal genius living near Byron. He was a good mechanic; and most of the houses contained specimens of his handiwork, amongst them being the big and little spinning-wheels which were in great demand by the women. There are many still living who remember him as a familiar figure about the city. Doctors were unknown, and each household had simple remedies for ordinary complaints. When an emergency occurred it had to be met with the means on hand. Probably the first surgical operation in the township was performed by Mrs. Mackenzie. One of the boys had his toe chopped off with an axe. She promptly fastened it on again, and the operation was as successful as if it had been performed by the College of Physicians.

One of the pleasures which Mrs. Mackenzie's children and grand children well remember was to go out to the bush with her while she would be gathering herbs for these medicinal uses. Not only hyssop and hoar-hound were found, but sweet cicely, squaw-berries, ground nuts, spice wood and crinkley root, to their great delight. Bunches of these herbs adorned the ample kitchen, as well as golden corn braided by the husks, and onions by their tops.

In the large dining-room adjoining, the family gathered in the winter evenings around the open fire with its blazing logs; and while the girls would be knitting or sewing, and the boys engaged in knitting or other occupations, their mother would read aloud—for she was a woman of literary taste and good education for those days. The amusement of the young people consisted chiefly in playing pranks on each other; and many an enjoyable story has come down to the descendants of the mischievous doings of the boys of those days.

The older children had to begin their education at home; but they were not very old when a teacher was secured for the district, and they plodded to school through the woods six days a week. Later, Saturday afternoon was given as a holiday; and

the whole Saturday holiday was introduced about the time of Lennie's Grammar, when the children stood in line in front of the teacher in order of merit, swinging rythmatically from side to side and memorizing lists. This they did with such thoroughness that they could recite those lists with the rapidity of the wind, for instance: The adverbs are so, no, not, nay, yea, yes, too, well, up, very, how, far, now, then, ill, soon, much, here, there, where, whence, thence.

There were in all seven children in Mr. Mackenzie's family. The eldest was Anne, who married William MacMillan, P. L. S., and became the mother of ten children, one of whom, Duncan, represented East Middlesex in the Dominion Parliament, and afterwards became Judge MacMillan. Donald still resides at Hyde Park, and the three daughters, Mrs. Richard J. Evans, and the Misses Kate and Annie, are well known in the city. Four of the sons are living in other parts of Canada and the States. The second daughter, Mary, married Alexander Macdonald and had three children, with one of whom she still lives near the old homestead. She has been already referred to as the oldest living native of the district. Margaret married Wm. Moore, of London, and her family still reside here, one son, John, being a member of the firm of Moore & Henry, architects, and the other, Percy, of Fraser & Moore, barristers. Isabella became Mrs. Patterson, and is still living in Delaware with her daughter; and Sarah is the wife of Dr. Hoare, of Strathroy. Of the sons, George was county clerk of Middlesex until his death in 1891, and John A. is the county judge of Lambton. Altogether there are sixty-five descendants of Duncan Mackenzie living, of whom fifty-two are Canadians.

Whenever a cow was killed the skin was taken to a tanner and half left in payment for sole leather, and a journeyman cobbler stayed at the house and made the family shoes. Incidentally he supplied gum for the children, as they usually stole his wax for that purpose. The first mill was near the waterworks; and corn had to be brought there to be ground. On one occasion when Squire Mackenzie took a load of corn to the mill a storm came on as he was returning home. He took the corn out, sat on it to keep it dry, and held the horse, as he was fearful of losing his way in the intense darkness. At daybreak he found that he was not a quarter of a mile from home.

Not long after Mr. Mackenzie's arrival in Middlesex, the mutterings of the rebellion began, under the leadership of his namesake, William Lyon Mackenzie. Mr. Duncan Mackenzie's military experience was at once utilized, and he received a commission as captain of the first battery of artillery raised in the west. During the trouble he was stationed at Chippewa. When

the rebellion was suppressed he raised and maintained for fifteen years a battery in this city, which was the foundation of the present city battery. He was a thorough soldier, and the spirit survived in his family. One of his grandsons, the late Judge MacMillan, was one of the ensigns who received the first colors presented to the Seventh Regiment. He and another grandson, Percy Moore, served in the Northwest Rebellion, while still another, Harold Mackenzie, son of Judge Mackenzie, of Sarnia, fought in the war in South Africa.

In religion Mr. Mackenzie was an ardent Presbyterian, and was the chairman of the committee that was entrusted with the erection of the First Church of Scotland in this district. The other members of the committee were Messrs. John Michie, John Birrell, William McMillan (Mr. Mackenzie's son-in-law), William Clark and James McLaren. In 1842 Mr. Mackenzie laid the corner stone of St. Andrew's Church. It cost five hundred dollars, and has long since been replaced by the present magnificent structure.

About 1834 Mr. Duncan Mackenzie was appointed a magistrate. There was not much formality in the court over which he presided. Costs cut no figure in the cases—the plaintiff, the defendant and the magistrate talking it over in a friendly way, perhaps by the roadside, and the judgment was quietly accepted and carried out without the interference of the plaintiff. He held this honorable position until the time of his death in 1874.

It would be hard indeed to estimate what the country owes to a man of his strength of character, untiring industry and sterling integrity, who not only carved out a home for himself out of those forest wilds, but was identified with each progressive step in the advancement of the district, and left behind him children and grandchildren to bear the honored name, and revere the memory of those brave pioneers.



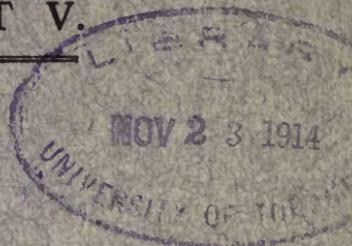
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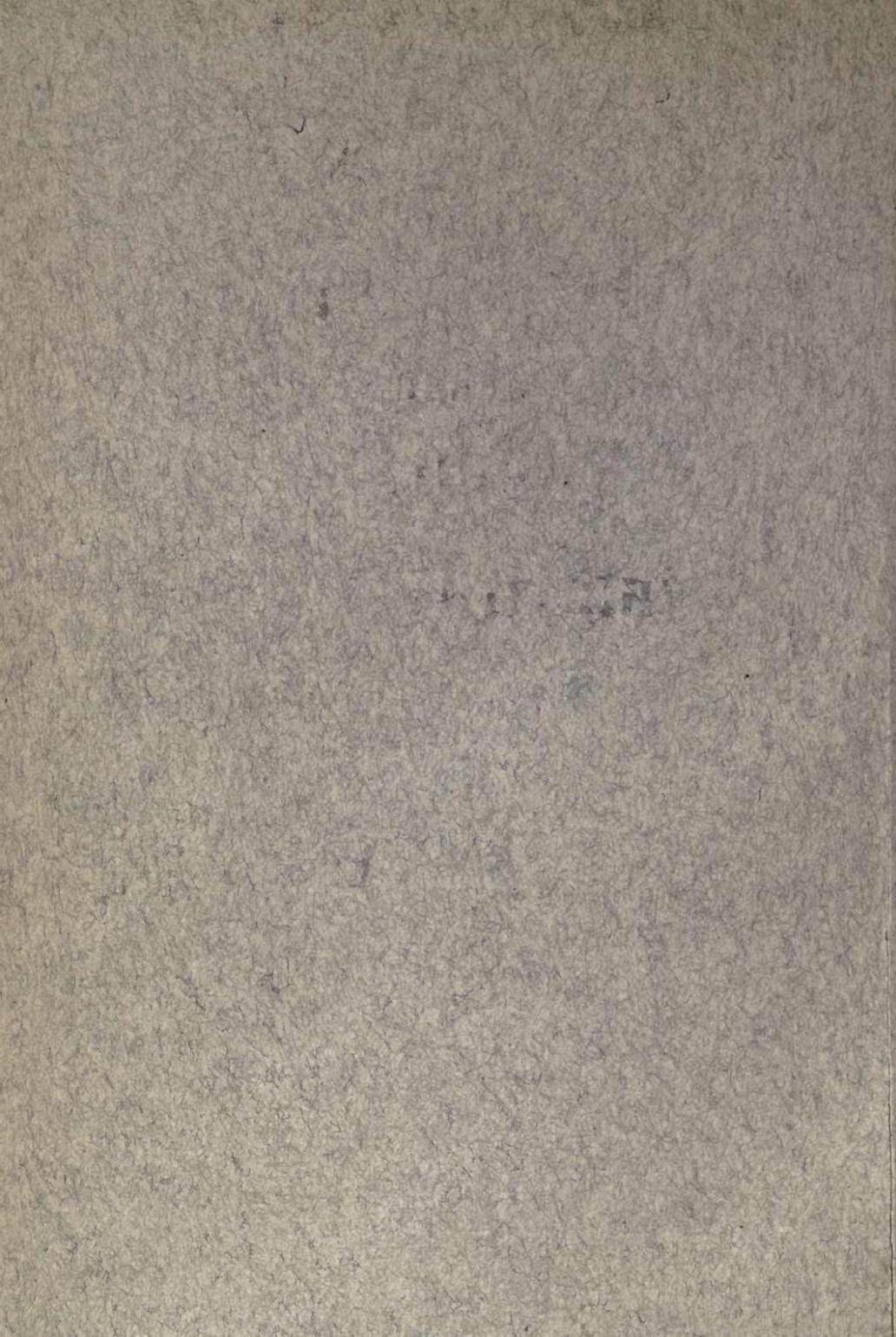
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PART V.

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Historical Society

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PART V.

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Robert Wilson, The Pioneer Teacher

CL. T. CAMPBELL, M.D.

London Public Schools — 1848-1871

C. B. EDWARDS, B.A.

London Grammar School and Collegiate Institute

F. W. C. McCUTCHEON, B.A.

The Western University

N. C. JAMES, B.A., Ph.D.

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1914

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.



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The Public Library Board grants the Society the free use of a room for its meetings, which are held on the third Tuesday evening of each month, from October to April, inclusive, and to which the public are invited—admission always free. Membership in the Society is open to any person interested in its objects, and is maintained by the payment of an annual fee of fifty cents.

**TRANSACTIONS, 1912-13.**

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1912

Oct. 22—The Hundredth Regiment—

**Miss H. Priddis**

Nov. 19—London Public Schools, 1848 to 1871.

**C. B. Edwards, B. A.**

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1913

Jan. 21—London Grammar School and Collegiate Institute.

**F. W. C. McCutcheon, B. A.**

Feb. 18—The Fourth Battalion Middlesex Militia,

**Sheriff D. M. Cameron.**

March 18—Reminiscences of Early London,

**F. E. Perrin, B. A.**

April 15—Early Surveys of Middlesex,

**F. W. Farncombe, C. E.**

May 20—The use of Catalogues in Historical Research,

**W. O. Carson, City Librarian**

Oct. 28—The War of 1812,

**Dr. Severance.**

Dec. 30—Robert Wilson, the Pioneer Teacher.

**Cl. T. Campbell, M. D.**



ROBERT WILSON.



# Robert Wilson, The Pioneer Teacher

By Cl. T. Campbell, M.D.

IT is somewhat singular that the three men of most importance in the pioneer educational work of London bore the same name, though they were unrelated, and of different nationalities. There was John Wilson, barrister, a Scotchman, the first local Superintendent of Education; Nicholas Wilson, an Irishman, one of the first teachers appointed, and a member of the staff for more than half a century; and Robert Wilson, an Englishman, and the first teacher in London who had a professional training in a Normal school. John Wilson's name as a lawyer, a member of Parliament and a judge, is written in Canada's history; Nicholas Wilson's name is endeared to two generations of Londoners; Robert Wilson's name is forgotten by all but perhaps a few of the older residents of the city. Let me recall for you the personality of one whose career of usefulness was cut short by an untimely death.

Robert Wilson was born in Hull, England, and came to Canada with his parents in 1830, when he was but a little more than thirteen. His father, Christopher Wilson, had followed a business somewhat on the line of commission merchant, selling principally for the farmers in his neighborhood. His association with agricultural work probably turned his attention to the idea of a settler's life in the colonies, and he emigrated to this country with a family of six children and his wife. He secured from Mr. Talbot a farm on the 12th concession of London Township, near the Lobo town line, about two miles south of the present village of Denfield, and leaving part of his family in Toronto, came with Robert and three other boys to London.

One can hardly imagine the feelings of a family of settlers like these as they surveyed the site of their new home. Before them an unbroken stretch of forest—the road by which they reached their destination only an embryo extension of the concession line from the better settled district to the east. No sound to strike the ear except such as nature might provide—the murmuring winds among the forest leaves, the singing of woodland birds, and the chirping of the smaller game that looked with inquisitive eyes on the strange visitors; while “the wolf's lone howl” or snarling bark from the dense thicket added a gruesome melody. But the pioneers had no time to admire the

beauties of nature, or grow nervous over unaccustomed sounds. They must set to work and build a home.

And a primitive home it had to be—a typical settlers' log cabin. There was no material but what the woods supplied; and no tools but the few the settlers brought with them. Lumber, bricks, glass—such luxuries were not for them. The house was built of logs undressed, laid one above the other, pinned by wooden stakes at the angles, and chinked with mud. The rafters and sleepers were of the larger limbs. The roof was of the clap-board variety—logs of oak, sawn into three feet lengths, and then split into slabs as thin as the grain of the wood might permit; these placed in position were tied down with strands of basswood bark. The floor was of logs split and laid with the convex side down. Windows and doors there were none; the spaces for those useful appurtenances being covered when necessary by extemporized curtains held in place in stormy weather by branches of trees. There was no time to put up a chimney and no bricks to make it with. But a hole was cut in the roof at the spot where the fireplace should be, and on the ground beneath the fire was started when required. Doubtless, many a time young Robert sat here with his brothers on the floor, with his feet hanging down, toasting his shins at the blaze, and watching the smoke as it curled upward through the hole in the roof where the chimney was to be. Of course, this was only the beginning. As fast as circumstances would permit, and material could be obtained, improvements were added. Doors and windows found their proper place; the chimney reared itself through the roof; the hearth appeared with its swinging crane, its pot hooks and hangers; the single room was partitioned off into apartments; and comfort succeeded to the hardships of the earlier days.

It was in these conditions that young Wilson commenced his life in Canada. The days were spent in hard work, clearing the land, planting the grain, tapping the maple trees, and making the sugar, gathering in the little harvest, patching up the log cabin, and adding to the primitive and unique furniture with which it was furnished. Father and sons, mother and daughters, had to be jacks of all trades and try their hands at everything for which to-day we go to the merchant and mechanic. There was no time for school and no school to attend. But whenever a spare moment could be snatched, Robert utilized it; for he was a natural student. He had received a rudimentary education before he left England, and he wanted more. Books were not easily obtainable, but wherever one could be borrowed or bought he availed himself of the opportunity. And the results of his work showed that after all, books are not absolutely necessary to

acquiring knowledge. It is the student himself more than his accessories that really counts.

A hard life this may seem to us; and yet it had its pleasures and recreations. For Robert there was always nature to be studied, and books to be read: Social life became more available. The township increased in population, neighbors came within riding distance, and then near enough to be reached by walking. Visits and social intercourse developed. Robert had taught himself to play on the flute and the violin and was a welcome guest wherever he went. The young people often gathered for an evening at the Wilson home, where music and games and dancing gave relief from the daily toil.

So he grew to manhood. Tall and slim, six feet in height, agile and alert in body and limb, with a smooth face and rosy complexion, brown hair, and bright brown eyes, with a clear, pleasant voice and a cheery smile. When, during the rebellion, he enlisted in the loyal militia, and as one of the London cavalry troop, he mounted his horse, and rode forth in defense of Queen and country, there were few more handsome lads among the yeoman soldiery of Upper Canada.

His military experience was devoid of results in itself, for there was no fighting to be done. But it was of decided service to him, in that it largely extended his circle of acquaintance, and brought him into contact with some men of culture from whose society he derived great benefit, and who gave him material assistance in extending the circle of his studies, and developing his own mental faculties. To none, perhaps, was he more indebted than to Mr. John Wilson, who became his guide and friend. Himself a country school teacher in his younger days, he could appreciate a young man's efforts at self-improvement, and sympathize with him in his ambitions. He seems to have been very much attracted by his young namesake, who, in return, gave him love and loyalty that lasted through life.

As he developed, Robert Wilson became satisfied that there was something else before him than a farmer's life. And as he realized that, under his circumstances, in trying to teach others he could teach himself, he commenced a little school in his own neighborhood. For this work he was already as well fitted as the average teacher. There was then no regular training for persons entering that profession in Canada, and no particular qualifications demanded. Anyone who felt so disposed could start a school, and if he could get enough people to send their children and pay the fees, his purpose was accomplished. While there were a few educated teachers, many took up this work because they could think of nothing better to do. Discharged soldiers, crippled mechanics, old women without any means of support,

and young people anxious to make a little money, tried their unfamiliar hand at the pedagogue's art. Wilson had better qualifications than most of these, for he had already learned more than the average backwoods settler, and more than many of his own age in the young and growing towns and villages. His success was apparent from the first, and he shortly after made a more ambitious movement to a better settled section on the 7th concession.

But even this soon proved too limited a field, and about 1842 or 1843 (I cannot find the precise date) he moved into the flourishing police village of London, bringing his niece with him as housekeeper. He opened his school first in a building on Ridout street, north of Dundas, but subsequently moved it to more commodious quarters in the new Mechanics' Institute building on the Court House Square. Here he taught for several years with marked success. He was well suited for the work. Apart altogether from his educational qualifications, he knew how to handle young people. Courteous and agreeable in his manner, kind and sociable in his disposition, he soon acquired the confidence and esteem of his pupils. He tried to make their lessons pleasant, and to interest them in their work. He did not confine himself to the then common practise of trying to drill a few lessons into them by rote, but endeavored rather to broaden their conceptions, and make them think for themselves. At the same time he was a firm disciplinarian; only the iron hand was concealed under the velvet glove.

It was about this time that he began to extend his activities outside the schoolroom. His school being held in the Mechanics' Institute building, it was but natural that he should associate himself with that organization, more especially as it was itself intended for educational purposes; and all the more because he saw that he could make it helpful for himself in his professional work, while he was helping a laudable undertaking.

Mechanics' Institutes had been inaugurated in England about 1823 by Dr. Birkbeck. The movement became very popular; spread rapidly over England; and was soon introduced into the colonies. Its object was the associating of artisans for their mutual improvement. This they affected by studying the elementary principles as well as the methods of their trades, and at the same time enlarging their acquaintance with matters outside their own occupation. They had classes and lectures, not only by skilled mechanics on their own work, but on general subjects by professional men. They had their working rooms, their reading rooms, and not least of all their libraries. In fact the movement may be considered the commencement of the public library as an educational institution.

In Canada there were institutes in Toronto and Kingston, as is evidenced by the appearance in the public accounts of grants to them in 1835. A third seems to have followed in Hamilton in 1839. And the next appears to have been in London, where it was permanently organized on the 1st of January, 1841. Apparently it must have existed in some form even before this date, for at an early meeting in the year the minutes refer to the securing of some books from the old Mechanics' Institute. Of this primitive Institute, however, I have not been able to obtain any further record.

The list of the first officers embraces the names of some who were at the time leading citizens, but became still more prominent in after years. They were nearly all workmen, or what might be termed master mechanics, though a few merchants and others appear on the roll. Marcus Holmes, carriage builder, was the first president; Ed. Matthews, builder, and S. Morrill, tanner, were the vice-presidents; J. Farley, a merchant, was one of the secretaries; Robert Fennel, a harness maker, whose shop was for many years a prominent feature of York street, west of Ridout, was treasurer. Others who attached themselves to the young association were men like Elijah Leonard and Wm. McBride, whose names are still remembered by those who knew London as late as two score years ago.

The institute grew and prospered. It commenced to accumulate a library; it obtained lectures not only from its active members, but from professional men like John Wilson, H. C. R. Becher, Rev. Dr. Cronyn, and the Rev. Mr. Proudfoot—first of that name. The first meetings were held in what they called the Seminary, or Government school building, then presided over by the Rev. F. Wright, soon to be followed by the Rev. B. Bayley. Then they had their meetings in the Methodist Episcopal Church further north on Ridout street.

But with their growth they became ambitious, and decided on having a home of their own. They secured a site from the County Council on the Court House Square, midway between the Seminary and the military magazine. Subscriptions and donations were gathered in to the extent of something over \$1,200, and before long they had their building ready for occupation, though it was not completed and fully equipped for a few years. It was of a somewhat Grecian style of architecture, constructed of wood, with a roof forming an acute angle with the sides of the building and a very obtuse angle at the apex. When completed, a row of pillars upheld the overhanging second story. The old structure, in a modified and rather dilapidated form, may still be seen on Talbot street, just north of Dundas, where it fills the useful but not ornamental purposes of a blacksmith's shop.

Wilson was not one of the original members of the institute, but he joined it subsequently, and became very active, filling at times the office of secretary.

His success as a teacher ought to have been satisfactory, but he desired to improve himself still further. The first training school for teachers was opened in 1847—the Normal School of Toronto. And the next year he appeared there as a student. He was the first man from London to obtain a normal school training, Mr. Nicholas Wilson following him the year after.

In 1848, the amended school act came into force, and a board of trustees was elected for London, and entered on its duties in the beginning of the year, John Wilson, barrister, being chosen as local superintendent of education. Four teachers were appointed at a salary of £50 a year and fees, the schools not being then free. Mr. Nicholas Wilson was one of the first appointments. But these men had not been trained professionally, and in its desire to secure the best talent available, the board wrote to Robert Wilson, offering him a school with a salary of £60 and fees amounting to six shillings and three pence, to ten shillings for each pupil. The offer was accepted, and he entered on his duties in May. That his work here was successful may be gathered from that fact that the superintendent of education in his report the following year, made special reference to the superiority of Robert Wilson's school, and the excellent results obtained by the only teacher who taught on the new normal system.

The need for enlarged school accommodation for the growing town soon became apparent. The late A. S. Abbott, for so many years our city clerk, was at that time collector of taxes. In the course of his house-to-house visitations, he was attracted by a vacant block, bounded by Waterloo and Colborne, King and York Streets. It was a little one-sided, but the town was growing in that direction. So he brought the matter to the attention of the local authorities who approved the idea; and Mr. John Wilson, superintendent of education, had sufficient influence with the Government to secure a grant of land. And here the board undertook the erection of what was so long known as the Union school.

In the preliminary work of preparing for this school, Robert Wilson was especially active, even going to New York in connection with the plans for the building. It was opened in 1850. Not unnaturally he expected the appointment of head master. Instead of that he was given the place of assistant, with a salary of £120—Mr. Nicholas Wilson being made principal. He was disappointed, and always attributed the action of the board to political prejudice. It is too far away from the time for us to be sure if there were any grounds for this belief. But we know that such

things do occur at times; and in 1849 and 1850, political feeling was very bitter in a certain class of London people. Be that as it may, his enthusiasm was certainly dampened, and in June of his first year he resigned. Mr. Nicholas Wilson's tenure of office did not last much longer, for he was superseded in 1851 by Mr. Hamilton Hunter.

Whether or not Robert Wilson intended resuming his profession later, I do not know. But there was no opportunity in London at the time. So he went into mercantile life, starting a general store on Dundas street, opposite the market. And this he advertised as a "temperance store." That was a novelty. All general stores sold liquor. In fact, it was the prevailing beverage. Many of the leading citizens were distillers and brewers. Taverns were found at every street corner, as well as along the block. The county roads had them located every mile or two. And the effects on the population were sufficiently marked to attract the attention of travellers from the old country like Mrs. Jamison, who speaks with some disgust of the drunkenness she saw on London streets.

But the leaven of temperance was beginning to work. There were a few active citizens who were not only total abstainers themselves, but were commencing to preach the gospel of social reform. Mr. Simeon Morrill, a tanner, and Robert Wilson, among others, organized societies of Sons of Temperance and Daughters of Temperance. They had public lectures and private entertainments. These societies became rivals for popularity with the tavern, and attracted quite a few young men by their facilities for social enjoyment. I have been told that among these pioneer "Sons" was a certain Mr. John Carling (not unknown to the present generation), though he subsequently entered upon an occupation which interfered with his membership. In the temperance movement Robert Wilson took a prominent part.

He continued his store for a year or two, and then, I understand, disposed of his stock to Mr. C. T. Priddis, who carried on the business as a dry goods establishment. I think Mr. Priddis was the first London merchant to confine himself exclusively to dry goods. Wilson then took up auctioneering for a livelihood. He erected a house for himself on William street, just south of the creek—an evidence of how the town was spreading eastward. Meantime he was interesting himself in civic affairs, and was recognized as a useful and enterprising citizen. In 1854 he was elected one of the councillors for St. George's Ward, having for his colleagues two men well known in London, who became still more prominent subsequently—Mr. John Carling and Mr. Wm. Barker.

His active career, however, was soon to close. In the April

of that year he was stricken with typhoid fever, and passed away at the end of the month. On the first of May his friends and fellow-citizens met at his house and viewed his face for the last time; then the funeral cortege moved on to London Township, and in the family plot in St. George's churchyard, on the 13th concession, they laid him away to rest.

Mr. Wilson was twice married. It was during his brief military career that he met the lady who became his first wife—Miss Ann Coyne, of a well-known Elgin County family. She only lived about a year, and died, leaving a baby girl, who soon followed her. His second wife was Miss Charlotte Cudmore of Woodstock, who survived him many years. There were also three children, two boys and a girl. I understand the boys are still living in the United States.

In religion he was an Anglican. In politics he was originally a Conservative, like most of Mr. Talbot's band of settlers in London Township. I use the word "Conservative" as the modern title of the old political "Family Compact" party. In later years his views seem to have changed. I never heard any explanation of the change, but I can readily imagine how it might have occurred. Mr. John Wilson was the Conservative member of Parliament for London; but he was greatly disgusted with the rioters who burned down the Parliament buildings in Montreal during the stormy period of Lord Elgin's rule. And he was especially displeased with the conduct of many of his own party leaders in condoning the disloyalty and turbulence of the Montreal mob. He did not hesitate to give expression to his feelings, with the result that in his own town he evolved a very bitter antagonism among many who had been his supporters. Robert Wilson was one of his most intimate and loyal friends; and I can readily understand that he followed his leader in his political views. And it is quite possible that in doing this he brought about the opposition which prevented his appointment to the principalship of the Union School.

I have endeavored to give you some idea of Robert Wilson's appearance and character. Of his attainments it seems difficult to speak in terms of moderation, when his opportunities are considered. With no scholastic training except his few months at the Normal School, but by his own untiring diligence and perseverance, aided by the sympathy and support of the better educated few who knew and appreciated him, but whose help could have been but casual at most, he became one of the best teachers of his day. He was a fairly accomplished musician, an artist of no mean ability, a poet whose verses, I am told, compare not unfavorably with the work of much better known men. That such a life as his promised to be should have been cut short untimely

by his early death, before he had reached the age of two score, was a loss to the community in which he lived, and of which he was an ornament.

Lest I may be thought to have drawn on my imagination, and be uttering praise undeserved, I will close with a few lines from a letter written by one who knew him well, and whose qualifications for the formation of a judicial opinion will be readily admitted by the members of the Historical Society. In a letter received from him a few days ago, his honor the veteran Judge D. J. Hughes of St. Thomas, writes:

"I knew and well remember Robert Wilson, as a teacher in the public school in London, an acquaintance that commenced with his service as a volunteer at the time of the rebellion in 1837 . . . . He was a pleasing, outspoken Yorkshire man, a typical English schoolmaster. He was well-trained and possessed a kindly, straightforward way which would have well received the polish of a higher education if he had possessed the opportunities not within his reach. He had musical talents which only needed cultivation to make them conspicuous; and his taste for poetry was evidenced by original verse that I have often enjoyed reading. But like many another aspirant for fame he was kept covered by want of a just appreciation of capable people of whom at that time there were few."

Mr. E. Clissold, of Ottawa, a pupil of Robert Wilson, writes as follows:

"Under Mr. Wilson's genial direction I got along well for the short time that I could be spared from work for I really loved the teacher, and loved to learn. Not only that, but Robert Wilson encouraged my taste for reading, letting me have ready access to his library at his home (near the corner of Richmond and St. James streets) where I was welcomed by his family, and found a congenial companion in his nephew, the late Michael Pickering, brother of Mrs. John H. Morgan, now of 546 Richmond street.

"Robert Wilson had the happy faculty of making his school attractive. He loved music, and he organized a good glee club, composed of his more advanced scholars, who sang at the temperance meetings for which the "Old Mechanics Institute" was in old times famous. Some of the members of this Glee Club whose names I remember were the late Adam Begg, and his sister the late Mrs. McIntosh, Waterloo and Dundas Street; Mrs. J. H. Morgan (nee Pickering), and her brother Michael; Mrs. Alfred Rowland St., (nee Clissold), besides many others—forming a merry band who lent attraction and charm to functions that otherwise might have savored of dullness."

# London Public Schools, 1848-1871

By C. B. Edwards, B.A.

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**I**N a new country people are so strenuously struggling to make a living that the common occurrences of home life, the daily toil, municipal and provincial affairs are taken as a matter of course, and little or no thought is given to recording passing events that would prove of deep interest to succeeding generations.

Probably at no time in the world's history has there been such a scientific and skilful effort to ascertain the true facts that are so necessary to write history that is reliable and trustworthy as has been the case during the past half century. Costly excavations have been undertaken, inscriptions have been deciphered, and ancient documents collected. The first two of these are not necessary in writing Canadian History, but a great deal can be done in the way of collecting documentary materials.

The various historical societies in Canada are doing a splendid work in this respect and are thus preserving a mass of information that will be of immense benefit to the historian who will write the story of our country. In this history a considerable part assuredly will be devoted to an account of how the young people were trained to take their part in the social, industrial and political life of Canada.

The Public School, as we have it in Canada, is a legacy from the new England States which made a virtue of giving all the children a thorough grounding in elementary Education. Shortly after the Pilgrim Fathers settled in Massachusetts they established schools for all the youth of the community, but it is to Horace Mann that they owe a debt of gratitude as the founder of the present-day system of Public Schools in the United States, an honor that we in Ontario pay to Dr. Ryerson.

The old Grammar schools now High schools and the Universities were modelled after the English pattern. Concerning the High School I shall say but little leaving to Principal McCutcheon a subject that is replete with interesting facts and valuable information.

The late Mr. Nicholas Wilson contributed to the London Free Press in 1894 the following account of the first teachers in London. "The best school in London in those early days was established about the year 1838 by Mr. William Taylor. Mr. Taylor was a man of fine physique, good education and consider-

able experience as a teacher. He came to Canada from Queen's County, Ireland, where he had kept an Academy for some years. He opened his school in a house on Talbot street, just south of York, but subsequently erected a more suitable building on Horton street, near Talbot, in which he taught for several years. The young Londoners who attended school before the establishment of the Public Schools, received their education principally from Mr. Taylor. He died about 1848.\*

The Mr. Taylor spoken of was a graduate of Trinity College Dublin, and the grandfather of the writer's "better-half."

No records exist of organized common schools for the Town of London prior to 1848.

The minutes of the "Board of Common Schools for the Town of London," which met the 15th of January that year, record that "The following gentlemen were selected as the Board of Trustees for Common Schools for the Town of London, by the Mayor and Council of the said town, as required by 10 and 11 Vic., Cap. 19, entitled an Act for amending the Common School of Upper Canada for the year 1848." Then follows the names, viz., Samuel Eccles, William Begg, Harding O'Brien, Henry Dalton, John S. Buchanan, Henry Mathewson. At this meeting John Wilson, Esq., (afterwards Hon. Mr. Justice Wilson) was appointed Superintendent.

Four teachers were engaged for the year at a salary of £50 each. The teachers chosen were Nicholas Wilson, Mr. Fraser, Joseph Cortishly and Robert Rogers. The four schools were designated St. George's, St. Patrick's, St. Andrew's and St. David's, which would indicate a courteous and thoughtful regard for the patron saints of the various nationalities\* inhabiting the British Isles, and further seem to indicate that representatives of each were to be found in the new town. The Board fixed the minimum rate for pupils at 2s 6d per quarter, and authorized the use of the Irish National School Books. It appears that the mayor, Henry Dalton, was ex-officio a member and chairman of the school board. Among the business transacted by the Board in 1848 was the decision to erect a new school to accommodate 350 or 400 pupils at a cost of £400, which sum, it appears, was readily voted by the council. The total expenditure for the year was £281 6s 11½d.

The minutes of the succeeding years are very interesting in showing the frequent changes of teachers, the names of those who served as trustees, some of whom afterwards rose

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\*Prior to this date the District Grammar School, or Seminary, as it was commonly called, was the only school receiving Government aid; all other schools were private ventures.

\*The four wards of the village bore these names.

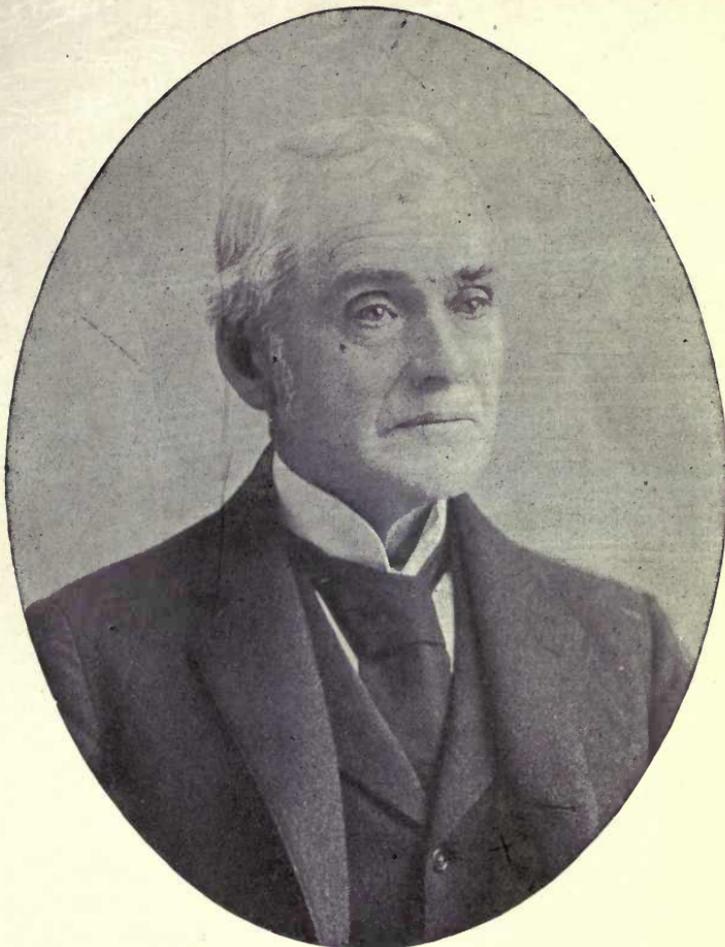
to high rank in Provincial and Dominion affairs, and the committees of citizens appointed to manage the various schools.

A report to the board at the close of 1848 shows that 362 pupils were enrolled during the year, with an average attendance of 252, of whom 193 were boys and 94 girls. There must be some error here, as 193 and 94 do not make 252. The superintendent declined to accept a salary; the secretary was a member of the board, and the treasurer received the munificent reward of £2 per annum.

At a meeting on the 29th May, 1849, tenders for the new school were accepted at a total cost of £1,329, the contracts being let to Mr. John Beattie for carpenter work, Mr. Joseph F. Rolfe brick and stone work, and Mr. Henry Roots for plastering. This building when erected was known as the Central School. It appears from the minutes of the school board that the buildings, or at least some of them, used for school purposes were rented.

Among the names of the trustees for 1850, the following appear: Messrs. John (afterwards Sir John) Carling, George Magee, William Elliot, who afterwards became county judge. The latter was elected as secretary and Mr. Henry Dalton as chairman for the year. At a meeting in February of this year, Mr. Nicholas Wilson was appointed head master of the town schools at a salary of £150 per annum. At the same meeting it was decided to secure, if possible, a female teacher, at a salary of £65 per annum. This, I believe, was the first woman that was employed, and it can be seen that, considering the value of money in those days, the salary was not a mean one, the pound being four dollars in our money. At a subsequent meeting it was resolved to engage two female teachers in the persons of Misses Haigh and Wharing, who were the pioneers of hundreds of others who have since that time given splendid service in the cause of education in London.

On March the 5th, the following motion was adopted: "Proposed by Mr. Mathewson, seconded by Mr. Carling, that the head master be requested to have the female school dismissed in the evenings at ten minutes before the male departments." Mention has already been made of the fact that all pupils attending the "Common Schools" had to pay fees varying from 2s 6d to 7s 6d per quarter, but at the meeting of the school board on the 15th March, 1850, the following motion was adopted: "That the trustees are of the opinion that the schools should be supported by an assessment upon property, and that the mayor and the town council be requested to carry out the same." Fees, however, were not entirely abolished till 1870.



NICHOLAS WILSON



The meeting of the trustees on the 12th December, 1850, was held in the Town Hall, and Mr. A. S. Abbott was chosen secretary pro tem, work having grown to such an extent that it proved too onerous for a member of the board to transact. Mr. Abbott was on the 19th December appointed as secretary to the board, a position he faithfully filled for over forty-two years. During all these years we have the minutes of the board written out in Mr. Abbotts' plain, precise handwriting, indicating the care and method which he exercised in carrying out his heavy duties—for we must remember that for most of this time he was, in addition to being secretary of the school board, clerk of the Corporation of the City of London. In connection with the place of holding the meetings of the school trustees in the years 1848-9-50, the minutes of many of the meetings begin as follows, after stating the date: "The trustees met at Mr. Balkwell's Inn." Subsequent to December, 1850, most of the meetings of the school board were held in the Town Hall till the completion of the City Hall, the first meeting in which was held on the 7th December, 1855. Thereafter the meetings of the board have always been held in the City Hall, except for a time in 1864-65, when they were held in the Central School.

A school census showed that on December 31st, 1850, there were 1850 children between the ages of four and sixteen in the Town of London.

During the year 1851, Mr. Hamilton Hunter was appointed head master of the common schools at a salary of £200 per annum, a position he retained till 1855, being succeeded by J. B. Boyle, Esq. During the year 1853, among the teachers who resigned was Peter Murtagh, who was succeeded by John Taafe, while among the women appointed was Miss Corrigan. In the early fifties Mr. Peter McCann was appointed by the board to collect the school rates.

In July, 1854, at a meeting of the Common School trustees, a deputation from the board of Grammar School trustees appeared. On motion of Hon. J. G. Goodhue (of the Grammar School Board), seconded by John Carling, Esq., it was resolved to unite the boards, if suitable arrangement could be made. The proposed union was not effected, however, until eleven years later.

Besides the names of trustees already mentioned who were members of the school board during the years 1848 to 1856 were Messrs. Alex. Johnston, E. W. Hyman (father of the Hon. C. S. Hyman), Samuel McBride and James Egan, the latter of whom is, I believe, the only survivor. Mr. Egan was instrumental in establishing a library in connec-

tion with the schools and many years afterwards was a member of the Public Library Board.

If other sources of information were lacking that the population of the new city was increasing the efforts of the trustees, as shown by the minutes of the board, to obtain additional accommodation in the Firemen's Hall and afterwards in the hospital would indicate that such was the case. The city council was requested to furnish £3,000 wherewith to buy land and erect a school house. This request was made at a meeting of the Board on the 2nd of September, and at a meeting on the 16th of the same month, the chairman reported that the request for funds had been unanimously granted. Truly the early city fathers acted with promptness that to-day seems almost unbelievable.

One hundred pounds was voted in 1855 for a library for the use of the schools of the city and £10 for chemical apparatus. The minutes of 1856 record a motion to declare the 24th of May a holiday in the schools.

In 1857 the City Council, upon application of the Board of Trustees, granted the latter the unappropriated clergy reserve fund, which was expended in the purchase of school sites and the building of school houses, the total amount being £4,500.

The Horton Street School, now Brener's Cigar Factory, was opened in 1856, and the next year a small frame building with two rooms was placed on the eastern side of the Union School Block, at a cost of £159, the contractor being Mr. R. F. Mathews.

It is apparent that the summer vacation was in the early days of very short duration, for in 1857 the board only allowed three weeks, beginning the 3rd of August, but the next year the time was extended to four weeks.

The following extract from the report of Principal Boyle, August, 1857, indicates the number of pupils assigned to a teacher in the "old days:" "In order to instruct efficiently the 268 children transferred to the Juvenile School, a staff of three teachers would be required; but in a short time after removal many of the younger children will be withdrawn on the approach of winter. Having this in view, then, the more prudent course to pursue would be to open the school with only **two teachers**—a monitor from the senior class of the Union School can be sent to them."

On the 2nd November, 1857, a tender was received for 150 cords of dry wood at 2s 6d per cord (about 60 cents per cord). Truly the cost of living in those days was not excessive in the matter of fuel.

Up to 1857 all the children in London attended the Common Schools, but in this year R. C. Separate Schools were established, and most of the children of Roman Catholics were in consequence withdrawn from the Public Schools.

It is interesting to note that in the year 1858 the accounts of the board were for the first time kept in dollars and cents.

Two of the most important items of business, as indicated by the number of motions relating thereto appearing upon the minutes, were: salaries of teachers and appointment and salary of janitors. In this year the salary of the principal was \$900; male teachers \$550; female ranged from \$380 to \$250; while the secretary, who was also city clerk, received \$60.

In February, 1858, it was decided that in future the meetings of the board would be held on the first Tuesday of every month, which is continued up to the present time.

A motion in the March meeting of this year was: "That the Scriptures be introduced into the Common Schools of the city to be read as the morning and evening lessons," was voted down. The following amendment carried: "That the teachers be required to open and close school with that form of prayer recommended by the Board of Education."

An indication of the rich agricultural land within the city limits and the thriftiness of the janitors is the adoption of the following motion: "That James Boyce, janitor, be permitted to plant potatoes on the Central School grounds among the trees."

A month or two later, however, he was directed by the board to keep the school grounds perfectly clean, and "that cows, hogs or geese be not permitted to pasture thereon." It was further decided at the same meeting to rescind a resolution of keeping the schools open on Saturday.

A school was opened on Talbot Street in a rented house in September of this year (1858), and later, in the same year, a small school was erected where the present Talbot Street School now stands.

Among the new members of the trustees elected in the years 1859 and 1860 were Messrs. S. H. Graydon and A. G. Smyth, the latter of whom is still living, comparatively hale and hearty at the age of 89.

The efforts of the board to furnish better school buildings and to meet the requirement of an increasing population apparently met with some adverse criticism, as is always the case, for in the August meeting of 1859 we find that the following motion was unanimously adopted: "That Mr. G. G. Magee (chairman) be thanked for the able manner in which he defended this board from the charges of extravagances appearing in the city press."

The frequent reference to Principal Boyle which appear in the minutes of the Board show us that he possessed in no slight degree the confidence and support of that body. Not only was the selection and placing of teachers often left in his hands, but the administration of the rules of the board was vested in him.

In 1860 Mr. Hamilton Hunter, one of the teachers in the Union School, resigned after many years' very efficient service.

The great event in the school year was the visit of H. R. H. Edward, Prince of Wales, which took place on the 12th of September. The arrangements were very elaborate and numerous. The board appointed Messrs. Graydon, Ross and Hunter in conjunction with Principal Boyle to prepare the programme. A platform costing \$240 was erected on which were assembled the children. The following is an account of the reception of the Prince as contained in Vol. II. of Historical Educational Papers and Documents of Ontario:

"At London the royal carriage stopped in the centre of the semi-circular erection that had been built for the children of the public schools. Here the little ones, to the number of 3,000, commenced cheering and waving their handkerchiefs, and when the royal carriage was drawn up in front of them, sang the National Anthem in good style. This was one of the most interesting sights of the day. The departure of the Prince, like his arrival, was the signal for loud cheering on the part of the youngsters, and their little voices seemed to vie with each other in doing honor to their royal visitor."

The platform was erected on the east side of Richmond Street, opposite Kent Street, on the ground where now stands the Christian Science Church.

The policy of affording accommodation for the increasing school population led to the erection of two new brick schools, one on Horton Street, and the other on Bond (Princess Avenue), which were completed in 1862. It will be noted that the custom in early years had been to erect wooden school houses in the outlying districts to be supplanted later by brick structures.

The need of a place in which the pupils might properly receive physical training was met in 1861 by the erection, by popular subscription, of a gymnasium on the Union School grounds.

A subject that created considerable discussion in the years 1861-62 was a proposal to provide separate accommodation for the colored children attending the schools. The matter was debated at length at many meetings of the board. The local and chief superintendents of education were appealed to as to the legality of such an action, but, apparently, no satisfactory

solution could be arrived at. Finally, however, in 1862, a resolution was adopted that separate accommodation for colored children be provided when financially practicable. This condition has not yet been reached.

The requests by the authorities of various religious denominations for the use of the schools for public worship and as Sunday schools were very numerous, and would seem to indicate that London was poorly supplied with churches. As a usual thing these requests were denied, which, in some cases, brought upon members of the board a severe criticism from clergymen whose requests were refused. It was held by the trustees that as the schools were for all denominations it would be creating distinctions to grant the request of one denomination unless all received the same favor. Another reason for the refusal given was that the use of the schools for these meetings so disarranged the rooms that there was considerable trouble in preparing them for the day school.

In 1862 a teacher of vocal music was added to the staff, and in 1863, on motion of Messrs. Webb and Robert Gunn, it was decided that military drill should be taught in the schools, and that the brigade major be asked to furnish an instructor.

In this same year the Hon. Mr. Justice Wilson, local superintendent of schools, resigned a position which he had held continuously since 1848, with the exception of the period from 1852 to 1856, inclusive, when the Rev. W. F. Clarke occupied it.

The report which he made on his retirement from office was an important public document, as it summarizes in a clear and comprehensive manner the rise and progress of the common schools in the City of London. It is worthy of note that although there was in London a Grammar School that few of the city pupils attended it, but received instructions in the classical subjects and higher mathematics in the senior departments of the Central School. I have thought it wise to add to Judge Wilson's report that of Bishop Cronyn, who was his successor in office. The salary paid to the local superintendents was \$100 per annum; and both Judge Wilson and Bishop Cronyn devoted this sum annually to the purchase of books, which were given as prizes to the pupils attending the schools.

In the early sixties the City of London had for its local superintendents of public schools the Hon. Mr. Justice John Wilson and the Right Reverend Bishop Cronyn. The reports of the public school system and its capabilities by these two distinguished men will be read with special interest, as they are comprehensive in their character and thoroughly practical in their purpose and objects.

**The London City Schools, by the Honorable Mr. Justice John Wilson:**

“On severing the tie which has connected me for so many years with the work of education in this city, it may not be out of place to review the past, compare it with the present, and calmly rest our hopes of the future upon these considerations.

“I can refer with much satisfaction to the part I took in securing from spoilation the valuable block of land upon which the Central School now stands; and to the support and encouragement I was enabled to give the school trustees in their struggle for the erection of the buildings and the extension of the city public school system. I have watched with deep interest every effort of the Board to establish upon a firm basis a system which might confer the benefits of a sound, liberal education upon the whole youth of the municipality—open to all, adapted to the talents and wants of all. How far a design so comprehensive and so noble in its aim has succeeded, I purpose now to show. In the year 1850, the teachers employed were five—three males and two females; the number of children entered in the school during the year was 598; the average attendance was only 337. In 1855, when, according to the public records, the population of the city was over 16,000, the teachers were increased to twelve, and the number of children entered in the schools to 1,823, and the average attendance to 726. Although on enquiry I learn that the population is now (1863) practically no greater than in 1855, yet the pupils entered during the past year have increased to 2,825, the daily average attendance to 1,373 and the number of teachers employed to 22. But, if the Roman Catholic pupils were united now, as they were then, with the general school system, we would both have the number of pupils and teachers increased upwards of 100 per cent. in eight years, while the gross population of the city remains about as it was. This seems more than most sanguine friends of the cause could have hoped.

“It may be asked from what source the public schools derived such accessions to their numbers. Were the children not attending the public schools in 1855 uneducated? The reports furnished annually to the chief superintendent of education answer both questions, and adduce conclusive proof of the efficiency of the present school system. At the period alluded to there were large flourishing schools in many parts of the city, established and conducted by private parties on their own account. It may not be assuming too much to say that over 500 scholars were attending these schools about that time. Now there is scarcely a private school of any consequence to be found, all having been absorbed in the general school system.

Nearly all have availed themselves of the provision made for them by the board of trustees. If we add to these numbers the children attending the separate schools, we find a larger proportion of the juvenile classes enjoying the blessings of a good education in this city than in any other town or city in the province; and, as a consequence, no beggar children have been found in the streets. In point of attendance, therefore, the citizens of London have good reasons to be pleased with what has already been done, since now the education of almost all the youth of the city is under the care of the board elected by themselves; and, by the efforts of this board, the expansion of the means of teaching has nearly kept pace with the influx of pupils requiring to be taught. An improvement as striking has taken place in the manner of teaching and in the character of the instruction imparted as that which I have noticed in the attendance. In the period I first mentioned there was nothing attempted beyond the limited essentials of an English education. The public school board was unwilling to be connected with the county grammar school. At the date secondly mentioned, which I look upon as the turning point in our educational affairs in this place, something was added to the English course, with a few boys in the elements of the Latin language, forming merely a classical nucleus. This step was not favorably looked upon, because it was said to be unnecessary, and the headmaster's time would be taken from the supervision of the school. The trial, however, went quietly on. Now the English course is at once extensive and thorough, embracing every subject of importance to mechanic, the merchant or the professional man. The classical department has been extended so as to embrace Latin, Greek and French, and made comprehensive enough to qualify students for entering upon the study of any of the learned professions, or to matriculate in any college or university in the province. That this branch of the institution has been highly prized by the citizens is evident from the number of students found in the various classes. That it has been successfully conducted must be evident to every one who has watched its progress as I have done. A few facts are its best panegyric.

“The students of the Central School have for years past competed with those trained in the best schools in the province. Young men educated here have been subjected to every test, stood every examination, yet none of them have been rejected or “plucked”; they have entered classes for the church, law or medicine. Within the last few years eight young men of promise (two partly, six entirely trained in the Central School) have passed their preliminary examination with the highest

credit and entered upon the study of the legal profession; in addition to these, many have been educated, it is said, above the business to which they have devoted themselves. But this I deny, for neither the mental powers nor moral sentiment can be too highly cultivated for individual or public good; and we require more in this province of intelligent, educated, moral people than those of a highly educated upper class. In a community like ours, where no advantage of birth or exclusive privileges obtains, and where the way is open to the talented and aspiring, however humble their position, it becomes the duty of the patriot and the statesman to throw wide open the portals of learning to all, and to give all the means of making their talents available in the competition of life. It cannot be fairly objected that a liberal education to a young man is in advance of his position or prospects, for he need be confined to no position inferior to the scope of his capacity, enlarged by his education, and no position can long obscure true worth and great talents well cultivated.

"The Board of School Trustees of London have taken the initiative in a noble work, which I hope will, sooner or later, be emulated by other boards of the same kind throughout the province. They have led the way in bestowing that early and careful training upon the young who have the natural capacity to profit by it, which will enable them, on reaching manhood, to make their talents available to themselves and their country in any useful and honorable career. The expense of this system has been set at rest by the able report of the committee of last year, in which it was shown that the cost per pupil was less here, with all its advantages, than in any other town or city in the province. To the public I would say: With the future I have no concern, but it may be permitted that I should allude to it. This school system, which works so well here, was not brought about without deep thought in planning and great skill and energy in working out. By any ill-judged step much of this labor and care may become useless. To detract from the well-earned status of the school would be most injurious. To lower your standard where such endeavor has been made to advance it would be a loss, no less to the province than to you, for it would be a virtual acknowledgment that you had tried a higher education for the poor man's son and found it either unsuited or unappreciated; yet neither conclusion would be correct. The system, in its working and the good resulting from it, has more than realized every hope.

"May I express a wish that you may advance? Year by year you can improve by the experience of the preceding. It is a false economy which aims at anything less than perfect efficiency. The best talent for your schools is cheap at any

price. If you underpay your teachers you will drive them from you and the profession into other modes of life, where their services cannot avail you. No greater good can be effected than by improving the educational institutions of the country; and, in my judgment, this can be best and most easily accomplished by securing the services of the best men. To me this has been a question fraught with deep interest. My most ardent wish is that the London schools may not only keep their present relative rank, but advance in usefulness from time to time, and enjoy the unlimited confidence of every class of the community.

"In conclusion, I must be permitted to say that to Mr. Boyle, your head master, and to the staff of teachers he superintends, you owe it that your schools are such as I describe. He has steadily and anxiously persevered in elevating the character of the Ward and Central Schools, and brought them to a state of efficiency I hoped for but scarcely expected to see, and, on every occasion, has cordially carried out any suggestions which were offered to him; and my whole official connection with him has been more than satisfactory."

The Right Reverend Bishop Cronyn, who succeeded Mr. Justice Wilson, in referring to the condition of the city schools, speaks of them in high terms of praise, and quite concurs with the admirable practice of specifically reporting to the parents on the progress of their children at school. He speaks of it as having an excellent practical effect on parents and children. He says:

"Since my appointment as local superintendent of the public schools in the City of London, I have visited and examined the Central and Ward Schools, in company with the head master, and I beg to report, for the information of the Board of Trustees, the result of my visit. I heard several classes in each of the schools examined by their respective teachers in various branches, and I was much pleased with the order which prevailed and the proficiency which the pupils evinced.

"I was much pleased to find that the business of each day was commenced with the reading of God's Word and with prayer for the Divine Blessing. I was present at the school on Talbot Street when the prizes were bestowed upon the children, and a more bright and intelligent group of little beings I never witnessed. Some ladies who accompanied me were much struck with the orderly and happy appearance presented by the children on that occasion. My predecessor in the office of local superintendent of the schools, the Honorable Mr. Justice Wilson, who was always during his long residence in London

most zealous to promote and improve the education of the people, was in the habit of devoting the salary of the office for the purchase of prizes to be bestowed upon the children at the annual examination. It will afford me much pleasure to do the same, and I would request the Board of Trustees to expend the amount for that purpose."

In 1864, Mr. Taafe resigned his position as teacher in the Union School, and Mr. John Miller, who afterwards became deputy minister of education, was appointed as one of the senior teachers.

The reading of cheap novels by the senior pupils in the Union School was, according to some of the trustees, quite prevalent, and action was taken by the board to furnish suitable reading matter in order that the taste of the children might not become perverted by the reading of sensational and harmful books.

Negotiations looking to the union of the County Grammar School and the Common Schools of the city were undertaken towards the close of the year 1864, and after various conferences between the boards governing each, a satisfactory agreement was arrived at in the year 1865. The first meeting of the combined boards, thereafter known as the Board of Education, was held in the City Hall on the 1st of August, 1865. At this meeting, Alex. Johnston, Esq., was elected chairman.

At the time when the Grammar and Common Schools were united under one board, the salaries of the teachers were again adjusted—that of the principals of the Grammar and Common Schools being fixed at \$1,000 each, the men being graded from \$550 to \$450 and the women from \$350 to \$175.

In the following year, among the new trustees were James M. Cousins, Esq., afterwards mayor, and Thomas Partridge, Esq., Jr., a prominent lawyer. S. H. Graydon, Esq., who subsequently became mayor, was elected chairman.

The visit to the city of Dr. Ryerson was marked by a lecture in the City Hall on the 2nd of February, at which the board attended in a body.

The outbreak of smallpox in June was so severe that the board ordered the schools closed on the 20th for the summer vacation.

Mr. St. John Hyttenrauch, afterwards music master in the public schools, began a class in the Central School in this year. The resignation of Mr. H. Hunter and Rev. R. Johnston in 1863 and Mr. Irwin in 1866 closed a long term of service in the public schools for each of these gentlemen.

Strange to say, the minutes of 1867 contain no reference to Confederation or of the first Dominion Day in Canada.

The question of the education of the deaf mutes was discussed by the board, but no action was taken. This has been provided for, however, by the provincial authorities.

The death in 1869 of Mr. Peter Schram, who for many years had been a diligent and efficient trustee, was sincerely regretted by his colleague in a resolution of condolence. Mr. J. C. Glashan, afterwards, in turn, public school inspector of West Middlesex and the City of Ottawa, was in this year (1869) appointed to the staff of Central School.

At the direction of the Board all teachers urged upon their pupils the necessity of vaccination.

The Chairman in 1870 was A. G. Smyth, Esq., who with the exception of Mr. James Egan is the only survivor of the trustees who served prior to that date.

In this year Mr. Thomas Robb, of New York, a former resident of London, donated a gold medal for competition among the pupils of the Public Schools. Subsequently he bequeathed a sum of money, the interest of which is devoted annually for the purchase of a gold medal to be given to the pupil of the Public Schools taking the highest standing at the Entrance Examination to the High School. Mr. J. B. Smyth also presented prizes in books.

The policy of supplying increased accommodation for the senior pupils of the public school by adding to the building in the Union School block was continued, but opposition to this plan was offered. Not until nearly twenty years later was a different plan adopted, that of erecting buildings large enough to provide for the complete public school course in each school district.

For several months in the latter part of this year the Board wrestled with a problem concerning discipline. It appears that two of the senior boys in the Central School, dissatisfied with the way in which the competitive examinations were conducted, wrote anonymously to one of the papers, alleging unfairness and favoritism.

Upon the discovery of their names Principal Boyle suspended them. Their parents appealed to the Board, which, in turn, invoked the opinions of the local and chief superintendents without avail. The matter was finally settled by the withdrawal of the offensive allegations and a suitable apology.

In 1871 Mr. J. G. McIntosh presided over the deliberations of the Board, after serving many years as trustee. In consequence of a new School Act requiring the appointment of an inspector of schools, His Lordship the Bishop of Huron resigned his position of local superintendent of schools in August. His resignation was followed in September by his

death, on which occasion the Board showed its appreciation by the following resolution of condolence:

"That the Board of High and Public School Trustees record their sincere sorrow on account of the death of the late Bishop of Huron, who for nine years held the office of local superintendent of schools in this city, also the high value which they attach to his services which were always cheerfully and pleasantly rendered, and their gratitude for his generosity in regularly placing the whole of the salary attached to his office at the disposal of the Board for prizes.

"They would also offer their sincere sympathy to the widow and family of the deceased and their prayer to God that this great affliction may be sanctified to them, and that they may be sustained under it by the abundant consolation of the gospel and the comfort of the Holy Ghost."

In this year the present King Street School was built at a cost of \$1,250 for the lot and \$2,680 for a school of four rooms, which to-day appears very cheap.

The estimates of the year show that after the receipts were deducted the Council was asked to provide \$2,000 for High School purposes and \$12,500 for Public Schools.

We find that the Board censured the Chief of Police for refusing to allow his men to continue delivering notices of the monthly meetings to the trustees.

J. B. Boyle, Esq., was appointed as the first public school inspector of the City of London on the 17th of October, 1871, after serving as principal of the common or public schools since 1855. He occupied this position for nearly twenty years, dying in harness in 1891.

Mr. Boyle represented the finest type of the old time schoolmaster—"severe he was and stern to view"—but this was only apparent, for beneath a dignified exterior lay a warm heart and kindly disposition. He was dignified, courageous, inflexible—dignified in his daily life, courageous in the discharge of his duty and inflexible to all attempts to weaken the usefulness of the schools. His scholarship was broad and deep and his executive ability was of a very high order. We have only to read his annual reports to the Board, most of which are fortunately preserved, to be struck with his grasp of educational affairs, his keen insight into the details of school administration and his mastery of the English language.

The History of the Public Schools in London falls naturally into three epochs, first from 1848 until 1871. During this period the foundations of public education were laid, experiments were made and results noted. The second period extends from 1871 to 1890, and was marked by the adoption of what is

known as the graded system by which each of the large school districts became complete in itself. The third period extends from 1890 till the present, and may be said to be characterized by the adoption of a more scientific system of education based upon the study of the child and illustrated by the introduction of the kindergarten, a more rational teaching of Art, Manual Training and Household Science. If signs do not fail we are at present at the opening of a fourth epoch in education, which may be termed the application of education to the life-work of the pupils and to which the general term Industrial Education has been applied.

In addition to the minutes of the Board of Trustees since the year 1848 there is also a series of printed yearly reports. Through the kindness of Mrs. John Anderson, a daughter of the late Inspector Boyle, I am in possession of a copy of each of these reports, printed on a single sheet of paper, from the years 1850 to 1862 inclusive (except that of 1853), and I intend handing them over to the Board of Education for safekeeping. Subsequent to 1862 and up to 1871 we have only the minutes for 1865 and 1870. It is to be hoped that the missing reports may be obtained.

Taken in conjunction with the minutes, they form an invaluable asset in writing an account of the rise and progress of the public schools in London. The reports, in consequence of the summary of the year's work, supplement and make clear the minutes.

The comprehensive report of Mr. Justice Wilson summarizes these documents up to the time of his retirement in 1863.

An appeal should be made to the public of the city to furnish the Board of Education with the missing reports for the years 1853, 1863, 1864.

To give anything like a full report of the schools subsequent to the year 1871 would take more time and space than could be taken in one paper or one meeting; but it may be that at some future time permission will be granted me to complete the outline already begun in this imperfect paper.

# The London Grammar School and the Collegiate Institute

BY F. W. C. McCUTCHEON, B. A.

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Previous to 1809 there were but four grammar schools in Ontario, one at Kingston, and one at Niagara, or Newark as it was then called, one at York and one at Cornwall, for in the year 1807 grants had been made to provide for a grammar school in each of the eight districts in which the province was divided. The grammar school of the London district, the forerunner of the present Collegiate Institute, was founded in 1809 at Vittoria, at that time a thriving hamlet in Norfolk County, about four or five miles from Lake Erie. The century has added little if anything to the size of Vittoria, and certainly nothing to its importance. In 1837 the school was transferred to London, under the principalship of Mr. Francis Wright, B.A. Four years later the Rev. Benjamin Bayly was appointed principal; and for nearly forty years he retained his connection with the secondary education of London in this position, and later in the principalship of the High School, the title by which the Grammar School was known after 1871. The original home of the Grammar School still stands—the old frame structure on the north side of King Street, adjoining the grounds of the County Buildings.

The Grammar School was essentially a Classical School; in fact the Reverend Principal refers to himself in his report to the board, not as Principal, but as Classical Master. The importance placed upon the study of the classics may be easily inferred from these reports, extract from which will be given later in the paper. The governing body of the Grammar School, including the superintendent in London, the Right Rev. Bishop of London, and its trustees, were appointed by the lieutenant-governor in council. Even the nomination of the principal by these trustees was ratified by the same official head of the province. The income for the support of the Grammar School was not derived by taxation of the local municipality, but from Crown lands and from fees imposed upon the students who attended. Thus, in its form of government, the old Grammar School was in no sense democratic, but as many members of the legislature had their sons educated at these schools and were convinced of the value of a classical education,

it was difficult for the superintendent of education for the province, Egerton Ryerson, to induce the legislature to make much change in the curriculum or in the mode of Government of the Grammar Schools.

In 1853 the Educational Act made it possible for the Grammar School Board and Public Schools Board to unite, but because of the antagonism between those who championed the cause of the humanities and those who favored the introduction of a wider curriculum, such a union was not brought about until some years later; in London, not till 1865. How great the antagonism was may be inferred from an extract from a letter written at the time regarding such a union.

“There have been no returns made by the trustees of Common Schools of the children of poor parents for gratuitous instruction in the Grammar Schools, as provided by law, and the board is of the opinion that under the present very defective system the Common Schools of the country will rather repress than encourage a desire amongst the people for education of a superior description. The trustees generally of the Common Schools are men who do not know the value of a classical education. In many cases, too, the masters are foreigners, and, therefore, anxious to keep the people from acquiring a liberal education, which, they well know, would be the surest means of . . . strengthening their attachment to those institutions which are based upon the soundest principles of Christian truth, and which have for ages successfully withstood the united attacks of infidelity, false philosophy and the restless desire of change so natural to man.—(Signed by the Rev. Benjamin Cronyn, A. M.; Mr. John Harris, County Treasurer, and Mr. Mahlon Burwell, M. P. P.)”

When the Public School programme was extended to include even the classical subjects taught in the Grammar School, such a union was inevitable.

In 1865 the union of the boards took place in London, and the Grammar School was granted accommodation in the old Central School on Colborne Street. At the time of the union, the trustees of the Grammar School were Ven. Archdeacon Brough, A. M., Rev. John Proudfoot, Rev. John Scott, Rev. John McLean, Rev. Francis Nichol; the chairman of the joint board was Alexander Johnston, the secretary, A. S. Abbott. The Rev. Principal Bayly was the only teacher who taught the Grammar School pupils exclusively. I quote from his report for 1865, the year of union, the report of the superintendent, Bishop Cronyn, and an extract from the report of Principal (later Inspector) Boyle, one of the greatest educational forces in the city.

### Report of Classical Master.

To the Chairman of the United Board of Grammar and Common School Trustees for the City of London.

Sir—At the close of the first session since the union of the Grammar and Common Schools of this city, it is, perhaps, fitting that I should present you with a brief summary of the working of the classical department thereof.

In consequence of necessary alterations in the rooms, business was not resumed after the summer vacation until the 28th of August, at which time, or within the ensuing week, there were 32 boys engaged in classical studies; 9 of these new scholars chiefly from the county, the residue were old pupils of the Central School. Since that period 21 have joined the classical department, of whom 16 are new pupils, making in all 53. Three of these have since entered upon merchantile pursuits, and two more have been obliged to discontinue their studies through illness, leaving at the close of the term 48 upon the register. During the session there have been six studying the Greek language; of these, four have only commenced within the last three months, and the other two have not advanced beyond Arnold's First Greek Book. In Latin, one was reading Horace, but has since left school; another has been studying Virgil; eight are reading Caesar; twelve in Arnold's Second Latin Book, and the remainder in the first.

The gross number learning classics in your school, although larger than in most of the Grammar Schools of the province, may probably disappoint many of your board, but the imposition of a rate bill, however desirable in some respects, has caused a diminution in the attendance; and when we add to this the fact of a very large and nourishing establishment (essentially classical) being located in our city, I think we may rather congratulate ourselves upon our numbers being so respectable than feel any surprise at their paucity, and I feel little doubt that as the novelty wears off your school will suffer less from either of these causes.

In conclusion, I may perhaps be permitted to embrace this, the first opportunity I have had to express my entire satisfaction with the way in which the union of the Grammar and Common Schools is carried out; from the large and efficient staff of masters employed, the boys are at all times under instruction, which cannot be the case under any other arrangement; indeed, it appears to me that the progress of the pupils, at least in their English branches, must be more satisfactory than it can be in any merely Grammar School in the province.

I remain, your obedient servant,

BENJ. BAYLY, Classical Master, G. S.

London, Dec. 30, 1865.

### Report of Superintendent.

Rectory, London, C. W., Jan. 1, 1866.

Sir—Having been absent in England for a greater part of the past year, and being much engaged with other duties since my return, I have not had time to visit all the schools in the city. I have, however, twice visited the Central School, once in company with Colonel Burrows, R. A., who expressed himself much pleased with the order of the school, and the proficiency of the several classes examined in our presence.

On my second visit I was accompanied by the Rev. Arthur Sweatman, M.A., Principal of the London Collegiate Institute, and he expressed the great satisfaction which he experienced from his visit to the various classes, and his high opinion of the order maintained, and the proficiency exhibited by the scholars.

I was also present at the half-yearly examination of the Grammar School Department, under the charge of the Rev. Benj. Bayly, and I am led to believe that great good will result from the union which has taken place between the Grammar and Common Schools. On the whole, I think the Board of Trustees have much reason to rejoice in the present state of the schools, and if sound religious instruction formed a more prominent part in the teaching, I think the schools would be all that could be desired.

This most desirable object, I think, may be obtained. I have had some conversation with the indefatigable Principal upon this subject, and I hope with his assistance to be enabled to accomplish this without in any way violating the principles on which the common school law is based.

It gives me much pleasure to devote the salary of the office of superintendent for the purchase of prizes to be bestowed on the children at the annual examination.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

BENJ. HURON.

### Extract From Mr. Boyle's Report.

During the year 1865 a most desirable object was attained in bringing about a union between the Grammar and Common School Boards. This work had been often spoken of before; often thought of by both parties, and once or twice attempted without any satisfactory result. Of the benefit to be derived from it, there can be but one opinion entertained among those who understand the question. The Common School Board were

not prepared to forego the privileges with which the schools laws invested them, of keeping up, in connection with the Central School, a Grammar School department for the advantages of such of the citizens as desired a classical education for their children. From this cause, two institutions, apparently rivals, and double staff of teachers had to be supported. But five months experience has taught the wavering and doubtful that the labor required to teach each of these classical departments separately would be sufficient to manage both united with equal efficiency, and the public money will be expended with more economy when this rivalry has ceased, through the two schools coming under a united government.

Although the Educational Act broadened the Grammar School Curriculum, the emphasis was still laid upon Classics, and for some time, only those students studying Latin were taken into account when apportioning the Government Grant. It is not strange to find in some schools (and I presume London was no exception) such a report of numbers as the following: "Number on the roll 103, number taking Latin 102," etc., etc.

The Educational Act of 1871 substituted for the title of Grammar School that of High School, and made extra provision for commercial, scientific and English branches. In consequence the staff of the High School was increased to six teachers in 1872. In addition to Principal Bayly, the staff included Mr. W. O. Connor's, A. M., Wm. Remer, Nicholas Wilson for over 60 years identified with education in London, Miss Jessie Kessack and Miss D. D. Robertson. The first report of the Principal of the High School which I quote here will show that the Rev. Principal had not given up his faith to any great extent in the Classics. The increase in attendance at the High School in consequence of these changes may be noted by comparing the last report of the Principal of the Grammar School with the first report of the Principal of the High School.

### Classical Master's Report

To the Chairman and Members of the United Board of Grammar and Common School Trustees of the City of London.

GENTLEMEN:—

I have the honor of submitting to your Board my Annual Report of the Statistics of the Grammar School Department of the Central School.

The total number of pupils learning Latin during the year 1870 amounted to 69, of whom 15 were also studying Greek. Average attendance nearly 40.

The books read were selections from Homer, Lucian, Xenophon, Horace, Ovid's Heriodes, Cicero, Livy, Virgil and Caesar, together with Harkness' Elementary Greek and Latin Books. In fact, we adhere strictly to the programme furnished by the Council of Public Instruction.

I remain, gentlemen, your obedient servant,  
London, Jan. 3, 1871. BENJ. BAYLY.

### Classical Master's Report

To the Chairman and Members of the Joint Board of High and Public School Trustees of the City of London.

GENTLEMEN:—

I have the honor of submitting to your Board my Annual Report of the Statistics of the High School of this city.

At the commencement of the year the numbers in attendance were 119 girls and 80 boys, and there were subsequently admitted at the two regular periods appointed for the purpose 46 girls and 58 boys, making a total of 303. This is the entire number of pupils who have attended during the year. There are at present upon our rolls 207; viz, 114 girls and 93 boys.

The High School pupils who have taken the voluntary subjects are in Classics, 50; in French 80; and in German, 28, but besides these, 23 boys from the Public Schools have been learning Latin, 41 of both sexes, French and nine German.

The books studied during the year have been in Greek, Homer and Lucian; in Latin, Horace, Cicero, Virgil, Ovid and Caesar, together with Harkness' Elementary Greek and Latin works; in French De Fivas' Grammar, his Introductory French Book and Charles XII., and in German, Ahn's Grammar.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, Your Obedient Servant,  
BENJ. BAYLY,  
London, Dec. 31, 1872. Head Master, High School.

An agitation was begun immediately for the erection of a separate building for the High School, but money was no more plentiful than it is now, and there were as many demands for other purposes as there will always be; and the school was not erected for another six years. Instead of spending \$20,000 for a new High School building \$8,000 was

spent in enlarging the accommodation for the public schools' pupils and in that way the congestion of the old Central School was relieved. When it is recalled that the cost for education of each pupil based on the daily average attendance was at this time only \$4.71 per annum, it must be admitted that the task of providing for the education of the young had fallen into the hands of skilled financiers.

I may be permitted to digress far enough to quote from a report of Inspector Boyle nearly twenty years later referring with pride to the erection of the Simcoe Street School and referring also with anything but pride to the action of the Board in erecting at this time cheap and unsuitable schools in order to present an attractive balance sheet to the ratepayers.

"We still hear unfavorable criticism occasionally indulged in respecting the outlay on the Simcoe Street School building, and the unnecessary expense and extravagance shown by the Board in the erection of this edifice. I venture to say, and that boldly as a citizen, that ere many years have rolled over our heads, this will be considered the most judicious outlay that has ever been made on school property in this city. There is not a man of taste and sound judgment in the city of London today, who, if he will only take the time to walk leisurely through this building, examine carefully and without prejudice its many advantages over any other structure erected for a similar purpose within the Municipality, but will acknowledge at once that the people's representatives on the School Board have shown good taste, sound judgment, a true patriotism, and a just regard for the health and comfort, for the moral, intellectual and aesthetic training of the next generation. He will find there twelve good teachers employed in this school, twelve class-rooms, and twelve large classes all in good order, all busy, healthy and happy, and not a breath of vitiated atmosphere among them. The ventilation is perfect, the heating excellent, and the lighting all, or nearly all, the most fastidious can desire. I believe that we have here a model of what our future school architecture ought to be, and we sincerely hope it will be taken as a model for our guidance in time to come.

"As respects the cry of extravagance, that should never deter men who have at heart the weal of their city; the education and moral elevation of their fellow-citizens. Why I have had, under the Board of Education, the principal control of Public School education in this city for thirty-five years, and many advances and improvements I have seen during this long period, but not a single one that was not met with

similar cries of extravagance, and the necessity for the strictest economy. Anyone who has a little of the antiquarian in his composition may indulge his taste for the antique in school architecture, by taking a survey and making a drawing of a range of three class-rooms that still adorn the Old Central School grounds. No one would be so bold as to venture to say that, in these wretched huts, teachers and children were huddled together for six hours in the day, but yet such was the case. Would these strict economists, who condemn the erection of Simcoe Street Schoolhouse, have us return to the simplicity of these earlier days? I hope not. The danger to human life, especially among the young, and the death-rate in the same classes are quite too large already through want of knowledge of the most elementary hygienic laws, for an intelligent community like that of London, to wilfully intensify these dangers and increase this death-rate already frightfully large.

But about this period the school trustees were awakened from their happy slumbers "in a fool's Paradise." They, stimulated by some sudden impulse, rushed at once into wild extravagance, erected in rapid succession two brick shanties—one on Horton street, another on Waterloo street south, and added a wing to an old stable on Talbot street. And now the denunciations of the extravagance of the Board were loud and long. Ruin to the city and its interest was freely predicted, and our economic friends of today are only following the role of earlier and just as wise patriots as they are.

Now, after a few years of respite, giving time for the fiery indignation of the economists to subside, another start was made, and only think of it! Before this wave of enthusiasm had time to subside, five brick buildings, two stories high with four class-rooms in each and one with six, were built and properly equipped and furnished with the best desks and chairs then known. Now, this was a very decided step in advance and yet the dissatisfaction injured nobody. The Board of Education moved by laudable desire to improve still further the means of education of correct classification, and the safeguards to health and life for the children, resolved to take another step in advance. It is after all only a repetition of our former experience. The people have soon come to observe the advantage of every move made in the right direction, and admitted, while the general ratepayers paid the bill, that they and their children received the benefit."

At this time also, 1872, representations were made to the Government of the necessity for a Normal School in the City of

London and that these representations did receive the respectful and careful consideration of the government was evidenced by the erection of a handsome Normal School building thirty years later.

For the year 1876 Principal Bayly reported as follows:

To the Chairman and Members of the Board of Education, for the City of London.

GENTLEMEN:—

I have the honor of submitting to your Board my Annual Report of the Statistics of the High Schools of this city.

The number of regularly admitted pupils in attendance during the first half year, ending June 30, was 152, viz: 83 boys and 69 girls; the average attendance 117. During the last half of the year there were 91 boys and 76 girls, making a total of 167, average attendance 126.

The studies pursued during the year were Spelling and Dictation, Reading, Writing, Drawing Grammar, Geography, History, Composition, English Literature, Arithmetic, Mensuration, Algebra, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Bookkeeping, Geometry and Trigonometry.

The pupils taking the Classics numbered 37, French 41 and German 7. The books read were portions of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, Xenophon, Horace, Virgil, Cicero, Caesar, Charles XII., Racine's Horace, together with Greek, Latin, French and German Grammars.

Respectfully submitted,

BENJ. BAYLY,

London, Jan. 2, 1877.

Head Master, High School.

The tendency so evident in modern days was beginning to show itself in the multiplicity of subjects.

In 1877 the School Board secured a free grant of park property of two and-a-half acres from the City of London to form the site of the present Collegiate Institute building. The sale of the Grammar School lands provided nearly all the funds for the erection of the building so that a new nine-roomed High School was provided at little cost to the ratepayers. In the last report to the Board date January 2, 1879, the old Principal was glad to record the fact that the number of pupils taking Latin had increased from 50 to 80. In that same month he passed to his reward, esteemed and respected by all those who knew him. He was succeeded in the principalship by Francis Checkley. The school is now known as the London Collegiate Institute. This is not the first in-

stitute in London to bear that name. In 1865 when the Grammar School and Public School Boards united, Dean Hellmuth established on the site of what was afterwards the Hellmuth Ladies' College, a boys' school, denominated the London Collegiate Institute, and the Rev. Arthur Sweatman was its first principal. On Mr. Checkley's resignation in 1887 Mr. Samuel Woods was appointed Principal. He had held the principalship of the Kingston Collegiate Institute for the 14 years from 1862 to 1876.

In 1888, an addition was made to the original building to provide suitable laboratories. In 1893 another large addition for needed class rooms and auditorium was made. In 1898 the present Commercial Building was erected.

With regard to the present building it is interesting to note that in 1888, the class rooms, the lighting and ventilation were severely criticized by Inspector Seath, the present Superintendent of Education. Twenty-four years later Inspector Wetherell reported that the inferior accommodations were deserving of the strongest condemnation. It is to be hoped that these conditions will be remedied and remedied satisfactorily in the early future.

As regards the change that has taken place in the curriculum of the modern Collegiate Institute, a good idea may be obtained by giving you the figures of the last report to the Education Department regarding the number of students pursuing the various studies. English Grammar 771, English Composition and Rhetoric 1037, English Literature 1037, Canadian History 904, British History 817, Ancient History 338, Mediaeval History 56, Modern History 33, Geography 771, Reading 771, Arithmetic and Mensuration 771, Algebra 864, Geometry 587, Trigonometry 65, French 648, German 80, Latin 718, Greek 10, Zoology 725, Botany 726, Chemistry 560, Physics 818, Mineralogy 17, Writing 661, Bookkeeping 661, Stenography 179, Typewriting 72, Art 692, Physical Education 950, Commercial 179, Manual Training 329, Household Science 346, Middle School Art 26.

Mr. F. W. Merchant succeeded Mr. Woods in 1876, and held the position till his appointment as principal of the Normal School, when he was succeeded by Mr. S. J. Radcliffe in 1899. Mr. F. W. G. McCutcheon followed in 1907, and Mr. J. Roberts in 1913.

As to whether our present curriculum is ideal or not this is not the place to express an opinion. The change from exclusively classical education to one which admits of every sub-

ject almost of any practicable benefit was inevitable; but with all the change in education in the last sixty years has not kept pace with the progress in other lines. The marvellous commercial, industrial and scientific progress of the last sixty, or forty or even twenty years is but feebly reflected in the progress of education in this country. The commercial greatness of Germany has been founded upon her splendid educational system. England is beginning to realize that not by her superior armaments so much as by her superior schools can she hope to compete with her great Teutonic rival, and it will be well for the people of Canada if they as a nation early realize that the best and the most economical expenditure of public money lies in providing a thorough and adequate education for all of its future citizens.



# The Western University

[N. C. James, B.A., Ph.D.]

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Like all the other Universities of Ontario, the Western University owes its origin to the need of educational facilities for students in Divinity. In February 1877 a meeting of the alumni and professors of Huron College was held in Christ Church, the Rector of which, the Rev. Canon Smith was Secretary of the Alumni, afterwards first secretary of the senate, and still later Registrar and Bursar of the University. At this meeting resolutions were adopted requesting the Bishop of the Diocese, then Bishop Hellmuth, to procure a charter, and to aid in soliciting funds for purchasing property and endowing chairs. Bishop Hellmuth took the matter up with his accustomed energy, procured a charter from the Provincial Government in 1878, and himself headed the subscription list with a cash donation of \$10,000.\* The first meeting of the Senate as constituted by the act met on May 1, 1878, where meetings continued to be held for some time. Bishop Hellmuth was elected chancellor, Dean Boomer, Principal of Huron College, Vice-chancellor and Provost. It was decided to purchase the Hellmuth Boys' College at a price of \$67,000, assuming the mortgage of £4,500 then upon the property, and also the floating debt on the property. At the third meeting, June 20, 1879, the report of the Finance Committee showed that \$25,000 had been received, of which \$20,496 had been paid over to the Hellmuth College corporation. The Bishop also reported having obtained subscriptions in England amounting to \$32,420, of which \$21,853 had been paid. The constitution had in the meantime been drawn up and was adopted at this meeting. (See below).

At the same meeting steps were taken to unite Huron College with the University; for the plan from the first was to have one institution with one head and one organization.

May 20, 1881, Bishop Hellmuth reported the results of his second visit to England, which had netted an amount of \$10,000 in subscriptions paid, and a considerable sum promised.

\*The Act empowered the petitioners to confer degrees in Divinity, Arts, Law, Medicine, subject to three conditions: there were to be at least four professors in arts; there was to be property amounting to \$100,000, and the standard maintained was to be at least equal to that of Toronto University.

The Bishop estimated that there would now be about \$9,000 available for professors' salaries, which would enable the Senate to open the University in October. At the same meeting an affiliation of Huron College with the University was agreed to, the University to hold in trust all the property and income of the college and to maintain a faculty of Divinity to the satisfaction in all things of the Council of Huron College.

The financial statement of Mr. G. F. Jewell showed the assets of the University to be some \$23,000, of which \$6,645 consisted of uncollected notes, and over \$10,000 of unpaid subscriptions not represented by notes. His tabulated statement shows what has been done up to date, and is as follows: Cash received, \$67,827, subscriptions, etc.; Rent of building, \$367. Total, \$68,194.

Disbursements, including \$45,149.98 paid for the property, amount to \$67,009. The cash balance is \$1,185. The mortgage on the property, \$21,850 is offset by the unpaid subscriptions which unfortunately prove in a large measure uncollectable. October 5, 1881, Medical Faculty of the City of London ask for and obtain affiliation with the University. At the same meeting the Chancellor announces that in accord with the request of the Senate he has appointed the first staff of the University. This staff includes the professors required for both Arts and Divinity courses, and is made up as follows: Biblical Exegesis, also Hebrew, Bishop Hellmuth, Chancellor of the University; Divinity, Provost Boomer, Vice-chancellor; Classics and History, Rev. F. W. Kerr, M.A.; Mathematics and English Literature, Rev. G. B. Sage, B.A.; Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, Rev. Canon Innes, M.A.; Apologetics, Rev. A. C. Hill, M.A.; Ecclesiastical History and Church Polity, Rev. J. B. Richardson, M.A.; Natural Science, Mental and Moral Philosophy Rev. Canon Darnell, Principal of Dufferin College; Modern Languages, Rev. C. B. Guillemont, B.A.; Geology, Botany and Chemistry, Rev. W. M. Seaborn; Liturgies, Rev. Alfred Brown, B.A.; Elocution, Rev. G. G. Ballard, B.A.\*

On the following day, October 6, 1881, the University began its teaching work. In June of 1882 the medical faculty entered into a definite agreement with the Senate of the Uni-

\*The two calendars issued during that period (1881-82) possess some curious features. In order to comply with the condition requiring the standard of Toronto University to be maintained, the Senate decided to adopt the course laid down in the calendar of Toronto. Those who prepared the first calendar for the W. U. took their instructions very literally, issuing a reprint of all the Pass and Honor courses offered in Toronto, regardless of their inability to carry out such courses. They even went so far as to insert some pages of information regarding medals and scholarships just as they stood in the Toronto calendar. In the second calendar, which consists of ten pages instead of the previous 52, the courses are cut down to suit the circumstances of the case, and, needless to say, the medals and scholarships offered at Toronto are omitted.

versity whereby the medical faculty were to be provided with certain rooms in the building and given sole control of the cottage and enclosure, the whole to be put in repair and furnished with the necessary equipment so that classes in medicine should be opened on October 1, 1882. The Medical Faculty consisted of Drs. Chas. G. Moore, A. G. Fenwick, J. M. Fraser, W. E. Waugh, Wm. Saunders, Chas. S. Moore, F. R. Eccles, J. S. Niven, J. A. Stevenson, W. H. Moorehouse, G. P. Jones, John Wishart.

April 27, 1883, the Chancellor announced that his recent visit to England had resulted in the raising of \$16,592 over and above expenses, and promised that his interest in and efforts to promote the success of the University would not cease with his approaching departure from the Diocese of Huron. At this meeting the Senate authorized the conferring of the first two degrees in course, that of B. A. upon Mr. B. F. Sutherland and that of M.D. upon Mr. W. Roche. Both these gentlemen had taken all except their first examination in Toronto. It might be mentioned that the first degree conferred by the University was the Honorary Degree of D. D. conferred upon Rev. Alfred Peache of England in recognition of his having endowed the chair of Divinity some time before the University was organized.

Thus far the prospects of success had been of the brightest; but at this date events were taking place which rapidly undid all that had been accomplished by seven years of uninterrupted effort. The hand which had guided the vessel was about to be withdrawn, and there was no other to take the helm. Bishop Hellmuth resigned the Chancellorship at the meeting of August 1, 1884, and on being requested by the Senate to retain the office in spite of his prospective removal to England, replied that he could only do so with the consent and approval of the Bishop of the Diocese. A deputation was accordingly appointed to interview Bishop Baldwin and if possible secure his approval of Bishop Hellmuth's continuing to work for the University and solicit funds in the Diocese of Huron. Bishop Baldwin having asked for time to consider the matter, finally refused his consent. It was afterwards learned that the request as presented to him had not even contained the words "in this Diocese," these words having been omitted by a clerical error. While the Senate felt and expressed the deepest regret at the turn affairs had taken, they proceeded to meet the changed conditions as best they could. It was decided to move the classes back into Huron College, all efforts to dispose of that property having failed; to place the University property

itself on the market, and to make a further attempt to collect unpaid subscriptions, of which there were many outstanding. But the misfortunes of the Senate were not at an end. At the meeting in June, 1885, notice was received from the Huron College Council, announcing that at the expiration of six months the college would withdraw from affiliation with the University. The Senate placed on its minute book a series of resolutions, concluding with the following: This Senate further desires to place on record the fact that in consequence of the withdrawal of the resources of Huron College, which constituted the principal part of the resources of the Western University, and which was originally so intended, the said University is unable to continue its functions in the Faculty of Arts, and must therefore refuse for the present to receive students in said faculty; and after the present undergraduates receive in due course the degrees to which they may be entitled that the said faculty of arts be suspended until further action be taken by this Senate." The Senate was unable to take "such further action" until the year 1895. The first attempt to carry on an arts course was given up, and a period of ten years ensued which might be called the dark age of the University, although certain events, auspicious or otherwise stand out prominently. Bishop Hellmuth's successor in the chancellorship was the Rev. Dr. Peach, the Vice-chancellor, Dean Boomer, having resigned on account of continued ill-health, Judge Davis succeeded him, and on his resignation next year, W. R. Meredith, was elected Vice-chancellor, and the Rev. Principal Fowell of Huron College was made Provost of the University. In August, 1886, on the request and with the co-operation of the Middlesex Law Association, a Faculty of Law was created, consisting of His Honor Judge Wm. Elliott, Dean; W. H. Bartram, Registrar; W. W. Fitzgerald, Bursar; W. P. R. Street, W. R. Meredith, James H. Flock, the Hon. David Mills, James Magee, Geo. C. Gibbons, I. F. Hellmuth, D. M. Fraser—an exceptionally able staff of lecturers. The Law Society of Upper Canada then provided no instruction in law, and it was generally felt that a course of lectures by experienced and successful lawyers would be a great boon to the many students who were reading for admission to the Bar. It was also confidently expected that the local examinations would be accepted by the Law Society in the course for the L.L.B. degree. Great interest was taken by the lawyers and the citizens generally in the opening of the new law school. The public inaugural lecture, delivered December 4, 1885 by Judge Davis, Vice-chancellor of the University, was well attended by

the citizens. The course of regular lectures opened on the ninth of December, with twenty-eight students in attendance. But when it was found that the Law Society would not accept the examinations of this law school in lieu of their own, a considerable number dropped out; and in June only three wrote on the examinations, of whom G. N. Weeks, Esq. obtained the high average of 91 per cent. In the Autumn seventeen students entered; but on the 12th of February following, Mr. Hellmuth reports that he has refused to deliver his lecture, as only two students were present. Altogether, during the brief existence of the Law School, some forty-four students were enrolled, most of whom are now successful lawyers in London or elsewhere; but the possibility of conducting a law school was finally precluded in 1889 by the action of the Law Society in requiring all students of law to take three years as Osgoode Hall.

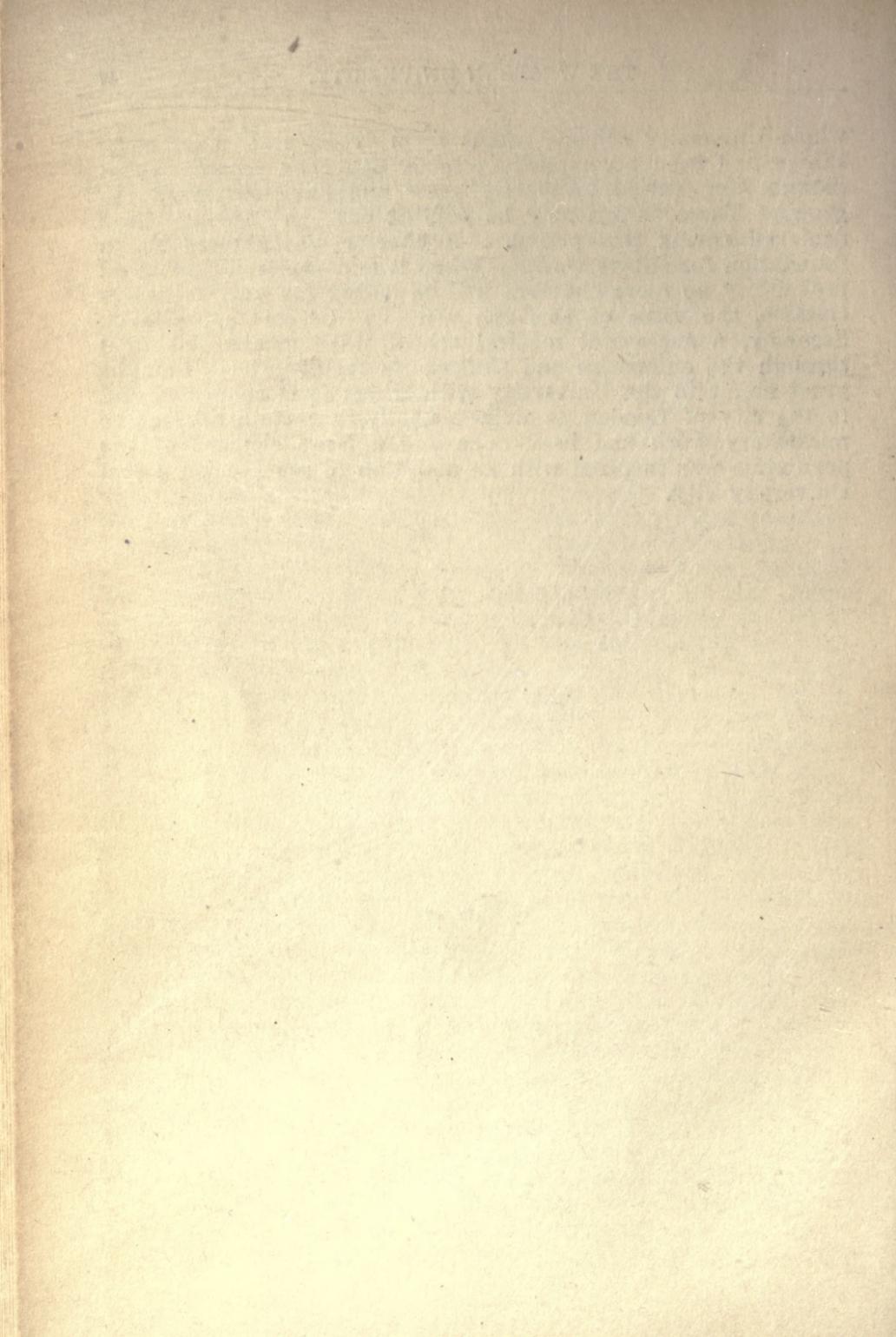
On February 24, 1887 the Senate gave its consent to the removal of the Medical School to any building which the Medical Faculty should provide, to their taking with them the furnaces, fixtures, driving sheds, etc.; and further agreed to pay over to the Medical Faculty the amount of \$4,000 to help to defray the expenses of the new building, "so soon as the state of the finances of the University would permit it." In the light of the long years of financial embarrassment which followed, this promise now reads like a cruel jest; but it was made in all earnestness, and doubtless gave due encouragement to the members of the Medical Faculty, who proceeded to finance their branch of the University as best they could and ultimately with success.

It has been mentioned that the original purpose of the Western University was to provide opportunities for the higher education of Divinity students of Huron College, and each successive principal of that institution was firmly convinced that without such facilities as a University affords it would be impossible to carry on a Divinity School in London. The Rev. Principal Miller, who succeeded Principal Fowell in 1891, and his assistant, the Rev. David Williams, now Bishop of Huron, were the authors of a proposal by which the staff of Huron College might be utilized as professors in the arts course, the revival of which they strongly urged upon the Senate. It was decided to call a public meeting, as a means of appealing to the general body of citizens for support. At this meeting the plan submitted was approved of and a committee was named to devise means of raising the necessary funds. This committee failing to secure an agent to proceed

with the work, a larger committee was appointed to consider the whole question. This committee in turn named a small committee, and it looked as if there might be an endless chain of large and small committees; but this time the third committee decided to ask the Senate to procure such legislation as would enable it by a two-thirds vote to become an undenominational body. The committee of the citizens were, in case the suggested change were made, to pledge themselves to raise \$100,000 for endowment, either by subscription, a vote of the council, or a vote of the citizens. Accordingly a new act was passed making the changes necessary to render the University undenominational. But the amended charter was never adopted by the Senate, which feared that they would be giving up some substantial support, principally from England, for the sake of what seemed a very shadowy prospect of aid from the general public here. Accordingly the Arts course remained for four years longer in a state of suspended animation. In the meantime the mortgage held by the Star Life Insurance Co. was accumulating interest, until at length, in May, 1894, it was found necessary to hand over to the company that piece of property in which practically all the resources of the University had been sunk. The Senate of that day has been very generally blamed for having purchased the property, and in the light of after events it would appear that their course was hasty and ill-advised. But there were ten acres of land and apparently a fine building, situated most advantageously within the city. The cost of the building was put at \$63,000, that of the land at \$3,000, that of a dining hall which had been added to the building \$6,000 more, making \$72,000. The value of the land was supposed to have increased enormously, so that one estimate placed the value of land and buildings at \$104,000. For this the University paid \$67,000, which seemed like a good bargain. Yet the building was a poor one and the land proved almost unsaleable at the time when it was placed on the market. The assumption of a mortgage, too, might seem speculative. But subscriptions had flowed in freely, and under the midas touch of Bishop Hellmuth everything seemed likely to turn into gold. Then Bishop Hellmuth's hand was withdrawn and even the subscriptions already promised remained in large part unpaid. The delinquent subscribers must bear a share of the blame; for if they had kept their promises the property would have been safe and further efforts to raise funds would have been more successful. As it was, public confidence in the ultimate success of the undertaking was for a long time shaken. The shipwreck of the

whole University scheme might seem complete; but some things had been accomplished; seeds had been sown which though long buried ultimately grew and have continued to grow. Three things may be pointed out as having been achieved during this period. A charter was secured as a foundation for future work. When it is considered that in all probability no more charters will be issued for universities in Ontario, the value of this one will be better appreciated. Secondly, a successful medical school was established and through the enterprise and skill of its faculty has brought great credit to the University with which it is connected and to the city of London as well. Lastly, a certain amount of missionary work had been done and a large element of the population was inspired with an ambition to see London a real University city.





# London and Middlesex Historical Society

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Part VI.

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## The Proudfoot Papers

PART I.—1832

Collected by Miss Harriet Priddis

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1915

Published by the Society

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- Feb. 17—Middlesex Past and Present—a Biological Study  
—Prof. John Dearness, M. A.
- March 17—Miscellaneous Discussions—The Members.
- May 19—Annual Meeting, Reports, etc.—The Officers.
- Oct. 20—The Problems of Modern Germany—Rev. L. N.  
Tucker, M.A., D.C.L.
- Nov. 19—The Proudfoot Papers, I.—Miss H. Priddis.
- Dec. 15—The Proudfoot Papers, II.—Miss H. Priddis.

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The London and Middlesex Historical Society was organized in the year 1901. Its objects are to promote historical research and to collect and preserve records and other historical material that may be of use to the future historians of our country. Its funds are devoted exclusively to these objects; there are no salaried officers.

The Public Library Board grants the Society the free use of a room for its meetings, which are held on the third Tuesday evening of each month, from October to April, inclusive, and to which the public are invited—admission always free. Membership in the Society is open to any person interested in its objects, and is maintained by the payment of an annual fee of fifty cents.



Mr. Proudfoot

# The Proudfoot Papers

Collected by Miss Harriet Priddis.

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## EXPLANATORY

In 1832, that branch of Presbyterianism in Scotland called "The United Associate Synod of the Secessions Church," decided to send missionaries to Canada. The three ministers who volunteered for the work, and were accepted, were the Rev. Wm. Proudfoot, the Rev. William Robertson, and the Rev. Thomas Christie. Of these, Mr. Proudfoot was pre-eminently the leader. From the day that he left, almost immediately after his appointment, he commenced keeping a daily journal, which not only gave an accurate account of his proceedings, but included interesting and valuable comments on men and things—both secular and ecclesiastical. The journal and correspondence herewith printed for the first time, covers only three or four months, up to the time of his first visit to London. The remainder of the journal, or such parts as are available, may be published later.

The difficulties noted by Mr. Proudfoot on his first visit to London were cleared up shortly after; and in April of 1833 he moved to the village, and assumed the ministry over two congregations—one in the village, and the other some eleven miles north in London Township. The church in London bore in the early days, before the final union of the different Presbyterian bodies, the name of the U. P. Church; and is now known as the First Presbyterian. The building occupied for many years was the frame structure, situated on the south side of York street, a short distance west of Richmond. Mr. Proudfoot retained the ministry of this church until his death on the 10th of February, 1851, at the age of 63. He was succeeded by his son John.

The following paragraph from Dr. Greig's "History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada" is sufficiently descriptive. The portrait accompanying represents him in advanced life.

"William Proudfoot was educated in the University of Edinburgh, and studied theology under Dr. Lawson of Selkirk. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh in 1812 and on the 1st of August, 1813, was ordained to the charge of Pitrodie, in Perthshire, where he remained for seventeen years, and where, in addition to his pastoral duties, he conducted with success a classical and mathematical academy. After arriving

in Canada Mr. Proudfoot travelled to Upper Canada, and made an extensive tour through different parts of the Province. He then accepted the charge of a congregation in London which he retained till his death. He died on the 10th of January, 1851, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his ministry. During his residence in Canada he was not only a zealous missionary and faithful pastor, but discharged with success other multifarious duties which were laid upon him. He was Clerk of Presbytery, Clerk of Synod and Official Correspondent with the Church in Scotland, and took a leading part in the Union negotiations between the United Secession and the Presbyterian Synods of Canada. When a theological college was established in 1844 in connection with the United Secession Synod, he was appointed professor, and taught classics and philosophy as well as theology, while at the same time he retained the pastoral charge of the congregation in London. In addition to all these labors he took an active and influential part in the public affairs of the Province, and particularly in the movements respecting King's College and the Clergy Reserves. He was a man of dignified appearance and independent character, and an accomplished scholar, a profound theologian and an eloquent and impressive preacher, wise in counsel and energetic in action."

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### JOURNAL OF REV. W. PROUDFOOT.

Events which happened from the time I left Pitrodie, 1832, June 25th.

Rouped\* all that part of my furniture which I did not mean to take to America. The proceeds of the sale were £94. I was enabled to leave Pitrodie without owing any man anything but "Love." I took property with me in books and clothes amounting to more than £350, besides £60 in cash. Of this I insured £200 in the Sea Insurance Office, Edinburgh, that should there happen any accident which might prevent our reaching America there might be something saved our dear daughters left behind us. In the afternoon of the 25th, Mary and Eliza left Pitrodie, Mary to go to Musselburgh, Eliza to Edinburgh, for their education. It being intended by both them and us that they shall come out next season or the season following to us in America, if it be the will of God. Parting with them was a painful event, but I left them under the care of the All Gracious and ever present God, and under the superintendence of friends, who will, I am confident, perform the friends' part.

June 27, Wednesday.—I left Pitrodie one o'clock, P. M. I took John and Alexander with me and we walked over the hill to Perth. Mrs. Proudfoot, William, Robert, Hart and Jessie went in a boat lent by Chas. Barned, by the low road. This evening I lodged with my family and servant in the house of my dear friend Mr. Newlands. Alex and John got a bed from Mr. Joseph Jamieson, who has in many instances acted the part of a friend. I was very much gratified by the attention which I received from every one of my acquaintances. I was gratified especially by the kindness of Mr. David Hepburn who, though but a late acquaintance, crowded into the space of a few weeks as many proofs of friendship as would have sufficed for years of ordinary friendly intercourse.

June 28.—I and my family left Perth at 3 o'clock A. M. in the Defiance Coach for Glasgow. Mr. and Mrs. Newlands and the Misses Barland, Mr. Hepburn and Wr. Wm. Chalmers accompanied us to the coach. I had the whole of the coach for my family, judging this to be most for their comfort. From Milnathoy to Stirling I passed through a district which I had never seen before. The first part of the way was rather bleak, and the soil poorish. The last part rich in soil and scenery. At Derm, Evenhead, the axletree, by overloading the coach, became so hot that we were detained an hour till it was cooled. The journey to Glasgow was accomplished with as much comfort as could be expected where there were so many young children. After dining in the Sartive I went to look out for a lodging, and not being successful I accepted of an invitation from Mrs. Johnstone and went to lodge with her, with my whole family. Mr. Johnstone was absent and I felt rather unpleasantly in taking such a family to his house in his absence, but I could not do otherwise.

June 29.—Sent four of my children to stay with my cousins John and Robert Hart at Milbrae, parish Cathcart, and was taken up during this day and June 30 in making preparations for my voyage.

July 1, Sabbath.—Heard Mr. Duncan preach in Portland St. chapel (Mr. Johnstone's) on the raising of the Widow's Son at Nain, and in the afternoon I lectured on the temptation of our Lord, Math. 4 1-2. In the evening Mrs. Proudfoot and I walked out to Milbrae, where in consequence of the presence of strangers we spent the time in a manner that did not please me.

July 2.—In Glasgow, called for some friends and continued my preparations.

July 3.—Left Glasgow in the Castle Toward Steamer for

Greenock, as the cabin of the big "Crown" in which I was to sail was not ready for the reception of passengers. I took up my residence in the White Hart Inn, where, though I paid high, I was very comfortable. We stayed three nights. During my stay in Greenock I was very much gratified by an instance of the friendship of Mr. Hepburn of Perth. He had written to Messrs. Williamson and Glassford, writers in Greenock, to show me kindness for his sake. This is one of those things which are not to be forgotten.

July 5.—The whole family spent the day with Mr. Williamson.

July 6.—Breakfasted and dined with Mr. Glassford. From these gentlemen and their families I received every attention, and had circumstances permitted us to be better acquainted might have ripened into friendship. About 4 o'clock P. M. I went on board the "Crown" with my family. I thus left the shores of my native land, never to return, so far as I knew then. I was not by any means so afflicted as I had anticipated. This indifference I attribute to the constant bustle in which I had lived for many days, by which everything was banished from my thoughts except that which was necessary to be done in order to my embarkation and the care of so many young children in strange places.

July 7.—The Quarantine Physician came on board and found the crew and passengers in good health. In consequence of his report there was given a clean bill of health. After the inspection many of the crew and passengers went ashore and stayed some hours, which I think, was exceedingly improper as the cholera was raging in Greenock. The inspection was a mere form and in no way fitted to serve the purpose for which I believe it was intended. Just as we were going to sail one of the passengers was brought off shore in a more drunken state than I had ever seen any man. He was towed up in the ship in a state of total insensibility. Between 7 and 8 o'clock P. M. the anchor was raised and the ship towed by a steamer down the Firth of Clyde as far as Dunwoon. When she left us we exchanged three cheers. There was little wind, and that little was contrary. We remained on deck as long as it was light, and looked with interest at objects, which, in all probability, we should never see again. After supper we had worship in the cabin, all the cabin passengers being very agreeable. In the cabin there are my family, which, including my servant, consists of nine persons. The family of a Mr. Blackburn, consisting of himself, his wife, four children, and a servant, in all seven; Mrs. and Mr. Robertson, and the surgeon, Mr. Archibald

Stewart—in all nineteen. The crew, including officers and seamen, cook and steward, seventeen. The steerage passengers, including children, 61. Total in ship, 97 souls.

July 8, Sabbath.—The pilot left us about six o'clock in the morning. The wind fair and fresh. When we got on deck the island of Ailsa was seen considerably ahead on the left. In the course of the day we passed on the right the island of Sanda and the Mull of Cantyre, a bold barren promontory, by the left was the coast of Ireland and the island of Rathlin which we passed in the evening. Rathlin presents a precipitous front, and so in some parts does the coast of Ireland, though in general it appears to rise slowly from the sea in gentle eminences. We had a distant view of the Giant's Causeway, i.e., it was pointed out to me, but whether owing to a defect in my vision or the vagueness of the weather I could not just say that I saw it. By ordinary causes most of the passengers were sick.

July 9.—Wind unfavorable, being nearly due W. The ship's motion was from two and a half to five knots, most of the passengers still sickly. Solan geese and a few porpoises tumbling about. The sea rough all day, the Captain said it was nothing. What, thought I, will it be when it becomes something. As I only in the cabin escaped sea sickness, the care of the children devolved on me. Mrs. Proudfoot and the servant unable to do anything, even for themselves. What a scene is the cabin of a ship when all in it are sea sick. The never ceasing rock, the rush of the contents of the stomach upwards. The smell, the filth. Enough.

July 10.—The wind steadily against us, the sea rough. Sea sickness in general abated considerably, but Mrs. P. and the servant as ill as ever. I am, therefore, still the nurse. Saw a few of the birds called Mother Carey's Chickens; was told they are seen all along the Atlantic. (Query) Where do they breed? There was a great deal of motion, but the motion progressive was very small, sometimes four knots and others not more than two and a half.

July 11.—During night the winds to the N. and blew a stiff breeze. The sea being rough enough, and the wind not very fair, caused an unpleasant motion in the ship, everything in the cabin that was not fixed tumbling about. I was rather unwell but not sea sick. Saw two brigs homeward bound and some gulls. The billows to-day were very grand, but by no means what I had expected to see in the Atlantic. They were short and frothy, not the long heaving swell I have heard so much of. The sailing of the ship very noble, at times she rode nobly over a surge that came rolling against her, dashing

far on every side the foam from her bows. To-day I lamented much that being on the Ocean where, on every side the sky rested on the waters, I could not feel as I wished that sense of the Majesty of God which it is so comfortable to realize. Before I left Pitrodie I often thought that the grandeur of the ocean, its vastness, depth, its enormous fishes, would impress my mind with veneration for the Creator and Upholder of All Things; but in this I have been considerably disappointed.

July 12.—The sea rather smooth. Those affected with sea sickness are for the most part recovered. There are still some confined to bed. Had some useful conversation with Mr. Robertson about our Mission. We agreed in thinking that we ought not to stop long in Montreal, but proceed as fast as possible to the West and endeavor to get an opening for our labors, either in some town, or in some place where there is a prospect of an increasing population. From what we have read we thought there could not be much for us in the large towns.

July 13.—The day remarkably fine, little wind, and sea smooth; most of those who had been sea sick were now recovered. The man who was brought on board so beastly drunk made a conspicuous figure to-day. There was on board a man who could play a little on the fiddle; and another, an excellent player on the flute. After a vast deal of low mirth and fun, such as one may see at a country fair amongst plowmen, he set a-going a dance upon deck in which, by dint of entreaty and pulling, he contended that every person in the steerage who could dance took part. Some of the cabin passengers humored the joke by dancing a reel or two. W. Gibson is a strong man, in the enjoyment of perfect health, and with a great deal of capering and jumping, and clapping of hands, and whooping, in this way produced an impression very much in his favor. He seems to be the very beau ideal of his class, strong, supple, noisy, good humored, and good at teasing the lassies. Laughter and buffooning characterize W. Gibson. He has been in the Scotch Greys, and was one of those who commuted their pensions and retired to Canada. Some of the passengers I now find, are decent persons. I hope the favorable impression I have of a few shall not be obliterated. Saw a man reading Welch's sermons, another Watt's "World to Come." There are many of them who appear to possess a very different character.

July 14.—The wind has become more favorable, and we are sailing in the right course. The sea is smooth. Saw a shear bird; read a little.

July 15, Sabbath.—Weather very agreeable, wind moder-

ate, sea calm, what wind was, was from the W.; consequently what progress we gained was by tacking. Saw a brig homeward bound sailing with a favorable wind. It is now four or five days since we saw a ship and the sight of this brig was a treat. We all felt that we were still in the habitable world, and experienced an interest in those voyagers, as though they were brothers. I saw a log of wood floating by the ship. Yesterday there floated past some spars; perhaps these belonged to some ship wrecked in the Atlantic whose earthly course was closed in horror. Our captain took a less gloomy view of the subject; he said they had probably been washed off the deck of some timber laden ship, or even perhaps floated down the St. Lawrence, where they are constantly to be met with, having been separated from rafts. Thus it is that we readily fix upon those probabilities which remove danger farther from our thoughts. I was told that much wood is every year driven on the coast of Ireland; and I have read that Iceland is in a great measure supplied by drift timber. Thus Providence sometimes compensates to one barren country for its poverty by sending to it of the abundance of another. The fact that American timber is floated to Ireland and Iceland is a proof of the existence of a great western current floating to the east. It is a proof that this current is a continuation of the Gulf Stream, for nuts produced in the West Indies or on the Northern coast of South America have often been found on the shores of our Western Islands. This Sabbath was very different from the last. During last Sabbath all were sick. The sea was rough and stormy. To-day we have fine weather and almost all on board were free from sickness. I preached in the steerage from John 12, 32, to a very attentive audience, and I felt no small interest in preaching to so many on the bosom of the mighty deep. One of the cabin passengers officiated as precentor, and well. I lamented the difficulty of keeping the children employed in a manner becoming the Sabbath. May God conduct us in safety to the end of our voyage, and at the end of our earthly pilgrimage, may we all in His mercy be received into His Heavenly Kingdom and Glory.

July 16.—Day pleasant. Wind contrary but very light. Toward evening the monotony was relieved by the appearance of a swallow of the swift kind, which having been driven out of its way by the winds, or pursued by some bird that sought to devour it, sought shelter in the rigging of our ship. Every one on board was pleased that it had found a shelter and a resting place. It is pleasing to witness these indications of good feeling amongst even rude men. There are times and oc-

casions when there bursts forth proofs of something in man which might be turned to good account, were a rational system of training human beings once resorted to. Man has never been fairly treated, for, though the Christian system is fitted to do all that the most expanded humanity could wish, yet there has ever been a something in the application of Christianity which has in a great measure, neutralized its influence. Most of even the teachers of Christianity know so little about it and its use, and about man, that it is no wonder it has done less than its friends have wished. Nothing can be more absurd than to teach Christianity in the form of logical definitions; and not less absurd is it to set about operating upon man in the belief that there is nothing about him or in him on which we may lay hold to regenerate him. There exists in man the germs of all the good we ever can attain to. The truths of the gospel possess the exclusive honor of so laying hold of the rational and moral principles of his nature as that he shall think rightly or feel rightly about all the beings to whom he is related; first about God, and next about man; and that thinking and feeling aright towards them he shall act towards them all as he is bound to do. But to give lectures on Calvinism and Arminianism and to call that preaching the gospel is about as absurd as in place of giving a hungry man bread to give him a history of the different kinds of grain, and the mode of their cultivation, and their chemical qualities.

July 17.—When we got on deck this morning the sea was as smooth as glass, yet beautifully diversified by considerable swellings. In this smooth surface there were occasional long stripes curled by passing breezes. The first mate informed me that during the night he had seen a shark close to the ship. These monsters are supposed to come seldom to the surface, except when hard pressed by hunger. The swallow which had perched on the rigging last night was brought down to the cabin by one of the sailors. Everything was laid before it which it was supposed that it would eat, but nothing could induce it to partake of our food. As the sea was so smooth and the weather so fine, we thought it a good opportunity of performing the often practised experiment of sinking an empty bottle in the water, firmly corked. Some said the water forced its way into the bottle through the pores of the cork, others that it forced its way through the pores of the glass, others that if a bottle of rum were sunk the salt water would displace the rum. We put all these opinions to the test, merely for amusement, because we thought all of them probable. First we tied to a deep sea line of 120 fathoms an empty bottle firmly

corked with a piece of sheet lead fastened over the cork. Second a bottle full of rum securely corked. Upon these bottles being drawn up the first was found empty, the second was found to contain rum unchanged, and a third one was found full of salt water and the cork turned upside down. The rum was given to Will Gibson, who divided it amongst the passengers. We regretted that we had no instruments for ascertaining the specific gravity of the water brought up for 120 fathoms. After dinner had some amusement in shooting at Mother Carey's Chickens. One came near the ship and many were anxious to take away its life. I was very glad when it escaped. A duck was thrown overboard having a string tied to its foot as a mark to be shot at, but it would not leave the ship. Next an empty bottle corked was thrown into the sea as a mark; it was often struck but not broken. There were two vessels seen from the main mast head. Saw a whale but not very distinctly; also a considerable number of sea snakes. These seemed to be very transparent about three or four feet long, and along their backs ran a long chain of beautiful white spots; indeed it was by these white spots that they were distinguishable.

July 18.—The day has been very pleasant, the winds light but quite favorable. The day being cloudy there was no observation taken. In the North on the edge of the horizon we saw a ship homeward bound; and in the South two ships sailing in the same direction as we were. They appeared to be sailing faster than we, at which we felt not a little chagrined, though we have occasion for no other feeling than unmingled thankfulness. Saw a piece of wood floating past the ship covered with shells. The Captain fired a ball at it and struck it. It held on its way and we on ours. Mr. Robertson preached from Psalms. The sermon on deck. The audience attentive. In the evening we had some recitations from Peter Proven, a passenger, who had been a strolling player; also some very good playing on the German flute. The day has passed away very agreeably. Fine weather, good living and agreeable society render a voyage exceedingly pleasant. I have been very happy ever since I came on board.

July 19.—When I got on deck this morning I found the Captain in a very good humor, for a smart breeze had sprung up which propelled the ship in the right course. The wind continued steady for some hours but towards afternoon it so fell away that the sails began flapping in the wind. However, if we do not make much progress we are free from stormy weather, and what with harmony and plenty in the cabin, we

are very comfortable. Saw a white porpoise and a black one. I was told that the black porpoises always pursue and torment the white ones. It would appear that it is much the same among men as among porpoises. There is this difference, that it is the white men who pursue and torment the black. More particular enquiry convinced me that the story was destitute of proof. I have thus lost my fine parallel, but in losing a figure I have found a fact, little to the credit of men, viz., that white and black porpoises do agree, while white and black men have ever been at variance. As there were many smart looking children in the steerage, running about idle and working mischief and fighting, I, this day, collected them together and formed them into classes. When we came on board they seemed a set of wild unmanageable beings, but when put into order and set to do something, they became quiet and manageable. Many of them are smart children. One of the best ways of improving human beings is to direct them to some employment that is useful, as much in ameliorating human nature depends upon the choice of a line of life suitable to the genius, and furnishing opportunity for virtuous exertion, as on anything else. (To improve mankind by mere lecturing is a foolish attempt. Every man who aims at doing good should not only teach men the right way, but should seek out occasions for calling principles into practice. Hence, for a man to preach only on Sabbath, and not live as it were, with his flock, is to do only half of the duty of his station or office. What a noble character would that man be, who would take up the whole system of Christianity and apply it to the redeeming of men. In doing this Our Lord appears to have left immeasurably behind him every one who has advocated the cause of truth and worked upon man with his system. In Our Lord's working there was such a perfect knowledge of the beings on whom he wished to operate, such a skilful application of the best means of operating upon them, and such a practical cast in all his endeavors, and such a life, even in his doctrines, as fairly place him at the head of Christianity, and at the head of all who labor in the Godlike work of improving the character of man. I have little doubt of doing something with the children if the parents countenance my endeavors. I fear the listlessness of the parents will cool down the willingness of the children. I have not hitherto adverted to our cabin fare. We have tea and coffee in the morning, with beat eggs instead of cream, ham, herring or sausages or eggs, and as yet, loaf bread. For dinner we have broth or soup of different kinds, fresh beef, fowls and pork ham, brandy or rum, white or port wine at pleasure. In the afternoon tea and ham. Supper consists of

bread and cheese and porter and toddy, or negus. The water has hitherto been very good.

July 20.—Was called up from the cabin this morning to see two whales spouting and tumbling about. The morning fine. The wind light but favorable. The captain shot a shear bird, which after having received two shots fell dead into the sea. It was useless depriving an innocent creature of life. During the afternoon a ship hove in sight, the Zebulon of Yarmouth, timber laden from Nova Scotia to Liverpool. I wrote by her to Mr. Turner and Mr. Newlands. The manner in which these letters were conveyed on board was as follows: They were wrapped up in paper and tied to a bit of lead and then thrown into the ship; of course it was a chance whether they fell into the ship or the sea, in this case it was successful. Saw to the leeward, on the edge of the horizon, a ship homeward bound. Such appearances in the midst of the watery waste are very animating. After tea we had a smart shower, which, whatever it may be on land, is not pleasant at sea. My class is increasing in numbers, and the children seem to be animated by a good spirit. In the evening a son of one of the passengers was swinging at a rope, fell and broke his thigh. The parents were exceedingly distressed, as may well be supposed. The Dr. and I set the bone. It was his first attempt and mine. The Dr. is a young lad who has just finished his apprenticeship. I knew little of the business of bone setting. I suppose we were much in the same state. Between us, I think, the job was very well done. The father of the boy is an old soldier who has commuted his pension. He has seven sons on board, all restless, riotous youths.

July 21.—Nothing occurred to-day deserving particular notice.

July 22 (Sabbath).—I preached below deck from Matt. 4, 1-11. Audience attentive. In the evening I had a long argument with Robertson and Mr. Blackburn respecting the interpretation of a passage in the seventh chapter of Isaiah. The question was, is that chapter a prophecy of Messiah or not? I contended that it is not a prophecy of Messiah. They maintained that it was. In going over the preceding context I found that they still adhered to a style of interpretation, which I have long rejected, viz.: that, in supporting an orthodox opinion, one is at perfect liberty to call in the spiritualizing system when the grammatical sense of the words will not suit the notions, that prophecy has not one sense only, but many senses, all or any one of which may be taken as the exigencies of the case may demand. The argument led to the considerations of the principles on which the writers in the New Testament have intro-

duced quotations from the Old Testament. Here I found that we could not agree. They maintained that the New Testament writers have quoted these passages in their real sense. I insisted that there were many of them nothing more than classical allusions, and that in some it was the words merely as suited to the writer's purpose, which were taken without any reference to the sense in which the Old Testament writers used them. I confirmed my views by going over the quotations in the first Chapter of Matthew. The discussion came to nothing, except fixing in my mind the principles which I have adopted, and methodizing and arranging them in my own mind. I believe I had better never argue except with those who are willing to think for themselves, and to take truth wherever they find it. Debating, somehow or other, interrupts the suavities of social life.

July 23.—Our progress has been pretty fair this day. A hen flew overboard into the sea and was lost to us.

July 24.—The wind fair and good. Our progress between 6 and 7 knots. When we were at breakfast a ship came close to the Crown. She was the Branches of London, bound for London, Captain Howie requested the Captain to report that he had met our ship. Toward evening the wind blew hard, and by bedtime most of the sails were reefed. The ship rolled very unpleasantly.

July 25.—When I awoke the wind was blowing what the sailors called a good, stiff breeze, but what I called a gale. It was, however, in our favor. The waves were very grand. It was scarcely possible to walk on deck or in the cabin. We were knocked about from side to side and many ludicrous and some painful tumbles were got. What a magnificent object is the sea when wrought up by a gale of wind. Its vast heavings, its dashing and its foam and its yawning valleys are all grand. In consequence of the agitated state of the sea there were many persons sick. In the forenoon there were seen three whales tumbling amongst the billows. Some gulls and Mother Carey's chickens flew about the ship, an indication, the sailors said, that the breeze would be lasting and stiff. My opinion was that these birds, having been fatigued with struggling in the storm, kept in the ship's wake merely because they were wearied. As the weather was thick and rainy, no observation could be taken.

July 26.—We were all delighted with the fine weather which the morning returned to us. The wind moderate, the sea comparatively smooth, almost all the sick recovered. There was general good humor throughout the ship. In the forenoon a number of gulls were fluttering about the ship, which, as

they were called good shots, called into exercise the skill of the Captain and Mr. Blackburn. They all escaped. What absurdity it is to take away the life of harmless creatures, when no good can result from it. He that kills an animal that does no harm and which, when killed, cannot be gotten and even though gotten, cannot be eaten, performs an act of wanton cruelty. In the evening were seen two whales spouting high columns of spray. There is something very grand in the stately movements of such vast masses of animated matter. The movements of fishes are, in almost every case, elegant and easy; very different from the laborious efforts and the great expensity of strength that accompany all movements of land animals.

July 27.—Raining and uncomfortable. The wind southeast. Towards evening the wind increased almost to a gale and the waves became magnificent, and the rain settled into a mist so dense we could not have seen a ship 200 yards off. I was told that misty weather is very frequently met with on the banks of Newfoundland near which we now are, and that this black fog hangs over the coast of Nova Scotia, particularly Cape Breton. In looking at the chart I found that when the mist is most frequently met with there are sand banks, and that in the northern latitudes fogs and sand banks are found together. As this is fact, may it not be inferred that the sand banks are the causes of the fogs? Perhaps this is the account of the matter. The water, being not so deep on the banks, is warmed and consequently more easily evaporated; and this evaporation is the fog. It remains to be proved that the water is warmer, which I had no means of doing. But even supposing the water to be cold on these banks, still they may be found to be the cause; for, if the air blown from warmer places pass to the banks, the cold upon them will condense the atmosphere, and the deposition of the moisture suspended in the air is the mist or fog. This is more likely the truth. I have finished reading Pickering's "Canada," and one of the books by the society for the propogating of useful knowledge. I have read very little, I have had so much to do in looking after the children that I have had no time. Some time is lost also in contributing to the comfort of others.

July 28.—All around the ship a fog, dense and cold and penetrating. The wind unfavorable. I was informed that about 4 a.m. a ship homeward bound passed within half the length of the ship off the bows of the Crown and was not seen till she was close beside us. There was barely time for the two ships to turn their helms. This narrow escape from a watery grave is another mercy which is to be added to the many we have

experienced since we embarked. After breakfast a ship seemingly full of passengers bound for America, passed on the opposite tack within a quarter of a mile. In the afternoon the fog became exceedingly thick so that a ship came upon us within half a table length before she was seen. Captain Howie hailed. We could not hear her name. She was bound for London, fifteen days from Quebec.

July 29.—The wind still light and ahead. I preached between decks from Romans 3, 32. Mr. Robertson, whose turn it was, was indisposed. Audience attentive. The Sabbath was not spent, by any means, as the Lord's Day should be, which I regretted. Read two sermons of Horsley's to the cabin passengers. I was told the steward had sold to the steerage passengers on Saturday ten bottles of rum. This I think a most pernicious custom. The money is taken from the passengers and they are kept constantly groggy; and all for a paltry gain to the owners or cabin passengers. It is sold for one shilling a bottle.

July 30.—Morning cold. Thermometer 50. Saw a seal at a little distance. With these winds we shall have a tedious passage, and yet I am not wearying. I am as happy as ever I was. The only drawback is the noise of the children in the cabin of whom there are eight. We are not yet on the banks of Newfoundland. The fog came on so thick in the afternoon, we were all forced into the cabin. During supper we were told there was a light ahead. The Captain said it was some ship fishing on the Banks, as all ships, fishing are bound by law to hang out a light. When we went to bed the night was dark, foggy and uncomfortable. It was proposed to the Captain that he hang out a light to prevent accidents. He said a light would be of little use, that a bell was the proper thing, but that the "Crown" never had a bell, and so she could not make use of what she had—a light.

July 31.—The morning rainy. About breakfast time there was a dead calm. Many on board took the opportunity to throw out lines for cod. In about an hour and a half about twenty cod fish were taken, which afforded a delightful fresh meal to every one in the ship. In walking along the deck to see the fish caught, I fell, owing to the slipperiness of the deck, and hurt my shoulder.

August 1.—Uncomfortable weather. My arm painful today. At sunset there was an appearance in the West which was supposed to be land. If land it was, it must be Cape Race. It did not appear to me to be land. Whether it be land or not it produced a strange sensation. It brought home to me, that

now all the difficulties which I had anticipated in taking my family to a foreign land, and the difficulties which I had anticipated in my mission, were just at hand. May God direct me in my way. All up to the present has been preparation, now is the time to act.

August 2.—Dense mist, no wind. Tried to fish for cod, but though there were a few hooked they were all lost in the act of bringing on board.

August 3.—Morning calm. Ship as still as if lying at anchor. It is believed by the officers and crew to have been a mistake that we had seen land. We are beginning to weary of the voyage.

August 4.—Read to-day all the reports of the Glasgow Colonial Society. The impression produced upon my mind by the perusal is, that the Society is as much inclined to set up the Kirk in the Colony as to make Christians. Such is the tenor of the information published. The account of the labors of their missionaries is poor indeed.

August 5, Sabbath.—The day fair. I preached in the steerage from 1 John, 4-16. In the evening read to the cabin passengers a sermon of Horsley's on the Commission given to Peter.

August 6.—Fair. Saw to-day some sea weed floating past, shewing there must be a current eastward, perhaps the Northern edge of the great Gulf Stream. I had noticed frequently the same thing on the Banks. We discovered this day that the feather bed was wholly rotten in the under side. This was occasioned by the sea damp, but particularly by the green or damp wood which had been put into the beds when they were filled up at Greenock. We learned from this that a ship is a damp place, and that beds should be frequently taken out and dried. Went down to the fore-castle to-day and admired the neatness of the place and the order of it, though there were ten hammocks in a space not large enough for three beds. Read a good deal to-day. It is difficult in such a place as I now am to read, and still more difficult to find opportunity for privacy for serious reflection. I hope that my deficiencies in this respect may be attributed to my situation and not to any disinclination. I am aware that one is ever apt to lay the blame which is due to himself on his circumstances.

August 7.—Awoke this morning to see the sun shining brightly, a rare sight of light, and the sea as smooth as glass. We are in hopes of seeing St. Paul's to-morrow. St. Paul's is an island lying in the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

August 8.—As we knew we were near the entrance to the

Gulf, and as there is a dense mist which prevents us seeing further than a quarter mile any side, there was considerable anxiety in the ship lest we should, in the dark, run on Cape Race or St. Paul's. Let us hope that He who hath guided us safely on our way will continue to guide us. Having passed as we thought St. Paul's, we were still anxious we should run on the Magdalene or Bird Isles, which are more dangerous than even St. Paul's on a dark night. No sermon to-day in consequence of the rolling of the ship.

August 9.—I was awakened this morning by a bustle on deck, occasioned by the lowering of a small boat to go to see what appeared to be a wreck or a dismantled ship about a mile distant. On looking out of the cabin window I saw a bare hull of a vessel. On looking through my glass I was confirmed in this belief. We had a thousand conjectures about it. The most intense anxiety was felt until the return of the boat. When they approached the supposed wreck, it turned out to be a barque with all sails fully bent. The cause of the strange appearance was this: A cloud of mist sunk down upon the ship just to the deck and completely concealed the whole rigging, leaving the hull distinctly visible. In the course of an hour or two the mist cleared off, and we saw the barque, rigging and sails, quite near to us. The same thing occurred once or twice during the day. The Captain has, for some days, been ill of sore eyes, which has been a source of anxiety to us all, he having treated us at all times with kindness.

August 10.—Misty. About four o'clock a schooner passed and informed us that we were just five miles from the South W. point of Anticosti. I felt that this was just as a message from Heaven, which we did greatly need, because we were far from being certain where we were; and besides we were sailing in such a direction as that in the course of an hour we must have been in a dangerous situation. How kind the God of Providence has been to us. But this was not all. About seven P. M., we hailed a ship from Quebec, who informed us we were somewhere between Cape Reserve and the great Valley. The good which was done to us we were enabled to do to another. A barque hailed us for information where we were, and as they were wrong in their reckoning ten degrees they were very thankful for our information. About 9 P. M. the wind blew like a gale. It came suddenly, then there was such exertions to take down the sails and get all ready for a storm. The bustle and preparations were very alarming to us who were not acquainted with sea affairs. May the God who ruleth over all preserve us. After supper the mate came to ask the Captain

if he would take down the fore top sail, both because there was an appearance of more wind, and because the reefing tackle was all gone. He was ordered it to clew it up. Our dear child Jessie, who was very feverish last night, is now somewhat better. May God perfect her recovery and convey us all safely to land, and keep us after we land. Before the gale came on we were on deck and saw to the S. W. the long wished for land. The sight of land was most interesting as being the first view of that land which is now to be our home, and where we hope to live, and in which we expect to die and be buried. I mused on the fate of that country which from the creation of the world down to the days of Columbus was unknown to all the rest of the world, and which has run over in the course of civilization and greatness of power, in the space of a few years, what it has taken the rest of the world thousands of years to travel. On that country was poured the light of the experience of all mankind in one clear, full flood. A land that has become great in a day. In that land I wish to serve God, and do good to my fellow men. The Leith ship communicated a piece of information which deeply affected us all, and which began to engross every other concern, viz., that the cholera was raging at Quebec and Montreal; that the mortality occasioned by it was greater than in any place in Britain; and that it was becoming more moderate. This was exceedingly distressing to us all, particularly to me who has so many children. Our only hope is in the mercy of God.

August 11.—In the course of tacking in toward the shore the American coast became distinctly visible. Along the whole shore as far as we could see, there ran a range of hills, not high, but covered with wood to the very summit. The trees seemed small and from their color of the Pine tribe. What labors are here for the hand of the cultivator! That part of the coast was about Magdalen River. In the afternoon the coast of Lower Canada on the North side of the St. Lawrence. Near to Labrador, along the coast, there seemed to run a range of low hills, and behind another ridge higher, and behind these a still higher range. Beyond what we saw, and far within that land, there live many of the children of nature, living without hope in the world. It is surely to the honor of Christianity that there have gone forth to these wild and inhospitable regions men animated by the sole desire of bringing these wild savage people to the knowledge of the way of life. Oh, that I may be enabled to gather into the fold of Christ some of my fellow sinners that they may be saved! Toward evening the wind died away, and we tacked about, and shall continue, unless the

wind stiffens to a more favorable point. We may cross and recross the mouth of the St. Lawrence for days without being permitted to enter. I am, however, quite reconciled to this tediousness in the hope that God in His merciful providence is delaying us till the rage of the Cholera abate. During night the moon shone clearly, and we all went to rest cheerful and comfortable. May God in His Infinite Goodness conduct us to the land of our labors and our hopes.

August 12, Sabbath.—Mr. Robertson preached between decks. Just fifty persons present. A number were pacing about the decks smoking and talking. In the evening I read to the company in the cabin two of Horsley's sermons on Psalm 45. The Captain very ill of an inflamed eye. During the whole day tacking between the Seven Islands and the Southern shore. That part of the shore of the continent to the N. and E. in sight all day. It appeared to be barren and cheerless. We were not near enough to see, but it is covered with wood. Tasted the waters of the gulf; found them not nearly so salt as the Atlantic. In the charts I see that the River St. Lawrence is marked as going as far down as Anticosti, which is represented as in the St. Lawrence. This I think is not correct. The river should be considered as coming down to Bald Mountain Pt. and Cape Chat. Below this should be the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The river at its mouth is twenty-five miles wide. The books of geography say it is ninety miles wide, which I suppose is done in order to make it wonderful. A river ninety miles wide - ! !

August 13.—About breakfast time the pilot came on board. It is common for a number of pilots to enter into company and to have a large boat in common. These pilots cruise about the mouth of the river, and leave one of their number in every ship that wants one. Yesterday we saw a pilot boat coming all day far below the seven islands. The pilots are paid here eighteen shillings for every foot of water the ship draws. The Pilot gave us a most distressing account of the ravages of cholera in Quebec and Montreal. He says that it is about eight weeks since it broke out at Quebec, that it was brought by an emigrant ship from Ireland, in which there were sixty ill of it; that at first it seized upon the dissipated of whom there are a great number in Quebec, where a bottle of spirits can be had for 9d, that afterwards it seized the sick and the sober, that it has been worse, if possible, at Montreal than Quebec. We have thus a most alarming prospect before us. Our safety is in the Lord God alone, who only can shield us from the pestilence; and may He grant that our alarms may be sanctified to us, and that if it be His will to remove all or any of us, we may be prepared for the change.

August 14.—We passed the lighthouse at the Bald Mt. Pt. The left bank of the river densely covered with wood down to the water's edge. The wood generally small, and at the outside thickly set with brushwood, seemingly spruce and birch. I have been rather unwell to-day.

August 15.—Saw this morning the village of Mattawa, the first human habitation we have seen. In it there live a few farmers who are secluded from all the world. They keep a schooner, and send in their produce twice or thrice a year. The principal article of sale is salmon, caught in the stream which comes down from the Mattawa Mountains. Still unwell. The Captain rather better. I was told that parties of native Indians hunt over this whole country. Bears and deer are not uncommon in the forests. The pilot told me that many of the Indians in the neighborhood of Quebec are very respectable people; the white men sometimes marry Indian women. The Pilot, who is a Catholic, informed me that the priests freely attend the worst cholera patients, and that he had not heard of any who had taken the disease. The pilot is of the opinion that every church ought to support its own ministers, and that no government tax ought to be imposed for the support of any religious denomination; which appeared to me more liberal than Catholics are supposed to be. It is a very common thing for one party to misrepresent another, and as long as this is the case it will be difficult to arrive at truth.

August 16.—The air is very sharp and cold, more so than I felt it in Scotland at this season. The Pilot says there has been little warm weather in Canada this summer. In the morning we had a fine view of the village of Father Point on the right bank. The houses seem small, each standing on the end of a strip of land running back from the river. Each has a portion of cleared ground. Whatever was in crop was quite green, and I think late; saw no cattle. It does not appear very thriving. The people may have milk and meal, but it will be long ere they have anything like wealth. Canada on the Lakes must be very different from this specimen, else we are humbugged.

August 17.—Weather fine but cold. In the morning we were as far up the river as Island Bic, which is a small island covered with brush. Much of the wood which I saw, the Pilot says, is Sugar Maple. The Pilot says Quebec is not a place for emigrants. The people are quite able for all the work, and do not want strangers. The wages of the work people are 3s. 6d. or 4s.; but there is more than six months of winter during which time, a man may be thankful if he get his meat for his day's

work. Everything is exceedingly dear on account of the cholera. Farmers do not bring in their produce readily; and butter, eggs, grain of all kinds nearly half dearer than usual. There are no temperance societies in Quebec.

August 18.—Anchored to Green Island from 10 till 4 P. M., when the tide turned. Green Island seems to be a rock covered with firs and brush wood. At the east end of it a light house; at the west end three wigwams. Saw a man and a number of cows and sheep, seemingly of good size and condition. Beyond the island on the mainland a good deal of cleared land, and some pretty spots, and neat small farm houses. All the way up to Quebec, I hear, the shore is as well studded with houses. The country has been settled a long time.

August 19, Sabbath.—I preached in the steerage from 1 Thess. 4-1. The audience much the same as last Sabbath. I was exceedingly sorry to witness the indifference of many of the passengers, and of the whole crew. The first mate, who is rather a prepossessing man, lay asleep the whole time on the hen coop. The Captain has not been able to attend for two Sabbaths. There is a great deal of profaneness in this ship; every man of the crew uses it, and most of the passengers. There are, however, some honorable exceptions. I wish I were away from them, both on account of the pain which it gives me, and the hurtful influence they may have on the children.

August 20.—The appearance of the country on the right bank is exceedingly fine. All along the river side is thickly studded with cottages, so close they seem to be a street with little spaces between the houses. We are opposite a most beautiful village, Camarasca, with a fine looking church, having a steeple. In the village I noticed many very elegant houses, some two storey, and others built in the style of the English cottage. The people, French. The houses are built of wood, and all whitewashed, even to the roof, which gives them a very cleanly appearance.

August 21.—Passed several very beautiful islands. Saw the island close by which is stationed a lightship, with two lights. The keeper an old captain.

August 22.—The scenery still improving, beautiful beyond description. I felt I would like to live in retirement on one of these islands with my family around me, and leave the world to its fate. It was a foolish wish of a moment. There are duties to be discharged, and trials to be endured, necessary to the improvement of the spirit of man; and this improvement is not to go on in living out of the world on an island in the St. Lawrence, enchanting though it be.

August 23.—I may state here what I have hitherto forgot-

ten, to note, that we have had prayers, family worship, in the cabin almost every evening since we came on board.

August 24.—As we are at the quarantine island, it has been a very busy day, putting the steerage passengers ashore, and white washing the ship. We heard from a soldier on duty at the quarantine station that the cholera is raging in Quebec; during the first month 3,000 died.

August 25.—Nothing new.

August 26, Sabbath.—About five o'clock I was called out of bed to have a fine view of Quebec. The appearance of this Northern Capital from the river is very fine. The houses high and elegant; and as they are covered with tin in place of slate, they glittered in the morning sun like brilliant polished gold. The City far exceeded anything I had anticipated. We anchor off the mouth of the St. Charles River. I set foot this day for the first time in America. May God in His infinite mercy make us thankful for the many mercies we have experienced in crossing the ocean, and may He continue to guide us, and in these times particularly, preserve us from danger and disease.

August 27.—Took a stroll through the town in the forenoon. At four o'clock we left Quebec. Have not been well these two days.

August 29.—Arrived at Montreal at four P. M. I immediately went into the town to deliver some letters and get lodgings. Saw Mr. John Simpson, and Mr. Rattray, tobacconist. Could not get lodgings; had to stay on board the steamer all night.

August 30.—Started out early to get lodgings; delivered a letter to Mr. Alex. Miller which I had from Mr. Arch. Reed to him. He lives in the summer in the country, and his town house is empty. He kindly invited us to such accommodation as he had to give; so we took our ship mattress and blankets and spread our beds on the floor. Finding it so hard to get lodgings I resolved to proceed up the country nearer to the scene of my labor. I sent off my luggage by McPherson & Co. to Prescott; and engaged for my family to be taken by coach for forty-five dollars. I shall have many observations to make on Montreal, if God spare me.

August 31.—Slept soundly and felt well this morning. I was very cordially received where I delivered introductory letters. Messrs. Ferrier, Lawrie, Gerald, and Jamieson were very kind. Mr. Robertson had some communings with some of Mr. Shank's people at Montreal. He put out rather the cloven foot. His object was plainly to conceal from me the fact that he had met with any of them. I told him that while Mr. Shanks and his people were under engagements for a year,

that I would have no fellowship in his doings amongst them. God order our way; Amen. In the afternoon Mr. Miller drove Mr. and Mrs. Robertson and Mrs. P. and myself around Montreal, and took us to his own house to tea, and showed us kindness in every possible way. Mr. Miller has a very nice summer house two miles out, and his farm is nearly as well managed as if it were in Scotland.

September 1.—At two o'clock I got into the coach for Prescott. We had a rapid drive over nine miles of a very bad road to Lachine. We got on board the steamer and sailed to the Cascades. Breakfast on board which cost me 11-3. Sixteen miles to Coteau de Lac. The road is not good; the hollow places are filled with large logs of wood, and the jolting was both painful and ludicrous. At the Cascades saw the junction of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa. Went on board the steamer. All went to bed and slept till dinner time. About two P. M. we landed at Cornwall and got into the stage for Prescott.

September 2, Sabbath.—Arrived at Prescott at 6 A. M., after a ride of fifty miles over a road that jolted the coach in a style to which hitherto I have been a stranger. Mrs. P. was all black and blue with knocks caused by the jolting of the coach. Heard a sermon in the Presbyterian church. Mr. Boyd preached to sixty-five persons present. The house airy and neat. The sermon very so-so. Spent the remainder of the day with my family comfortably.

September 3.—This morning crossed over to Ogdensburgh and took the steamer to Morristown from which I proceeded to Hammond to see Mr. McGregor (brother-in-law); walked there. On both sides of the road saw going on the process of chopping the forest. Took Alex., John, and William with me; they were exceedingly fatigued with the walk.

September 4.—Returned from Hammond to Prescott by the stage and boat with Mr. McGregor, who has bought seventy acres of land, lives in a log house, is contented and happy. I left the three boys with Mrs. McGregor. On our way to Ogdensburgh we passed through, as we thought, a thunder cloud. There was a very great deal of lightning, both forked and sheet, and thunder. Crossed over to Prescott in a small boat. Ogdensburgh is a fine thriving town. The lower storey of some of the houses is of polished marble, a degree of splendor I have never seen anywhere else. Coaching is very far from being a comfortable way of travelling. The roads are rough. The coaches are light, the passengers are in the inside, and there is no luggage outside. They seem incapable of being overturned. The horses are light but exceedingly beautiful

and active, and when the road is anyway tolerable they go at a speed which few of the best Scottish coach horses could surpass.

September 5.—Left Prescott this morning with Mrs. Proudfoot, Robert, Hart and Jessie, and Mr. McGregor, for Brockville in the splendid steamer Great Britain. We took a deck passage at the rate of one-quarter of a dollar for each. On arrival at Prescott Mr. McGregor took Mrs. P. and the children across the river to Morristown. I called for Mr. Stuart, the Presbyterian minister at Brockville; was very kindly received and invited to lodge in his house. He introduced me to some very respectable people in town. I was so happy as to meet the brethren of the Presbytery, and got some useful information respecting the wants of the Canadians, both temporal and spiritual. There were present Mr. Boyd, of Prescott; Mr. McDowell, Fredricksburgh; and Mr. Lyle, Osnabruck. The Presbytery had met for the purpose of discussing the proposal of a union, made to them by the ministers in Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, and I understood that they had agreed to accept of these proposals. I have not seen the terms, but in the course of conversation learned that the terms were made by the Kirk ministers, and offered to the seceders, and the grounds on which they would receive them. It came out that they were sensible of their being treated as an inferior grade; and though they were hurt, yet they were willing to swallow the affront and to do it with a good grace. I received from the brethren affectionate invitations to their homes. Most of them informed me that they have two, three, or four churches; and that the labor which they undergo is very hard. I received useful attention from a Mr. Blackburn, to whom I had letters of introduction. I engaged (D. V.) to preach for Mr. Stuart next Sabbath. On looking over my expenditure I find I have spent \$25 since leaving Montreal. Every charge has been heavy in spite of my efforts to keep within bounds.

September 6.—Left Brockville this morning and came to Hammond to see my family. Walked from Morristown. The ferry and refreshments cost one half dollar, the former very dear, the latter very cheap. My design, if God will, is to spend to-day and to-morrow at Hammond; to return to Brockville on Saturday; and then on Monday to go to Prescott to look after my luggage, and to take the steamer to York, V. C. I heard on my arrival at Hammond that my two fowling pieces have been seized by the custom house officers at Morristown and that they will not be restored till I pay thirty per cent. ad valorem. This is very hard and very mean, but we will see about it. At my arrival at Hammond I found that the older boy had gone to stay with Mr. McGregor's father. I wish I had a home to

which I could conduct them. God, whose ways are all mercy, will give me a habitation in due time; therefore, I wait. On my way from Morristown, I killed a snake about two feet in length. It was crossing the road with a frog in its mouth. The snakes are not, in general, poisonous, nor do they attain to any great age.

September 7.—In Hammond, during last night we were greatly alarmed on account of our dear child Hart, who was seized with croup in the middle of the night. I gave him four grains of Calomel, and bathed him up to his neck in warm water, by which, through the blessing of God, he was greatly relieved. To-day wrote long letters to my dear children Mary and Eliza, who may God in His infinite mercy preserve and bless.

September 8.—Came along with Mr. McGregor to Morristown where I dined. Waited on the custom house officers from whom, after a short explanation, I received my fowling pieces without any duty paid. The ferry boat to Brockville is a mere shalop; and as there was a storm on the river I was compelled to wait a considerable time, and after all got over, not without fear and danger.

September 9.—Brockville. Preached to-day for Mr. Stuart. In the morning from John 12-30; afternoon 1 Thess. 4-1. The meeting house was very thin both parts of the day. There is a band for conducting the Psalmody of the church. The music is very good; but here, as in every place where there is a band, the congregation do not sing. The music is very dearly bought, when it is at the expense of the praise of God. After service Mr. and Mrs. Wenham called for me. He is a Baptist, she a Presbyterian. They both seem devout servants of God. Mr. W. was so good as to promise me letters to some of his friends in U. C., and did show me a very good deal of kindness for the sake of the cause of truth. In the evening Mr. Stuart returned from where he had been preaching, and I had a long and interesting conversation with him regarding the religious state of Upper Canada, and regarding the manner in which I should act best for the interests of the Gospel, the object of my mission, and the wellbeing of my family. He was very communicative and very friendly. From him I learned that the wants of the Upper Province are very great; that there are many villages destitute of the gospel; that as the settlements are generally very new, the people are very poor; that a minister, in order to get what may support him, must preach in two or more villages; that he must preach occasionally during the week; that as the villages grow in size and wealth they make ap-

plication each for a minister to itself; and that a great deal of patience and perseverance are necessary, both to gather and preserve a congregation. Was informed that the Methodists are straining every nerve to make converts to their cause, and that they are being successful. Mr. McGregor told me on Friday that at Gouveneur, U. S., there was a revival of religion last year; that 100 converts were made; and that the Methodists never rested till, by hook or crook, they got most of them to their connection. Mr. Stuart detailed to me a good deal of the history of the steps which have led to the union of the Presbyterians of the General Synod and the Presbyterians of the United Synod. The former are in connection with the Kirk of Scotland, the latter with the several Presbyterian bodies in Britain and America (U. S.). The union is *primae facie*, rather dishonorable to the dissenters. The Kirk party offers to admit them into the synod on the following terms:—That the dissenters shall produce written proof of their ordination; that they shall subscribe to the confession of faith (Westminster); and that they shall not set up any claim to the royal bounty, nor interfere with whatever applications the Kirk party may make for themselves. These terms are humiliating enough. It appears that the measure has been recommended by Mr. George Murray when in office; that Sir John Colbern has assented to it; and that the people generally throughout the province are desirous of it; so that the secession party are shut up. Mr. Stuart thinks that in spite of the apparent ungraciousness of the terms the union will work well, and so it will, if the one party lay aside its hauteur and the other, or both rather, resolve to do all to the glory of God. I was very desirous to understand the position in which I should be placed by this union. Mr. Stuart could not well tell, but repeated again and again, that for his part he was perfectly contented that a Presbytery or Presbyteries be formed in immediate connection with the United Associate Synod; that all he wished most is the faithful and pure preaching of the gospel; that he would correspond with me in the event of my being settled; that I might be taken into their union if I had a mind; and as proof of the sincerity of these declarations he gave me some letters to men of influence in York and other places. Mr. Stuart spoke of the Kirk clergy as men who desired to ride, and ride on the dissenters, but he thought that neither the government nor the country would bear them out in any such measures, and therefore he concluded that though the terms of the union were ungracious, yet the union will work well. His opinion appears to me so far as I know the case, a sound one. He further told

me that had the United Synod at home sent their missionaries six months ago, he, for one, would not have accepted admission with the Kirk Synod. While he said all the above and much more to the same purpose, he yet was exceedingly guarded not to mention the name of any place where I might find a favorable opening, but referred me for information to the persons to whom he had given me the letters. I do not think he supposed I perceived this. I received from him an account of the manner in which Probationers were prepared by the Canadian Presbyteries. Mr. Stuart had brought on one or two, taught them literature and divinity, and they were licensed and did and do very well. The Sabbath was upon the whole spent in an edifying manner.

September 10.—I resolved this day, after a good deal of thought, after separations for the divine direction, and conversation with Mr. Stuart and Mr. Wenham, to look out for a settlement for my family somewhere about or above York; because should I settle them for some time further down the river, say, Prescott or Brockville, I should, if spared, have to sell the furniture which it might be necessary to buy, and to sell at a loss; or if I should take it to the Upper Country, I should have to pay a heavy price for its transfer, as where if I settled the family in or near York I should be able to retain the furniture as the carriage of it would not be heavy. Having resolved this, I went this afternoon in the Great Britain steamboat to Prescott to look after my luggage. It had not arrived; and I resolved not to wait for it but proceed with all expedition to the upper part of the province. I stayed over night with the Rev. Mr. Boyd, Prescott, who showed good hospitality, and who conversed very freely about his labors and the matters connected with the church. He has five preaching stations: Prescott, and one about ten miles down the river, which are served on one Sabbath; S. Gower, twenty-four miles back, and with it two places. Such labors leave him all Tuesday worn out, and they must soon wear out any constitution. He seems a man very willing to labor and has pleasure in what he does. He talked very freely of the union. He suspects, almost thinks, it will never take place; says, for himself, that if it be opposed in the Presbytery to which he belongs, he will not unite; that if any of his brethren are objected to, he will not unite. At the same time he wishes that it were gone comfortably into. He informed me that the Governor felt so strongly on the subject, and felt so strongly the claims of the Seceders, that he believed the Kirk clergy would not dare to refuse, and that the dissenters might have made better terms. Mr. Boyd is a fine, fearless, unassuming man.

September 11.—Left Prescott this morning for York, U. C. The charge for the cabin and living is six dollars in the United Kingdom steamer. The cylinders of the engines lie horizontally and this prevents the tugging which is so common and so disagreeable. I called on Mr. Wenham, Brockville, while the boat was lying to for passengers and timber for fuel. The surgeon of the "Roger Stewart," who had given me a dose of medicine at Quebec, is a passenger and I was glad to see a face I had seen before. He purposes to settle in U. C. The St. Lawrence is still the most beautiful river I ever saw. Immediately above Brockville it begins again to be studded with islands, most of them small, composed of naked rock but all covered with brush wood. Before bed time we were in the Lake of the 1,000 Islands. As there was a heavy wind down the river, the boat lay to for some hours in a kind of wharf on the American side from where the wood is taken in.

September 12.—About half after 5 a.m. we lay to at the wharf at Kingston. Got up about 6 and took a stroll through the town. It is very beautifully situated. It is smaller than I expected. There are a good many stone houses, but there is an air of discomfort about it. It does not seem to be cleanly kept. There is a fine court house, a very handsome church, the spire not finished. On the opposite of the bay are the barracks and other buildings, which were erected during the late American War, and which, I suppose, are now useless. The summits above these barracks are covered with fortifications. I saw on the docks some half-finished line of battleships, which lie there a monument to the exertions of Britain and of the power of the United States, whose hostility called forth the prowess of Britain. There was little gained by Britain in that war, not even a name, for it is, I believe, generally allowed that Britain had more men and more guns on the lakes than the Americans, and yet the Americans had the better of the war. The Government buildings are connected with the city by a wooden bridge of 12 arches. The bridge must soon, like the ships, go to decay, as it is neither painted nor pitched. After breakfast we entered Lake Ontario, a noble inland sea. We sailed up the Canadian side touching at several points. We soon lost sight of the American shore. The sky, as in the midst of the Atlantic, rested on the bosom of the deep. The shore is still wood, nothing but wood. I was told respecting Kingston, by a respectable passenger, that after having languished for 10 years, it seems now to be reviving; that the opening of the Rideau Canal throws open to Kingston a large tract of country, and that, though little has been done on that route, it has felt that little. It occurred to me that if something be not done to facilitate navigation of the rapids

and Cascades, if a canal be not cut, which might be easily done, that the course of trade will be up the Grand River (Ottawa), where the navigation is not now interrupted, and that this trade will centre in Kingston, and consequently Prescott and Brockville will languish. Indeed, if something be not done to render the navigation of the St. Lawrence easy it would not be surprising if Prescott and Brockville received their merchandise from Kingston or from the Ottawa across the country. As we were leaving the wharf there came in three Indian canoes, in one of which was the Massasaga Chief, a man of about 50 years of age, dressed in a blue coat, very shabby, and an old hat. He pulled his own boat, and his squaw sat on the stern and paddled. In two of the boats there were two dogs each, very pretty creatures. I saw in one a firelock. The females were very coarsely dressed; all paddled. There is an appearance of closeness, cunning and savageness about these men. I suppose they had come in with merchandise. Two of the canoes were birch bark, the other a built boat. About midday a very strong breeze sprung up a-head. The lake was lashed with foam, and the captain, after making an attempt to enter the Bay of Quinte, found himself under the necessity of pulling back and taking shelter in South Bay, just behind the promontory which separates South Bay from Quinte. There we lay at anchor till past midnight. There are sometimes very heavy storms on Lake Ontario, which are attended with great danger. The waves are not the long swelling billows which are to be met with in the ocean, and over which a good ship rides so majestically, but short, frothy-working waves, which, in spite of the most skillful steering are perpetually dashing against the ship. Found on board a copy of Pilgrim's Progress, which read, not only with admiration of the talents of the author, but with a delight, in the truth which Bunyan sets forth in a dress so fascinating. I have always remarked the want of books in the American boats. There is ample provision for the body, but not for the mind. There is good living, plenty of good spirits, and water to drink, but no books, sometimes a newspaper, which is read twenty times over. In only one boat have I seen a map of Canada. This might be remedied at very little expense. A fellow traveller today wished me to play backgammon. When asked for a board the waiter did not know what he meant. I have seen no cards, no backgammon board in any boat. The Canadians are said to be exceedingly good players at draughts.

September 13.—At one a.m. the wind moderated, and we got on our way. About 11 o'clock we lay to at Cobourg to take in and give out passengers. Cobourg is a most beautiful village.

Not more than twelve years since this part of the country began to be cleared. The houses are almost all of wood, and they are very neat. I would like very much to be domiciled at Cobourg. The next village is Port Hope, a sweet place; but we were not near enough to see it distinctly. A gentleman on board had two newspapers brought from the United States, both religious, and both of a late date. This was a real treat. In thinking before I got out of bed what I should do to-day, I could not contrive anything else than that I read over again all the papers on the cabin table. I had read them all before, but idleness is an un-supportable burden. I would rather go to the forest and chop trees than be idle. I feel somewhat concerned at how I am to get on at York. May God, who has been my protector and guide hitherto, protect and guide me still. I am dependent upon Him alone, for I have here no other friend to whom I can lean. O, that I had such confidence in His mercy, as that I should, like Abraham, go forward where God may lead me. There is, I hear, still some cholera at York. From pestilence, from all dangers, do thou, O Lord, deliver me! Arrived at York about 11 p.m., and put up at the Ontario House, where I was as comfortable as persons usually are in Canadian Inns. My voyage to-day has been a pleasant one. The approach to York being around the promontory called Gibraltar Point, is not interesting, as by it the town is hid from view till one is very near. The charge from Prescott to York is \$8, including food, but no drink.

September 14.—Called this morning for\* Mr. Harris, Mr. Britoul and Mr. Stewart. Took up my residence with Mr. Harris, the Presbyterian minister. Mr. Britoul, of the Kirk, received me coolly, as I expected. Mr. Stewart, Baptist minister, received me very cordially. I had a letter for Jesse Ketchum, Esq., M. P., who made no particular remarks. I set about looking for a house for my family, and for this purpose was introduced to Mr. Drummond, an old Scotchman, who entered with great ardor into all my views. York is a fine town. There are many fine buildings and private houses, and very spacious brick edifices as government offices. The buildings are, in general, erected with a view to convenience, and taste has nothing to do with the matter. House rent exceedingly high. I begun to fear I shall not get a house at all suitable for my family.

September 15.—Resumed this day seeking a house and was still unsuccessful. Got acquainted with a Dr. McDonald, a very pleasant man. My time was agreeably taken up at times with Dr. James Anderson, with whom I got slightly acquainted at

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\* The expression "called for" is used by Mr. Proudfoot in the sense of "called on."

Quebec. This afternoon I wrote to my dearest Isabel. I was greatly distressed in thinking of her, and of our dear children, and lamented that there is little immediate prospect of getting a settlement for them. Oh, that God would direct my way, and give me submission to His will. In the evening attended a prayer meeting in Mr. Harris' chapel. There has been a prayer meeting every evening since the ravages of cholera. It was very thickly attended. I prayed and gave a short exposition of John 14. In the evening, on coming out of the chapel, I observed in the Southwest one of the most extraordinary natural phenomena I had ever seen. There seemed to extend along the Southern shore of the lake a ridge of dense cloud exceedingly irregular on its upper edge; beyond this cloud there was an incessant gleaming of lightning. It seemed to be always illumined, but at very short intervals the light darted up high above the edge of the cloud and grandly lighted up the sky. The whole seemed as if there were an enormous chaldron of fire boiling beyond the cloud always boiling, at times boiling over. This continued from dusk till 2 o'clock morning, in the same spot.

September 16.—Sabbath. Preached for Mr. Harris from John 12:32, and I. Thess. 4:1, and attended a prayer meeting in the evening. Mr. Harris seems to think that I preach with too much ease; that if I would appear to exert myself more and to labor more, my preaching would be more attractive. It is strange that men have such absurd notions about preaching that they should think that the impression of truth comes in the bodily writhings of the man who declares it. Had a great deal of conversation with Mr. Harris about the Union. I found that he was very far from being satisfied, either with the terms or with the manner in which it is to be affected.

September 17.—Occupied in the morning seeking a house. Heard of one which I think I shall rent. Left York at noon, having taken my ticket in the stage to Hamilton, for which I paid \$2½ (12s. 6d.). I had a letter of introduction from Mr. Harris to Mr. King at Nelson, and Mr. Paterson at Dundas. The consequence of not having received sufficient information respecting the position of Nelson, I came on to Hamilton, 14 miles beyond Nelson. The journey to Hamilton was affected with great discomfort and pain. The roads were so rough, and the jolting of the stage so severe, that my whole frame was shaken, particularly my back. We took 12 hours to travel 50 miles. A great part of the tract through which we passed is still forest. There are, however, several farms on the roadside, some perfectly cleared and others in progress of being rapidly denuded of their timber. After it became dark the appearance of these farms that were in the act of being cleared, had something sublime and sad;

vast logs, the monarchs of the forest drawn together in heaps of 6 and 8, and blazing in the middle of the dark forest, whose edges were widely illumined with the glare. The soil all the way from York to Hamilton is, for the most part, of a deep sand. Near York it is in some places a stiff clay; but all along the whole 50 miles it is sand. Today crossed three small streams running into the lake, the Humber, the Etobicoke, and the Credit. The last is the largest and abounds with fine salmon, which are taken in large quantities. The upper country North of the lake must be very destitute of water. Being dissatisfied with the Inn at which the coach stopped, I went in quest of another after twelve o'clock and was taken by a fellow traveller to the house of Mr. Plummer of Burley, which I find comfortable.

September 18.—Hamilton is an exceedingly neat and thriving village. The soil is sandy, which keeps it dry. The main street is spacious, and may be called a square. In the immediate vicinity there are some as beautiful farms as I have seen in Scotland, and as valuable too, if they were brought to market. There is no church in Hamilton, but there is to be one built, and the people are expecting a Mr. Gale from Lachine to be the new minister. The Methodists are building a large place of worship near the town. Behind the town there runs a ridge of hills wooded to the top. This is a most interesting sight to a Scot who is apt soon to become weary of the everlasting level of America. This hill is part of that which crosses the Niagara River, and forms the celebrated Falls. I had a great mind to climb to the top, but the day was hazy through mist, or the smoke of burning wood in the forests, and I was too much fatigued with the shaking of yesterday. To-day I hired a waggon or car for a dollar, and drove down to Dundas to present my letter of introduction to Mr. Paterson and his father who are from Perth. Mrs. P., who is from Dundee, received me in very much the Old Country fashion. There is no stated ministry in Dundas. There is a church built by subscription, which is given to every one who asks it. It is occupied, as occasion serves, by Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist. Mr. Paterson, who is a Baptist, kindly offered to get it for me, some part of Sabbath first, and I made with him arrangements about occupying it. Dundas contains about 500 souls, is situated in a deep bottom through which runs a small stream. It is thought it will become a place of considerable trade, for when the canal is once brought to the village it will be the outlet of the produce of the rich country behind it and the depot of foreign produce for the back country. The village is situated in a ravine, is unhealthy,

being subject to fever and ague. I called this day at the emigrant office, the keeper of which spoke very sensibly of emigration. He said that much more had been said of the Company's land and of the Crown lands than they deserved for the purpose of inducing emigrants to settle there. That they who went to the up country must be able to support themselves for some time as they can get nothing out of the lands, and when they raise produce they will have no market to send it to; that they cannot bring it down except in winter when the snow is on the ground. Were such truths told at times where only it is of use to tell it, how much misery would be prevented. Whilst I was jolting in the coach last night and attempting to sleep, my thoughts reverted, as they are ever doing, to my dear family now so widely scattered. I was particularly concerned about my dear lambs in Scotland. My reverie began about seven thirty o'clock and while I fervently prayed to God to take care of them and make them his own daughters, it occurred to me that, calculating the difference of time, they had two hours ago bent their knees at their bedside and prayed fervently for their father and mother, sisters and brothers, far, far, away from them, and I fancied that, at the very moment I was thinking of them they were dreaming of me and their mother. And that in the midst of their dreams their heart, filled with love and longing, made them cry out, as they often did, "My own dear Pa;" and I thought I saw them as they were wont to do, struggling who should get from me the greatest number of kisses, and I fancied I felt their warm lips on mine. It was a joyful and a sad meditation. O, may God bless and guard and direct our two dear daughters in the land of their birth, and direct me to a suitable habitation and home for them and the rest of the family, whom God, of His infinite mercy save and guide.

September 19.—Grove Inn. This morning about half an hour before one o'clock, I left Hamilton returning on the road to York. My intention when I left York was to proceed as far as Grimsby and Thorold, to see, at the former place, Mr. Eastman, and at the latter, Mr. Black, from both of whom I had been led to expect information and encouragement. The above plan I altered at Hamilton; first, because of the cost of it; and second, because the whole journey must be performed in the stage, a mode of travelling too severe for me. I therefore resolved to retrace my steps, to call for Mr. King at Nelson, and to preach on Sabbath at Dundas. In my journey in the coach from Hamilton I was seized with a bowel complaint, which forced me to get out of the coach three times, and was exceedingly severe. I became alarmed in case it might be cholera,

and so were my fellow travellers, though they did not say so. With difficulty I got to Grove Inn, expecting to get rest, but when I arrived at four thirty A. M., there was no empty bed in the house, though there are twenty-one. I therefore wrapped myself in my cloak and a coverlet and lay down upon a sofa, where I slept soundly until eight o'clock. After breakfast called for Mr. King, but was disappointed in not meeting him at home. I called also for the surgeon, but he too was from home. After having met with nothing but disappointment I returned to Grove Inn to write my journal, to spend the time, and to school myself to patience and resignation. As I have now a little time by myself, I shall put down a few things which I have by degrees come to the knowledge of, and which I have not hitherto particularized. 1st. With regard to my mission, I have heard all the way up that there is great want of the gospel. Now I hear this from everybody, but every one refers to some place at a distance from himself. The population is scattered in a struggling kind of way along the road sides, and it must require a long journey for many of them to meet together in such numbers as to form a church able to support half sermons. There seems, as far as I have travelled, to be fully as many preachers as the people are able to support. Ministers must either be supported from other sources or they must undergo a very great deal of fatigue in preaching to different little churches to raise as much as will support them. From anything I have seen I am not the sort of person that ought to have come out. The Canadian minister ought to come out without a family, and to be a man who can endure hardness. So far as I have seen, it will be difficult for me to get into a place where there is a congregation, and I must for a long time be a pensioner upon the bounty of the Synod at times. Scattered as the population is, the people are rendered more destitute of religious institutions, in consequence of their being split into so many sects, whereby no sect is able to support a teacher by itself. There seems no way of remedying this evil. The people could not bear an established church which might go far to cure it; and there is no class of society, which possesses such influence as to draw the rest after it. The only way to cure the evil (as far as I see) is to educate a race of ministers so far above the common level, as that they shall give a tone to the public mind and thus by the goodness of the article, beat out of the field all half bred adventurers. The Methodists will be the prevailing party till the people become enlightened. 2nd. In reference to the land, I have made a few observations. All the way from York to the head of the lake

is one continuous sand bank. There is little vegetable mould on the tops in some places and in many places there is none. The soil is, therefore, very light. It is said to bear heavy crops and it certainly is easily worked. I am told that this is no year to judge the land by. It has been burnt up by a summer so dry, as that the like of it has not been for many years. My opinion (making all deductions) is not very favorable as to the soil. It certainly is inferior to the cultivated parts of Scotland. The climate is far better. I have always looked with a kind of terror at the enormous trees which must be cut down before the soil can be available; yet every person to whom I have expressed my feelings has ridiculed them. Chopping may seem terrible to a Scotchman; it is the delight of the American. Wood may be chopped and burnt off for from eight to twelve dollars an acre, and this seems by far the better way. The thing is done at once and the family may be supported during the first season. A Dr. Bell whom I consulted to-day about my ailment says that he could take three months' provisions with him into the forest in the spring and that he would have no fears as to his support. He would plant potatoes and eat the produce in three months. He would sow corn, beans, cucumbers and wheat, and raise enough for the winter. I shall be very guarded in the accounts which I send home respecting the land and the country generally. 3rd. I am now accustomed to live in an American inn. The plan is much superior, so far as travelling is concerned, to what I have met in the Old Country. All mess at a common table, and are summoned by the ringing of a bell. Every one rises when he pleases. The bearing of all at table is equal to any usually found in inns; I have ever seen the most polite attention at table. All travellers of decent appearance mess at the same table, and this has the effect of giving a polish to them which is not to be found in the same class of society at home. I have seen tradesmen deport themselves with great propriety. They know how every dish is to be eaten and they ask for what they want with modesty. The charge is a dollar a day including a bed. At small taverns, brandy and gin are set on the table, to be mixed with water, and every one takes what he pleases. The bottle is always handed to a person who buys spirits and water at the bar of an inn to measure out what he guesses is a glass in the bottom of a tumbler. I do not think tavern keepers lose anything in this way. There is never anything given to waiters and coachmen by lodgers or passengers. The lodgers congregate about the door, sitting under the piazza,

or lounge, smoking or reading or dozing in the bar room; and all seem at ease and comfortable. To-day at the Grove Inn there called with Dr. Bell a Mr. Willison from Leslie Hay's Parish. We both were acquainted with some persons in Lanarkshire, about whom we soon got into a nice talk which lasted for nearly two hours. I ought to have remarked in noticing the inferiority of the soil, that I have been told that there is a strip of about six or eight miles broad all along the lakes which is sandy, bearing chiefly pine; that behind that begins the country of hard wood, which indicates the superiority of the soil. I must wait, in forming an opinion, till I see. I find there is more need of using one's own eyes and ears in Canada, than I was wont to do in Scotland. Perhaps it was my own fault. In the evening Mr. King, of Nelson, called for me. He entered very cordially into the object of my mission and seemed in every way willing to give me all the information and countenance in his power. From him I heard the usual declaration of the wants of Upper Canada, and at the same time an account of the inability of the people to support a minister. Mr. King mentioned a few places where the people might be willing to hear the gospel; but as these places are all within the bounds of the Presbytery, I do not think myself at liberty to visit them till I shall have obtained the sanction of the Presbytery. Of course I now defer entering upon my labors in this quarter till the Presbytery have met, and till I shall have got my family accommodated. My prospects are not so bright as they once were, but all may yet be well. Ever since I came to America I have been learning and unlearning every day.

September 20.—This morning at four o'clock I left Grove Inn and arrived at York about twelve. For reasons not proper to be recorded in my journal, I took up my residence with Miss Harris, who keeps a boarding house. Still unwell. I read in the Canadian Watchman the protest of some Kirk ministers against the proposed union with the United Synod of Canada. These reasons of protest are just what might be expected; they proceed upon a knowledge of the subject. All of them, save one, I had stated repeatedly to Mr. Stuart and others, as grounds of objections to the union on the part of himself and brethren. Mr. Stuart and the Brockville Presbytery have been far too precipitate, and they cannot now but suffer in feeling and reputation when their admission is now resisted, after they had consented to submit to the degradation of consenting with unwise haste to an admission which cannot now be accepted. I saw from the first that it was a bad job, but now as things

are as they are, I shall not say a word, because I do not wish to take a side, and because I see the measure will go as I wish it of its own accord. On roving to-day along the road I saw some fine Sumac trees, some butternuts and a very great deal of Sassafras, growing wild in the woods. Also some fine Cedar, Hemlock, and Pine trees. These woods afford a fine study. I wish I knew more botany. The road is very bad, and the jolting of the stage pained me a good deal. A very little degree of trouble and expense would make the roads very fine; and if the roads were good nothing would be more easy than the movement of a Canadian coach. ✓

September 21.—Confined all day to the house in consequence of taking medicine. In the same house were lodged two surgeons, with whom I was acquainted—Mr. John Anderson and Mr. McDonald. Also a young gentleman from Edinburgh, Mr. Gordon, who is come out to buy land. Was amused to-day with the pranks of a young black bear in a yard near by. A Mr. Henderson called who gave me a good deal of information about churches in Canada. Some of his opinions I thought valuable, and some of them very absurd. He has the opinion that ministers ought to be left when the folks take a fancy to change them; and that they ought to bear patiently all the ill treatment they may get, and on no account to shew the least feeling. He said that every minister ought to have a farm; that he cannot live without it; and that the farm to be of any value should be his own. But if a minister buy a piece of land because it is convenient to his church, then if his folks take a fancy to get quit of him, how distressing must be his position? He cannot go and seek another church, because he cannot take his land with him. He must therefore cease to preach, and must live in a neighborhood that has affronted him. The system is bad. The Canadian churches must wait till they can support the ministers without the necessity of doing something else for their support. The Canadian ministers must take different ground with the people; and they must be better provided for if they are to be better trained and more effective. Cheap ministers are like everything else which is too cheap—they are not good. This day has passed rather heavily. I have had, as usual, many anxieties about my family. May God guide us all to do, and to submit to, His holy will.

September 22.—York. Little of any consequence has happened to-day. In the forenoon I went out to Hagg's Mills, seven miles from town, to look at a house, but it was not suitable. House hunting in the afternoon. Have felt myself better to-

day, for which God be praised. How unlike my Saturdays now are to what they used to be at home. I wish I were where I could be wholly employed about my ministerial work. I hope and trust I shall soon be settled.

September 23, Sabbath.—Preached for Mr. Harris, who took the opportunity and my assistance to give Mr. Jenkins a rest at Scarboro. I preached in the morning from Matt. 4, 1-12; and in the afternoon from 1 John, 4-16. The first went off comfortably, the latter not so much so. Dined with Mr. Ketchum, to whom I explained the reason of my coming to Canada. He approved of my mission, and said that there is abundant room for my labors. At the same time he remarked that he thought the Canadians ought to support their own ministers, because they are able to do it. He is a determined enemy to establishments in religion, and has very enlightened views on the subject. His testimony is of greater importance as he is a member of the Parliament. In the evening I heard preach Mr. Fraser, Methodist, in his own chapel. His text was: "Except a man be born again he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven." Introduction.—The text declares a most important truth. If we be not born again we must appear on the left hand of the judge, be condemned and cast into Hell; be forever miserable. On the other hand, if we be born again, &c. It is therefore of great importance. I obviate some mistakes. It has been said that regeneration is baptism by water. If this be the case, then they who are not baptized cannot be saved, if the text be believed. What, shall we say that all the Quakers who are not baptized with water, men remarkable for their morality and for standing at the head of every charitable list, are lost? Horrible thought. And oh, ye mothers, can you bear the idea that those dear infants whom you suckled at your breast are lost, because they were not baptized? But hush those sobs and dry those tears, they are with Jesus, &c. 2nd. Explain the new truth. First, it is a great change; second, it is a sudden change. The sermon was loose, extempore, vapid, but well delivered. Good singing but I did not like it.

September 24.—Have not yet found a suitable house, at which I am much concerned. Read to-day a letter of Mr. Bell's in the Watchman, highly approving of the union. In said letter Mr. Bell has exposed himself and his cause. He has not seen the protest published by the Kirk clergy. He is evidently fond of being taken into the lists of an established clergy. These may be local reasons, selfish reasons. One of Mr. Harris' elders, Mr. McLellan, told me to-day that so determined are

the members of the church at York never to have any connection with an established church, that if Mr. H. consents to the union in the present terms, they will request him never again to enter this pulpit. This will fix him at least. Oh, that I may be directed by God in the right way; that I may never offend Him, and may serve Him all my days.

September 25.—In the afternoon I, along with Mr. McLellan, set out for the meeting of Presbytery, which is to be held at Streetsville to-morrow, and we proceeded on horseback as far as the town on the River Credit. I had been over this road before, and have made scarcely any new remarks. I become more reconciled every day to the appearance of the country. Every person tells me of the ease with which a person may make a living in it. I am anxious to have my family settled, that we may begin to do something for ourselves. I regretted not having time to visit the Indian village about three miles down the Credit. The Indians are said to be a very interesting people. They have the exclusive right of fishing to the mouth of the river. They make baskets; they cultivate a little land. They have a school, and a Methodist preacher labors among them. They have forbid spirituous liquors to be sold in the settlement.

September 26.—Left Credit this morning about six o'clock and rode up to Streetsville, about four miles. The road all the way through the bush, as it is called. On both sides of the road there are some splendid timber trees; the work of chopping and burning is going on very rapidly. The cleared land seems to promise pretty good farms, soil sandy. Streetsville is on the Credit. It seems well placed, and has the advantage of good water privilege. I breakfasted with Mr. John Butchart, from whom I received a most hearty welcome. I attended the meeting of the Presbytery. All the members present except Mr. Harris. An elder attended from Niagara, about forty-five miles. The meeting was a pro veta one. The subject was to discuss the union. Mr. Jenkins of Markham, a plain man of strong, unaffected common sense, opened the meeting in an able speech, the amount of which was, that he could not think of uniting a church established by heaven with one established by men. Mr. Bell, the clerk, made at least half a score of speeches, characterized by every quality which they ought to have wanted, in favor of it. He was supported by Mr. Ferguson, and by the moderator, who took a share in the debate. Mr. Eastman and Mr. Bryning and Mr. McLellan, the York elder, were of Mr. Jenkin's sentiments. There was no motion, but

the business ended in approving of the union, in asserting their approbation of the confession of faith and in referring the business to their congregations to report at next meeting. I never witnessed such a Presbytery (but one). After the business I sought and obtained leave to state the nature of my commission. I was most cordially welcomed. Liberty was given me to preach in the vacancies of the Presbytery, and their countenance in any field which I might occupy beyond their bounds. I have every reason to be grateful. Dined with the Presbytery, and in the evening rode to Logan's, within fourteen miles of York, where I slept. My reflections on the day's proceedings I must keep to myself.

September 27.—York. Started from Logan's this morning at six, and returned to York rather fatigued. Had some conversation with Messrs. Harris, McLellan and Drummond respecting the establishment of a missionary society in York to send the gospel to the destitute parts of the country. The proposal met with their approbation. The measure I think a good one, and I shall exert myself to have it carried out when I return, if it please God I come back. Cholera rather revived in York. Since Sabbath I have heard of eleven cases and four deaths. May the Lord compass me about with the shield of His protection, and also all mine. In Him we trust.

September 28.—Wrote a letter to my dear Isobel, and one to Mr. Boyd, Prescott, desiring him to send my luggage, and giving him an account of the doings of the Presbytery. The letter to my dear spouse, was to desire her to come up with all convenient speed. Went out to Richmond Hill to assist Mr. Jenkins in the dispensation of the Supper. Staid over night at Dalgel in Vaughan with Mr. Dalgel's family—a fine Scotch family. Mr. Dalgel came from near Hamilton some five years ago, and bought 200 acres. They have done well. Mrs. Ball, Streetsville, is a daughter.

September 29.—Returned to Richmond Hill with Mr. Ball. Preached from John 12, 32. There was not more than fifty present. Lodged in the house of Squire Mills, an elder of the church. As a squire he is extremely unlike his brethren in office in the Old Country. As a Christian he may, for aught I say, rank with his brethren anywhere. The state of Canadian hospitality is, to attend to yourself, for few persons will; no clothes brushed; no shoes cleaned; and no one seems to think such things necessary. There were lodging in the same house several persons from a distance, quite in the style of the old-fashioned aristocrat. Mr. Matthews from Gwillimbury,

eighteen miles; Mr. Davidson from Pickering, twenty miles. Most of the members of the Presbyterian Church are owners of the soil. All dressed for the most part in home made cloth, all exceedingly comfortable in appearance. All those from a distance rode or came in waggons, their horses tied to the railing till service was over. The men and women sat on different sides, which had a very odd look. During the evening got much information from Mr. Matthews respecting the wants of the gospel; that many are willing to hear it; that they are so widely scattered; that few congregations could support a minister.

September 30, Sabbath.—Richmond Hill. Mr. Jenkins preached the sermon John 1, 29. There was a good congregation, all very well dressed. I preached in the evening from 1 Thess. 4, 1. I was delighted to meet Mr. Hislop and wife from Peebles; they knew my brother well, and had often heard me preach. Saw also Mr. Stuart, who was an elder in Jedburgh; he too is a land owner. The church at Richmond Hill is not in a very prosperous state; and when we consider the smallness of the supply, and the kind, it is no wonder. The day comfortably spent. Went to lodge with Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Bell in the house of Mr. Marsh, an elder, a very decent man, who shewed us kindness.

October 1.—After sermon by Mr. Bell went to Mr. Jenkin's house in the waggon of Mr. Fenwick from Pt. Cowan green.

October 2.—Whiled away the day in wandering about Mr. J.'s farm—200 acres of good land. He enjoys rustic plenty, and has a fine family. I chopped a tree, the first of the Canadian forest I have felled.

October 3.—Went to Markham to look at a house to let, but did not take it. During all the time I have been here I have been dreaming night and day of my family. May God preserve them all in His fear from all evil.

October 4.—York. Returned to York, thankful to God for His mercies to me who am so undeserving. On my way saw where the rooting up machine had been at work. It heaves the tree out of the ground with the greatest ease. Saw a man from Oro, who gives a fine account of that district, but there is no religious instruction. I find that everyone believes he has got his lot in the very best part of the country, a happy disposition. Was delighted to hear from my dear wife that all are well. Oh, that God would teach us all to be thankful for His goodness.

October 5.—Friday. I found my luggage by mere accident

in Feehace's warehouse. I had it brought up to my lodging, and was quite glad to find it all right. I now wait the arrival of my dear family; and may they and I meet in health and comfort by the blessing of God.

October 6.—Mr. Rintoul told me to-day that he had seen in the papers the death of Mr. Robertson, my fellow missionary, at Montreal. I at once got the paper and read that he died September 3rd of cholera. My heart was exceedingly pained at the news. I left him in excellent health. We were sent on the same errand. One was taken, the other left. As a missionary companion I have lost nothing, because he seemed to choose Montreal, though he did not tell me. But I do grieve that one who bid fair to be useful in the church, in a place where the gospel is much needed, is cut off just as he entered on his labors. And I feel his death is a warning to myself to go to do the work of an evangelist with all diligence, that I may be useful to men while I live, and may prepare to follow my brother in the work, whenever it shall please God to call me away. His death will be a disappointment to the Synod; but I hope they will view it as the doing of God, and will not be discouraged from sending out more men to the land where ministers are so much wanted. Every day offers to me more of the necessities of this province, and I am getting impatient to get my family settled that I may enter into my field of labor.

October 7, Sabbath.—Preached to-day for Mr. Harris, and for Mr. Stuart the Baptist in the evening. I had engaged to preach in Toronto and Etobikoke, but the rain and the bad roads prevented me. The Sabbath was profitably spent till after the sermon in the evening, and then some persons called; and by this the conversation took a light and trifling turn which beset me, but I did not prevent it, though I might have done so. There seems to be a good deal of church-going at York, and also a great deal of carelessness and Sabbath desecration. Things are done openly here which I never saw done in Scotland; but upon the whole I do not think there is so much wickedness in York as in a town of like population in the Old Country. Theft and pilfering are here scarcely heard of. Everybody seems to favor good morals. I have heard no laughing at religion and religious men by those who make no profession. Heard to-day a great deal about Methodists and camp meetings.

October 8.—Spent part of the evening with Mr. Stuart. He recommended Dundas very much as a place suitable for me, saying it is very destitute; that there are many places in the

neighborhood where I could preach in the evening; and he assured me that Messrs. Paterson and Leslie, two Baptists, would favor me in all their power. I do not like Dundas; it is low and unhealthy; and I should not like to live in it, but would have no objection to preach in it. Mr. Stuart is one of the fruits of the revivals in Moulin and Perthshire, and so is his wife. Both assured me that it was there they were first brought to the knowledge of the truth. Had a good deal of talk with him about the religious parties in U. C. The Kirk has fifteen ministers; the United Synod fifteen; the Baptists about forty-five. About 3,000 in full communion. The Methodists the most numerous. There are not less than a dozen Episcopal ministers in York, some of them regular clergy, and others who are teachers in the college, and who are employed all over the country at such distance as they can go to on Saturday and return on Monday; and they are as zealous in propagating Episcopacy as any other sect. Met to-day some of the passengers of the Crown. An old man from Ireland, Mr. Tellock, and Mr. Harvey and family. Saw Mr. Harvey who has been here some time and has 600 acres in Oro. Was told by him that his district is very destitute of religious instruction, and was invited to go there and preach, and lodge at his house. I thus find when I begin to make inquiries places for laboring are to be found in all quarters.

October 9.—York. Spent the forenoon with Mr. Drummond, who gave me a great deal of information about the country. Began to read Taylor of Norwich on the Romans, and was much pleased with his opening section. Had much conversation with Mr. Stuart and Mr. Lesly respecting Dundas as a missionary station. Still I do not feel inclined to settle there, but I will go anywhere Providence wills me. The weather warm and pleasant.

October 10.—Confined all day to the house by rain. Called for Mr. Rintoul, and chatted pleasantly an hour with him. He is rather stiff, and probably thinks of his church; but he will be frank when he knows how little value I set upon such things. Have been anxious all day about my dear family, who, I suppose leave Hammond to-day. How uncomfortable they must be in such weather; and I have not yet found a house to put them into. May God preserve us all. May He keep and guard them from all danger and all sin.

October 11.—Nothing special.

October 12.—Rejoiced to-day by the arrival of my dear family, all safe, and all well. Oh, thou my soul, bless God the

Lord; and all that in me is be stirred up, His holy name to magnify and bless! In my haste I took a house in York for my family, for three months, but the wife and son had not consulted with the husband, and he spoke to them and to me in a style which I did not like, so I just ordered off my luggage and took all my family to Miss Harris, putting up with a good deal of inconvenience. Along with my dear family came Mr. Christie, a fellow laborer. His coming was a source of the truest joy to me. He will supply the place of Mr. Robertson. Oh, that we may both be enabled to labor in the service of God in His church till the day of our death, and that we may accomplish the wishes of the Synod.

October 13.—York. Had a great deal of conversation with Mr. Christie on our mission. We both thought it our duty to go westward where the people are most destitute of the means of religious instruction, and where we shall not come in contact with the Synod of York or the Kirk. Mr. C. seems resolved not to unite with the U. S. if they shall unite with the Kirk; and I heartily agree. Having engaged to preach at Scarborough to-morrow I went out this evening and lodged with Mr. Johnson where I received good Scottish hospitality. The road to S. is in many places through fine forests.

October 14.—Scarborough. Preached in the forenoon from 1 John, 4-16. A very good congregation. In the afternoon there were fewer. They are not accustomed to two sermons. The congregation has been for sixteen years under Mr. Jenkins, who is now too frail to give them sermons even once in two weeks. They are wishing to have a minister to themselves, and are wishing me to settle amongst them. I, of course, keep off the subject till I see what will be the result of my preaching to them. The people seem to be very comfortable, though I suppose they have not many hard dollars. Most of them are Scotch. The morning very cold but fine. Alex went with me and enjoyed the walk.

October 15.—York. Mr. Wm. Craig to-day brought me and Alex. to York, each on horseback. He is a brother to Dr. Craig of Peebles, and it was really a treat to me to meet a brother of one whom I have long regarded as a friend.

October 16.—Rented to-day a house for my family on Dundas Road about one and a half miles from York. The house is small, but it is the only one within a reasonable distance from York at a price I could afford to pay. It is five dollars a month. Spent the evening with Mrs. Freeland, Mr. Walter Thomsons, all from Glasgow. I enjoyed it very much.

October 17.—Took possession of the house I had rented. I and my family exceedingly happy that we are all together again in a house we could call home, the first time since we left Pitrodie. It is small, but when we put our little furniture in it looked very comfortable, and we were all happy. Felt very comfortable in thinking of the tender mercies of God to us all. May this gratitude excite us all to love and good works. I bought nine chairs at 3s. 8d. each, a fir table at 6s. 6d., a black walnut table for 25s., bed 35s., and a bed for 15s.; and this I consider furniture enough for our present need.

October 18.—As it rained heavily all day I was confined to the house and spent the time writing letters which should have been written long ago.

October 19.—Occupied great part of the day examining the state of the packages brought from Scotland, which I found all right. Rather unwell of cold in the breast.

October 20.—Went into York to-day and bought some necessary articles, and made a few calls. Mr. Bell, my neighbor, called to-night, and we had a great deal of talk on the religious wants of the West. He told me that all along the shore of Lake Erie there are not any ministers except Methodists.

October 21.—Sacrament of the Lord's Supper dispensed to-day in Mr. Harris' church. I preached the Action sermon, Matt. 23, 27-38. Served one table on justification, adoption and sanctification, and preached the evening sermon on 1 John 2-1. The order in which the communion was observed did not appear to advantage. The want of order, such as I have been accustomed to, disturbed me not a little, and prevented that full repose of mind so necessary to my profiting by the service as I wished; and yet I trust I was the better for the ordinance. Stayed in York all night with Mr. Harris.

October 22.—Home. Spent the day principally at home. In the evening went to drink tea with Mr. Henderson, a mile up Yonge Street. Stayed all night with him on account of the darkness of the night and of the heavy rain.

October 23.—Home. Wrote to Dr. Peddie to-day, my first letter. Drew a bill of exchange on him for £55 6s., being the amount of my half yearly salary, after deducting 4s. 4d. as my payment for the widows' fund. I got 8½ per cent. premium, in all \$267.50. I bought a stove for £2 5s. and pipes, 50c. Day fine and cold. Roads very bad.

October 24.—Home. Added a few lines to Dr. Peddie's letter. Went into York and spent the evening with Mrs. Free-land, very kindly received.

October 25.—Heard of two fatal cases of cholera. Introduced to-day to Mr. Munro, who promised to give me letters to some persons of note in the western country. I am very happy that my family have got a home for the winter, and that I am left at liberty to enter on my mission in good earnest. I therefore, purpose (D. V.) to go to the western district to-morrow; take the steam boat to Niagara, from thence to Grimsby or Thorold, to meet Mr. Christie, and travel along with him. And now may the Lord of His infinite mercy direct my way and render me successful in my work. All my dependence is upon Him. He it is who can give me right feelings, who can enable me to speak for Him to men, and who can render what is spoken successful. May I have prudence to walk in wisdom before the people, and to recommend the cause which I advocate by the holiness of my conversation.

October 26.—St. Catherines. Sailed from York this morning in the Canada, for Niagara, at seven o'clock. The sail very pleasant, but extremely cold. Arrived at Niagara half past one. On the point of land at the junction of the river with Lake Ontario on the American side is Fort Ontario, which, were it strong enough, might effectually guard the entrance of the river. On the left bank stands Fort George, the British barrier to the river. It is of mud and in ruins. There were a few soldiers on guard. The Americans took the fort during the war; and indeed, they seem to have had no very hard task to perform. Around it the ground is all cleared for a mile; the ground is quite level, and there is not a bush or a knoll, not a stone to shelter from the fire of the garrison. It is better defended on the Canadian than on the American side; better defended against friends than foes. The Town of Niagara is about a mile from the mouth of the river. There were coaches from the different lines which took up the passengers free. Put up at Chrysler's Inn, which is a very good house, where I had a very good dinner. Hired a stage along with Mr. Washburn and his lady and a Miss McGibbon for St. Catherines. On the way we saw many very fine farms. Old settled lands. The fields cleared of stumps, orchards in full bearing. When we were within two and a half miles of St. Catherines our attention was arrested by strange sounds proceeding from the bush about a quarter of a mile from the road. We stopped and found it was a camp meeting. Supped at Dyer's Inn, a very good house.

October 27.—Forty Mile Creek. Before breakfast took a stroll on the side of the Welland canal, which passes close to

St. Catherines. Went into a factory of wooden dishes, turned solid out of the tree. They there have a bottom put into them and two hoops put on, and are then varnished outside, and inside. They are very neat and cheap. Out of the same block of wood three or four or five dishes are sometimes turned of different sizes, either pine or black walnut. After breakfast walked four miles along the canal to Thorold, and delivered my letter to Mr. Black. He entered very readily into the views of the Synod. He called with me for Mr. Keefer, father and son. Mr. Keefer, a chief man of the place, was a Methodist but, dissatisfied, became a Presbyterian. Both support a Reformed Dutch Church, but they think there would be no difficulty in establishing a Presbyterian church in Thorold. They urged me to call back very soon. The village is a very sweet place; it will one day have a good trade; is populous; and the country all around is cleared and populous. Returned to St. Catherines for dinner; after dinner set off for Forty Mile Creek. St. Catherines is a very beautiful place, not more than eight years old; has a very good population upward of 500. There is an American Presbyterian, an Episcopal Church, and a Methodist. Day dry and fine. The first day of Indian Summer.

October 28, Sabbath.—Forty Mile Creek. Arrived here last night about eight o'clock. Being recommended by Mr. Eastman to his father-in-law Mr. Griffin, I called for him; was most frankly invited to stay in his house, which I did. There is a Presbyterian church building here of brick, made to hold 400 or 450 people. The church here, together with another at Clinton, about five miles off, intend to have a minister between them and give him a house and 500 dollars. I preached in the school house at three o'clock. There was a goodly attendance though not full, in consequence of no notice being given of my coming. Did not think the people very attentive. A young man sitting near the desk took up the Psalm book after I had laid it down and kept it. Strange forwardness. Spent the day comfortably. Preached from John 12, 32.

October 29.—This morning Mr. Griffin asked me to come and stay at the Forty. Took a walk to-day down to the lake, and thought the whole scenery about the Forty much superior to almost anything I had seen in America. Behind the village there is what is called a mountain, which I climbed, and found an immense tract of cleared land. From the summit there is a splendid view of Lake Ontario, skirted towards the North by the woods of York, and stretching on all sides as far as the eye can see. There is every prospect of there being a new

church here. There is an Episcopal church which, here as in other places, contains the gentility.

October 30.—Forty Mile Creek. Did nothing to-day but stroll about the place, and was much pleased with the scenery. Mr. Griffin had a nice little party this evening, as also last evening. I was much pleased with the Canadians. After supper Mr. G. spoke seriously to me about becoming minister of Forty Mile and Clinton. He wished me to preach at Clinton where there is a good congregation and many very substantial farmers; that after preaching at Clinton he would summon together the chief people of the congregation and see how much they would be disposed to give. I promised to return to them (D. V.) but made no promise to stay. I explained the nature of my mission, and he wished me not to engage myself in the west till I should return.

October 31.—Was gratified this morning by seeing the peculiar atmosphere called Indian Summer. The sun appeared a bright orb of a copper color. The air smoky. It is not mist, but a dim haze. I had not thought of the cause of it, but a man informed me that the mist is caused by the burning of immense meadows in the West called prairies. Mr. Eastman gave me a letter to Mr. Marsh, Hamilton, and Mr. Griffin one to Mr. Wilkes, Brantford, and one to Mr. Smith, Paris. Received to-day a letter from Mr. Christie, saying that he was off to the London district and was anxious I should go to him.

November 1.—As I feared the coach might be too full, as it was yesterday, I walked from Forty Mile to Hamilton. The day was smoky, and there were many slight showers. The land on the whole road to Hamilton is in a very good state of cultivation. There is great difficulty in getting land to buy, and when a farm comes into the market it sells high. Nine miles from the Forty is Stoney Creek, a thriving village. Hamilton is a most beautifully situated town, and will in time in all probability excell both York and Kingston, in spite of the advantage they have from the Government offices. Was well received by Mr. Marsh, who talked a very great deal. Almost as soon as I was sat down he was in full drive on temperance societies and revivals. He is a smart man and has done much good. In family worship we all read three verses apiece. I prayed first, then Mr. Marsh, then Miss Eastman, then Mrs. Marsh; we all prayed. This form of family worship I had never seen before. I do not much approve of it. In some cases it may do very well, but not in all. During family worship there was a heavy thunderstorm. Mr. Marsh was making a sofa when I went in.

November 2.—Left Hamilton to-day about ten, and after a tedious and wearisome drive over wretched roads arrived at Brantford about five o'clock. The view from the mountain above Hamilton is a very splendid one. Below the mountain is Hamilton, a sweet little place, growing very fast. Beyond the village is Burlington Bay. There are rising grounds all around which are seen to much advantage. On the left is the continuation of the mountain down the west end of Lake Ontario, all clothed with wood to the very summit. I saw in the sides of the road up the mountain some free stone and plenty of lime stone. It is the general opinion that there is plenty of coal, and that in a short time it will be wrought, for wood is getting pretty high priced. Passed Ancaster to-day. A nice little village, but it will never grow large. It is built of wood. Arrived at Brantford, and immediately went and presented my letter to Mr. Wilkes, who very kindly invited me to stay in his house.

November 3.—Brantford is situated on a high bank above the Grand River where there is a wooden bridge. It is a very thriving place, more than half of all the houses are stores, and yet they are all doing well; some are rich. The Grand River here is larger than the Tay at Perth. It is navigable down to Lake Erie for boats, with the exception of fourteen miles of rapids. It is proposed to render it navigable all the way down, by locking, or by cutting a canal, and then to continue the canal to Dundas. In Brantford there are very many Indians constantly about upon the street. They have in general very good faces, nothing savage about them, but many have a childish frolicsomeness about them, which, were there provocation, could easily be turned to the fiercest enmity. In drawing near to Brantford about three miles, we passed a village of Cayuga Indians. The houses are small, ill built, and not clean. There are some patches of cleared land around their houses, but the ground is not well cleared. It is something that they are learning the habits of civilized life. The females all wear a blanket over a short gown and petticoat, men and women barefoot. Not darker than Spanish. After breakfast to-day, I walked over to Paris, seven miles, to deliver my letter to Mr. Smith. My intention was to preach at Paris in the forenoon and return and preach in Brantford in the evening. Mr. Smith is just selling up his house and had no bed so did not ask me to stop. The Inn is a very uncomfortable one, and as nobody bade me God speed, I returned to Brantford in the evening. This was a very great disappointment, and I was so silly as to take it to heart. The

road from Brantford is all the way through the forest, which is composed of oak. The trees about one and a half feet around and from thirty to forty-five feet high. At Paris, which is on the right bank of the Grand River, there is a valuable bed of plaster of Paris which is wrought to considerable extent. The stone is pounded and sown to the extent of one-half or three-quarters of a bushel to the acre. There are saw and grist and wool mills. It is just two years since the first stake was driven in, and now there are about seventy large frame houses and many stores. Smith's Creek flows into the Grand River. It is a lazy stream. Got acquainted with two Scotch men and one woman, members of the Secession Church at Glasgow. Returned to Brantford very weary.

November 4.—Brantford. Preached in the morning in the school house very comfortably to about fifty people. Heard Mr. Leygan, the Episcopal, in the afternoon. Preached in the evening for Mr. Bryning in the school house, well filled. Were this not one of Mr. B.'s stations, it is in the very state to be a good place for a Presbyterian congregation; but little as it does for him, he could not want that little. Mr. Wilkes would, were he encouraged and stimulated, commence building a church, and would welcome me to it. Mr. Bryning came in the evening and I had a good deal of conversation with him about my mission. I resolved to accompany him home on Monday and talk further on the subject. He seems to think the London district a good one for my labors and I am resolved to go thither, the more especially as Mr. Christie has gone before.

November 5.—Mount Pleasant. Came here with Mr. B. to-day. The village is six miles from Brantford on the right bank of the Grand River. The country is still all sandy. The timbers principally oak, and not very thick on the ground. This is called a mountain, but it is really a ridge. In the evening I preached in the school house to congregation which Mr. B. had called together as we came along. The house was full. The singing good. There was a meeting of the Temperance Society which was one reason for the congregation. Received from Mr. B. a most hearty welcome. His partner is a warm-hearted, active, smart woman, who exerts herself beyond what minister's wives are required to do in any place I have seen. The income of Mr. B. from all his places does not exceed \$200 in any year. From him I learned that the Canadians are most unwilling to pay anything to their minister at all like a competence, and that if they are spoken to on the subject they will run off to other denominations and pronounce the man who asks what may

make him live; a selfish, greedy, money-loving man—altogether unlike the Apostles who wrought with their hands that they might make the gospel free of charge. Such is the prospect for ministers in Canada. The ticket from Brantford to London is \$3.00. The day cold. Indian Summer has been soon over.

November 6.—Canfield's Tavern. This morning I went over from Mr. Bryning's to Van Norman's Tavern in order to meet the mail. While I was waiting in the tavern, there came into the bar room an emigrant from Ross-shire, who was in quest of a school or some employment in that line. He was destined for Prince Edward Island, but the ship would not land him there but brought him on to Quebec. He tried school in Glengary, but finding the people more willing to employ him than to pay him, he came off seeking another place. He had a good number of recommendations to influential men, each of whom had advised him to go somewhere else, assuring him of success in other places. Bandied about in this way he had gone to West Gwillimbury, to York, and was now on his way to Zorra or London. He seemed very much depressed; his eyes were constantly filled with tears. He had lost a child after leaving Montreal; had left his wife and children at Glengary; and was in quest of something for himself to do that he might be able to support them. Besides all this, he deposited £40 in a Glasgow bank which when he came to Greenock had failed, and this stripped him of his little all. I felt exceedingly for him, the more that there were points in his case like my own. I spoke to him and gave him those comforts which I ought to take to myself. Perhaps they may be more good to him than me. How erroneous are the opinions of Canada entertained by people in the Old Country. There are scenes of distress encountered by emigrants of which they at home have no idea. What a pity that some one acquainted with the country does not write a fair account of it, and undeceive those who may be preparing to come out. If spared, I shall think it my duty to attempt something of the kind, if I can get a sufficient quantity of authentic information. I dined at Van Norman's Tavern, and fed Mr. Bryning's horse. Came on to Canfield's Inn through a piece of the very worst road I had ever seen.

November 7.—Mr. Wm. Lee's. Paid for supper, bed and breakfast 2s 9d. Started about 9 A. M., the road as usual wretched. After journeying thirteen miles we exchanged our covered waggon for an uncovered one. The whole day excessively cold. Indeed it snowed heavily all day, and towards evening it froze very hard. Mr. Lee's home is near where the

road turns to London village, from which it is distant about two miles. I had a letter to him from Mr. Bryning, and it was most fortunate that it was so, for I should not have been able to walk in the cold two miles over a road in which I must at every step have sunk to the middle of the leg. After we entered the Township of Oxford to-day, the road became a great deal better than I had seen it from Ancaster. Leaving Oxford we came to Dorchester, in which are what is called the buck wheat pines, the most wretched place I have seen in Canada.

November 8.—Mr. Wm. Lee gave me a reception which would have done honor to a Scotchman. He walked with me to-day to London and introduced me to Dr. Lee, his brother, who, strange to say, keeps the principal tavern in London. Dr. Lee, both on account of his brother's introduction and on account of Mr. Bryning's letter, received me very kindly. He introduced me to a Mr. Robertson, storekeeper, a native of Renfrew, a magistrate, and one of the leading men connected with the Kirk of Scotland. Mr. R. invited me to sleep at his house and shewed me a regulated hospitality. From him I learned there were a few Presbyterians in the village and township; that there are amongst the number kirkmen and seceders; that some time ago there was an application made to some persons at home to send a minister, and that application was made to Lord Goderich for pecuniary assistance; that an effort had lately been made to raise subscription for building a house and raising a stipend; that at present the matter is quiescent on account of unwillingness on the part of some to give the cash, and of several who are dissenters to concur in their application for a kirkman. He told me further that, there are many who understand no other language than the Gaelic, and that the minister whom they wish to be sent to them must be able to preach in Gaelic. From him I further learned that he and his party could encourage only a kirkman. This was making my way quite clear, so far as he and his party are concerned. He referred me to a Mr. McKenzie, who lives four miles from the village for further information. From conversation with him I was not led to hope for much success in my application in that quarter; and besides, it occurred to me that it would not be easy to form a Christian church composed of such materials. The day fine though a little cold.

November 9.—After breakfast walked out to Mr. McKenzie's; did not find him at home, but received a very hospitable welcome from his wife. After I left his house I met him, and had some conversation with him in regard to my mission.

He is a most violent kirkman, who will give no encouragement to a man who is not a kirkman, and speaks Gaelic; and the minister he will encourage must be one who will hold or express no opinion unfavorable to the government of this country. In fact, I never met with such a real, red tory. The veriest head of the most rotten borough is nothing to him. I never felt in my life so strong an inclination to maul a man; but recollecting that political opinion had nothing to do with my mission I said not a word, but left him to have it all his own way and proceeded on to the English settlement, partly with a view to see Dr. Cairns who is at present preaching to them, and partly to see and converse with the people. I lodged with a Mr. Waugh, a good man and an old light seceder from Yetholm in Roxboroughshire, who, in a manly way, received me with great frankness. He seemed very anxious that I should remain with them in that quarter. From him I learned that there are very violent differences amongst Presbyterians in this quarter; that there are some high kirk, others keen Antiburghers, and some zealous seceders of the United Secession of the U. C.; that these three parties will not unite their efforts to have a minister among them, and that consequently they want the means of grace; that the English settlement, as it is called, together with the people of Westminster are resolved to exert themselves to have a minister between them. He has no high opinion of Mr. McKenzie or Mr. Robertson. We had much conversation, which convinced me that he is a sensible, good man. At his request I promised to go and preach at the English settlement after Dr. Cairns leaves them. The country through which I passed to-day is covered with hard wood. The timber in many places very heavy. The soil very good. Some good lots may be had in this quarter. I saw the stump of an oaktree which was in diameter twice the length of my umbrella and quite six inches more.

November 10.—Returned to London this afternoon. On my way from Mr. Waugh's I called again for Mr. McKenzie, who detained me to dinner. My silence on politics yesterday seemed to have produced a good impression. He was now willing that I should settle among the people, and would do what he could to render it advisable for me to do so. At the same time he let out the illiberality and ignorance of his high toryism. My settlement, with his concurrence, depended upon my not saying anything against state or church. To this I made no reply, for it would be vain to agree with a man who could propose such a thing; and as it is not likely that I shall settle

amongst such heterogeneous material I did not wish to cast out with him. He invited me to preach in his neighborhood to-morrow evening, which I promised to do, glad of an opportunity to preach the gospel to any that will hear, be he whig or tory. During dinner, conversation turned on Methodism, to which he has a very strong aversion, because they are in favor of republicanism. The bishop of the Episcopal Methodists resides somewhere about Albany in the United States, and consequently they have a leaning towards it. Mr. McK. was once a radical or something very like it, but he has of late been appointed a magistrate, or justice of the peace, and being thus dressed up in a little brief authority he looks at everything through the spectacles of his politics. I suppose it might be possible for me to get a church in or about London; and in one sense it would be a very good thing, for the country is growing fast in population. But then the leading men of the kirk party, with whom I should of course be connected, and on whom I should of course be in a good measure dependent for stipend, do not appear to be of the stamp that a church of Christ ought to be. It would be better for me to locate myself in some place where I should be independent and might admit to the fellowship of the church only such as are evidently Christian. Mr. McKenzie suggested as an inducement, that there is in the neighborhood a very good piece of land, 100 acres, for sale at a moderate price, which I might look at on Monday. My intention is, however, from the present appearance of things, not to involve myself with the discordant materials of this place. If I should settle here I would take that part of the community that is in connection with the U. Synod of Upper Canada. May God guide me by His counsel to act for His glory and the good of souls; and if I be thus counselled it will also be for the good of my family. The day dull but not cold. The village of London is situated in the forks of the Thames, at the confluence of the E. and W. branches of it. The situation is a very good one. The streets are regularly laid out at right angles, and in a good many of them there is a considerable number of houses. The best houses here, as everywhere else in Canada, are stores. In most of the streets are still standing stumps of large trees, and passengers must wind their way about them in the best manner they can. There is a large court house and gaol, just on the edge of the bank, which look down on the junction of the two branches of the Thames. It is of brick and plastered on the outside. It is a kind of Gothic, clumsy and uninteresting. Surely the Canadians might send to Europe

for plans for their public buildings. The Thames is a noble river; and when once the wood is cleared off the banks it will be seen very beautifully winding its way through a fertile valley which will be clothed one day with flocks and herds. The portion of land on which London stands, has been covered principally with pine, consequently it is sandy. There is a very thin sprinkling of sand on the surface. It will, I think, never be a very productive spot. There are two wooden bridges over the river, one on each branch. They are clumsy and badly made; and being unpainted, will not last long to offend anybody. There are several very good houses. Dr. Lee's is the best, at which I lodge. It is a spacious house, but as this is my first day in it, I cannot tell what sort of entertainment to expect.

November 11, Sabbath.—London Village. This morning I preached in the school house from John 12, 32. I enjoyed freedom in commending the Christian faith and the Lord Jesus Christ to man. There had been but short notice that there would be a sermon, but the house was full as it could hold. Just as I had pronounced the blessing a person stood up and intimated that there would be a sermon in the afternoon; that he was a Presbyterian and a fellow laborer of mine. He told me his name was McLatchie; that he was an ordained minister in Ireland; that he had just come to London, and that he designed to spend the rest of his days in the place. Here my scheme of a church in London is dashed. He will stay in the place and will preach every day. He has no family. It is plain he will not remove, and I cannot afford to contend with him. Thus one of my most flattering projects is dashed to the ground. Ever since I left Grimsby there has been an untowardness in my whole movements. They have been all uphill. If I be right in understanding this as a demonstration of the will of God, I am most willing to do His will. I could not entertain a wish which I knew to be contrary to His will. Mr. McLatchie told me that he had seen my dear wife this day week and that she and the family are all well. In the afternoon I went out four miles; preached to a number of Scotch Highlanders at third concession from 1 John, 4-16. The audience was most attentive, even though they did not understand well the English language. I baptized two children, the one the ninth child of Donald McDonald, Daniel Edward; the other, the second child of John and Nancy McIntosh, Isabella. It would be of great importance that a Gaelic minister were sent to labor in this place. The people can be edified only in the Gaelic language.

The parents of the above children were members of the Secession Church in Nova Scotia. There was a third applicant for baptism, but as I had not conversed with him before, and as he had never been a member of a Christian church, I refused for the present. Lodged for the night in the house of Squire McKenzie, from whom I received a most hearty welcome. He is very willing to support me in forming a church in London, which is the more gratifying as the different parties were not united before. The people have been divided between Kirk and Secession; now both parties are willing that I should settle among them. What is my duty I do not well know. God will bye and bye let me know. Shew me, Oh Lord, Thy way and incline my heart to walk in it. Saw to-day a grist mill going. Was told that such things were common in Canada. There is much need of a minister here who would give a tone to the public mind by admission of religious truth. The day agreeable but somewhat sharp.

November 12.—Swartz' Inn, Westminster. Breakfasted with Donald McDonald and returned to the village. Mr. McLatchie told me that Mr. Christie had returned to Kingston, having been discouraged by the badness of the roads. This is the second time I have been left alone. May God enable me to persevere, and not to be discouraged by inconveniences of an ordinary kind. Oh, that the manner in which God is exercising me may be turned to His glory and the good of my own soul, and the souls of others. In the forenoon Dr. Cairns called as his time was short and as I wished to send a letter to my dear wife by him. I came over to Mr. Swartz's tavern, who is a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. He entertained us very hospitably. In the course of conversation I discovered that Dr. Cairns is an old light Antiburgher, and that no impression can be made upon his mind. There were present Mr. Grieve and Mr. Whillams, both seceders from Roxboroughshire. I was much refreshed by their Scotch accent, &c.

November 13.—Westminster. Mr. Grieve's. Walked here this morning to breakfast. Mr. Grieve has got a lot of as good land as I have seen in Canada and farms it well. It must be a valuable property in a few years. The timber is all hard wood. The soil is a deep black mould resting upon bed of sandy clay. There is a considerable population around here, who all live in plenty and content. They are a happy people who live in Canada. They have not much cash, but they have all that cash could buy. One of Mr. Grieve's daughters was weaving at the fireside. The clothes worn by the families are all home

made. They buy scarcely anything at the store. In consequence of the wish of the people about I agreed to preach to them in the school house. My ailment (diarrhoea) continuing, prevented me. It was fortunate for the people that Mr. McLatchie came in the course of the afternoon and officiated for me. This was one more of the cross circumstances which have attended my jaunt to the West. I wish I may rightly be able to understand the will of God. The day has been cold; toward evening there fell some snow and the frost was very hard.

November 14.—Mr. Grieve's. Much better this morning, though not quite well. Had a great deal of talk with Mr. G. respecting the country, the farming and the produce. His observations corresponded very much with what I had heard before. Last year he raised  $14\frac{1}{2}$  boles of maize to the acre, and this year raised ten boles of wheat. He farms with great style. He takes care not to overcrop the ground, and lays on manure when the soil is thin, that he may equalize the produce of the field. He has never seen that dung is an inconvenience about a farm, as many Canadians have fancied; a good farmer will find use for it all. He prefers carting out the manure and plowing it down in the Fall because when it is put on in the Spring, it keeps the ground too open, and the heat of the Summer makes too great an impression upon it. Had a good deal of talk about Scotland and Scotch ministers. I am trying to put off the character of Dr. Cairns, but cannot yet do it, though there is not much difficulty in the subject. He has done me some ill already, and it is likely will do more through ignorance. He is a rigid Antiburgher, though a pious man. In the evening had a long conversation with John Grieve respecting temperance societies. I insisted that the temperance society is formed upon an insufficient basis, a basis upon which a moral action should not be left to rest. The rule is that the subscriber pledges himself upon his honor. Now I maintain that if it is a moral duty it should rest on the Word of God, but the society pledges itself to be temperate only in the fear of man. I insisted, moreover, that the church ought to have taken up the subject; and that the gospel is able to accomplish that and every other morality; and that it is wrong to overlook the gospel. Further that the order in which God acts, is first, to awaken the church, and that the rod of His strength goes out of Zion and subdues the people. But the temperance society, on the worldly principle of honor, would do what God does by the gospel. I found it difficult to make him comprehend that I was no advocate of drinking of ardent spirits; and he and the

family appeared to think, that I was a friend of intemperance. From this I see that it is useless to make country people understand nice distinctions. I got nothing but suspicions for my pains. I might have known this before. The day has been cold and frosty. Mr. Grieve's house is full of chinks between the logs, and I felt by day and night the wind blowing in upon me. The family heaped on wood in profusion, but all would not do. The cold got the mastery when the fire got low.

November 15.—London. Left at about twelve o'clock Mr. Grieve's hospitable charge, called for Mr. Lee, and reached London about four o'clock very much fatigued and not very well. Mr. Wm. Robertson told me that he was willing to exert himself in raising a subscription for a stipend. Mr. Talbot, the teacher, though an Episcopalian, offered to subscribe. I believe that had it not been for the coming of Mr. McLatchie I should have made choice of London for my residence and found it a comfortable one; but this incident has strangely marred all my views and entangled my will. May God enable me to act, as shall best please Him. In the morning it snowed very heavily and froze severely, and the roads became impassable..

November 16.—Felt not well to-day. Called for Mr. McLatchie and gathered from him that it is his intention to stay in London; that he proposed to connect himself with Presbytery, and thinks they will appoint him to labor in this district. He has a very great deal of complacency, and talked of the flattering manner in which the people had spoken of him, and that he had already been invited to preach in St. Thomas. He does not seem even for one moment to think that I have as good right to keep my ground as he has to come in upon my labors. But let there be no strife between us. The land is wide enough for both and on the Abrahamic principle I am willing to act, i. e., his dealing with Lot. I do not expect similar fairness and frankness from him. Donald McDonald called to-day; much interest about retaining me in this place. He is purposing to go about with a subscription paper to-morrow to try and raise a stipend for me. What is to be done in this matter I do not know; perhaps my best way is to allow it to go on, and then judge what my conduct should be, when I see the result. If it go unsuccessfully I may conclude that it is not advisable for me to remain. I shall follow what I think are the leadings of Providence. Haunted much to-day, as is usual when not well and when things are not successful, with concern about my family. Oh, My God guide us by Thy Holy Spirit and shew us Thy salvation. Weather very mild to-day.

November 17.—London. Somewhat unwell still, but on the whole better. The Presbyterians in this place in connection with the Kirk of Scotland are getting subscription papers ready in order to raise a sum for a stipend for me. What will turn out of this God only knows. I wish to be passive in the matter and keep myself unpledged till I see the result. Had an opportunity to-day of hearing a great deal of profane swearing, and of a kind that appeared peculiarly shocking, and that too from persons of whom I expected better things. The minister who comes here to labor will have a very great deal to do and very much to put up with that is uncomfortable. In conversing this evening with Charles Davidson from Inverness (a good man) about the baptism of his child, I was told that the people of this district are exceedingly careless and profane; that little or no respect is paid to the Sabbath day; that very many people are addicted to drinking; that few care anything about religion. The accounts he gave of the people were enough to make me dislike to live among them, and at the same time demonstrated the urgent need there is of one to teach them the way of life, and to bring them to the faith of Jesus Christ, that they may be purified in heart and life. It is distressing to see men live without God and without hope in the world—to see them trifling away their time and living only for time; and a poor time in general they have of it. Was told to-day of a peculiarity among both Americans and Canadians. When young men and even middle aged men meet in a tavern, they cannot sit and talk as Old Country people do, but they are all on their legs rebelling and pulling at one another. They seem to be just big boys. Witnessed to-day many proofs of this. The room next to the one I occupied was frequently full of people making all imaginable noises, laughing, swearing, tumbling on the floor, shoving one another about. They did not, however, intrude upon me. I have seen about London less to like than any place in Canada. The manner of drinking spirits is very different here from what it is in the Old Country. Here a person or two come to the bar, buy a glass of liquor, and stand and drink it off, wander about the bar room awhile and saunter off, perhaps to the bar of another tavern. There is no sociality of a rational kind, no conversation, no sentiment—it is the most irrational way of buying a glass I have ever seen. Was told to-day what I have often been told before, that the usual spirit drinking is carried on thus. Was told to-day that many of the Scotch who reside in London are just as careless as others. How often is this tale told of my countrymen all

over the world. Was told also that many of the Scotch who have settled in Lobo have turned to Methodism. I wish they may have become better men by the change of Communion. The day mild and fair; a little frost in the night.

November 18.—London. Awoke this morning in indifferent health. After breakfast Mr. McLatchie came to call for me before going to Presbytery. I entered very fully into the circumstances in which his coming had placed me. I told him that I was here before he came; that I had succeeded in uniting the Kirk and the Seceders; that I had received many assurances of support from those of both parties; that there was to be a public meeting of my friends on Monday to raise a stipend for me which I had every reason to believe would be liberal; that in regard to those who are in connection with the U. S. of U. C., I had the authority of the Presbytery for laboring among them, if I should feel inclined; that, therefore, I considered myself as having the right which occupancy gives. To all this he replied that he had set his mind upon London; that he did not think I had any more right than he had; that he was resolved to live in this place with his father in whose house he would find a home; that he had no objection to labor along with me; would estimate when and where I was to preach and hoped I would do the same for him. To this I said that though the place might provide labor for both of us if we were intended to preach wherever we might find half a dozen houses, yet that the most of these stations were within a short distance from London, to which the people might easily come, and were willing to come; there was no virtue in laboring merely for the sake of laboring; that a minister's time could be better employed, and at the same time that it would take all the stations to which he had referred to support for some years one man; and that therefore the scheme was wholly impracticable. "But," said I, "I will give you the offer Abraham gave to Lot. The land is before us; if you go to the right hand I will go to the left; let there be no strife between us for we are brethren." This not in the slightest touching his heart, I then said "I shall then leave you on the field, and shall return by the first mail wagon." At this he seemed delighted. I for my part feel very much satisfied with what I have done, and I would rather be in my shoes than his. Preached to a full house on 1 Thess. 4, 1. After sermon told my friends the position in which I was placed. My determination to leave them the very first opportunity if well; they very earnestly tried to dissuade me. To put them off, I promised to think the matter over again in the evening, and to

send them word if there were any change in my mind. A Methodist (Mr. Jackson) occupied the place of worship in the middle of the day; and Mr. Cronyn of the Episcopal Church at 4 P. M. Oh my God let me be guided by Thee in all things, and let not any ill come out of what I have resolved to do in regard to London. May I be useful as a minister of the Gospel in converting sinners and building up saints.

November 19.—Westminster, Swartz's Tavern. Left London this afternoon at 5 P. M. and came here to wait for the stage which I understood is to return to Brantford Tuesday morning. In the morning Mr. Robertson, Donald McDonald, and Mr. Fraser called for me to receive my ultimatum. I was very much gratified by their earnestness and good will, but could give no other answer than I gave yesterday. They did what they could to alter my resolutions; but when I put to them the question whether they thought, all things considered, that I had acted the part of a minister of Christ, they replied that they thought I had. They then desired me to write them if circumstances should so alter as that I could return to them; and they wished to keep myself disengaged; and further they said, that they would see how the minds of the people stood affected, and would write me if they thought there was any hope of their all being united. Mr. McKenzie was not at church yesterday, nor did he come in to-day. From this I suspect that though when I saw him he was the most earnest for my staying, that he wishes to keep out of the affair altogether, and to leave himself at liberty how to act if he should feel inclined to ask a minister of the Kirk. I told Mr. McDonald and Mr. Fraser not to count themselves by promise to me; to leave the matter in the hands of Providence, and to act accordingly. Dr. Lee, Mr. Parke, and Mr. Talbot were very urgent with me to stay. My opinion is that Mr. McLatchie will preach often to them; that the people will fall in with him, as he is upon the spot; and that I shall hear no more of it. Upon the whole I have been much gratified by my visit to London, but still I have not got a settlement for my family, which is often the occasion of much mental suffering, though I know this is not right. This morning a heavy fall of snow which continued till 2 P. M. The air was very mild.

November 20.—Westminster, Swartz's Tavern. During the night the air became excessively cold and there was a heavy fall of snow, which continued to fall in small frozen grains throughout the day. The stage did not come last night, so I must just (D. V.) linger here till Thursday morning at

four o'clock when, barring accidents, must pass with the mail. Mr. Swartz went this morning over to the second concession to announce that if the people there wish it I will preach to them to-morrow. His boys brought home four large turkeys which they had caught in a trap; turkeys are often caught that way weighing from sixteen to twenty pounds and are worth a dollar. Mr. Swartz told me that the standard weight of wheat is sixty pounds to the bushel, oats thirty-five pounds. He is going to sow rye the first fresh day, and says that if there come a good fall of snow, it will come up under it. Had a good deal of conversation about the U. S. of America, about beavers, and many other things. Frost became intense in the evening; but the wind fell away and the chinky log house became tolerable.

November 21.—Went over to the school house on the second concession and preached to a pretty full house from 1 John 4-16. Mr. Fraser did not tell me that the people there had sent a petition to the Presbytery praying that Mr. McLatchie may be sent to labor among them for some time. I gave him an account of my views with regard to London, and how these views had been disappointed. He must have felt rather uncomfortable. Mr. Cairns has done all the mischief. Mr. Swartz's boys trapped three large wild turkeys to-day. Mr. Grieve came over and spent the evening with me.

November 22.—The mail waggon—open—came past Mr. Swartz's this morning at five o'clock. I dressed myself and went in it. Breakfasted in Putnam's; the roads horrible; got a covered waggon, at Putnam's. Day very cold; after it became dark two Scotchmen who were passengers whiled away the time by singing Scotch songs. Called at Butler's about 9 P. M. in the hope of getting tea, but the servants were all gone to bed; he could give us nothing but gin and crackers, which of course were not taken. Arrived at Brantford at half past two A. M.; every bed in the tavern was full; there was no wood chopped; we were compelled to go out and chop wood, and make a fire in the bar room, and sit there weary and hungry and sleepless till the folks got up. Did all we could to raise the servants to get us some tea, but not one would move—the worst usage I ever met with in all my journeyings. Took twenty-one hours to go fifty miles.

November 23.—Hamilton. Breakfast at Brantford and dined with Mr. Wilkes. He is about the only man with thought I have met with in Canada; in religion he is an Independent—in politics, bordering on Radicalism. He has a number of

original notions, and supports them with eloquence and talent. He would be very willing I should come and settle in Brantford or the neighborhood, but he will not put himself forward as an active man, though he will subscribe to my support. I understand the meaning of this and consequently notice such countenance but little. From what he said I begin to be of the opinion that the country between Dundas and Paris may form a very fine mission station. I shall look over it. Left Brantford in the mail waggon—open—at half past five P. M.; got on very slowly; roads exceedingly bad. The day snowy when I left; afterwards it became frosty. Came by Ancaster and Dundas, and arrived at Hamilton at one o'clock, A. M., where I got tea and a nap on a chair for half an hour, and waited till after three for the coach for York. There was in the waggon a Mr. Kirkpatrick, settled in the neighborhood of Brantford; from Dumfries sixteen years ago. A very nice man. He got, at an inn on the road, a Buffalo robe which he and I wrapped round our knees, and it was a very great comfort.

November 24.—York, home. Left Hamilton at three A. M. for York in a coach—covered—and after an uncomfortable ride arrived home at three P. M. very much fatigued, after having got no sleep for two nights and a half, and having been out all the time in the cold. But all this was in a moment forgotten, by finding my family in good health and all happy—for which I desire to give thanks to God from whom come all my mercies, and these have been neither few nor small. Mr. Cairns—preacher—called just when I arrived; and I gave him a dressing, which, if he has a soul, he will not soon forget. He has been doing me much mischief. Was delighted at finding a number of letters from my dear bairns at home and other friends. They had been written shortly after I left Greenock, and were intended to meet me shortly after my arrival. These children are very dear to me—they are very little out of my thoughts.

November 25, Sabbath.—Home. Heard Mr. Cairns preach in Mr. Harris' chapel to-day—a very poor concern. Spent the day comfortably with my family, who, I find, have been behaving very well in my absence. My family have been kindly treated by the neighbors.

November 26.—Since I returned I find that the Presbytery at Streetsville have been doing what they can to embarrass me. This is not handsome, but it will never do to allow any cross feeling to come in between me and them because of the medd-

ling officiousness of a man like Cairns. Wrote to-day to Mr. Bell telling him that I wish to put him in possession of facts which have been misrepresented to him. Heard to-day that the York district has returned Mr. McKenzie their member of parliament. He has twice been expelled from the House, and the people have thrice returned him in spite of the Tory party. From what I can learn, Mr. McKenzie is a man of first rate talent as a debater; that he has the power of skinning (sarcasm) to an extraordinary degree; that he mauls his antagonists in a style which they can neither bear nor retort; that he advocates these measures which are for the good of the community in opposition to the selfish measures of the aristocracy. He is popular and deserves to be so. He is, however, imprudent in his severity to his opponents, and does ill to his good cause by creating personal enemies in those to whom he should only be opposed on public grounds. Heard to-day that Duncan McColl, M. P., was this morning found dead in his bed. He has been ailing for some days and was a hard drinker. Warm and rainy.

November 27.—Went to-day to York and called for some friends who were all apparently happy to see me. Got some interesting accounts of the doings of the Presbytery at Streetsville respecting the union, but, as I have not got a copy of the minutes, I shall not write of it till I do. Was informed of dissension in the Scotch Kirk at York, seemingly occasioned by the unpopularity of Mr. Penitout—the most unpopular part of his conduct being his reading his sermons. Some of his congregation seem to have made great progress in dissent, they having declared at a late meeting of the congregation or trustees, that they disliked the minister receiving government bounty, which is unnecessary, as they can support him by themselves, and being got at the expense of other classes of the community, is unjust. They declared it also illegal; but, I do not as yet just clearly understand how it is illegal. Things in that church seem to be troubled, and approaching a crisis. Learned to-day that all churches contain very incongruous material; there are independents in the Kirk, in the Dissenting Church, in the Methodist churches. It is the belief of Mr. Wilkes and some others, that when his son comes to York, the Independents will come out and form a flourishing church for themselves. Received accounts from several persons not very much to the honor of Mr. Cairns, which ought to make me care less for the manner in which he has acted to me. The day fair and cold.

November 28.—Read the 110th No. of the Edinburgh Review, and as usual enjoyed a rich intellectual feast. I never read the review without feeling that I could do something great, such is the stimulating influence of that masterly work. What a difference between men in Canada and at home; and yet education makes the difference in general. But it is ages of education that raises man to the state he is now in, in the Old Country. Fair and cold.

November 29.—Spent the day at home, confined by the muddy state of the roads. Wrote part of a letter to Mr. Newlands; taught in the afternoon Alexander's school. Mr. Harris called and spent part of the forenoon with me, with whom I had a good deal of friendly chat—chiefly about churches. Wrote a long letter to Mr. Christie, and sent to him his parcel, which I had taken with me all over the country in the hope of finding him. About bed-time it began to rain very hard. The day mild.

November 30.—Very much better to-day. Finished a long letter to Mr. Newlands; spent the day in the bosom of my family very happy. The weather to-day has been very peculiar. It rained during the whole of last night, and to-day it has continued to rain and freeze at the same time. The rain which fell upon the railing around the house was converted into icicles as it fell. Contrary to what I had thought, the winter commenced earlier in London district than here. When I was in London there was a hard frost and a good deal of snow, all the while there was mild weather about York; and now the same kind of weather which I experienced at London two weeks ago is just coming on.

December 1.—Mr. Craig come into York to-day to take me out on horse back to Scarborough, and shewed me all such kindness as is wont to be shewn to ministers in Scotland. On my way called at the house of Mr. Brownlee, a Scotchman from Lesmahago, to warm our feet, who also served us a Scotch hospitality. Intended to lodge this evening with Mr. David Thomson, but when we got to his house we found them all tipsy. Mr. Thomson had had a bee on Wednesday, and they had been drinking ever since. Scarborough folks are noted drinkers. In consequence of the disordered state of the house I proceeded to Mr. Johnson's, my old quarters, where I received a most hearty welcome, and where Mr. Craig and I spent the evening in a very comfortable manner. Had a good deal of conversation respecting the congregation and the means by which it may be brought into a state of order so that they may raise with ease a stipend to the minister. The day exceedingly cold.

Hard frost, the trees coated all over with ice, and many of them beaten to the ground by the weight of the ice. Took five and a quarter hours to go to Scarborough—twelve miles—on horse back; the roads were bad.

December 2, Sabbath.—Scarborough. Preached to-day from Matth. 4, 1, and John 1, 2-1. The congregation not so numerous as on former occasions on account of bad roads, and because notice had not been widely circulated. Had a good deal of conversation this evening suitable to the Sabbath, also about the right ordering of the congregation. From all that I heard I came to the conclusion that there is very much to do here, and that the work to be done will expose to a great deal of ill will. Some of those who wish to be pillars in the church are so defective in point of moral character that it would be wrong to admit them to the fellowship of a Christian community. Messrs. Johnston and Craig are very anxious that I should settle here; about this I have many doubts. It is not a missionary station, strictly so. It is under the care of the Presbytery. It is not in a neighborhood I would like for my family. There is no land except what is very high priced. The salary is too small—only £80 per annum. I hope that God will guide me in the right way. Scarlet fever is prevalent here. Females, when confined, do not call the assistance of either midwife or surgeon; the reason is they charge too high. So the neighbors assist, and all goes well enough.

December 3.—Home. Walked from Scarborough home; took six and a half hours—twelve miles, the roads were so bad. The frost began to give way in the morning and by the time I got home they were wrought mire. Called on Mr. Brownlee on my way, and was hospitably entertained. Saw two young men from Lanarkshire who were members of the W. A. Church at Biggar; they were very well pleased to see me and I to see them. In company with Mr. Brownlee I saw a Mr. Jas. Tudhope, from Oro, going home to bring out his two sons. He promised to take some letters from me to Glasgow and gave me great encouragement to go to Oro, where, he said, the people were in great need of the gospel, and where he is sure I shall be most welcome. He told me of a Mr. Gunn in Thorah, a good man, who would do all he could to facilitate my entrance to the people in the place where he lives. He says there is excellent land to be had; the people are doing well and have plenty of money among them. Got for preaching \$41—the first money I have received in America. Mr. Johnstone walked through the lot he wanted me to buy should I become minister

in Scarborough. It is very high priced at \$8 per acre, and 100 at \$7. Perhaps its nearness to the market, where all kinds of farm produce can be disposed of, might after all render it not a bad bargain. The roads muddy to excess.

December 4.—Home. All day writing letters. Alex. and I walked to York in the evening to deliver these letters to Mr. Tudhope. Spoke to a dentist about putting in three teeth. He charged no less than \$5 apiece, which I refused to give, and so I must wear my bare mouth a little longer. It were foolish to buy teeth with that which must be kept to buy meat. I have now been 100 days in America. I have not yet been able to see a place which I think will, in all respects, suit me. I have been dilatory, I expect, and yet when I think of it I do not see what I could have done more. I trust God in His infinite wisdom will so order my steps that I shall have reason to admire His doings and to praise Him who is the health of my countenance. Have heard of many females dying in child bed these two weeks. The season appears to be unfriendly to those in that way. I expect that the same cause which has produced cholera, by the state of the atmosphere which enfeebles the bowels. Can the atmosphere be the cause of it And how? Among those who have died Mrs. Freeland, daughter of Mr. Robert Thomson, Glasgow. She shewed Mrs. P. and me much hospitality when we came to York.

December 5.—Home. Went into York and called for some acquaintances with whom I had some chat and from some of whom I heard a scandal.

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### OFFICIAL REPORT.

The following extract from a letter to one of the officers of the Synod in Scotland, and which is practically his first official report, written before his settlement in London, gives his views of the situation in Upper Canada, in so far as the operations of his church could be carried on; and details the plans he and Mr. Christie proposed to adopt. After describing his reception by the Presbyteries of Brockville and York, as already given in his journal, he goes on to say:

“In order to leave a just idea of Canada as a field of missionary labour under the superintendence of the United Associate Synod (of Scotland), it is necessary to divide the country into the townships within the limits of the United Synod of Upper Canada, and those that are beyond them. The Synod has congregations at wide intervals from Cornwall, fifty miles below Prescott, to London, in the Western territory; and from

York (Toronto) to Lake Simcoe. The number of ministers is fifteen, but some of these have as many as six congregations under their charge. Indeed, I know of only two or three ministers who preach stately on Sabbath in one place. Many of these congregations, which were nice missionary stations, and perhaps are so still, have so grown in numbers and worldly circumstances as to be able to support each a minister at a moderate stipend. But the Synod has not ministers to send to them; and consequently there is reason to fear that some of these congregations will go over to those churches that can afford them a regular ministry, if the Synod receive not help from the United Associate Synod, or from Ireland, whence they have hitherto drawn their chief supply of preachers. Within the bounds of the Synod there are very many townships where small congregations might be collected, which the ministers have never visited, and which they cannot visit. These might be formed into excellent stations for missionary labor.

“As I found that the settling of my family near York would detain me, at least part of the winter, within the bounds of the Synod, I did not think it brotherly, nor likely to do good in other respects, to go over the country without their concurrence. You are aware that the United Synod of Upper Canada holds the same faith, and observes the same forms of worship and discipline, as the Associate Synod. I was fortunate enough to arrive at Brockville on a day that there was a meeting of the Presbytery. I stated to the members the object of my coming to the country. I was most cordially welcomed. All the members expressed joy that the United Secession Church had at length thought of Canada. They named several places where I might preach, and they told me that I might easily find more in traversing the country; and, further, they made me welcome, whether I should join their Synod or not. On 26th September the Presbytery of York met at Streetsville in Toronto (township). I thought it right to attend, the more especially as it was convenient for me to do so.

“I made the same communications as at Brockville and received as hearty a welcome. Two of the members of the Presbytery urged me very much to preach within their bounds, as they were no longer able to endure the fatigue of travelling to their numerous congregations, and they assured me they would be most happy if I could relieve them of part of their labors. In the neighborhood of these congregations there are stations where there is room for as much labor as any man could undertake. From what I have seen of the country and of the re-

ligious parties in it, I think the Synod could not do better than strengthen the hands of the United Synod of Upper Canada. They are a church known over all the country. They have been very useful, and are respected. They have already organized the means of operating upon every part of the province; and not only so, but to act without them would be to fix upon them the stamp of the Synod's disapprobation, which would be the more painful to them as they have hitherto made it their boast that they are of the same principles as the United Associate Synod; and, moreover, it would be no easy matter to satisfy the people that they and we are the same in doctrine and discipline if we keep aloof from them.

"That part of the country that is without the limits of the United Synod is very extensive, and very destitute of preaching. There are places in which the people have not heard a sermon for a year. A very considerable proprietor told me that he had lived on his farm seven years, and there was not a sermon within many miles of him all that time. The evil is in part remedied now by Methodist preachers, who have spread themselves over all the province, and who, owing to the efficiency of their mode of operation, have penetrated into almost every township. It is in these out-field parts of the country that we propose to labor in the first instance, as far as health and the season will permit. I have had a good deal of conversation with Mr. Christie on the plan of our operations, and the following, it is likely, is the manner in which we will act. We shall in company visit those places which are most destitute of the gospel. We shall mark out the country into circles of missionary exertion, according as we shall be encouraged by the inhabitants, taking in as wide a district as a preacher can conveniently go over in two or three weeks. We shall tell the people of the generous purposes of the United Associate Synod, and that, if they wish it, they may have supply of sermon from you. An account of the number and circumstances of these stations we shall transmit to you for the information of the committee and the Synod. It is probable that, if God in His mercy spare us to carry these views into execution, we shall have a report to send by February."

#### LETTER TO HIS DAUGHTER.

Written a month after his return from his first visit to London, C. W.:

York, Dec. 21st, 1832.

My dearest Mary:

As I am at home at present I shall gratify myself, and

you I believe, by writing to you a very long letter. I wrote to you from Mr. McGregor's on the 7th September. On the 4th of this month I wrote you by a man who left York in order to go to Scotland. Mama wrote by the same opportunity to Aunt Betsy. I wrote by him a great many letters; as, however, letters by private conveyance seldom reach their destination, I shall write at present just as if I had not written by him.

I must begin by saying that through the mercy of God we are all in good health, and have been so for the most part since we left Scotland. Indeed we never all enjoyed better health than we have done since we parted from you. I trust that you have been also well—meaning you and Pet, for this letter is for her as well as you.

We often talk about you both for a long time at once, and all the children tell everything they can remember about you. Hart remembered a great deal, and whenever he and Jessie see a pen or a bit of paper lying about, it is taken to write a letter to Mary and Anna. Jessie, when she wishes to coax me, begins a long story about Anna Mary. You know I left the family at Mr. McGregor's and his father's for about six weeks, during which time I was about York. All the time I was away Jessie was complaining that I had left her; when they all came up in the steamboat I went down to the wharf to meet them, and Jessie, whenever she saw me, sprang into my arms and cried "Found papa again;" then hid her face in my bosom and wept aloud for joy. And had you seen her you would have wept too. Hart writes letters to you every day on a slate, and Bobby reads them. When they came up to York they encountered a very heavy storm on Lake Ontario; there were greater waves than they had seen in the Atlantic; the cabin windows were drawn in; and Jessie was more alive to the danger than any of them. She always cried out that the boat would coup, and clung to Maggie for safety. They are all growing fast, their clothes are become too small for them. There is not a finer looking set of boys in America, and so says everybody that sees them.

We have got a small house about a mile out of town. It is built as almost all the houses are, of wood. It has a kitchen, two rooms, two bed closets, and a store room for five dollars per month which, as things go, is cheap. There is only one fire place in it—the kitchen—and we have two stoves, each of which heat two rooms, by carrying the pipes through the partitions. The rooms are all very small, but they are the warmer on that account. I have bought very little furniture. The chairs cost 3s. 8d. each. They have wooden bottoms, a little hollowed out,

are painted, and look very well. Now you must know that the very best people here use nothing but wooden chairs, and few of them cost more than a dollar, so we are quite in the fashion. Tent beds, very handsome, cost seven dollars. Your mama regrets very much that she sold her feather beds, for feathers cost here half a dollar a pound, but they are very fine, equal to the best down in Scotland. People here keep geese for their feathers, and pluck them all over four times a year; each goose produces, every year, a pound of feathers. The feather bed that mama brought with her, in consequence of being unturned for a week in the ship, got the tick on the under side rotted all off. I have got a nice black walnut table, (there is no mahogany here) which dines us all, for twenty-five shillings. It looks nearly as well as mahogany. Everybody here who is not in the very highest class has just as little furniture as will possibly do. The better class have things just as in Edinburgh, only less of it and not so costly.

Alex'r. is employed in chopping wood for the fire. It is brought in in pieces four feet long, and these need to be hacked through the middle. He also teaches the young ones; and he has five scholars to teach with them for a month or two, for each of which he gets a dollar per month. John is not very willing to call Alex'r. master, yet his good sense teaches him to behave well, and so does the warm hearted, thoughtless, pretty Willy.

Mama has very few acquaintances; the roads have been so bad that she cannot leave home; but there are two nice families close to our home, where she calls frequently. We received much attention in York; and were we able to go in dry shod we might have very good society. There was a very nice lady with whom we were very happy, a sister of Michael Thomson, the preacher, but she died about a month ago of puerperal fever.

I forgot to say, when writing about the bairns, that Jessie is exceedingly like you, Mary. Everything she does brings you to our remembrance. She is a most joyous little creature, petted by all her brothers, and humored in every whim she takes. Her ordinary mode of expressing joy is by jumping for a minute or two as high as she is able. Alex'r. is trying to teach her the letters, but she generally tires after saying three or four letters; and then, it would be cruel to make her look on the book after she is tired. Hart is reading in Lennie's Reader, and is making very good progress. He is growing very stout and improving every day in his appearance. Bobby, the great fat baby, is as fat as ever, and as much Maggie's man as ever. He is reading

and writing very well; he is fond of reading; he is at the second Commandment in the Shorter Catechism. John and Willy are in arithmetic, and are revising their Latin. There is no meal here, and the Indian Corn was all destroyed by the frost, so the children get no porridge. Indeed, nobody uses porridge in this country. The children breakfast on fried ham and potatoes, and tea and bread, and they like it far better than porridge. Dinner is at one o'clock and tea at six, and all meals are the same. There is no supper in this country. The bread is all baked in the house, and this is the way it is done. Your mama buys a barrel of flour, which costs at present five dollars, about 21s. 6d. Sterling. The barrel contains, I suppose, 190 pounds. This serves the family for bread about a month, and they have as much as they can consume. Yeast is got from a brewer for 2s. a bottle, or it is made of hops. The bread is fixed in the oven, i. e., the cast metal oven used for boiling potatoes in. The loaves are like cheese in shape; and the bread is well raised and well fired, and is as good as any bread I ever ate in Scotland, not excepting even Perth. Mama bought three pigs and killed them; and she intends buying seven or eight more, and a great quantity of beef. Farmers bring cart loads of pigs ready killed to market, and she buys what she needs from the carts as they pass into York. People here need to lay in butcher meat for summer in winter, because the winter is so severe and fodder in general so scarce, that there is little good butcher meat to be had all summer. The beef and pork cost  $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb. at present. Fire wood is a dear article here; we pay 12s. 6d. for a cord. A cord consists of pieces of split wood four feet long. They are then laid down till the heap be eight feet long, four feet high and four feet broad, or in other words it contains 128 cubical feet. The pieces are about the size of a tree two feet in diameter split into four or five pieces. All these have to be cut with the axe and split again before they can be used in a room fire. We burn a cord in two weeks, and thrift is necessary to make it last so long. To save wood the people in York and all the towns use stoves. They are in general handsome articles; they have pipes which conduct the heated air through two and sometimes three rooms. The heat produced by them is very disagreeable, to me at least. Indeed I hear every person complain of it as weakening the eyes and taking away the appetite, and producing a kind of watery state of stomach. We sit a great deal at the kitchen fire, just to be away from the stove heat. In the country houses no stoves are used; there there is plenty of wood, and the faster it is burned, so much the better.

I will tell you what sort of a thing a Canadian fire is: The fire place is about eight feet wide and as much in height, built of brick. There is not such a thing as a grate in the country. The fire is laid on the hearth, the ends of the logs are suspended off the ground about four inches by two pieces of cast iron in this shape: \* \* \*. (drawing) this is not well drawn, but you will understand it. Now there is first the back log, which is generally about eighteen or twenty inches in diameter and sometimes two feet, and it is four or five or six feet long. This is laid at the back. Next, there is the top log laid above the back log, this is smaller, from nine to twelve inches in diameter. Then there is the fore log, about six inches in diameter; and between the forelog and the back are laid four or five pieces of split wood, each thicker than a man's leg. And all this is in a blaze at once. He who can stand within three feet of the fire has a tough skin. I must now tell you how the Canadians live. Breakfast is composed of fry and potatoes, cold meat, bread and tea. This is the fare in the very poorest log houses I have seen. In better families, there is pickled beet root, and pickled cucumbers, preserved plums or peaches, and apple pie, and in the season, apple sauce is eaten to all butcher meat. Dinner is the same at six o'clock. There you see the Canadians live well, and many who live thus every day, tell me that they scarcely ever saw butcher meat in the Old Country, and had difficulty in getting porridge and potatoes.

The young people here dress very gayly in towns. They have all the newest fashions, I suppose, as soon as they have them in Scotland. They come first to New York, and then to Canada. In the country the young women spin and dye and weave all the clothes which they wear. They are, of course, not finely, but substantially dressed. The country is so muddy in winter, and so dusty in summer, that nobody in the country ever thinks of cleaning shoes; and even they who live in towns do not get their shoes cleaned unless they can afford to keep a boy in the kitchen to do it. No female servant in York will clean shoes. I never get mine cleaned when I am away from home. In taverns they charge 3½d. for cleaning shoes, which I take care to save.

There are good schools, they say, in York for young ladies, but I think they who teach them are not by any means well qualified. I asked one who has a large school what she taught. She said astronomy and writing and cyphering and needle work. Astronomy is you see taught to girls ten years old in this country. I suppose the Astronomy is all contained in

Pinnock's Catechism. I think there is room for a good qualified teacher, and nothing in the country pays better. There are some few pianofortes in York, but I have never heard one play, so cannot judge. I think if such a person as Miss Maria Graham were to come here, she would make a fortune in a few years.

I had almost forgotten to tell you that our house is about a mile out of York, on the west side of Dundas street. It is also about a mile from the lake shore, and all the space between the house and the lake is cleared, but as it is what is called a common, it is not cultivated. Directly before the house but close on the lake are the barracks. We have from the windows a very fine view, one of the finest in the country. Lake Ontario stretches to the east and west and south as far as the eye can see. Until winter set in, there were constantly seen many small ships or schooners entering the harbor or leaving it. The light house is just before our windows at the distance of about three miles.

I do not know if I shall be able to convey to you an idea of the appearance of this country. It may be said to be a vast flat, at least it has nothing in the whole extent of it that can be called a mountain, scarcely anything that can be called a hill. There are slight undulations which, were the country cleared, would diversify the surface of the country, but covered as the whole land is with wood, there is hardly any eminence from which a person can see to any distance around him. In the lower part of Upper Canada I have been told that there are hills and precipices; and about twenty miles back from York there is what is called the Oakridge. At the head of Ontario there is a steep bank, called the mountain about three to five miles from the lake, and perhaps 300 feet high; but when you climb to the summit, you have only got up to table land which extends the whole length of Lake Erie, level in a straight line to the west but sloping very gently to the south. Nothing can be more dull and cheerless than the aspect of Canada (Upper Canada I mean) In every direction there are open places cut in the forest; these are the farms of the settlers; but as every farmer leaves a large portion of timber for fire wood, the general appearance of the country is still that of a forest. In scarcely any place can be seen 100 acres cleared of timber; and even in cleared places the stumps of the trees are in general still standing. When I first saw Upper Canada I thought nothing could be more unsightly, I have now got so accustomed to the stumps that I seldom heed them. The trees are very large in some places. There are, however, not many that are three feet in diameter

at six feet from the ground. They, in general, grow very closely together, and this makes them rather very tall than very thick. There are many far bigger trees in Britain than I have seen in America. Trees here, by growing close, have very few branches; and by being so thick set, they have very little hold of the ground; hence in a high wind there are constantly trees falling, which makes it rather dangerous to be in the forest in a high wind. In going through the forest one meets at every stone cast or less, great trees lying rotting in all stages of decay, some newly fallen, and others rotted away to powder, or sunk again to earth. Walking through the forest is very hard labor; riding is still worse, except where a path has been cut.

I have been all around the head of Lake Ontario. I had not time to visit the Falls of Niagara, though I was within fourteen miles. I purpose yet to see them. I have been up by Hamilton, Dundas, Ancaster, Brantford, Burford, Oxford, Dorchester, Westminster, and London to the west, and I have been about twenty miles on the road to Lake Simcoe. I have seen a good deal of the country. I have met with uniform kindness from the people. Indeed the people are very hospitable, and in general very polite. Canadians speak very well, but late settlers from every country speak just as they did at home, and when you go into a Scotch settlement you see the same dress and hear the same dialect as you would do were you to visit the places they came from. In some places nothing but Gaelic is spoken or understood. In others nothing but Dutch; in others nothing but French; and there are many who "guess" and "calculate" and "expect" from Yankeeland. In this country a person may place himself amongst people where he will feel himself as if he were at home.

I believe I wrote to you in my first letter how grand a view the St. Lawrence is. Indeed, I had no idea of so magnificent a stream. When within ninety miles of Quebec it is one grand and beautiful picture, studded with islands of every picturesque form, some naked rock, and others clothed from the summit to the water edge with evergreen. And then the banks, so richly cultivated and so beautifully settled. From Green Island to Quebec, ninety miles, there is one continued street of cottages, which street thickens every four or five miles into a village, having its church, and steeple glittering in the sun. I never could leave the deck in daylight all the time we were in the river.

I must now tell you our plans about you and Anna. We are

very anxious to have you come out to us, and we hope to be in a place of our own as soon as Spring will make it advisable in us to move. With regard to the time of your coming out, I would like it to be about the same time we came, as the weather is then calmer though the passage be longer. In the event of your coming out I shall feel it necessary to write to some of our good friends to have you sent out under the protection of some one whom we can trust. That is very necessary in a voyage. There are so many dangers of being imposed upon in the boat and out of it. Meantime I expect you are engaged as an assistant to Miss Dobie. She promised this last time I saw her. I shall write to Aunt Betsey and Mrs. Aitcheson and Mr. Wm. Turner as fast as I can get time, and I shall explain to them my plan in full length. I do not know but it would be better that you do not come out till another year, but I cannot afford the expenses which would be necessary, especially for Anna. I think you should sail from Leith, as giving your friends least trouble. Greenock is the best place to sail from, but there are many inconveniences connected with going to it. Mamma thinks that if John Small and Bell Rodger were coming out she would be satisfied with your coming with them. It is my intention to go down to Quebec to receive you. We dare not hope that Aunt Betsey would come out with you, as she talked, I suspect, in jest. I hope you will write your own opinion immediately upon the receipt of this, and I shall, I hope, have time to write to you a particular account of what you must bring with you, and of all things necessary to be attended to on ship board. But you must not lose a day in writing an answer.

I received all your letters by Dr. Blackwood only two weeks ago. He sent them all by post from Montreal.

I hope you are endeavoring to derive all the advantages from your present situation. I expect to find you an excellent scholar and very genteel in your manners. As having received such attention from Miss Dobie, I hope you will see it your duty to have her interest deeply at heart, and to promote it by every means in your power. I hope you consult Aunt Betsey about everything, and that you follow her advice. And you, my dearest Anna, I hope you are in every respect dutiful to Miss Wilson, and to Dr. Turner and Mr. Wm. Turner. You owe a great deal of gratitude for their kindness to you, which I hope you endeavor to discharge. My dearest Mary and Anna I beg you to remember your Creator in the days of your youth. Read the scriptures every day, and pray to God that He would make you to love him and to avoid all sin and to do His commandments,

and that He would direct and preserve you and keep you in all ways. The wisest course is to live remembering that you are to die and that after death comes the judgment. On that day it will be found that they have been wisest who have labored to do the will of God in sincerity and truth. I must leave a little corner for the bairns and conclude by expressing my hope that God by His infinite mercy will keep you both and us to meet together in health and comfort.

I am, my dear children,

Your most affectionate father,

Wm. Proudfoot.

Dear Sisters:

We all feel the deepest anxiety about your welfare, and are most anxious to see you both safe in Canada. We have not yet got a place of our own, but we expect to be settled in a house of our own in the Spring. Papa has not seen any place that in every respect pleases him, and he thinks it better not to make a hasty choice.

May God bless you, our dear sisters. We are yours affectionately,

Alex'r. Proudfoot

John Proudfoot

William Proudfoot

Hart Proudfoot

Jessie Proudfoot

Robert Proudfoot

Dear Anna Mary.

"Huron" is pronounced Heuron, the "U" sounded as in June.

Address to me to the care of Rev'd. James Harris, York, Upper Canada.

My dearest Mary and Elizabeth:

I see everyone has forgot to mention Mamma. I am wearying much to see you both. Papa is very much liked, and might have been settled long before this time but it is not easy to get a place every way suitable. I hope in the Spring we will be in a place of our own. I trust Aunt Betsey will keep her promise and come out with you. Give my kind love to my Uncle Paterson when you see him, and tell him I felt very vexed I did not see him and my dear Amelia Famer before I left Scotland. I will write to all my friends when I get to a place where the air is clean, but I can tell you this is not the case in York; it is rather a low lying place. Give my kind love to Aunt Betsey, and tell her I have gathered very little information for her, as we have been very busy ever since we came

here so that I scarce know the price of anything. I will write her again soon.

I remain, my dearest children,

Yours most affectionately,

I. Proudfoot.

My sweet Anna, give my kind love to my dear Aunt Miss Wilson, and tell her I often think of her, how neatly she slipped away in Glasgow, for fear, I suppose, of a parting; also give my kind love to Dr. Turner and also to my dear William. Remember me to Uncle Robert, and tell him I will write him as soon as I am able to give him right information. Also remember me to my brother W. and his better half. Jessie is quite a delight, and often talking about Anna and Mary; she is very heavy and good humored, and very fond of Maggie; she remembers Aunt Betsey.

Maggie Lorrie is quite well and is doing well.

Snow came on yesterday, and such sleighing.

"Sleigh" is pronounced "slay."

"Niagara" is pronounced Ni-ag-a-ra, accented on the second syllable.

"Michigan" is pronounced Me-she-gan, accented on the last syllable.

"Ohio" is pronounced O-hi-o, the "i" long as in "time."

### LETTER TO HIS DAUGHTERS

Written a week after his return from his second visit to London, C. W., and three weeks before his final departure from York to his Western home.

York, U. C., 5th April, 1833.

My dearest Mary and Ann:

We are all wearying exceedingly to hear from you. The last letter written by either of you which has come to hand was written by Mary and dated the 15th October. I have written several times, time enough to have received answers since the letter I wrote from W. McGregor's; but I do not blame you, for I suppose my not having received letters is because I did not tell you to direct them via New York.

I have now resolved upon settling in London, which is about 123 miles west of York. It is a fine village and will soon be a large town. I am to preach to two congregations, the one is in London, and the other about nine miles due North of London. This will be the case for some years (if spared) and then I purpose to give up one and to keep the other. I have bought 100

acres of excellent land in the Township of Westminster.\* The farm is two and a half miles from London and eleven and a half miles from the other church. The price is 800 dollars, which is £200 currency, or about £180 sterling. The land is of the very finest description in Canada, and will bear as good crops as the best in the Carse. Indeed it is better land than any I ever saw in the Carse. There are twenty-five acres clear of timber, of which there will be four and a half in Spring wheat; as much for potatoes and Indian corn. The rest is in grass, which will graze a horse and a cow this summer, and produce as much hay as will keep them all next winter. I am just drawing the plan for a house, which I purpose to build immediately, and which will be ready for you both and Aunt Betsey when you come. It is to be a frame house, and will be far better than Pitrodie Manse.

In London there is some pretty good society. I have seen some pianofortes, and the young people dress very well. They walk a great deal and pay visits to one another. They are badly off for books. The Thames, on which London stands, is a very fine river, not just so large as the Tay at Perth, but not much less. The country is very rich in point of soil, and will, in a few years, be very thickly settled.

As we are all longing very much to see you, we have begun to make arrangements for your coming out to us, and we earnestly pray and hope that you may be conducted in safety. I have written to Mr. Wm. Turner, and Mr. Wm. Peddie, about getting a ship for you and getting some person to take care of you. The following directions will be of use to you. Indeed I intend it as a guide to you all the way.

1.—Preparations for sailing:

As you will come out in the Cabin, it will not be necessary for you to lay in any provisions; yet even a Cabin passenger is the better for having a few articles. Ten pounds of fine biscuit; two or three dozen porter or ale; a bottle of brandy, and one or two of Port wine. Aunt Betsey (who is coming out with you, I hope), will tell you all that is needful, only let me remind you not to touch these articles till you cannot do without them; do not even tell any person on board that you have them. You will soon dislike the ship water, and you will find the porter and ale at that time very delicious. If you write to Uncle Sandy, he will make a strong box to hold all these things. You will need a few doses of medicine. Dr. Turner will tell you what kind and how to use them.

\* London Township.

With regard to clothing, you need not be particular about what you wear on ship board, so all that you need to provide is something stout and warm. Be sure to have stout shoes. Any old bonnet will do, but I do not need to be particular, as you will have Aunt Betsey—one who knows all about it.

2.—On ship board:

I. Take care of yourelves in damp weather particularly; a rainy or foggy day on ship board is exceedingly disagreeable. Guard against damp feet, wear woollen stockings and stout shoes, and have some pieces of flannel in case of sore throat. The most disagreeable part of the voyage to us was on the Banks of Newfoundland, when we were kept for two weeks, and during the whole time it was either dense fog or a thin, drizzling, cold rain. We were obliged to be on deck sometimes, because the Cabin got uncomfortable and we seldom went on deck without being wet.

As I suppose you will have to provide your own bed, your best way will be to buy a feather bed, and you will be sure to turn it over every day and expose it to the air. Your mother's bed lay unturned for two weeks, and the tick was all rotted off on the under side. This alarmed the other cabin passengers, and their beds were all mouldy, though not so much damaged as ours. One bed will serve you both, I suppose.

II. Keep the key of your trunk in your pocket, and never leave anything lying about, for you may never again see it. Johnny's pocket was picked of 8s., his whole stock. He left his trousers lying at his bedside, and in the morning his money was off. The cabin boy was suspected. Books and work must all be laid aside under lock and key.

III. You will provide yourself with a quire or two of paper and note down the events of every day.

IV. Never favor a party in the ship. You must keep your mind to yourself and never tell one what another may say. You know what I mean, so I need say nothing more, only let me impress this upon your mind, that if you neglect the above, you will make yourself hated and be very unhappy.

V. Never forget to read a portion of the Bible, and to pray every morning and evening to Him whom the winds and waves obey.

VI. Resolve to be always employed; this is one of the best means of avoiding that ennui which is so often experienced in fine weather at sea. With regard to sea sickness, I can give you no directions. I never saw those who used remedies any-

thing the better for them; and I can say nothing from experience as I never felt it.

3.—When you enter the St. Lawrence the pilot will come on board with whom you will have an opportunity of talking French. He will tell you the names of all the villages which you may see. The pilots are all Frenchmen.

Upon your arrival in Quebec, you will need to look out for a steamer proceeding to Montreal—180 miles. The charge for this in the Cabin is, I think, four or five dollars each. I am not acquainted with any person in Quebec to whom I could direct you. Perhaps some of your friends in Edinburgh may have acquaintances in Quebec. At any rate the law entitles you to remain on board the ship you cross the Atlantic in for forty-eight hours after dropping anchor, and this will be sufficient time to get a steamboat for Montreal. I do not remember whether food is included in the five dollars freight. You will enquire about this. When you arrive at Montreal, enquire for Mr. Alex. Miller; he lives in San Francisco Xavier Street. I have written to him to receive you. If he be in his country house when you arrive, his brother will receive you. Call for Mr. Rattray, tobacconist; he is from Dundee, and will shew you kindness. Perhaps you will find yourselves very comfortable with Mr. Brunton, grocer; he is son to the Rev. Mr. Brunton who stayed in Dundee, and who baptized Alexander. He has a good house. His sister, a very nice young woman, stays with him. You will also call for Mr. John Simson, an old school-fellow of mine. He keeps a store near the large Catholic Chapel, on the east side of it. Mr. Millar's is on one side of the chapel and Mr. Simson's is on the other side. Dr. Turner may give you a letter, if he thinks proper, to the medical gentleman who brought out a packet of letters from you last year.

Mr. Cleghorn, an acquaintance of Dr. Turner's, is a good way from Montreal. I did not see him because the sailing of the steamboat for La Prairie is such that I could not go and return the same day. I have some more acquaintances in Montreal, but Mr. Millar shewed so much kindness to us all, and is so friendly and kind a man, that I wish you to look to him for directions about the rest of your journey if you find him at home. If the steamboat in which you come up from Quebec arrives late at Montreal, you had better stay on board till the following morning. Mr. Millar is from Perth, an acquaintance of Mr. Archibald Reid's. Mr. Reid will, I am sure, very willingly write to Mr. Millar by you.

Mr. Millar will take out your ticket in the coach for Pres-

cott, and will give you all the necessary directions about the way. Your tickets will cost you eight dollars apiece. You must here (at Montreal) leave your big trunk, if the coach will not take it. If the coach will take it, so much the better. If the coach refuse it, Mr. Millar will get it sent by the forwarder as the carrier is here called. Mr. Millar will direct your trunk to the care of Mr. Thomas Bell, King Street, York. I shall give him directions how it is to be forwarded to London.

When you arrive at Prescott you will be set down at the inn kept by a Mr. Warren. Miss Warren knows Aunt Emily; she shewed your mother and all the bairns a great deal of kindness for three days that we were in the house. Tell her who you are, and she will shew you kindness for the sake of mamma. When at Prescott you will call for Rev. Mr. Boyd. He is a Presbyterian minister there. He and Mrs. Boyd are very nice people indeed; he will lodge you in his house, and will see you to the steamboat that will bring you to York.

If Aunt Betsey be with you, you will, of course, wish to pay a visit to Aunt Emily in passing. It will cost you a good deal of trouble to do it, and some expense. The way is this: Mr. Boyd will see you over the river to Ogdensburgh; when there you will get a steamboat that will land you at Morristown, about ten miles from Ogdensburgh. When at Morristown you will need to hire a waggon to take you to Hammond to the house of Mr. McGregor. He is well known at Morristown, for he preaches there every alternate Sabbath. The waggon will cost you one and a half or two dollars. You must bargain to have seats in the waggon, and a span of horses, i. e., two horses. If you go to Mr. McGregor's, he will see you on board the steamboat that is to bring you up the river. I would scarcely advise you to go to Hammond unless Mr. Boyd, or some person deputed by him, were to go with you. at least to Morristown. Well then, I shall suppose that you do not go to Morristown. Miss Warren will send a servant with you to the steamer for York. or Mr. Boyd will go with you. The charge is eight dollars in the cabin, and this includes, I think, your food. If any accident should detain the boat at Brockville, twelve miles above Prescott, you may call for the Rev. Mr. Stuart. He is no witch for hospitality, and it will be better that you do not need to call for him. The boat sometimes stays for some hours at Kingston. If you be disposed to go on shore. you may call for Mr. Mowat, cooper, who will shew you good hospitality for my sake. though I have never seen him. Your mother was very hospitably entertained by him. When

you come to York, if it be before nine o'clock in the evening, you will call for Mr. Thomas Bell, King Street, or for the Rev. James Harris, Bay Street, or for the Rev. Mr. Stewart, Yonge Street. Take Mr. Bell first; if once under his care you may think yourself home. He has some very nice sisters, who will treat you with all kindness during the time you may choose to stay in York. You will find here plenty of friends.

On leaving York, Miss Bell has promised to see you to Hamilton in the steamboat, the last you will need on the way. When at Hamilton call for the Rev. Mr. Marsh, and tell him you are come to stay with him for a night. If Miss Bell has any friend in Hamilton, you will of course stay where she stays. The mail stage leaves Hamilton for Brantford every morning at seven o'clock A. M. You will arrive at Brantford in the afternoon and stay there till the following morning, in all probability. When at Brantford, you will find yourself very hospitably entertained by Mr. Cotter, the innkeeper; he knows me well, and is a great friend of mine. While at Brantford you may call for Mr. Wilkes, whose wife and daughter and daughter-in-law will be very kind to you. I stayed nearly a month in his house. At Brantford you will get directions for London. You will start in the morning and be in your father's house at night. When you come to York, if it be after nine o'clock at night, your best way will be to get the captain or the steward of the steamboat to shew you to "The Ontario House," the best inn in York, and you can send a note to Mr. Bell to tell him that you would be happy if he would come to see you. The above directions will enable you to find your way to York, even though you have no person to come with you; but I hope you are to come under the guardianship of some of our ministers.

I would hardly advise you to call for Mr. McGregor without a guide; if you do go to see him, you will write to me and name the day you intend to leave Hammond, and be sure to write to me when you come to York, and tell me on what day you intend to leave it, and I will come down for you to Hamilton or York, and take you home with me. Walter Lawson is at Brantford; he was delighted exceedingly to see me. I had almost forgotten to tell you not to drink the water of the St. Lawrence. It almost always brings on a diarrhoea; indeed, whenever you come to a resting place, you should take a good dose of Calomel and Jalap. We were never right till we did so.

I had a letter from Mr. McGregor about a month ago; he is wishing to come to Canada to settle. He does not like the

States very well, so, if we be spared, we may ere long have him for a neighbor.

You will need at least £12 in' your pocket each, when you leave Quebec. Your expenses will amount to nearly this. If you run short by any accident, Mr. Bell at York will supply you or I will bring it down with me.

I came down from London on Saturday for the purpose of taking all the family up. The carriage of ourselves and luggage will cost more than a hundred dollars.

I am happy to say that we are all well. Your brothers have grown great stout boys since they came to America. The clothes which they brought with them are all too little for them. Alex. has been teaching the younger ones all winter while I was from home, and he taught five children besides, from each of whom he received a dollar per month. He has been unwell by boils, which he brought on himself by heating himself chopping fine wood. John and Willy have been through Gray's Arithmetic twice, and have been working away at the Rudiments. Robert is still Maggie's favorite, and has a pair of plumper cheeks than are to be seen in all Canada. He reads very well. Hart is a noble fellow; he is grown very stout. Jessie, the dear sweet Jessie, is as lovely a child as you ever saw. She is petted by everyone, and is quite a Madam. The boys say that when Anna comes she will find the petship is occupied; but Anna will, I am sure, find that she has lost none of her father's affection. They all talk frequently of you and all are wearying exceedingly to see you both. They often lament that you will be sea sick and may have nobody to attend to you, as they had when they were sick.

You will call for all your friends before you come away. I would like that both of you saw my mother, but it will lead to too much expense. I am sure your uncles will come in and see you before you sail. As to going to the Carse, I fear that also is impracticable. Indeed you must take care not to spend a cent that can be saved. You will need it all here.

I have not heard a word about Pitrodie since I left it, except what was contained in Mary's letter of the 13th October. I have written to Messrs. Harlands, Pringle and Johnstone, and I expect a long letter from each of them very soon. I mean to write to some Carse man after I am fairly set down at London, to Mr. Turdal and Mr. Williams.

I wrote a long letter to Uncle Sandy at the same time that I wrote you last, and I purpose to write to him soon again.

I have been conversing with Mamma about the expense of

travelling up the river St. Lawrence from Quebec. She says that the charge from Quebec to Montreal was a sovereign for each of the grown-up persons, and that this included bed and victuals. The charge from Montreal to Prescott was eight dollars each, or £2 currency, but that this did not include victuals. We were two nights and a day on the passage. We were in three coaches and in two steam boats. The charge from Prescott to York was £2 each, including victuals. The charge for each meal is 1s. 3d. We have just three meals in this land. The steamboats on the St. Lawrence surpass all that is to be met with in Britain in point of grandeur and size. You will need to be pretty well dressed in them; not braw, but more smart than when crossing the Atlantic. Remember to give nothing to servants in steamboats and inns. Nobody gives to servants in this country. It is never asked, never expected.

I have written the above so that you might find your way to us though you were alone, but I do not look for you alone. I do not bid you come till you can find some guardian approved of by your friends; and in that case you will have one who will see that you are not imposed upon. Aunt Betsey, whom I expect with you, is as good as any gentleman can be; but she will be the better of some one to take the fash off her hands. What money you bring must be in gold; and if you do not take care, you will be cheated in the change. A sovereign is worth 23s. 9d. of the currency of the country.

I had intended to write to Miss Dobie, to whom I feel much indebted. She will accept the assurance of my esteem though I do not write to her.

You will write to me upon receipt of this and tell me all about your views of coming to America. Write very small on a large sheet of paper and fill it full. Present my kindest remembrances to Mr. and Mrs. Aitcheson at Drummore; also Mr. and Mrs. Aitcheson, St. Johns Street; to Mr. Black, and to Mr. Renwick, if either of you see him.

I hope you are both conducting yourselves so as to give entire satisfaction to the many kind friends who have taken so deep an interest in you, and above all, so as to please God, whose favor is better than life. I hope you never forget to read the Bible every day, and to pray to your Heavenly Father; and that you attend the church every Sabbath. Preaching is needful, and I trust you both make choice of that good thing which can never be taken from those who possess it.

Tell Uncle Robert that I purpose to write to him a very long letter some day soon, but that as I know he must be told

all about prices, I shall need to make a great many enquiries. I wish he were here. I am sure he would like the country, and that the country would suit him.

We all unite in most affectionate love to you both; and I am, my dearest Mary and Anna,

Your ever affectionate father,

Wm. Proudfoot.

Address to me at London, Upper Canada, via New York.

The original of this letter is written on a large sheet of paper in a small copperplate hand, legible as print. Pages filled very full, and divided in two columns. It is folded in two, meeting in the center, then in three, without envelope, sealed with red wax, and addressed—single sheet:—Misses Mary and Ann Proudfoot, No. 23 Castle Street, Edinburgh, Scotland (Via New York).



Transactions

....of the....

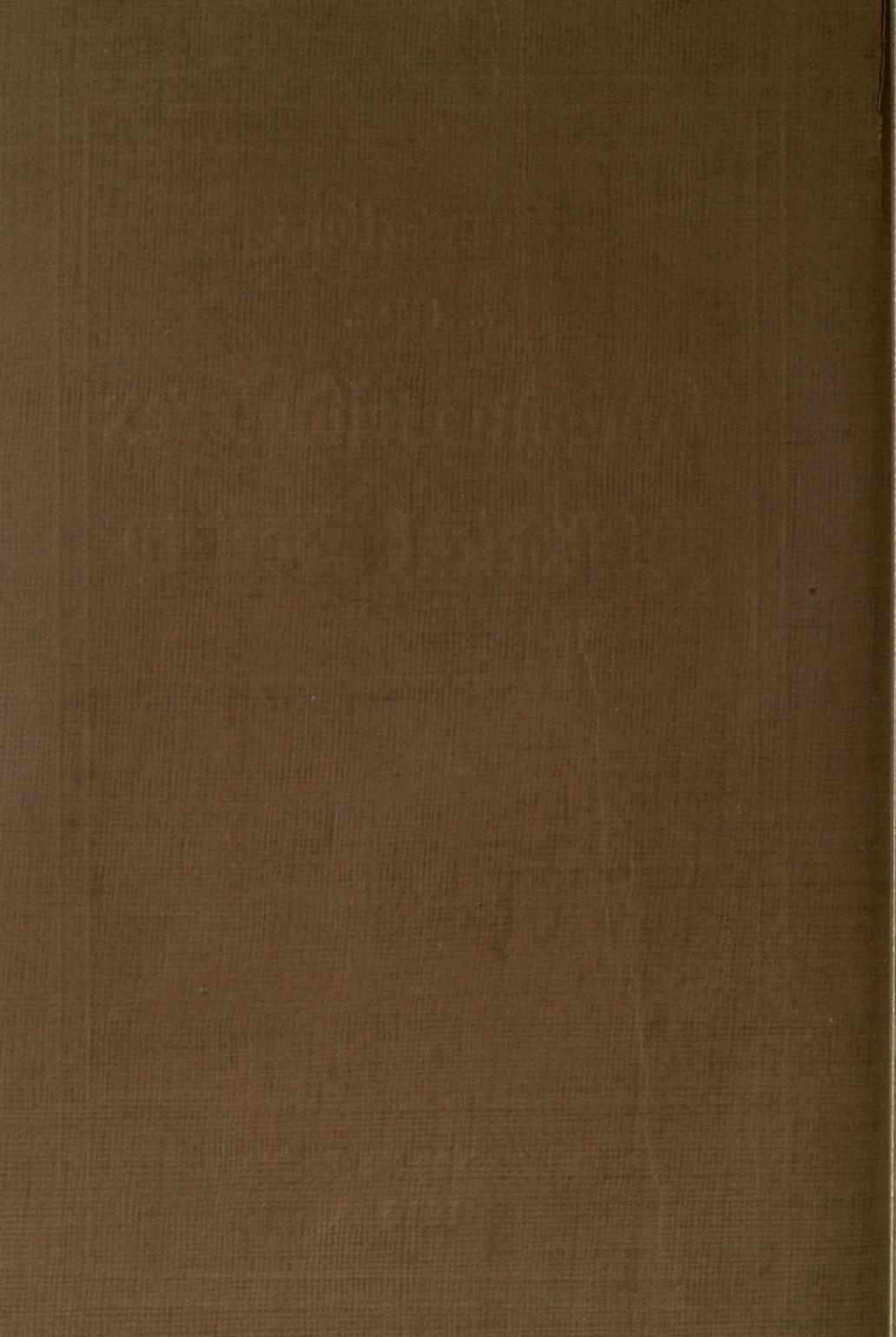
London and Middlesex  
Historical Society

PART VII.



Published by the Society

1916



# London and Middlesex Historical Society

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## PART VII.

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THE FATHERS OF LONDON TOWNSHIP

By Freeman Talbot.

BENCH AND BAR IN THE EARLY DAYS

By Hon. D. J. Hughes, Judge of the County Court of Elgin.

GLEANINGS FROM THE SHERIFF'S RECORDS

By D. M. Cameron, Esq.

PIONEER POLITICIANS

By Cl. T. Campbell, M.D.

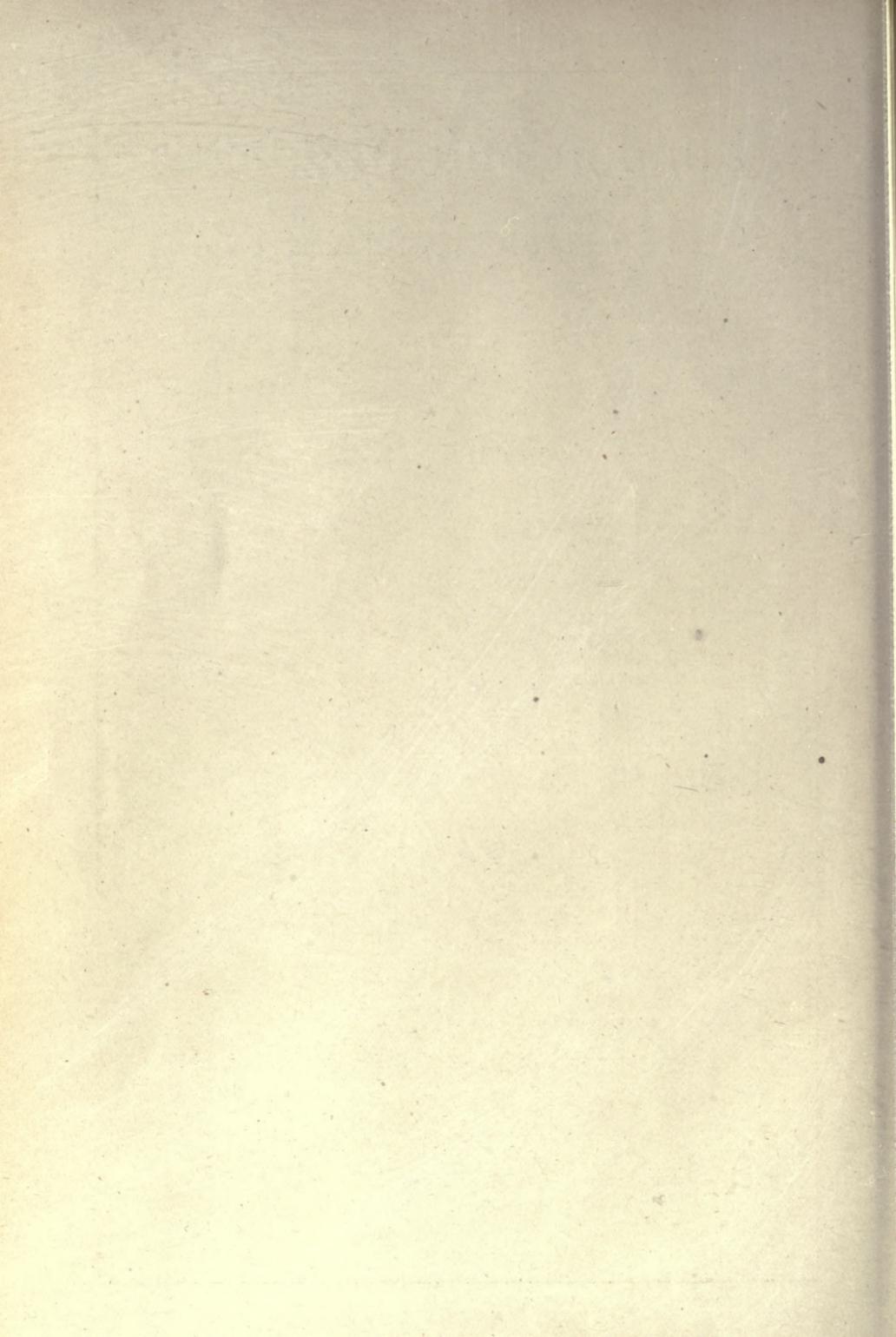
THE WRECK OF THE VICTORIA

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1916

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OFFICERS 1915-16.

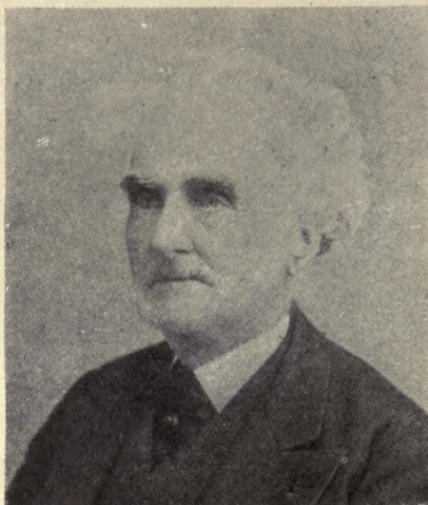
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TRANSACTIONS—1915.

- Jan. 19—The Origin and Migration of the Indian—  
By David Rodger, Esq.
- Feb. 16—The Proudfoot Papers—II—  
By Miss H. Priddis.
- April 20—The Old Mechanics' Institute—  
By Cl. T. Campbell, M.D.
- May 18—The Catholic Church in London—Part II—  
By Major T. J. Murphy.
- Oct. 20—National Ideals and the War—  
By Rev. Canon Cody.
- Nov. 16—The Proudfoot Papers—III—  
By Miss Priddis.
- Dec. 21—The Indian west of the Rocky Mountains—  
By David Rodger, Esq.



HON. FREEMAN TALBOT

## THE FATHERS OF LONDON TOWNSHIP

BY FREEMAN TALBOT.

(It was in December of 1817 that Richard Talbot, of Limerick County, Ireland, applied to the British Government for a grant of land in Canada for settlement by a number of his neighbors. While the authorities were not disposed to give grants to individual settlers, they agreed with Mr. Talbot to give 100 acres to each of his band of immigrants, provided they deposited with him ten pounds a piece, as a guarantee of good faith. The government supplied the ship, and in 1818 Mr. Talbot started with a company of some sixty or more. On arriving in Canada they found they had to pay their own transportation west to the new settlement in London Township, as the Governor had no authority to assist them. As a consequence quite a few left Mr. Talbot, and settled near the village of Perth. The remainder made their way slowly through river and lake till they reached Port Talbot on the shore of Erie, from whence they travelled overland to their destination. With Mr. Talbot were his three sons—Edward Allen, John and Freeman. The elder wrote a large book on Canada, taught school and published a paper—The London Sun—the first published between the Niagara peninsula and Detroit. The second also tried his hand, both at school teaching and editing, but finally removed in 1839 to the United States. The younger, Freeman, remained in Canada until 1856. During that time he worked as a surveyor and contractor, and took part in many local enterprises in Middlesex and in London. In 1833 he married Ann Eliza Clark—the marriage being the first performed by the rector of St. Pauls', the Rev. Mr. Cronyn. Their married life lasted fifty-five years. In 1852, he started the London Prototype, a paper which existed down to a comparatively late period. But in 1855 he sold out to a relative—Marcus Talbot—a young man of great ability, who was subsequently M.P. for East Middlesex, but whose life came to an untimely end before long in the wreck of the Hungarian, on which he was a passenger. In 1856, Mr. Talbot left London, and settled in Cleveland, Minnesota, where he lived many years; but finally removed to the North-West, where he died among friends and relatives at Strathcarrol, on the 20th November, 1903, at the advanced age of 92. In 1856, Mr. Talbot wrote a short article for newspaper publication, giving his recollections of early days—probably the first record of pioneer times in Middlesex by one who had personal knowledge. This he subsequently remodelled and enlarged, and sent to the London and Middlesex Historical Society, where it was read for him at the regular meeting of December 19, 1902, as follows:—C.)

During the administration of General Simcoe, the spot upon which London now stands, attracted the attention of that talented Governor, and of his far sighted Secretary, the late Colonel

Talbot. This was about the year 1794. He contemplated the locality of London, as a proper site for the future capital of the province. The natural advantages of which are said to have been the centrality of its position between the lakes, Ontario, Erie, Huron and St. Clair, and its fortunate situation on the River Thames; fertility of the soil; the mildness and salubrity of its climate; the abundance and purity of water; means of military and naval protection, and the facility of communication with Lake St. Clair through the outlet of the river Thames, and Lake Huron by the north branch of the same river. This latter was a very great mistake. The north branch every mile during its course flows farther and farther from Lake Huron.

In 1796 General Simcoe, resigned the Government of Canada, and was accompanied home to England by his Secretary, Colonel Talbot, who at the time held a Lieutenant Colonel's commission in the army. The Colonel soon determined to return to Canada, and through the influence of Simcoe, with the Home Government, obtained a grant of 5,000 acres of land, in the townships of Dunwich and Aldboro. At that time there was no white settlement west of the Grand River and none east of the river St. Clair, while the whole country from Lake Erie to Lake Huron was an unexplored wilderness. Colonel Talbot's nearest neighbor was distant 60 miles. But he being intrusted by the Imperial Government with a great part of this vast region soon induced a hardy class to follow his trail, and lay the foundation of future wealth and independence.

Amongst the most prominent men of the early pioneers of the Talbot settlement, I find the following names: Daniel Springer, B. B. Bringham, Timothy Kilbourn, Joseph Odell, Andrew Banghart, Seth Putman, Mahlon Burwell, James Nevells, Jacobus Shanich, Leslie Paterson, Sylvanus Reynolds, William Orr, Henry Cook, Samuel Hunt, Richard Williams, Peter Teeple, John Aikens, Morice Sovereign, Henry Daniel, James Smiley, Abraham Hoover. The parties named above settled in various Townships, from the years 1803 to 1815.

London Township was not surveyed until 1818, although a Mr. Applegarth erected a very comfortable log building, as early as 1816. He selected a rich spot of land, about three-quarters of a mile below the Forks and there commenced the cultivation of hemp, for which the Government of England at that time offered very great inducements.

Why Mr. Applegarth did not succeed in his enterprise, I never understood, but I know that he left early in 1820 and we never heard of him afterwards. In the Autumn of 1818 London Township was entered by some forty different families, most of them Irish immigrants, under the direction of my father, the late Richard Talbot, Esq., who entered into an arrangement with the British Government to enlist at least sixty adult males to immigrate from the County Tipperary to Upper Canada. And as a guarantee that each settler should not become a pauper in

that new country, he was obliged to deposit with my father the sum of ten pounds, sterling, the money to be returned to the settler as soon as he had erected a log house, on his free grant of 100 acres of land. Mr. Talbot had obtained a free ship, the Brunswick, commanded by Captain Blake, to convey himself, family and settlers from the "Cove of Cork" (Queenstown) to Quebec. The ship was rationed in the most liberal manner for a four months voyage, but we crossed the Atlantic in six weeks and three days.

My father received a grant of 1400 acres of land in the Township of London. Many of our settlers left us at Kingston, tired of trail, and went to the Township of Perth, where they were informed that Colonel Bye was paying high wages for men to work on the canal that he was then constructing to connect the waters of the River Ottawa with Ontario Lake. London Township had at its first settlement many strong attractions and many almost irresistible difficulties in the way of its rapid improvement; so thought the practical farmers of Westminster, Southwold and Yarmouth. The soil was first class, water pure and plenty, mill sites abundant, splendid timber of almost every variety, limestone and brick clay easily obtained in many different localities, and as rich pastures for cattle as any Township in the whole district, still it was remote from the lakes; timber too heavy to be subdued by the raw Irish; an unsurveyed region between here and Lake Huron, of sixty miles; and a certainty that fever and ague would shake the constitution of the Pioneers and lead them in due time to move their tents and settle in some of the Southern Townships. Amid all these predictions London prospered and in time became what it is to-day one of the most wealthy Townships in Ontario.

The destruction by fire of the County buildings in Charlotteville, Vittoria, in 1825 was the event that brought London into existence as a County Town. The London district at that time (1825), extended from the Western town line of Burford to the Eastern town line of Zone; and from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, comprising what is now the counties of Oxford, Norfolk, Elgin, Middlesex, Perth, Huron and Bruce.

The following magistrates, Charles Ingersol, of Oxford, Peter Teeple (ditto), Mr. Homer of Blenham, Ira Schofield of London Township and Daniel Springer of Delaware, used their influence with the Government and after a long struggle with the Southern magistrates, secured a grant of money for the erection of county buildings in the village of London. Chas. Ingersol, John Harris and Mahlon Burwell were appointed commissioners to superintend the erection of county buildings.\*

A log building was first erected on the north east corner of the

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\*The Commissioners were Thos. Talbot, Mahlon Burwell, Jas. Hamilton, Chas. Ingersol and John Matthews. Mr. F. Talbot was writing from memory.—C.

courthouse square, intended as merely a temporary jail. But ere its completion, a sheriff's officer, Timothy C. Pomeroy, was murdered in one of the south eastern townships, and three Ribbles, father and two sons, and C. A. Burleigh, were introduced to the people of London as the murderers. They were at once confined in the log building and guarded night and day by armed men.

Early in 1827 they were removed to the proper buildings, that had been nearly completed. At the assizes in August the four men were indicted for murder and when placed in the dock for trial, the Ribbles claimed a separate trial, and were at once taken back to their cells. Burleigh was convicted and hanged three days after his trial.

A Methodist preacher, James Jackson, visited Burleigh in the cells, and wrote out a lengthy poetical confession. Burleigh assuming all responsibility for the murder. No man at the time believed the confession to be genuine. Burleigh was a poor uneducated, unintellectual man, that very few would be willing to intrust with a loaded gun. The Ribbles on the contrary were educated, bright men and practical hunters, but the confession as written out by elder Jackson was printed early in the morning of the day that the Ribbles were to have been tried, and a copy placed in the hands of every juror in the town. Very few men blamed elder Jackson for saving the life of the three Ribbles. They were all men of families and many held that the execution of Burleigh was sufficient to atone for the murder of Pomeroy.

In those days hotel accommodation was too limited to accommodate the great number of parties that attended the first criminal court ever held in London. The judge, the magistrates, and a few favorites were entertained by Peter McGregor, the first hotel keeper that London ever had. Jurors and others after the toils of the day had to go from two to three miles to seek entertainment of Joe Flanigan on Westminster street. I omitted to state in the proper place that the court house was erected by John Ewart of York (Toronto), and he had the building completed in every particular to satisfy the commissioners. The Honorable Thomas Park was at that time a skilled carpenter, and under his immediate superintendence as foreman, all of the woodwork was completed. Mr. Robert Carfrae, one of the very oldest citizens of London was Mr. Parks' most trusted workman. The bricks were also manufactured by a Toronto man, Wm. Hale, afterwards a resident of London Township. Two brick yards were opened, one where the stables of the Robinson Hall now stands, the other on the north side of the north branch, on lands that now belong to Walter Nixon.

I now proceed to give you the names of many of the first settlers in London Township: Anderson, Ardell, Armitage, Armstrong, Adams, Atkinson, Black, Bartlett, Bradshaw, Burgess, Brice, Brownlee, Bogue, Blackman, Blackwell, Carter, Cummons, Cooley, Clark, Coleson, Carrie, Coot, Collins, Charleton, Cole, Cook, Cooms, Cresort, Carling, Cormickle, Culbert,

Colbert, Craighton, Dagg, Doaty, Dickenson, Dickson, Dunlop, Digname, Dyre, Dayton, Deacon, Day, Donaldson, Doyle, Dinsmore, Dewan, Fergus, Dougall, Elliott, Edwards, Elson, English, Frank, Fitzgerald, Fitzsimons, Flannigan, Fralick, Farrel, Flood, Ferguson, Fish, Fisher, Freckleton, Fordham, Fitzpatrick, Grant, Gleason, Greason, Gibson, Gafferey, Hall, Hull, Hart, Hughs, Hodgens, Harrison, Hartson, Hale, Hayes, Hobbs, Hodgsmann, Jacobs, Jones, Johnston, King, Kernohan, Long, Lovell, Lawheed, Monahan, Martin, Moore, Mitchell, Merrill, McConnell, McManahan, McDonald, Mossip, McKenzie, McMillen, McCloud, Montague, McCanlass, McIntosh, Monroe, McRoberts, Musprat, Mooney, Nixon, Nellis, O'Neil, Oram, Owens, Odell, Oxstabee, Poleston, Patrick, Peasley, Perkins, Reynolds, Rosser, Robson, Robinson, Roberts, Rutledge, Ryan, Reilly, Rigley, Riland, Rounds, Robb, Stephens, Shoaf, Shipley, Sanburn, Sale, Smith, Smibert, Shoebottom, Stanley, Siddle, Summers, Salmon, Styles, Taylor, Thomson, Thomas, Tweedy, Trainer, Tackabery, Tenant, Tuke, Williams, Waldrum, Warner, Webster, Waugh, Wummack, Woods, Wright, Wiley, Wilson, Warren, Weir, Waldon, Young, Vanderburg, Zavitz.

I will now add the names of my father's settlers including his own name, all adults: Richard Talbot, Edward Talbot, John Talbot, William Gerry, Thomas Brooks, Peter Rogers, Thomas Guest, Frank Lewis, Benjamin Lewis, William Haskett, William Mooney, William Evans, William O'Neil, Edmund Stoney, Joseph O'Brien, George Foster, Thomas Howay, James Howay, John Phalan, Joseph Hardy, Joseph N. Hardy, John Gray, John Gray (Junior), Foilet Gray, Robert Keays, Charles Goulding, Robert Ralph, John Sifton, Charles Sifton, and Thomas Howard.

Permit me to add the names of a few back Londoners from the (uncivilized) concessions that have distinguished themselves as leading men in many of the learned professions: Bishop Cronyn, a London Township man; Hamilton H. Killaly, member for London and president of the Board of Works; the Shanley family sent into the public life two distinguished engineers; Judge William Elliott, a township man, Superintendent of Public Schools, a leading barrister and for the last quarter of a century one of your distinguished judges.

No London family ever sent out more leading men into the country than the Sifton's: John Westly Sifton, a member of the Manitoba Legislature, speaker of the house and Minister of Public Works. Every one knows his son, Clifford, the talented Minister of the Interior. Another son, A. L. Sifton, a leading lawyer in Alberta. Another Sifton, a physician. Another a minister of the Gospel. Two other Sifton's are physicians, one a railroad surgeon in the city of Milwaukee.

The Shanley family, long inhabitants of London Township, produced one of the most eminent civil engineers in America, and two other sons of more than ordinary ability in the same profession; and James you all knew as a respectable barrister.

Thomas English born in London township, has for many years been chief of police in Calgary, Alberta.

Two of Robert Webster's sons were Methodist ministers, Thomas the oldest son preached the Gospel longer than any man that I ever knew, and together with his clerical duties had for several years edited a denominational newspaper. Throughout a long and laborious life, he was esteemed not only by the Methodists but throughout the whole community. On account of age he had been superannuated many years ago, and died in Newbury last year, aged 93 years.

Thomas Howard, son of little Tom, was also a Methodist minister and editor of a religious journal; and James his brother who died a few weeks ago in London, had long been a local preacher.

One of William McMillan's sons is a respectable barrister.

A son of Geo. T. Fitzgerald, was the first who won a gold medal at the Toronto University; he became a celebrated lawyer, and rapidly making a fortune, but died while yet a young man, leaving his family independent.

Thomas Harrison Fitzgerald, one of his sons became a very prominent man, was a cabinet minister, and is now a prominent banker in Alberta.

Crowel Wilson was a member of Parliament for Middlesex.

James Ferguson was for many years registrar of deeds in London. His brother Tom has a son, a very prominent judge.

One of old Joe Marshall's sons was for years a leading member of Parliament.

A thirteenth concessioner, Mr. Robinson, is now a very influential member of Parliament.

Five of the London Talbots were newspaper men. Edward Allan of "The London Sun"; John of "The St. Thomas Liberal"; James of "The Port Huron Commercial"; Freeman, editor and proprietor of "The Middlesex Prototype" and after him Marcus Talbot, to whom I had sold my interest in that journal in 1855.

Such are the men and their long toiling progenitors that have made London Township what it is to-day—one of the most flourishing townships in Ontario. Its wealth is fairly indicated in assessment rolls sent me more than ten years ago. It had at that time 27 brick school-houses, 25 brick churches, an excellent town hall, 10,000 inhabitants, 4,000 head of cattle, 2,000 horses, and more sheep and swine than any other township in Middlesex, and the estimated wealth I allude to was nearly \$6,000,000.

### VILLAGE NOTES

Many of the oldest settlers will remember that the first hotel was erected in one day, and that it was owned and kept by Peter McGregor, a little Scotch tailor, who had married a Miss Pool of Westminster, a woman of decided energy and thrift, who by her go-ahead-spirit, secured the erection from time to time of such additions to the hotel as she thought their increasing busi-

ness demanded; the first part of the hotel was erected in 1826, before the survey of the townsite was fully completed.

Abraham Carrol, brother to the present sheriff of Oxford County, soon became a competitor for the popularity which seemed to be enriching McGregor. He erected a large hotel on the north side of Dundas street, but very soon failed in business. He had three bright attractive daughters; and all three got husbands and left their father almost helpless. As female help suitable for a hotel was very scarce and very costly, Abraham had to leave. Mr. Joseph O'Dell then took possession of the house. It stood on the north side of Dundas street and east of Ridout street, and was ever known as the Mansion House.

After Mr. O'Dell came Boyle Traverse, then John O'Neil, who conducted the hotel for a great many years in the most satisfactory manner. To Dennis O'Brien belongs the merit of having erected the first block of brick stores in London. They were erected in 1836, just opposite the Court House, north side of Dundas street. Those buildings in 1838 were leased by the commissariat as barracks for a part of the 32nd regiment and were held by the troops until the completion of the proper Government buildings. Messrs. Paul and Bennett after the troops had left the brick block, fitted them up, as a hotel the "Western" and occupied them for some years. They were eventually destroyed by fire.

Dennis O'Brien was first known to the people of London as a plain unpretending Irish peddler. He soon became an extensive merchant, and was the first dealer in this section to reduce the price of goods and groceries to what we deemed a reasonable standard. Honor and honesty guided him in all his transactions with the people. He was the first man who ever erected a counter in the village.

O'Brien was a single man when he came to London in 1826 or 1827, and after he had been here about two years he married Miss Jane Shotwell, of Westminster; and for some time thereafter lived in the upper storey of his place of business on the South side of Dundas Street, east of Ridout. That was a pretty general custom of store-keepers in the early days.

Mr. G. J. Goodhue, a native of Vermont, who had been keeping store in Westminster on the road to Byron, moved into the little village about the same time as O'Brien, and started a business which for many years was a very successful one. In 1828 or 1829, he put up a building for a store and residence on the west side of Ridout Street, just north of Dundas. In 1832 he took Lawrence Lawrason as his partner, and they were connected in business for several years. For most of the time they had the Post Office in their building. James Mathison and Richard Smith were later in the business with him. A year or two after Mr. Goodhue settled in the village he purchased from John Kent fifty acres of land in the township of London, adjoining the town site. That was on the east side of the river, extend-

ing to what is now Richmond Street and was north of the old North Street. He paid for the plot fifteen dollars an acre.

Lyman, Farr and Company, were the first druggists in London. After them Simcoe Terrie, then Dr. Salter.

The first medical practitioner in London was Dr. Archibald Chisholm. Lemuel Bartlett and Dr. Day though not licentiate frequently came in from the township and practiced in London. Dr. Hiram Lee, although a resident of Westminster, frequently administered to the sick. Dr. Elam Stinson came from New Hampshire and was for years a prominent physician in London. In 1832 Dr. Geo. Moore came direct from Ireland, a thoroughly educated physician. On his arrival in the town he found the cholera was fast carrying off the inhabitants. Dr. Donnelly came direct from Quebec, where he had had considerable experience in treating cholera patients, and while he seemed to have the fullest confidence in his ability to restore the sick, he, shortly after his arrival, took the disease and died within four hours of the first attack.

While the cholera was raging in London, Henry Sovereign was tried and convicted of the murder of his wife and seven children, and on the day of his execution, thousands of men women and children came, many of them from a distance of 50 miles, to witness the death of Sovereign. In the spring of 1830, Edward Allan Talbot and Andrew Hearn of Niagara, established the first newspaper ever printed between the Niagara River and the St. Clair, "The London Sun." The Sun lived about three years.

In 1835 Philip and Benjamin Hodgkinson, brought a printing press from the township of Bayham and established a newspaper "The London Gazette". They were both practical printers and Ben a writer of more than ordinary ability. The "Gazette" lived less than four years.

London has been represented in Parliament by Mahlon Burwell, Hamilton H. Killaly, Lawrence Lawrason, William Henry Draper, Thomas C. Dickson, and John Wilson. The representatives in Parliament for Middlesex, have been M. Mallory, John Bostick, Mahlon Burwell, John Rolph, John Mathews, Roswell Mount, Thomas Park and Elias Moore.

In 1840 Hamilton H. Killaly, who was then president of the Board of works and a member of Lord Sydenham's Cabinet, was elected to represent London in Parliament, and did more to advance the growth of the town and the prosperity of the country than any other man, living or dead. His influence at the seat of Government was irresistible, and he caused to be constructed also a plank and gravel road from London to Hamilton; a plank road from London to Port Stanley; an excellent earthen road from London to Windsor; and a road of the same description from London to Port Sarnia. On all of those roads, all hills were reduced to a grade of one foot to thirty, substantial bridges and perfect drainage effected. He also caused to be

erected splendid piers at Port Stanley, and a canal connecting the Rondeau with Lake Erie. On these works more than \$400,000 were expended, all paid out by Chas. Monserat at his office in London. The late Sir Casimer Stanislas Gzowski was chief engineer over all of the above mentioned works.

The late Thomas Cussick was the first man who ever voted for a member of Parliament in London. The candidates were Mahlon Burwell and John Scatcherd. There were few voters at the time, much fewer than you would suppose from the population, but many that should be voters had neglected to take out deeds for their property. The Poll closed thus: Burwell 37, Scatchard 27.

The first Episcopal service ever held in London was by Rev. Edward Boswell. He remained with us for upwards of two years. After him came the Rev. Benjamin Cronyn, who came in 1832, and after more than twenty years service as rector was elected Bishop of Huron.

The first Presbyterian minister, although a resident of the Township, frequently officiated in the town, the Rev. Wm. Proudfoot. After him came the Rev. John Scott who erected a spacious and handsome Presbyterian church and ministered to his people for more than 25 years. He loved his people, and they all admired him; but the "Kist o' Whustles", eventually caused him to leave his faithful flock.

The first brick dwelling house ever erected in London was erected on Dundas Street by Cyrus Summers. The first Episcopal Church was destroyed by fire and on the 8th October 1844, all of the houses, fences, trees and sidewalks from Dundas Street to the river east of Ridout Street and up to Talbot Street were destroyed by fire. Again on the 12th of April, 1845, did the fire rage on the north of Dundas Street and destroyed 150 buildings.

Mr. Simeon Morill was one of London's earliest inhabitants and in the early days erected an extensive tannery,—a factory much needed by the inhabitants of the whole country at that time. For the first two years he tanned hides and skins for the farmers on shares, giving them one-half of the leather. After a time he purchased everything for cash. He also established a shoe factory and employed a greater number of men, than any other person in London.

Marcus Holmes, a blacksmith by trade, an American by birth, came to London, erected a number of cheap but extensive buildings, and for many years had from 20 to 50 men in his employment. He built the best waggons ever known at that time, and manufactured all kinds of pleasure carriages.

Murray Anderson and Elijah Leonard each became foundry men and did a very prosperous business. In 1856 Anderson's foundry was blown to pieces by an unaccountable explosion, and his brother killed.

The Elliott's and McClary's were justly becoming noted as enterprising manufacturers about the time I left London. I

find to-day McClary's stoves in every house that I've ever entered, from Winnipeg to Edmonton, a distance of a thousand miles.

The first lawyers in London, were John Tenbrooke, John Rolph, William Salmon, Peter Rapalje, and James Givens.

First doctors, Archibald Chrisholm, Elam Stinson, Geo. Moore and Dr. Donelly.

First preacher of the Episcopal Church, was Edward Boswell. He officiated in London for two years. Methodist—Edmund Stoney, Mathew Whiting and James Jackson. Presbyterian—William Proudfoot. Congregational—Wm. F. Clark.

Not one acre of the first survey was set apart for the Anglican or any other church. Lot No. 12, on the 2nd Concession in the Township of London was a Clergy Reserve, 200 acres. Adelaide Street was the western boundary of that reserve. Lot No. 15, on the 3rd Concession of London Township was also a clergy reserve, 200 acres.

The first bridge built in London was Westminster Bridge, across the south branch of the River Thames. The second bridge was Blackfriars, crossing the north branch of the river.

I give here the names of our first public officials: Judge, James Mitchell; High Sheriff, Daniel Rapalje; Treasurer, John Harris; Clerk of Peace, John B. Askin; Dept. Clerk, Wm. King Cornish; Reg. of Deeds, Mahlon Burwell; High Constable, John O'Neil; Jailer, Samuel Park; Cryer of Court, Gideon Bostick.

Now the names of a few of the very first settlers in our town: Peter McGregor, Dennis O'Brien, Ira Schofield, Patrick McManus, Wm. B. Lee, William Hale, Robert Carfrae, James Little, Thomas Park, Thomas Gibbons, Joseph Gibbons, Simeon Morill, James Williams, ———Montague, Edmond Raymond, Henry Davis, Chas. Sifton, James Waterman, Andrew McCormick, John Jennings, Samuel Glass, David Hogaboom, Robert Fennel, John Yerks, Joshua O'Dell, John O'Neil, Wm. King Cornish, John Tenbrook, Samuel Park, J. W. Vanwormer, Patrick Fallen, J. Flannigan, James Grant, Chas. Grant, Chas. Davidson, James Oliver, John Oliver, Rev. Edward Boswell, Edward Mathews, David O'Marsh, Thomas Waters, John Kent, E. W. Hyman, H. Vanbuskirk, Peter McClary, Peter Vanevery, Murray Anderson, Moses Carter, James Stearns, Zebadee Talbot, Moses Carter, Daniel Brown, James Farley, Benjamin Nash, Charles Henry, William Robertson, Geo. J. Goodhue, E. Ellis, Syrus Summer, John Harris, Alexander Rabbit, Marcus Holmes, Nathan Osbourne, John Blair, John Diamond, John Balkwell, Dr. Stinson, Dr. Chisholm, Dr. Geo. Moore, Daniel Brown, Simcoe Terrie, Leonard Perrin, John Douglas, Frank Warren, James Givens, Finley McDonald, John O'Brien, Francis Wright, Benjamin Bayley, Angus Cameron, ———Pringle, ———Cardon, William McBride, Samuel McBride, John O'Flin, John Scatcherd.

Bench and Bar  
in the Early  
Days





JUDGE D. J. HUGHES

## BENCH AND BAR IN THE EARLY DAYS

BY THE HON. D. J. HUGHES,

Judge of the County Court of Elgin.

Of the Legal Bar of the past, I will give in narrative form, as facts and memory serve me. I will speak as briefly and incidentally of the Courts and the Administration of Justice in my student life as possible.

I came to the London District in May, 1835, a lad, and was sent by my brother-in-law, the late John Wilson, who had adopted me, to the Grammar School, then taught by Mr. F. H. Wright, B. A., a Graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. At that time, the late Mr. Ephraim J. Parke, Mr. Thomas Parke, Junior, and Mr. Thomas Scatcherd were fellow pupils. The London District had for some years been very attractive to persons seeking homes, and caused some of the best agriculturalists and mechanics in the Province, and many from the United States, to settle in and about London. It was attractive for lawyers as well as tradespeople. The territories now constituting the counties of Norfolk, Oxford, Huron, Perth, Bruce, Middlesex, Elgin and part of what is now the County of Brant, that is to say, the townships of Burford and Oakland, formed the London District.

There were for this extensive territory only one Judge, one Sheriff, one Deputy-Sheriff, one High Constable and several Justices of the Peace and necessary local constables. The Clerk of the Peace held also the office of Clerk of the District Court. The County Treasurer held also the office of Deputy Clerk of the Crown and Pleas, and was sole issuer of Marriage Licenses. The District Judge held also the office of Inspector of Tavern Licenses which owing to the loose way of granting licenses was really a sinecure. The Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace was presided over by a Chairman elected by the Justices of the Peace from amongst themselves. Besides their ordinary jurisdiction in criminal matters, they held and exercised peculiar jurisdiction on several subjects, such as the granting Licenses to Innkeepers; matters of establishing new roads where the necessities of the country required, were referred to them. The granting Licenses to marry was referred to them. Ministers of what were denominated non-conformist churches, were obliged to appear and perform certain acts and make certain proofs and to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown and Government before they could legally perform the marriage ceremony. The taking of that oath was provided as a possible safeguard, because it was well known that itinerant preachers from the United States always insidiously endeavoured (without exception) to sow seeds in the minds of their hearers, of discontent with our monarchical system of Government and hold up the transcendent

superiority of Democratic Government. Such men were esteemed as more remarkable for their **politics** than for their **piety**.

There were four officers for the registration of Deeds of Real Estate and Will of deceased persons affecting titles to lands, throughout the District; viz:—One at the Township of Dunwich for Middlesex; one at Ingersoll for Oxford; one at Goderich for Huron, and one at Vittoria for Norfolk. In order to get the registry of a title it was necessary for an attesting witness to go personally to the office of the Registrar (or to meet him elsewhere) to make the necessary proof of execution of an instrument before him. This system of red tape continued in vogue for some years after I became a student in 1837. If a deed were executed of lands in another county, the proof of execution might be, by affidavit, made there.

In the year A.D., 1835, when I went to live in London (a boy of thirteen years), the following named members of the legal profession were residing in the London District;—i.e. of Barristers, viz:—Mr. John Stuart at London; Mr. William Salmon of Simcoe; Mr. Peter Rapelje of Vittoria and Mr. John Wilson (afterwards Judge Wilson) who although in 1834 not yet called to the Bar, was acting as counsel (by the courtesy of the Court and members of the Bar) in conducting his own cases; and the following were Attorneys-at-law but not Barristers:—William King Cornish of London; Mr. Stuart Jones of London; Mr. Edmund Burton of Ingersoll; Mr. Willaim Lassenohere of Woodstock. At subsequent periods, Mr. James Givins of Toronto, a barrister, settled at St. Thomas; Mr. John Strachan of Toronto, a Barrister, settled at Goderich; Mr. Robert Nichol of Niagara, settled at Vienna; Mr. George Baxter of Niagara, a Barrister (afterwards Judge of the County Court of Welland County) settled at Vienna; Mr. Thomas D. Warren, an Attorney, a native, settled in St. Thomas; Mr. James Stanton of Toronto, a Barrister settled in St. Thomas; Mr. William Horton of Brockville, a Barrister, settled in London; Mr. Edward Horton, his brother, a Barrister, settled in St. Thomas; Mr. John Stewart of London, a Barrister, settled at Goderich; Mr. James Daniell, a Barrister (afterwards Judge of the County Court of Prescott and Russell) settled in London. I cannot give the exact order of their establishing themselves according to dates, but my enumeration of names will be found pretty full. (A.D., 1837–1842).

Those who were students at law while I was studying were Mr. Alexander Douglas McLean, stepson of Mr. Sheriff Hamilton, afterwards Mayor of Chatham, Mr. John Stewart, formerly principal of the Grammar School at Perth, a man in advanced years; Mr. Henry C. R. Becher, a young English gentleman, who came to Canada to seek his fortune; John Hamilton L. Askin, son of the Clerk of the Peace; Fred Cleverly, formerly a midshipman in the East Indian Company's Service; Mr. James Shanly, the late Master of the High Court of Justice and known as Lt. Shanly, who was respected by all who knew him.

He was the son of Counsellor Shanley of the Irish Bar. The last to be named whom memory serves me was Mr. George W. Burton of Ingersoll, afterwards the Hon. Mr. Justice Burton of the Court of Appeal. He commenced his legal career with his uncle Mr. Edmund Burton of Ingersoll, before named, and after being called to the Bar became a partner in the eminent law firm in Hamilton of Burton and Bruce. Col. Shanly became the partner of Mr. Givins, which lasted until the removal of Judge Allen from office and the appointment of Mr. Givins as his successor. Mr. Givins was the gentleman to whose service in the profession I was myself articulated, and I had charge of the work and practice of the office from the time I entered it for some years until my articles and services were transferred to Mr. Wilson, my brother-in-law and subsequent partner. Mr. Becher and Mr. Shanly were articulated to Mr. Wilson before me.

I cannot speak with confidence of a period anterior to the year 1834. I have it by tradition—that a court had been held and justice administered at Turkey Point in the County of Norfolk for some years anterior to the building of the Court House at Vittoria. After the removal to Vittoria, Col. John Bostwick (afterwards of Port Stanley) had been in office either as Sheriff or deputy, but Abraham A. Rapelje ultimately became Sheriff and Henry V. A. Rapelje his son, was his Deputy until after the removal of the District town from Vittoria to London. The burning down of the Court House at Vittoria caused the District Town to be changed by Act of Parliament. Before the Court House at London was finished as it now stands, the building that is now the old Grammar School was used for the Court upstairs, and for the Jail downstairs. The forming of a town in London was in embryo and in the forest condition. There was no accommodation for suitors after the Court had been established here. The Jurors who attended the Courts were obliged to get such accommodation as they could find anywhere, sometimes in a barn or hay-loft; sometimes in the woods. They brought with them their provisions, including little mutchkins of whiskey for those who drank whiskey. Tea and coffee were luxuries then, little used or obtainable. They had no jury rooms, and I have been told by a gentleman who had himself served on the jury, and who related this to me, that down near the end of Westminster Bridge at the north side of York Street, there was a spring of deliciously pure cool water purling from under a wide-spreading basswood tree, which hung over, leaning towards the river, which shaded the place for a large distance. They used to bring their pork and bread, or sausages and bread, or cakes, or whatever they had to eat, and ate their meal there. Those who drank whiskey used to pour a little whiskey in the dammed up spring, and each one who wanted to drink whiskey and water with his lunch, would dip in his tin cup and take and drink what he wanted. All were welcome. This place was the only Jury room (so to speak) where they would be in charge of a Constable,

making up their verdict after every trial. At that time, the Jurors were not paid for their attendance at Courts. They always travelled and lived at their own expense. Jurors were not paid for their attendance on the trial of Criminal cases, and it was very hard upon the early settlers to hear legal cases controverted and to come in and spend a week or more during long trials at their own expense. It was found to be advantageous otherwise to many persons, as it brought strangers together and acted as an educator of the people. It was an expensive education for many, so that except in Civil cases their services were unremunerative. They were paid for every district Court case tried by them, \$1.50, that is a York shilling apiece, and in Superior Court cases, they were paid \$3.00, which was a quarter of a dollar a piece, no matter how long the trials lasted. A lawyer visiting the Court here once, was very much surprised to find, after the Jurors had made up their minds and were waiting to render their verdict in a case, to observe they hesitated to deliver their finding and were **waiting for something**. This the visiting lawyer was not accustomed to as he came from another part of the Country; he could not understand the halting process which was new to him, so he asked why they did not deliver their verdict. The clerk said "They are waiting for their pay", and on further explanation it was told that one of the lawyers, (a Mr. John Tenbrook, who had died before my going to London) was not to be trusted, so they **insisted upon having their pay first**. I was told also that the district Judge got so accustomed to the practice and failings of that particular lawyer, that he would not sign his name on the back of the record indicating the verdict, unless his fee of a dollar was handed up on the bench. The District Court Judge's sole remuneration for services at that time was by fees. This was all changed however afterwards when a different set of lawyers settled in London, and the Judges were Barristers paid by salary. Owing to the lack of accommodation in the way of hotels, inns or taverns in the District Town, the officers of the Court, lawyers and the Judge, who had journeyed from what was called Long Point, but really Vittoria, where most of them still resided, used to stay at a very respectable and comfortable tavern outside the county town, situated on the Commissioners' Road in the Township of Westminster, kept by Bartholomew Swartz, (an old Polish soldier who had been with Napoleon at Moscow). It was one of the best hostelrys in this part of the country, and the guests used to stay there over night and come to the village to hold Court during the day. It was the only comfortable or habitable place until hotels were erected, suitable for general public entertainment, the first of which was that of a Highland Scotchman, the late Peter McGregor on the south side of King Street facing the Court House Square. The next was that of Patrick McCan, who kept The Robinson Hall Hotel, on the corner of Ridout and Dundas Streets, and third the

hotel of James McFadden on the corner of King and Ridout Streets on the south side of King Street.

At an early period it was found necessary to provide a tribunal for the collection of small debts, and a jurisdiction was created conferring authority upon Justices of the Peace to deal with such matters. But it was found that the Justices of the Peace were not content with what the law authorized, but must needs step beyond their proper bounds and commit acts of trespass, so those Magistrates' Courts were entirely abolished, and in substitution of them, commissioners were appointed upon whom a limited jurisdiction was conferred. In the several prescribed and limited localities those small debt courts were called "Courts of Request". Some of the commissioners were lawyers, if they could be obtained. They had jurisdiction up to the value of \$10.00 on matters of debt or contract, but none as regards torts. Then the Division Courts as they exist now were substituted for the Courts of Request. Circuits were prescribed to be settled by quarter sessions to be presided over by a County Judge or by a Barrister, with extended jurisdiction; since which the administration of justice in all ordinary affairs has been brought nearer the people, and has given universal satisfaction by their domestic convenience.

Before and at the time, indeed for many years after I became a student-at-law, imprisonment for debt to the extent of \$40.00 was allowable. All that was necessary to procure a man's arrest for debt was for the creditor to make an affidavit setting forth what the claim was for, that it was due and unpaid, and that the deponent was apprehensive that the debtor would leave the Province without paying the debt (it was not necessary to give any reasons for the "apprehension.") The result was that many debtors were imprisoned and kept in close confinement, unable to pay comparatively small sums of money. In amelioration of that condition, a change in the law provided that the sheriff might take a bond with sureties conditioned that the debtor would not leave the walls of the jail, and that if he escaped, the sureties would pay the debt. Subsequently the "Jail Limits" as they were called were extended to the boundaries of the Town in which the Court House stood. If the Debtor went beyond those limits, his bondsmen would be liable as for an escape. Several debtors, who were prisoners unable to pay comparatively small sums of money or to find security, were shut up in unsanitary cells, obliged to support themselves. There was no provision for their getting rations from the County. The atmosphere of these cells was always close, stuffy and unwholesome. I remember two prisoners in particular who had the walls of the jail for their limits, who had to place their several belongings and valuables on a table placed at the foot of the Court House stairs, to which they had called an auction sale and one of them acting as auctioneer, sold off their goods in order to furnish them with food. One of these men was a medical doctor.

The other was a man who had respectable connections, but he himself was not very respectable, so that his relatives did not seem to have much sympathy for him or his condition.

The District Judge was not necessarily a lawyer, and as far as my knowledge of the early history of the District extends, the late James Mitchell of Vittoria was the first District Judge. He had been a fellow student and "chum" at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland with the late Bishop Strachan. They were educated together, immigrated to this country together where both became in different parts of the Province, teachers of classical schools; Mr. Mitchell at Vittoria and Mr. Strachan at Cornwall. Although both were Scotchmen of very much the same stamp, learned and extremely Scotch and determined, they were entirely different in their habits, tastes and future walks in life. Judge Mitchell in the prime of life, although not a lawyer, had a legal and judicial mind as Mr. Strachan proved to have possessed. He was an upright, honest and exemplary man until he became incapacitated by infirmities. After the completion of the new brick Court House (which still stands on its original foundation with a new front, in London) some of the officials removed from the County of Norfolk to the newly constituted County Town. Neither the Judge nor the sheriff changed their places of residence. Among those who did so were Mr. John Harris, the District Treasurer. He had been previous to his appointment to office, a non-commissioned (a warrant) officer in the Royal Navy, employed on a government vessel in the survey of the Canadian Lakes; after the war of 1812-15 under command and direction of Captains Bayfield and Owen of H.M.R.N. Mr. Harris was not an accountant and got his treasurer's books (for want of keeping a cash book to show his receipts and disbursements of public money) into an inextricable muddle. Mr. John Baptiste Askin (who had formerly been a clerk during the war of 1812-15 in the commissariat service) removed, with his family, to London. He was by birth an Indian half-breed. His father was a white man and his mother a squaw. He was himself all Indian in his temper, tastes and habits. He was outwardly of quite gentlemanly bearing but inwardly conceited, proud, jealous, selfish and envious; all Indian. He had had the privileges and advantages of having mixed in the society of gentlemen. He had no taste for the society of his equals or immediate superiors and was true to his instincts, unsuccessfully imitative. He was the Clerk of the Peace and Clerk of the County Court. To him and his office belonged many several and separate functions, and many that were assumed. The sceptre he swayed for many years amongst ignorant surroundings was supreme and absolute, until municipal institutions were established for every district of the Province. These proved his bane and upset his sway; and what was worse, curtailed his income. In fact, it was discovered that besides having been paid the fees prescribed by law, he had been paid an

annual salary of \$1200.00, for which there was no authority. When Municipal Institutions called District Councils were established in this Province, which were presided over by wardens appointed by the Government, a thorough investigation was made by the late Hon. John Wilson, who had been appointed to that office for the London District, into the expenditures connected with the administration of Justice, and he found that considerable sums of money had been paid out of the county funds for which there had been no authority. In the discharge of his duty, he called the attention of the District Council to the facts and figures. The same subject had been brought before the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace by Mr. John Burwell, a member of the County. However right or wrong, Mr. Askin took the actions of both these gentlemen as personally hostile and as an affront, in fact an unpardonable offence which he never forgave. Even after the death of Mr. Wilson, although he had shaken hands with him in token of his forgiveness, whilst alive, he abused him after he was in his grave. He was, as I have said, All Indian, Who Never Buries the Tomahawk.

Under the irresponsible system of Government which existed at the time (i.e. before Municipal Institutions were introduced) Mr. Askin, a strong supporter of it had been in the habit of recommending men for the commission of the Peace, although he was only the Clerk of the Court of which they were to become members. This gave offence to many; because no person however respectable or suited by education and character for the office of Justice of the Peace, could be or expect to be appointed of whom Mr. J. B. Askin did not approve and recommend.

Mr. Henry Van Allen Rapelje, the Deputy Sheriff removed to London and conducted the office in the name of his father. Upon the subsequent setting off the County of Norfolk as a separate judicial district, he was appointed the Sheriff of that county and Mr. James Hamilton who had been a merchant at St. Thomas, was appointed Sheriff of Middlesex, in A.D., 1837. Mr. Samuel Park the Jailor, removed to London. He was the son of a Mr. Park who had been the jailor at Vittoria and had died there. Mr. William King Cornish who had acted as Deputy to the Clerk of the Peace at Vittoria, removed to London and subsequently became an Attorney-at-law, there.

Owing to the infirmities of the district Judge, who had latterly removed to London and lived there for some years, and was very much afflicted with Rheumatism, it was found necessary to appoint a Junior Judge. A representation was made to that effect, to the Government, and Mr. William Young of Caradoc, an English Attorney by profession, but not a Barrister, was appointed for the administration of Justice. Mr. Young was a very austere and strongly set-up, stiff Englishman, who had held a good position in England, but lost it through fast living. He had neither knowledge or sympathy with the affairs of this country, but was a fairly good lawyer; highly respectable man in

his way, but a good deal of a wreck who had lost his health and temper; so that ultimately he became really less fit physically to discharge all the duties than the Senior Judge was. He conducted the Court with decorum:—When on the Bench he could and did act the part of a gentleman.—When off the Bench he could be arrogant and offensive; and swear (in the fashionable style, common in the period of King George the Fourth) **like a trooper**. In plain language, he could be blasphemously profane when he was stirred to a period of anger. After the entire failure of bodily health, his mental strength was exhausted and he died, unlamented, and was soon forgotten. The Senior Judge, in consequence, temporarily assumed the judicial functions, so that the administration of Justice in the District Court became somewhat ludicrous through the advanced age and consequent incapacity of Judge Mitchell. I remember a case in which a witness bearing the name of Barnard Mackleroy was called to give evidence on behalf of one of the suitors, when the lawyer conducting the case asked the Judge to take down the evidence the witness was giving. (The Judge had not been taking any notes at all). "Will your Honor please take that down." "Yes, Mr. Givins, I will take that down." With that he began fumbling with his pen in his book. "Now will Your Honor be pleased to read what you have taken down." "Yes, Mr. Givins. I have taken down that the witness says that Barnard Mackleroy is dead." "But Your Honor, the witness is Barnard Mackleroy." "I cannot help that; if the witness chooses to swear that he is dead, I cannot help it." So the case proceeded. When it came to the Judge's charge, he said: "Gentlemen of the jury, you have heard the evidence and I have not. The fact is I am a little deaf in my left ear, (the Jurors sat on that side), but Gentlemen of the Jury, I must only tell you, that if you think the evidence adduced on the part of the plaintiff is the more satisfactory, it will be your duty to find a verdict for the plaintiff for such damages as you think him justly entitled to, but if on the contrary, gentlemen, you think the evidence adduced on the part of the defence, preponderates and is the more convincing, it is my duty as an upright and just Judge to tell you that regardless of consequences, it is your duty to find a verdict for the defendant." "Your Honor, is that the charge?" "Yes, Mr. Givins, that is the charge." "Short and sweet, Your Honor."

Following the death of Judge Young, it became impossible for Judge Mitchell to continue long in the exercise of the Judicial functions, as he was found to be totally incapacitated, and he returned to his home at Vittoria, or it's neighborhood, where he died, and had in his younger days spent a useful life, very much respected.

The next in order on the local Bench was Mr. Roland Williams, a West Indian Solicitor, (not a barrister) a good lawyer and a very respectable and justly respected gentleman. He did not remove

to or reside in London, but continued living on his farm in the Township of Westminster a few miles from St. Thomas, to which place we were obliged to go in case we required to make a chamber application, which of course involved delay and expense for which there was no recompense in the way of adequate fees or disbursements. Mr. Williams, however, before long became a confirmed invalid, and died after only a few years of judicial service.

After the death of Judge Williams, an English Barrister by the name of Henry Allen, was appointed. He was a man who had difficulty of speech, and was totally unfit to deal with the people and the ordinary affairs of the country. He could not comprehend our condition or mode of living of our people; he had come to this country from one of the West Indies Islands, was unacquainted with business affairs, and local conditions, so that the administration of Justice in his hands was inefficient and gave very great dissatisfaction. He was petulant in his temper and over-bearing as well. I was told by a Clerk of the Division Court, that on one occasion the Judge, owing to the state of the roads, was very late in reaching Fingal where he should have been presiding in the Division Court. The tired suitors had such confidence in the Clerk, who was not a lawyer, but a very clever upright and good business man, that they referred their cases to the Clerk. When the Judge arrived, he found all the cases disposed of. The clerk made known to the Judge that he had relieved him from all his trouble; assured him he was sorry the Judge had come so far through such bad roads, that the parties had waited long for his arrival and had agreed to his disposing of the cases by arbitration, and that every case had been settled. The Judge hearing this threw himself into a rage and dared the Clerk, on pain of dismissal, ever to do such a thing again. The Clerk thought he was rendering a service which turned out to be very offensive to His Honor. A complaint was subsequently made of his entire unfitness, to the Government, and he was removed from office of Judge of the District Court, but retained his office of Judge of the Surrogate Court. He tried an action of Trover for a stag, which the plaintiff claimed as his property. After the case had been in contention, spun out for a long time, and ably discussed by the lawyers, who all understood what kind of animal a "stag" was, the Judge, when he came to charge the jury, said the case must be dismissed because a stag was what was known as a wild animal, *Fera Naturae*, (imagining that the suit was brought for possession of a male red deer), that if it left one man's woods that man ceased to have any claim to it, and if it went to another man's woods, the latter could claim it. The lawyers had difficulty in explaining the difference between what was locally called a "stag" and a "wild deer", but he did not see it. However the Jury dealt with it properly, all of which and much more such, showed his total ignorance of the affairs of the Country in which every County Judge ought to be well versed. His inefficiency and

incapability to adapt himself to the exigencies of the office were so manifest that a complaint was made to the Government and Judge Allen was removed from the office of Judge of the County Court.

After his removal, Mr. James Givins (who was then a Barrister of some ten years standing at the Bar) was appointed his successor as Judge of the County Court. Mr. Allen still retained the Judgeship of the Surrogate Court. Judge Givins was an able man and a well read lawyer; but like many others he failed in the prompt and apt application of legal principles to present needs, which gave hesitation and uncertainty as to his decisions. When he had made up his mind, it was by no means certain that he was right, but he "stuck to it" all the same, because he thought he was right. He was not a success, nor entirely unsuccessful, as a Judge. He was not long in the office when he died and was soon forgotten.

After Mr. Givins died, Judge Small was appointed, and was the immediate predecessor of the late Judge William Elliott. He was the Hon. James Edward Small, who had been the Solicitor General, a member of the Baldwin Ministry, and a politician. He was a man who was a better judge of a good dinner than he was of law, and was more particular about getting his meal in the middle of the day, (no matter at what stage the trial of a case before him might be) than he was in the proper discharge of his duties,—his dinner and it's accompaniment of brandy and water, were all of supreme importance. He was a man who boasted, if it could be conceived that a lawyer, much less a Judge would confess such a thing, that he had never read the Common Law Procedure Act and did not intend to. His Administrations in the Division Courts consisted largely in talking all the time himself and being very impatient of hearing others. More than that, some of his Clerks of the Division Courts, were not faithful in paying over the moneys they had collected, and the Judge was not willing to listen to any complaints against them; he rather shielded them. I have myself gone all the way to the Division Court at Delaware to complain, and was met by the Judge with every obstruction. I neither got Justice, not even a hearing, nor did I get my client's money, after which I never expected justice and did not care ever to appear before him. I know that Mr. Becher had the same feeling.

After the re-construction of the Court of Chancery I was myself appointed the Local Master, but because it involved the necessity of my giving up practice, I resigned and Col. Shanly was appointed in my place, and continued in the office until his death. I do not think it necessary to speak of any members of the profession (within 50 years) other than those I have mentioned, because they all belong to modern history, which would be better spoken of by others. I went to practice at Woodstock in the year 1842, about which time James Daniels, Thomas Scatcherd and Ephraim J. Parke, Hugh Richardson, Samuel

Barker and William D. Street, all younger men than myself, became members of the profession, and members of the London Bar, or students-at-law in London.

In a subsequent period, after the Counties of Norfolk, Oxford and Huron were set off into separate judicial districts two of the Judges were not lawyers. In Huron, the district Judge was an English Barrister, who never practiced. He was a better judge of roast turkey and well-cooked beef-steak and a glass of sherry than he was of either law or justice. The Judge at Woodstock was a retired English Banker, an exceedingly dull man. The Judge in Norfolk was a man of good common sense, a business man, but not a lawyer; well suited to deal with the ordinary affairs among the early settlers of this Country. In arguing a case before the Judge at Woodstock, it was found that the producing and reading out to him of a law book, no matter how inapplicable the subject, always made weight for a successful, favorable decision.

What is now the County of Elgin still formed part of the County of Middlesex. What are now the counties of Perth and Bruce, then were within the Judicial district of Huron. After the establishment of a branch of the Bank of Upper Canada in London in the year 1835, Mr. James Givins, who was a lawyer practicing in St. Thomas, came to London to live having been appointed the notary and solicitor of the Bank. It was the first and only Bank in London for many years. There was a Mr. McKenzie who was practicing law in St. Thomas; he remained there only a short time. Mr. John Strachan was practicing law at Goderich and Mr. Gideon Acland, a Barrister, went to and practiced in St. Thomas from 1835 to 1840. He was one of the best commercial lawyers that then existed in the District. He was not appreciated in St. Thomas owing to family relations and preferences for inferior men who were there before him. He subsequently removed to London, where he only remained a short time for he died soon after. A Mr. Thomas Keir, who had been a writer to the Signet in Scotland, removed to London from Dundas where he had studied law in the office of the Hon. Wm. Notman for a year. He was entirely unsuited for practice. He was more a literary man than a lawyer. He could write political articles well. He was clever, well-educated but not at all temperate in his habits. The other lawyers used to say with forcefulness, that a Scotch lawyer who came to Canada to practice, instead of being admitted to the profession after only one year's study of our system of procedure, should serve five years longer in order to forget his Scotch peculiarities and Glossary of words, and learn our legal vernacular. A similar case existed at Goderich, where a Mr. Haldane purported to practice, but was never admitted to the Bar. He was a Scotch lawyer, a writer to the Signet, a name given to an important body of lawyers in Scotland. It was curious to sit down and hear his peculiar law expressions, so that one really needed a Glossary of Scotch law to be able

to understand what they meant. I had the opportunity of meeting him on one occasion and his language kept my mind on the stretch in order to reach his meaning.

I have passed through five separate amendments and practice of the law in my long connection with the legal profession. The first involved long and unmeaning counts in declarations which did not necessarily disclose what an action was brought to recover. There were different forms of action for every remedy sought. The action on the case for torts; the action of the case in promises, called *Assumpsit*; the action of Debt for the recovery of money; the action of *Replevin* for the recovery of goods or cattle or chattels, and for damages for their detention; the action of *Detinue* for the recovery of a chattel in specie; the action of trespass for the recovery of damages for injury to persons or property, real or personal. The action of *Trover* for the recovery of a chattel and the action called a feigned issue for the purpose of trying the right of property or possession of chattel claimed by someone else. These proceedings were not necessarily inaugurated by a Writ or Summons, or by petition or by direct application to the Court or a Judge. The mysteries of procedure sanctioned by long practice and ingenuity of those engaged as legal agents (winked at by the Courts) were barriers to suitors obtaining their rights except through the agency of men well versed in the mazes and trodden paths of procedure, established by the ingenuity of men whose interest it was to confine their avenues of justice to their own profit and intervention. To give a few instances of this system:—The first process in ordinary actions was by a writ of *capias ad respondendum* (directed to the sheriff), bailable and non-bailable. The sheriff, when this Writ was placed in his hands, was supposed to take the defendant and bring him before the Court; in bailable cases to arrest him by his body and keep him safely until he should give security for his due appearance and readiness to answer the action. In non-bailable cases, the sheriff was furnished with copies of the Writ to be served personally upon the defendant, having endorsed upon the copy notice to the defendant of the purport and purpose of the service. If the defendant appeared he did so by entering a written appearance in the Court. If he failed to do so, the plaintiff might enter one for him and the proceedings to follow would be taken by the plaintiff's attorney, which it would take too long to detail here. In the action of *Replevin*, the writ ordered the sheriff to seize the goods, similar to the present procedure. The action of *ejectment* was commenced without a writ or summons, which contained a fallacious statement which set forth a claim by a suppositious plaintiff against a suppositious defendant. The suit by *interpleader* was commenced by the stating of a suppositious wager between two persons as to the ownership of the goods claimed by a real plaintiff. The action of *Trover* was by the declaration of the loss of a chattel which came to the possession of the defendant by finding and

that the defendant wrongfully deprived the owner of the chattel, claiming damages for the detention. This system was only gradually changed by new Rules of Procedure, subsequently by the Common Law Procedure Act, and ultimately by the fusion of Law and Equity, and an entire upsetting of all old methods as it exists at this day.

A curious anomaly was introduced by statute which provided for the joining in one action of the maker and endorser of a Bill of Exchange or Promissory Note. It had been held that they could not be joined in one action because the contract of each of those parties was not identical—that of the maker of a note or the acceptor or endorser of a Bill of Exchange being **positive** and that of the drawer or endorser as only conditional. To remedy this, the best the legislators could devise was to prescribe that a declaration containing “the common money counts” as they were termed, be filed and served on the defendant, having attached to them a copy of the instrument upon which the action was founded, and that without the slightest reference to the Bill or Note. To remedy this, someone more ingenuous than the past who had labored with the subject, planned the form which is now used for joining all parties.

Besides giving the history as to the personnel of the members of the legal profession, I have extended a statement of some of my recollections of the past connected with the administration of law and of legal procedure.

According to the provisions of an Imperial Statute, (which is easy of reference) all negroes and lands owned in the colonies of Great Britain were declared to be goods and chattels for the payment of debts. Taking advantage of that provision a Judgment and execution were obtained against the owner of the Township of Moulton in the new County of Haldimand (then in the District of Niagara) and the whole Township was advertised and sold en bloc after ten days notice of sale; purchased by Henry John Boulton a lawyer of Toronto, and his title under the sale and the proper construction of the Statute was held to be valid. After which a Provincial law was passed that required an execution against goods to be first issued, so as to make the debt and costs out of the chattel estate, failing which and upon the sheriff's return endorsed “Nulla Bona” for the whole or in part, only, could an execution against lands be issued; after which that execution would have to remain in the sheriff's hands for twelve months and the lands described and published in the Upper Canada Gazette and in a local paper for three months before the lands could be sold.

In civil as well as criminal cases, it was the rule to have trial by jury, except in cases of common assault and petty trespasses and for sums above the jurisdiction of the Courts of Requests. After an interlocutory judgment in the Court of Queens Bench or District Court, where there was consequently no defence set up, it was necessary for a jury to assess the “dam-

ages." The non-payment of a debt or breach of contract was held to entitle to damages. I knew one lawyer (who was as a matter of court etiquette obliged to wear his gown and bands) who was never known to address a jury except in the matter of obtaining an assessment of damages for non-payment of promissory notes, upon whose verdict judgment and execution would not be obtained until after commencement of the next law term of the court. There was no summary reference of such "damages." The Legislature (after a long struggle on the subject of invading that palladium of our liberties, i.e. trial by Jury) and substituting a summary trial (as had taken a change in the law in England) passed a law for the trial of petty trespasses and common assaults by Justices of the Peace. The prognostications of the opponents of the change were in many cases poorly fulfilled by ignorant and malignant magistrates, exceeding their jurisdiction in regard to these subjects. I have known of many such perversions myself, but an appeal to the general sessions of the peace had for the most part provided against injustice; and I could furnish numerous instances of the ludicrous figures which some magistrates have cut in the assumed jurisdiction on these subjects.

As to criminal law procedure, I need say very little. There was no penitentiary for convicts, nothing between the common gaol and the gallows, except the pillory and the stocks, or sending them to Van Dieman's Land, which was very expensive and circuitous. I recollect that at the corner of the Court House Square, (the north-east corner) there stood a common stocks and pillory, and I remember seeing a man once sitting in the stocks as punishment for stealing silver spoons, but I think the pillory was never used. It was not used in my time certainly. Both were afterwards abolished by statute. As a partial remedy for the expense of transportation, a law was passed providing banishment from the country of persons convicted of aggravated offences, not capital, with a penal clause attached declaring that if a convict returned from banishment it would be a capital felony. I knew the case of one old man, over sixty years of age, who having returned from banishment was arrested and tried and upon conviction was sentenced to death. However the sentence was commuted to imprisonment in the penitentiary (which had then been completed) for the rest of his life. It is but fair to surmise that this punishment of banishment had the effect of helping to people the United States with so many "smart men" as are to be found there, for they had no other country to adopt as their future homes. It may not be known to many at the present time and is therefore a fact worthy of note that prisoners were not allowed full defence in my early days. Counsel could not address the jury in defence of the prisoner.

I recollect that in the old Court House, three courts martial sat for the trial of grave offences. The first was for that of the

so-called patriots who invaded this province during the troubles arising out of the Rebellion of 1837. It was a militia Court Martial presided over by Col. John Bostwick of Port Stanley; the second was a militia court martial for the trial of Lt. Col. Craig of Caradoc, which was adjourned and never reassembled. The third was a general court martial consisting of Officers of the Army, presided over by Lt. Col. Love of the Royal 85th Regt. for the Trial of Major O'Connor, of H.M. 85th Regiment, which ended in his being cruelly and most unjustly dismissed from the service of the Queen.

The Honorable John Sandfield MacDonald, (an upright and able lawyer, an enlightened honest politician and statesmen one of the best we ever had had since the retirement of the Hon. Robert Baldwin from public life) when Attorney-General and Premier of the Ontario Government, introduced and caused to be enacted many valuable and economic changes in the law.

(a)—The doing away with Sessions of the Peace being held quarterly and abolishing Recorders Courts in cities.

(b)—The providing for the summary and hastening the trial of prisoners in custody unable to procure bail; giving them the right to be tried immediately by the county Judge without a jury. We all know the successful result of that provision which has been accepted by persons accused of crime in thousands of cases to the manifest saving of expense and more prompt administration of justice.

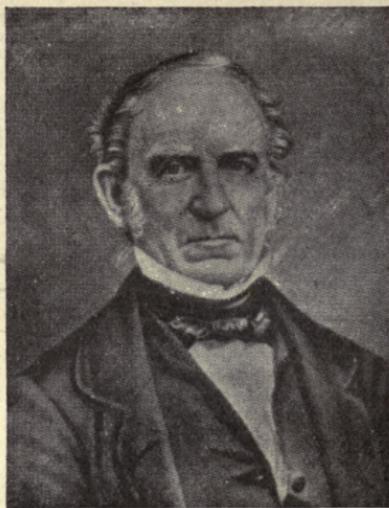
(c)—This provision was not acceptable to lawyers who aimed at personal display before a court and jury. I remember an instance of aggravated assault which the depositions before me unfolded; in which it was shown that a woman had cruelly and repeatedly whipped an adopted little girl, and maimed and marked her body with wales. The County Attorney, an exceedingly indolent and careless official had not taken the proper course of his duty by sending over the depositions, but indifferently and perfunctorily charged the woman in his formal statement with **common assault**, which at most would have resulted in an imprisonment for twelve months. The lawyer, not seeing his advantage, instead of reading the depositions and recommending his client to plead guilty of common assault, as charged, demanded a trial by Jury, so that his client was remanded. Meanwhile I called down the County Attorney for his remissness and told him to read the depositions which he did, so that at the General Session he charged the woman with the proper offence, i.e. aggravated assault. The proofs adduced exposed one of the grossest cases of inhuman cruelty inflicted that I ever heard. The prisoner was convicted and sentenced to an imprisonment of five years in the penitentiary. The next resort was to the Government without avail.

Those who have been "sat upon" by Judges, are sore and sure to remember the difficulties of standing before grimness in the faces of those who have no sympathy with **beginners**. I

have felt all this myself. The late Chief Justice Draper was not **grim** because he **smiled**. When he sat upon the Bench delighted at an opportunity to display his learning and skillful instincts and taste for niceties, he used to smile at an opportunity. "When he smiled", the profession used to say "he meant mischief," which was fatal to someone. On one occasion, he quietly "sat upon" poor David Glass, who although wearing a silk gown was not a lawyer. David, during one Assize had entered several records of cases for trial which met with fatal results. One of these I must particularly mention. David got on as far as addressing the Jury, to which Judge Draper listened and waited; at the end of which he spoke to David asking very coldly (he was always cold; technicality was always cold) "Mr. Glass what was the action brought for?"; to which David replied, repeating his speech to the Jury. "Yes, I heard you say all that to the Jury, but what then was the suit brought for?" David essayed to go over his speech again, but the Judge wound up "I do not understand you, Mr. Glass," and closed by endorsing the words "Non suit" on the back of the record, throwing it down to the Clerk of Assize. Whereupon David turned to his client and said: "You see, I cannot make the Judge understand, so we have lost the suit", whereupon his client left the Court, thinking highly of the injured lawyer, but indignant at the stupidity of the Judge who was an old fool for he "could not understand Mr. Glass." Meeting a friend at the door of the court house as he was going away, he asked him how he had got on with the case, said, "Oh, I have lost my case, because that d—— old fool of a Judge could not understand Mr. Glass." That same Judge non-suited me in a Quitam action because my proof was not technically in accordance with my pleading—refused to amend—and I lost what was intended to recover penalties for several gross and oppressive acts of usury, which a statute then in force was intended to punish and provide remedies. Upon his declaring a non-suit—the **Judge smiled**; a complete Draperian Smile—peculiar to the man, who seemed to derive comfort from what was disappointment and pain to me, a young and ambitious lawyer.

Gleanings From The  
Sheriff's Records





SHERIFF JAS. HAMILTON

## GLEANINGS FROM THE SHERIFF'S RECORDS

BY D. M. CAMERON, ESQ.

(The first sheriff of the London District was Col. Jos. Ryerson, appointed in 1800. He was succeeded in 1805 by his son-in-law, John Bostwick, whose father was rector of the Anglican Church in Great Barrington, Mass. John took up land at the mouth of the Kettle Creek (now Port Stanley), and became a man prominent in the County. The next sheriff was A. A. Rapalje. He came of a Huguenot family, the founder, Daniel of that name, having located about the year 1810 on part of the land now occupied by the City of St. Thomas. When in 1827 the judicial seat of the London District was removed from Vittoria to London, most of the court officials came to the new town. The sheriff, however, it is understood, never took up his residence here; and much of the business of his office was transacted by his son, acting as his deputy. In 1837, James Hamilton received the appointment in succession to Rapalje. He was a brother of the Hon. John Hamilton, of Queenston, but had removed to this section, entering into business in St. Thomas and Sterling (Port Stanley). The firm of Hamilton & Warren carried on very extensive operations, having large mills at Sterling which was the lake port for all this section, and stores in St. Thomas and other places. Mr. Hamilton held the position of sheriff for a great many years. It is mainly from the records of the office during his incumbency that the present sheriff, Mr. D. M. Cameron, prepared the following paper, read before the Society, Feb. 20, 1912.—C).

The subject of my paper having been chosen for me in advance of my examination of the material basis for "Reminiscences of the Sheriff's Office," I am obliged to alter its terms to more nearly conform to the facts that I am about to present. What title to give to this effort after you have heard it, I leave to yourselves to suggest.

The official records of the sheriff's office for what was in earlier days the London District, and subsequently the County of Middlesex, do not go very far back. There are some processes running back to 1836, and in that year the then sheriff writes to solicitors to the effect that owing to the disturbed condition of the county, arising from the threatened rebellion, which culminated next year, it was then found difficult for his Majesty King William IV.'s writ to run. The same condition continued to be reported during the two first years of the reign of her Majesty Queen Victoria. The absence of any record of legal proceedings prior to that date is due to the fact that these were, up till then, kept at Vittoria, in the present County of Norfolk,

then part of the London District, the residence of Sheriff Rapelje of that time, and burned in a fire which took place during his regime. But for some years succeeding the period named there are some documents in the office of considerable interest. If I make little more than a catalogue of these without either amplifying on their significance or transcribing them verbatim, my doing so will be due to the fact that the miscellaneous material available to me has been but imperfectly digested, and because its chronological arrangement requires more time than I have been able to devote to it.

### **The Formative Period.**

The letters, memoranda and documents are not without interest, however, as disclosing the social and business conditions then existing; the methods that then prevailed for carrying on the business of this western section; and as illuminating on this point the correspondence of Sheriff Hamilton, prior to his appointment, are interesting, informing and instructive.

The period covers from about the year 1820 to 1832, essentially the formative period in the history of what was then the London District. Of that district the first settlers entered London Township, as far as I can obtain information, in 1818; Westminster had some settlers a year or two previously, and at that time Byron was, for the period, a thriving settlement, and threatened to outrival London as the western metropolis. The boost given to London by Governor Simcoe as the result of his visit some years previously, gave to London the call, but Byron still continued for years to be the milling centre of the district, a distinction which it upheld against strenuous competition. Early settlers in Caradoc, Delaware, Ekfrid, Adelaide, Lobo and even Williams, recounted in later years to their descendants their journeyings on horseback or on foot with the grist for the family needs; and many residents in these townships will today recall the interesting details had from their parents, of how they followed the trail in the journey to and from the mill. I had said that this would largely be a catalogue. Such I purpose making it. And dealing with my material by this method, I find a document in point of importance, though not in date, among the most interesting.

### **Commission for Early Fair.**

It is a parchment commission from Sir Francis Bond Head, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, to Abraham A. Rapelje, as sheriff of the London District, and dated the 5th day of July, 1836, authorizing the establishment of a fair or market in "the Village of Woodstock, in the Township of Blandford," to be begun and holden on the second Tuesday in May and the third Thursday in October, in each and every year, subject to the usual restrictions "and picae and stallage," which are to be paid to

the said Abraham A. Rapelje as sheriff, and to be solely appropriated to the clearing away the ground. An identically similar patent exists, issued in 1844, after the union of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and dated at Montreal on the 31st day of August in that year, establishes a fair or market in the "Village of St. Thomas," and appoints James Hamilton, the then sheriff, to hold a public fair, "together with all the privileges, usages, customs, courts of pic poudre incident to fairs, and laws of fairs in general and now established used and exercised within that part of Great Britain called England," to be begun and holden on the first Tuesday in the month of May and the last Tuesday in the month of September. This parchment is signed by Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, and countersigned by W. H. Draper (afterwards chief justice of Ontario).

### A Tragedy of the Rebellion.

One of the tragedies disclosed by these documents of the olden time is a letter dated Government House 5th January, 1839, and intimating that there had been transmitted to Sheriff Hamilton "by express," which possibly meant a special messenger, a warrant for the execution "on Monday, the 14th of the same month, of Albert Clark, an American prisoner, recently convicted before the court martial now sitting at London." The sheriff was furnished, so the communication reads, of an exemplification of the warrant which he was to read before the convict at the time and place of his execution. There is no record in the office as to the carrying out of the sentence, which was imposed no doubt, on the prisoner for participation in the Mackenzie rebellion of '37-'38.\*

But to return. On the 5th day of June, 1835, a grant was made to Abraham A. Rapelje (as sheriff of the District of London) of the public fair or market in the "Town of London," under the seal of the Province, and in a parchment bearing the signature of Sir John Colborne, the then lieutenant-governor of the Province of Upper Canada. The right to hold and administer the fair is determined to follow the office, the successors of Sheriff Rapelje to administer while in office. The grant is countersigned by Robert S. Jameson, at the time attorney-general, in a neat though rather feminine hand.

Another parchment is a warrant from Sir Charles Metcalfe, the then governor-general, after the union of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, instructing Sheriff Hamilton, under date of Montreal, the 6th day of September, 1844, to take into his custody Thomas Halpin, then a resident of Chicago, and under arrest there awaiting extradition on a charge of forgery.

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\*He was duly executed, January 14th, 1839.

### An Election in Oxford.

On the 25th of January, 1838, a warrant was issued over the signature of Sir Francis Bond Head, appointing James Hamilton, sheriff of London District, the returning officer at an election for the Legislative Assembly for the County of Oxford, to be held no later than the 1st day of April, in the then current year. The sheriff in those days was more frequently than in later years returning officer.

Two parchments, each dated the 6th day of December, 1847, and signed "Elgin and Kincardine," are addressed, one to James Hamilton, appointing him returning officer for the County of Middlesex, and the other appointing James Hamilton, John Harris and James Givins to the same office, each in force "until the 25th day of January next ensuing," are confusing until the statutes as well as the circumstances surrounding the election then contemplated are looked into more thoroughly than I have been able to do. But a memorandum dated the 4th day of December, A.D., 1851, shows the methods of procedure then followed, and incidentally brings to the front some prominently known to political life in those days.

After noting the fact that the writ was read, the memorandum records the fact that "Murdoch MacKenzie, Esquire, moved, and Freeman Talbot, Esquire, seconded, that Crowell Willson, Esquire, be a fit and proper person to represent the said County of Middlesex in the next Parliament"; and that "Mr. James Ferguson moved, and Dr. Lindly Moore seconded, that William Notman, Esquire, be a fit and proper person to represent the said county."

### Irregularity Revealed.

Dr. Bartlett, seconded by Mr. Peter McDonnell, "nominated Johnston Grover, Esquire," and on a division being called, it is recorded that it was decided in favor of William Notman, Esquire, and a poll being demanded by Johnston Grover on his own behalf, and by Freeman Talbot on behalf of Crowell Willson, the poll was granted, "the part of the proclamation was read," so runs the record, "showing the times and the places when the poll must be held." On Tuesday, the 16th December, the returning officer postponed the declaration until the day following, owing to irregularity on the part of the deputy returning officer for the Township of Bayham, William Hatch, he having omitted to sign and seal the poll book, and the declaration was adjourned from day to day till the 18th when the vote was found to be: For Crowell Willson, 1,931; William Notman, 1,856; Thomas J. Groves, 48.

Evidently electors had a choice and exercised it in the free and independent manner of to-day, and Crowell Willson was declared member for Middlesex by a majority of 75 votes. A glance at the vote of municipalities is interesting, and goes some

distance in indicating how near or how far apart political opinion was then and is now.

	Crowell Willson	William Notman	T. J. Grover
Aldboro.....	38	28	1
Adelaide.....	101	81	....
Bayham.....	153	170	....
Caradoc.....	77	84	4
Delaware.....	37	55	....
Dunwich.....	13	60	....
Dorchester.....	110	112	....
Ekfrid.....	16	82	1
London.....	472	124	5
Lobo.....	50	136	2
Malahide.....	166	189	7
Metcalfe.....	59	29	4
Mosa.....	77	54	24
Southwold.....	163	183	....
Yarmouth.....	238	217	....
Westminster.....	149	233	....
Williams.....	19	28	....
Totals.....	1931	1856	48

It will be understood that the County of Elgin was then a part of the County of Middlesex, the former not having been separated until about three years after the election took place.

### The First Bridge.

It is interesting as a matter of record, as disclosed by a search among the office papers, that the first bridge built to connect Ridout street with the south side of the river was initiated in 1848, and built by subscription, in which the names of James Givins, Robert Carfrae, James Hamilton and Alexander Anderson appear for contribution of £25 currency each, and others, among them George J. Goodhue, John Wilson, Simeon Morrill, John Harris, Elijah Leonard, Samuel Peters, L. Lawrason, William Horton, Samuel McBride, Murray Anderson, M. Seger, Thomas Craig, John Birrell, James Oliver, Hugh Stevenson, Adam Hope, James Shanly and others, appear for various amounts. The bridge was to connect Ridout street, in the Town of London, with Queen street (now Ridout street), in the Village of London South, and the total amounted to £231 15s currency. Subsequently, when the subscriptions were utilized, it was intended that the projected "Queen street" should pass through the house then erected by Sheriff Hamilton, and a petition was prepared for presentation to the township council of Westminster, in which it is declared that Sheriff Hamilton had advanced the sum of

£57 16s and 1½d, and was further liable to Peter McDonald, together with Dr. Anderson, for the payment of an additional £74 for extracting stumps and otherwise constructing a road from the river to the Commissioners' road. It was to secure the diversion of the road to the west of the first surveyed location that the petition was initiated.

### The Powers of an M. L. A.

In 1838 a commission "per dedimus potestatem," issued under the great seal of the province to James Hamilton, John Stuart, John Wilson and John B. Askin, and indorsed as being in force in the County of Oxford, is among the archives. The only restriction in the body of the commission is as to its currency, it being only effective until the 1st of April in that year, and its issue may have had to do with the elections earlier referred to. A peculiar difference from present-day methods in regard to election matters is apparent in the wording of an indenture in connection with the same County of Oxford election. This, made between George Washington Whitehead, Edmund Deedes, John Weir, Daniel Caroll, William Japenstine and Philip Graham, freeholders of the County of Oxford, of one part, and James Hamilton, returning officer, of the other part, witnesseth that "we (they) have chosen Roger Rollo Hunter, Esquire, as representative, to be member in the House of Assembly at Toronto," and that they "do give unto the said Roger Rollo Hunter full and sufficient power for us and the commonalty of said county to do and consent to those things which then and there by the favor of God shall happen to be ordained by the common council of our said province." No doubt Mr. Hunter went to Toronto, then recently altering its name from York, doubly armed when possessed of this mandate.

I find a curiosity in a bond given by "Elijah Leonard, the younger, iron-founder, and E. W. Hyman, tanner," to James Hamilton, sheriff, and dated the 3rd day of May, 1845. This bond recited that "Whereas, the said Elijah Leonard is desirous employing one Christian William Dreyer, a prisoner in close custody of the said James Hamilton, Esquire, as sheriff of London District, in the common gaol, under sentence of felony pronounced against him," and "Whereas the said James Hamilton is willing," the prisoner is allowed to enter the employment of Mr. Leonard (afterward the Hon. Elijah Leonard), provided he returns to the custody of the jail by the hour of 6 o'clock in the afternoon, to return to his employment each morning at 8, and pay the sheriff such sum as may be agreed upon for the services of the prisoner, and with the conditions fulfilled, then the obligation was voided. The agreement is witnessed by the late Thomas Scatcherd, afterward senior partner in the firm of Scatcherd & Meredith (now Sir William.) There is no record as to the conduct of the prisoner while thus allowed a measure of liberty not permissible in these later days, nor is there evidences

that the involuntary service indicated was even then permitted to any great extent.

### The Punishment of Debtors.

The number of *capias satisfaciendum* issued in those by-gone days is a revelation, and a striking evidence of how far we have travelled in the last seventy years from the methods then prevailing in civil jurisprudence. In 1837 I find that there were three *Ca. Sas.* acted upon, but in 1838 the number had risen to eighteen, with a gradual rise to over double that number in each of the years immediately succeeding. I need not explain to those of my audience learned in the law that every action under the procedure of those days was commenced by *capias*—a *Ca. re.*, and followed up by a *Ca. Sa.* when judgment was made. But it is necessary that I should make this clear to those not of the law, to appreciate the full import of these figures. When a *Ca. Sa.* issued it meant jail, unless the judgment was discharged by payment, and the sheriff must have had a busy and a possibly profitable time in taking the bail bonds of those debtors who were unable to pay, but had friends to become their surety that they would not leave the "limits" which at the dates named embraced the district. So what appears on its face as close confinement was really a considerable measure of liberty. In 1837 the names of solicitors indorsed on the bonds embraced those of Givins & Warren, John Wilson, George Duggan; in 1838, C. Gamble, C. A. Hagerman; in 1839, in addition to those already named, there occur Tiffany, Hale, Price, G. Ackland, T. W. Cornish, W. Salmon, T. D. Warren, Burton and others. I have not traced this list beyond 1840 in its connection with the issue of *Ca. Sas* because of the length to which my paper has already grown.

### A. S. Abbott on a Bond.

About the same time, 1840, or a little later, appear the names of Londoners of a generation or two ago on the list of documents in the sheriff's office. The names of William Niles, William Jones Geary, Joshua Putman and others appear as bondsmen, guaranteeing the faithful performance of his duties as bailiff by Philo Bennett, and as witness to the document appears the well-known signature of A. S. Abbott, afterwards and for many years city clerk of London. A bond to the same effect, dated the 30th day of August, 1845, introduces the well-remembered name of Henry Groves, for years high constable of Middlesex and court crier. In a bond from John McCallum Park to the sheriff on the appointment of the latter as governor of London jail, first appears the characteristic and florid handwriting of John Godbold. This is bringing the sheriff's office history down to the recollection of men of middle age, and need not be further referred to.

I now return to the early years of last century, "when George

the Fourth was King." The disclosures of the sheriff's office at this period in the history of the province is possibly the most interesting because the conditions are now so complete a reversal of those then prevailing. At that time the late Sheriff Hamilton was a member of the forwarding firm of Hamilton & Warren, who appear to have dealt extensively in the wares peculiar to general stores in those days. The letters from the firm and to them, the latter and copies of the former having been preserved by Mr. Hamilton, develop interest along a variety of lines.

The first in point of date is an agreement from William (afterwards the Hon. William) Dickson, of Niagara, and Thos. Clark, as trustees of the estate of Robert Hamilton, to sell to Ebenezer Cook two hundred acres of land in the Township of Oxford, being lots 19 and 20 in the third concession, "as described in his majesty's letters patents of fourteen hundred and fifty acres in said township, and dated the 1st December, issued to the said Robert Hamilton." A memorandum on the documents states that the land is sold at 22 shillings York an acre (\$2.75). On the 11th May, 1822, Ebenezer Cook paid four doubloons, calculated as worth \$15.25 each, in part payment under the bond. An indenture of bargain and sale, dated the 24th February, 1826, conveying the lands in the Township of Niagara from James Hamilton, of "Sterling," in the District of London, though signed and sealed, was never delivered, but is interesting as describing the sheriff as of "Sterling," subsequently Kettle Creek, now Port Stanley.

### The Name of Port Stanley.

I venture to say that this, the original name of London's popular lake port and summer resort, is unknown to any of this audience, and to but few of the residents either of London or the Port. I do not know what the relation may have been, but the "Dauntless" and "Sterling" were the two vessels controlled by Hamilton & Warren which in these early days did the bulk of the forwarding from Sterling, alias Kettle Creek, alias Port Stanley. Whether the schooner gave the name to the port or the port to the schooner or whether both had association with some previous circumstance, event or locality, I have failed to determine. The deed is further interesting as bearing the imprint of "W. L. Mackenzie, Printer, York, U. Canada," a name to be further referred to in my reminiscences if time permits.

Next in interest, if not in chronological order, I find an "estimate of castings, iron and brass work for a mill of three run of stones for Messrs. Hamilton & Warren, Kettle Creek, U. C.," according to an attached bill, and totalling \$851.20, dated at Black Rock, Feb. 27, 1832, and to be delivered at Fort Erie free of freight, but subject to duty. I recall the fact that fifty years ago there was a sluice or waterway of decided proportions, which manifestly had been a means of developing power, on the east

side of Kettle Creek, and wonder if my remote predecessor in office was responsible for its existence, and whether this bill of material had formed part of the mill property on this spot.\*

#### A Publisher's Letter.

A letter from Robert Stanton, publisher, dated York, Feb. 14, 1828, is at this point in order. He writes that through his paper he gives as much of the wisdom uttered by honorable and learned members (referring to the Legislature) as he could collect. Hamilton Merritt, he says, "is just arrived, and he and Strowbridge, the Burlington Bay contractor, are the only steady lobby members we have this session. Merritt, I suppose, will ask for more money for the deep cut, which will afford Lafferty (apparently) an opportunity of displaying his powers of oratory. (It will be remembered that the Hon. Hamilton Merritt first projected the Welland Canal about 1822, and that he succeeded in securing the completion of the first canal some years subsequently. Now the country is discussing the advisability of an enlarged Welland, a still larger Welland than those that succeeded the original canal of the period referred to.)

"A good deal of business has gone through, but an interruption has in some measure taken place in consequence of an address on the long-agitated alien question. The bill which has passed the assembly is such as in my opinion will not answer the purpose. Liberality is professed, and certainly this bill carries it to the extreme and far beyond what was ever intended or thought of by Lord Goderich or the British Government, under its provisions. The man who deserted us during the war may come in among us and have a seat in the assembly, and those who have borne office in the U. S. and abjured the King and the constitution of Great Britain will be entitled to vote and sit in the House. Old Bidwell would creep in at this hole, and this, surely, was never intended. Kettle Creek harbor, I hope, gets on well. Rolph being eased of this trouble has made fine speeches on opening the jail doors throughout the province and letting out all the debtors—doing away with imprisonment for debt altogether—how the creditor is to be protected is not very apparent from his bill, except that he may depend upon the honor of his debtor and punish him for fraud if he can prove it.

"I hope to see your name as a candidate at the next general election. Matthews is a source of amusement and merriment to all within and below the bar. His manner this session is most whimsical and he raises many a hearty laugh. It interferes, however, very often with the progress of business."

#### Many Addresses.

This letter which I have quoted at length is addressed to St. Thomas, and its postage charge was ninepence. I haven't Hamilton's answer to inform me whether the news conveyed was

\* Sterling was up the creek, a mile or two from the present site of Port Stanley.—C.

by him considered worth the money, but it is observable that letters addressed to Mr. Hamilton were directed to "Sterling," "Kettle Creek," Talbotville," or "St. Thomas" indiscriminately at this period of time. The Matthews referred to in this letter was the then representative of Middlesex in the Legislative Assembly of the province, and is familiarly known as Captain Matthews. He was an officer in the imperial service, who settled in Lobo in the first quarter of last century, and became representative for the county, I think when it first became a separate constituency. The writer of the communication manifestly differed from Matthews in political views, and represented the opinions of the Family Compact, to whom Matthews was strenuously opposed. Matthews, who is described by historians of the period as of a jovial, free and easy manner, incurred the hostility of the Compact by his advocacy of popular rights, and the result was that representations attacking his loyalty were made to the Imperial authorities that eventually resulted in his army pension being cancelled.

An autograph letter from John Rolph, dated 16th August, 1828, is of interest. Another autograph letter is that of Robert Baldwin, and refers to an execution, "The Gore Bank vs. Clark," then in the sheriff's hands, and dated the 22nd July, 1840.

Retracing my steps to 1832, I find a communication from J. B. Askin, dated Simcoe, on the 18th January, in that year, of interest as disclosing his opinions of conditions then prevailing. He says: "I learned this morning by Mr. Kilmaster that some great meeting is to be held in York on Thursday by Mackenzie's friends, for the purpose of petitioning his Excellency to dissolve the Parliament immediately, and if refused it is rumored that they intend proceeding to the House and dissolving the House 'vi et armis,' and Kilmaster showed me an address to the people by Mackenzie—a most seditious production, and which in my opinion shows more derangement of mind than anything else—he is certainly crazy, and his followers are playing a part which I have no doubt they will be heartily ashamed of. Kilmaster says he observed a large number of idle persons about the taverns, who seemed to have little else to do than to crack up Mackenzie, and these people put in motion, half drunk as they no doubt will be before they begin to show their spunk, might cut up some ridiculous caper. In such cases the rich folk must look out, and if the wealthy of Little York will join Mr. Mackenzie, they must run the risk of the destruction of their property, like others."

#### Askin Remembered.

This letter is reproduced fully, as the writer is in the recollection of many of the Londoners of half a century ago, and as indicative of his opinions on the political issues of that date. It is the first letter in the collection addressed "Port Stanley," and is charged 4½ pence postage. A letter from S. P. Jarvis, York, 14th January, in the same year, contains the statement

that "the war losses question has for the last day or two occupied the attention of the House. I rather think," he says, "this important subject to very many will be finally adjusted to their satisfaction this session. How does Mackenzie's re-expulsion go down in your county? He is trying hard to kick up a dust here, and I am sorry to say that he is too well supported in his wicked purpose." The letter is franked by P. VanKoughnet, M. P. P., and the postoffice department, then a part of the imperial service, charged ninepence for its transmission to "St. Thomas, District of London." The stamp, "York, Up. Can., Jan. 14," is a most primitive affair.

The facilities for travel in those days are illustrated by the dates on a letter from Montreal of the 3rd August, 1827, and addressed to "Sterling, Kettle Creek," and charged with 11½ pence postage. It was forwarded from London on the 26th August, and reached its destination on the 3rd September. Mr. John Warren, on the date named, writes that he sends his letter by a gentleman leaving Montreal for Dundas in the morning. In it he advises that he had purchased 300 bags which he expects will get to Prescott by to-morrow week, in time to meet the "Queenstown," and "in three weeks," the letter proceeds, "you will no doubt receive them at Sterling." He advises that if there is no prospect of getting all wheat floured, "it may probably be as well to send them down here (to Montreal) with wheat. It is doubtful," he adds, "if I shall be able to procure a good assortment of drygoods and groceries unless we are enabled to pay half the amount down, which makes me anxious for you to use all your exertions to forward what we have already, without delay, and to get another vessel in case the "Elizabeth" is not sufficient to carry it off fast enough."

### No Demand for Whiskey.

The letter follows with instructions to get shipments from other dealers, but on no account to accept other consignments to the prejudice of their own. He further asks to be told "if you go on with the distillery, and whether I shall purchase the boiler." The equipment of the distillery was subsequently bought at Buffalo, and in succeeding letters he reports from Montreal "No demand for whiskey." Significant, perhaps, of there being teetotallers even in these early days, although the "barley brew" was quoted in a succeeding letter as "dull in Montreal at 2 shillings and 6 pence York or 32 cents a gallon." In the same letter he reports Gates as having in the season received 560 barrels of flour of their consignment, which he holds at 24 shillings currency, equal to \$4.80, and 13 barrels of pork, "now in good demand," quoting \$15 to \$16 as the ruling market price, and urges if their own vessels could not get the produce forward fast enough, it might be well to engage some other vessel. The urgency to purchase drygoods and other supplies for shipment west will be

appreciated when we realize that selling in the Montreal market in those days, as was the case for a few years subsequently in Toronto, was done from the warehouse, and resulted in keen competition from buyers on the spot. There were no travellers for wholesale houses in those days, and when the goods arrived from the English market it was a case of "first coming first served." On the 14th November Mr. Warren writes to his partner from Fort Erie that he is on the eve of sailing, wind N. E., with some crockery, drygoods, hoop iron, oil and other merchandise still remaining to be received from Montreal, which he hopes to reach there in time to be forwarded by the "Dauntless," which, as he writes, is in Buffalo taking in cargo, and will cross to Fort Erie during the day to finish her load. The goods appear to have been teamed from Queenstown, as he instructs that a claim be made for ropes taken off the bales by the teamsters in transit. His father, who thinks it will be too cold to go up by the vessel, is to go by conveyance to Sterling. He also reports buying an interest from Helmer of a vessel seized by the sheriff at Buffalo, paying \$500 for one-half the craft, which "will now have a full load up and another down." Adding "Should we lay up the "Betsy," which I think we will be obliged to do, we will be enabled to fit her up next year. She has the promise of all the Long Point freight next year, and thus has all she possibly can do. Urquhart is to have command," adding, "The topsail is sheeting, hurra, adieu!"

But I, too, must say adieu, without at all having exhausted my sources of information as to conditions in those early days. I should like to reproduce other material, especially respecting the Fourth Battalion, Middlesex Militia, the command of which devolved upon Colonel James Hamilton under a commission issued by Sir John Colborne, and dated on the 15th of June, 1822. The nominal roll of this battalion for the ten subsequent years contains names still familiar in the Townships of London, Delaware, Dorchester and Lobo, but this paper is already long enough, and my stenographer is wearied of the effort in transcribing it into legible characters.



# Pioneer Politicians





COL. MAHLON BURWELL, M.P.



L. LAWRASON, M.P.

## PIONEER POLITICIANS.

BY CL. T. CAMPBELL, M.D.

When Upper Canada was made a separate province in 1790 it was divided for electoral purposes into 16 ridings—each returning one member in the Legislative Assembly. In 1808 the number of representatives was increased to 25—there being 22 districts, three of which returned two members. The franchise was confined to British subjects—owning property to the value of forty shillings:

By an act passed March 7th, 1821 (Chap. LI. 60, Geo. III), the Parliamentary representation was still further increased. A County with a population of 1,000 was given one member, with 4,000 and upward it was to have two; a town with a population of 1,000 was also given a member. In the first Parliament after this Act there were 38 members.

London was founded in 1826, and in 1835, nine years after, it had attained a population of over 1,000. It was not a town, however; being then only a part of the township of London. But the Governor, Sir Francis B. Head, was seeking more support in the Assembly; London was thought to be safe; so London, having complied with the spirit of the law, received the privilege of sending a member to Parliament, and exercised its rights for the first time at the election of 1836.

The political condition of the province at this time was very unsettled. Political parties, in the modern sense, there were none. The terms Tory, Whig, Reformer and Radical were frequently used; but they had not the same meanings as in our days. Strictly speaking, there were two parties only—the supporters of the Government, and the opposition. And the Government meant the Governor. Responsible Government had not come into existence. Legislative powers were supposed to be vested in the Governor's Council appointed by him—and an assembly elected by the people. But in reality, the power was in the hands of the Governor and his friends.

This official recognized responsibility to no one except the British Government from whom he received his authority. On arriving in the province a perfect stranger, he would find a class of people socially and politically prominent, who claimed to be the especial upholders of British connection, and the especial exponents of British loyalty. This class was composed of office-holders—all appointed by the British Government, together with the leading men of the U. E. Loyalists, spoken of in later years as "The Family Compact." The relationship between them was really one of mutual interests, more than of family ties. They controlled all important offices; appropriated to their own profit large tracts of land; and usually manipulated the Governor. From this class the Governor naturally appointed the Legislative

Council. There was no Cabinet as we understand it. The Governor usually selected a few of these as his Executive Council; but even though these were all his friends and supporters, he only consulted them when he saw fit, and was under no obligation to accept their advice when given. The Legislative Assembly was allowed to pass laws; and when these were of a purely local character, the Council would generally endorse them, and the Governor sign them. If they touched on questions of public policy, or trespassed on the interests of the provincial aristocracy, they were quietly buried in the Upper Chamber.

It is not surprising that in this condition of affairs, no one but a supporter of the Government would care for a seat in the Assembly. In fact, in these early days, the pioneers of the province were too busy clearing the forest, and looking after their own affairs to be anxious to spend either the time or money involved in attendance upon a session of Parliament; and the Governor and his friends had everything their own way. But this could not continue. With the increase of population and the settlement of the land, the evils attendant upon a system of personal Government for the benefit of a few, began to attract attention. Many things were needed for the improvement of the country, which those in authority refused to allow. When agitators like Gourlay called attention to existing evils, they were prosecuted and persecuted—the only result being to make the agitation greater and the opposition stronger, until at last the latter controlled the Assembly.

At the opening of Parliament in 1835, the opposition had a majority in the popular house. The vote for speaker stood 31 to 27 against the Government. The only London man in the body was Thos. Parke, who, with Elias Moore represented the County of Middlesex. He came to London from Toronto in 1826 having charge of the building of the Court House, and became a prominent citizen; though his real estate was principally in the County. Not a very brilliant man, and not an extremist; a Reformer, and yet not very objectionable to the ruling clique. He was for a short time Surveyor-General in the Executive Council of Governor Sydenham in 1841.

Sir Francis Bond Head reached Upper Canada in 1835. He was welcomed by the Reformers, who, for some reason thought he would be favorable to their views, but they soon found they were mistaken. The new Governor fell in with the oligarchy and was absorbed by it. He knew nothing of provincial affairs; and was easily led to believe that the opposition in his Assembly was composed of rebels and annexationists. He was a good talker, but a poor thinker. He had a very good opinion of himself; and a very poor opinion of all who did not agree with him.

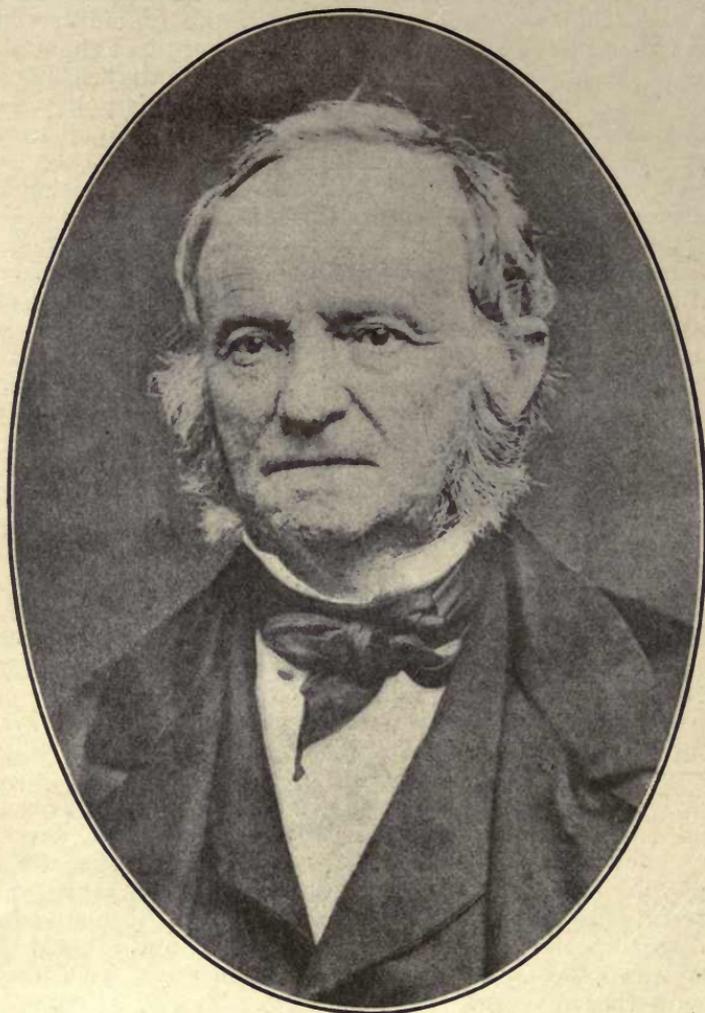
Doubtless instigated thereto by his advisors, he dissolved Parliament, and became the standard-bearer of a vigorous electoral campaign. His duty was to waive the flag and appeal to the loyalty of the people; while the Family Compact exercised its

influence by ways that were dark, and tricks that were not in vain. The combined forces were successful. There can be no question that they were helped very much by the indiscretion of some of the leading Reformers who threatened rebellion if their demands were not complied with. The people of the province wanted reform; but they were not disloyal; and they said so emphatically. They gave the Governor a majority in the Assembly, and he took all the credit to himself for it. The result of the campaign did not make him any wiser—nothing could do that. He accepted the vote as a full endorsement of himself and his policy, and an approval of all the evils against which the people had been protesting. A man of more intelligence might have been equally deceived. But the conduct of the Governor and his new Parliament only precipitated the outbreak, and hastened the dawn of responsible Government.

It was in the campaign of 1836 that London obtained representation. The election here was very close. The Government candidate was Col. Burwell. A Surveyor by profession; he had been a protegee of Col. Talbot; had done a great deal of work in surveying the south-western part of the province; and had acquired considerable property. He had been chosen one of the members for Middlesex in 1831; but was defeated the next year. He had considerable influence in London; and should have made a strong candidate. But he was not of a very amiable disposition, nor of an attractive manner. In religion his views were of a very negative character, and he did not hesitate to express them. At the same time he was a strong supporter of the Church of England as an institution bound up with the interests of the State; and he showed the sincerity of this rather paradoxical belief by large legacies to the church. He was, of course, an outsider; as he did not reside in the village.

His opponent, John Scatcherd, was a more popular man. A leading merchant, held in the highest respect by his neighbors; a burly, good-natured English gentleman; sensible and energetic. He came to Canada in 1831; and after a brief stay in Toronto, he became so discouraged that he decided to take the first vessel home. But walking through the streets of Toronto he met a friend who strongly advised him to remain in the province. The result was that he purchased from a Toronto man a farm in the Township of Nissouri, without seeing it, and started on foot for his new estate. Fortunately the farm was a good one; and he found that investment satisfactory. Shortly after, however, he started a general store in London; and remained here for a few years; then returned to Nissouri where he passed the remainder of his life, becoming Warden of the County, and member of Parliament.

The contest was close; but then the vote was very small—Burwell, 37; Scatchard, 27. Of course, there were more than 64 property holders in the constituency; but a great many of them were in no hurry to pay the fees necessary to secure their



HON. THOS. PARKE

patent from the Crown. Having secured the lot from the authorities, and having taken possession, and built thereon, a man was perfectly safe so far as his right to the land was concerned, so he waited a convenient season to get his deed. Doubtless many of them were not thinking about the privilege of voting and the first election found them unprepared.

Col. Burwell held the seat until 1840. He never attained any prominence in Parliament; and disappeared from public life when the union of the two provinces was effected.

The suppression of the rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada was followed by Lord Durham's visit to the province; his memorable report on political conditions; and the Act of Union passed by the British Parliament on 23rd July, 1840 to join together the two provinces under a system of responsible government. This Act came into force in Canada, Feb. 10th, 1841. The Candidates in London, at the election that year were Hamilton H. Killaly and Jno. Douglas. Killaly was an Irish gentleman, who came out with the Blakes; but while the latter settled in Adelaide, he located in London Township on the 4th concession, north east of London, near what is now known as Fanshawe Post Office.

He was a civil engineer by profession and was a very notable man in his time. He was not a strong politician; for while rather inclined to Toryism, he had a place as Commissioner of Public Works in Lord Sydenham's first Administration, as well as in what is known as the first Baldwin-Lafontaine Cabinet. In his younger days he was somewhat of a dandy; but afterwards he would seem to have combined the dandy and the hobo in about equal proportions. He was a warm-hearted, free-handed Irishman; a great sportsman; a *bon vivant*; and scattering his money lavishly when in office became a poor man in his later years.

A Mr. Adamson, who was chaplain to Lord Sydenham, wrote a book on "Salmon Fishing in Canada," in which he describes the fishing expedition of a small party including Mr. Killaly. He thus pictures the Commissioner of Public Works: "The most expensively and worst-dressed man on the Continent. I have seen him at one time promenading a populous city in a dirty, powder-smear'd, and blood-stained shooting coat; while his nether-man was encased in black dress pantaloons, and highly varnished French leather dancing pumps. At another time I have met him with one of Gibb's most recherche dress coats, a ragged waist coat and worn-out trowsers, all looking as if he had slept in them for weeks. His shirts never had a button on them, which caused his brawny and hairy chest to be exposed to view; while a fringe of ravell'd threads from the wrists usually hung dangling over his fat, freckled and dirty hands. His head was white, and his face purple—a red cabbage in snow. His step was brisk and vigorous, while his laugh was defiant and jocund as the crow of a cock—his voice was like the blast of a clarion." The probabilities are that the reverend fisherman had

a fisherman's tendency to exaggeration; and painted his picture in colors more striking than true.

Mr. Killaly's opponent was John Douglas of the firm of Douglas and Warren, general merchants. He claimed to be a reformer. Very little is known of him except that he was a man of very moderate abilities, who subsequently became a bankrupt, and left London suddenly for the United States, to escape imprisonment for debt.

The election was vigorously contested; and marked by the violence characteristic of the times, as well as by the trickery characteristic of later days. The law had been changed so that while there was still a property qualification for elections, there was a loop-hole of which advantage was taken. If a man squatted on Government land, built a house on it, and lived there, he was entitled to a vote. With the connivance of the officers of the Garrison, several little shacks were erected, during the election week on some crown lands, and occupied by soldiers who slept there one night; and next morning presented themselves at the polls and voted for Killaly.

Of course, the friends of Douglas were indignant; and showed their feelings by pelting Col. Wetherall's house with stones, and smashing his windows. The same treatment was accorded Mr. Givens, Killaly's legal adviser. Shortly after, the Magistrates offered a reward of £40 for the discovery of the rioters; but, as usual with political offenders, they were not found.

Killaly was elected by a small majority; and as previously intimated, was called to the Executive Council by Lord Sydenham, and made Commissioner of Public Works. In this capacity he rendered good service to this section of the country. He secured an appropriation of \$400,000 for work in the London District. The Hamilton road, the Port Stanley road, the Longwoods Road and the Sarnia Road were all graded, and also planked for a considerable distance. Mr. C. S. Gzowski, a Pole, who had to fly from his country for rebelling against the Russian Government, had charge of this work, and lived in London most of the time.

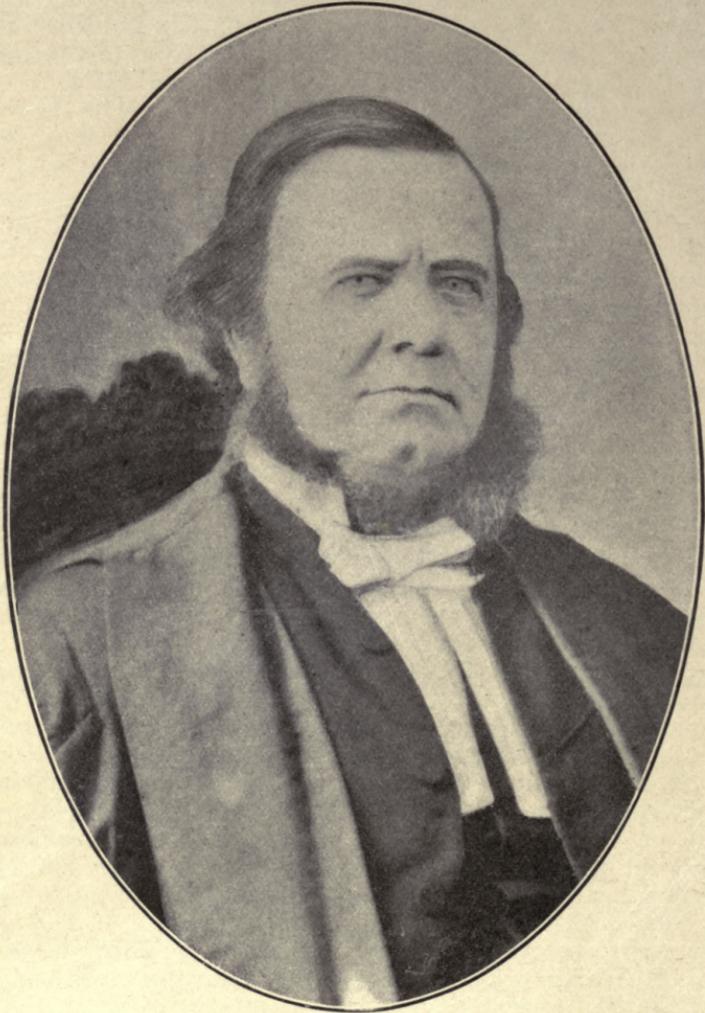
In 1841, Mr. G. J. Goodhue, a prominent business man of London, was appointed to the Legislative Council. He was nominally a Reformer; but not an active one like his brother in St. Thomas; and his social relations were largely with Tories. Though not a very loveable man, he had a great deal of influence in the community, as many of the settlers were indebted to him by note or mortgage. A vacancy occurring in the Council, the Governor expressed himself as willing to appoint whoever might be the choice of the people of the district. Mr. Goodhue had influence; but proposed to get more. He was known to be very indifferent in religious matters, and no church goer; nor was he noted for charitable expenditures. But at a Methodist tea-meeting, he surprised everyone by a contribution of \$50. This would be a large sum in those days from anyone; but coming from

Mr. Goodhue, was absolutely startling. The Methodists concluded that he had been converted; and great things were expected from him. Their influence thrown into the scale, doubtless helped his appointment. Whereupon he became an adherent of the Church of England and a supporter of the Family Compact. He remained in the Council until Confederation; but appears to have taken no prominent part in public affairs.

Lord Sydenham's administration, as it may be called, contained two London men—Killaly, Commissioner of Public Works, and Parke, of Middlesex, Surveyor-General. The Governor died the following year; and was succeeded by Sir Chas. Bagot. He was a Tory in British politics; but he understood that he was to take for his advisors those who had the confidence of the people; and so the Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry came into power. In 1843 he was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalf. The new governor had no sympathy with the new idea of responsible Government; and it is supposed that his instructions from the Colonial Secretary were in accord with his own views. As he at once commenced making appointments without consulting his Ministry, they promptly resigned—all except Mr. Dominick Daly, who never had any opinion at variance with those of his Governor. Sir Charles could not find anyone to take the responsibility of Government; and so with the aid of Mr. Draper, a member of the Legislative Council, he undertook to run the country himself. Parliament was dissolved, and an election ordered in November. The Governor appealed to the loyalty of the people, assuring them that the policy of his late advisers endangered British connection; and the appeal was successful. A majority was returned ready to support the Governor; and among them came, as representative from London, Lawrence Lawrason.

Our new member was one of the first settlers—originally a partner of Geo. J. Goodhue, but afterwards in business for himself. He had always been opposed to the reformers, and was a very active loyalist during the rebellion. His opponent was J. Duggan of Toronto. He was a lawyer, with red hair, fond of talking; but with no claims on London; and the result of the election was a strong hint for him to go home to Toronto and stay there.

Mr. Lawrason was elected; but did not retain his seat very long. The Governor was having some difficulty in Parliament. Though he had a majority in the Assembly, his chief advisor, Mr. W. H. Draper was in the Council. It was thought necessary that he should obtain a place in the popular branch; and Mr. Lawrason vacated his seat in London, and the premier was duly elected there in 1845. Mr. Lawrason never returned to Parliament; but he was a prosperous member of the community, until the "hard times" of the fifties left him stranded. He was subsequently appointed Police Magistrate of London, performing the duties of that office very creditably during the rest of his life.



MR. JUSTICE WILSON

Though London was usually to be depended upon by the Government of the day, yet it was good fighting ground. Even the Governor's Chief Advisor could not get the seat without a struggle. His opponent was John Farley, an Irishman, a brother-in-law of John Scatcherd, and his partner in business. After Mr. Scatcherd returned to Nissouri, Mr. Farley continued on the store for a time and became quite prominent in municipal affairs. Being an opponent of Mr. Draper's, I assume his political views were adverse to Governor Metcalfe and his irresponsible system. As was usual in those days, people who opposed the Government were all classed as rebels, anarchists, infidels, and everything else that was bad; and, of course, Farley had to be the recipient of much abuse, and slander. Mr. Draper made a personal canvass. He was a smooth talker and could extend the "glad hand" to the electors in a charming manner. All good men were urged to array themselves on the side of righteousness and loyalty. Which of course, they did; and Mr. Draper's majority was large enough to prove the high moral standard of the London electorate.

The new member, Mr. W. H. Draper was one of the most noted men in Canadian History. In his subsequent career as a judge he had the esteem and respect of all classes to a very high degree. But as a politician, he did not meet with unanimous approval. As to his ability there was no question; and his oratory was of so persuasive a type that he was commonly called "Sweet William." But his enemies said he was insincere and unscrupulous. A Kingston paper of the time thus describes him: "The most plausible of mortals; bland, insinuating, persuasive, and somewhat eloquent. When speaking, one would suppose he was honesty personified. If you don't look out he would make you believe he is the most candid open and frank of all public men; but all the time he is squirming, twisting, and moulding a delicate little loop-hole which few but himself can see, out of which he will afterwards creep; and no one can accuse him of inconsistency."

Of course this picture is drawn by an opponent; and must be toned down a little. But there is no doubt, he was strongly re-actionary in politics; and opposed to responsible Government.

Mr. Draper's administration lasted till the election of 1848. He was occasionally defeated in the Assembly; but held on as long as the Governor wanted him. The election of 1848, however left his party in a decided minority; the new Governor, Lord Elgin, was determined to carry out the principle of responsible Government, and called in Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine, who formed one of the strongest administrations Canada ever had. Mr. Draper, foreseeing the results of the election, had resigned office into the hands of Mr. Sherwood, and was not a candidate at the election ensuing. London had the great honor of being represented by a premier; but otherwise received no benefit.

Opportunity being thus given for a local man, Mr. John Wilson became a candidate, and was elected. He was at that time

leader of the bar in London. A Scotchman by birth; but a John Bull in appearance; burly and florid-faced; blunt in manner, frank in speech; a hater of cant, hypocrisy and snobbery; a friend of the poor and oppressed. An able lawyer, a good speaker, and an aggressive fighter. In fact he could fight with weapons not used to-day; for he fought a duel in defense of a lady's honor—one of the last duels in Canada.

Mr. Wilson was a popular man, and had no trouble in receiving an election by acclamation. In politics he was a supporter of the Sherwood Administration, but was by no means a rabid partisan.

This election resulted in a victory for the reformers; the Government was defeated by a vote of 54. to 20 for the speaker-ship; and Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine again came into power.

Meanwhile as has been intimated, Lord Elgin had been appointed Governor. He was the first Governor who really established Responsible Government in Canada; and he did it at some inconvenience to himself. A bill was passed through Parliament, providing payment for losses incurred by Canadians during the rebellion. Of course, loyal citizens were the parties to be benefited; but as the only proof of disloyalty was active participation in the rebellion, the Opposition took the ground that many who were really rebels, but against whom no proceedings had been taken, would come under its provisions. A great outcry was raised, and the Governor was asked to reserve the bill for the consideration of the Home Government. But he held that this was a local affair—passed by a large majority in a newly elected parliament; and that, therefore, if Responsible Government was to be a reality, he had no option in the matter. And so he approved the bill. At once the rampant loyalty of the rabble broke forth in active demonstrations—stimulated by incendiary speeches of public men. The Governor was stoned in his carriage; the parliament buildings were burned down; and the rioters ruled the streets of Montreal. With the aid of the Militia they were finally quelled, and peace restored, but at a great loss of property, and even of some lives.

As soon as Parliament could re-assemble, violent speeches were made by some of the opposition leaders, and the course taken by them was actually an endorsation of the rioters. This was more than Wilson could stand. He strongly condemned both the rioter and his sympathizers; he was too honest a man to support his own leaders when he thought they were wrong; and while he never became a reformer in name, he was no longer considered a loyal party man; and thenceforward occupied an independent position in the Assembly.

In London, some of his supporters were very indignant on account of the course he had followed; and he was charged with being a traitor to his party. He promptly resigned his seat, and offered himself for re-election, so that his constituents might have an opportunity of pronouncing judgment. His opponent at the

by-election was Thos. C. Dixon, who kept a hat store. In England, Mr. Dixon had been a dissenter, and a reformer; in Canada he became a High Churchman and a rabid Tory. He was now to be the chronic opponent of Wilson, with varying success. In his first attempt he was defeated. Mr. Wilson was personally very popular, and carried with him in this election not only the reform vote, but a large section of the conservatives who admired his independence, and agreed with his views in regard to the Montreal riots.

The London sympathizers with the rioters, however, did not confine themselves to criticism of their representative in Parliament. In March there was a riotous meeting held; and the Governor was buried in effigy. The Mayor, T. C. Dixon, declined to interfere; but no harm was done. In May, a motion was introduced in the Council, approving of the Governor's conduct. The Mayor refused to put it; and declared the Council adjourned. But the Council appointed a chairman, and passed the motion.

In the Autumn of this year, Lord Elgin paid a visit to the Western part of his jurisdiction; and when he reached Hamilton it was proposed in the Council to invite him to London. The mayor balked, and vainly attempted to adjourn the Council; but the motion passed; and the invitation was accepted. Preparations were made for this reception, on the 3rd of October; some arches were erected; and in view of threats of violence freely uttered, a sturdy band of His Excellency's friends, armed with cudgels, walked out to Dorchester to escort him to the village. While they were gone, the so-called loyalists chopped down the arches. When the vice-regal party reached the village, and his local escort saw what had been done, the atmosphere became sulphurous; and shillalys were flourished. But the Mayor and his gang had expended all their energy on the arches, and sought shelter. The Governor went to the Robinson Hall Hotel quietly, where he addressed the people; and the little tempest in a tea-pot subsided.

In this connection it may be remarked that Mr. Dixon was the most cantankerous mayor London ever had. He was in a state of chronic quarrel with his Council. During the year on about six different occasions, he refused to put motions, and declared the Council adjourned. Each time the Council would appoint a chairman, do its business, and censure the Mayor. This commenced in January; and continued till after the Governor's visit in October. And then, at the last meeting in December, the Council, by an almost unanimous vote, passed a resolution, thanking the Mayor for his "straight-forward and manly conduct" during the year. We may be disposed to think either that this was intended as a joke, or that the Councillors were all full of Christmas cheer.

At the next General election, 1851, Mr. Dixon was the victor. This, however, was largely due to the fact that some expressions used by Mr. Wilson in a speech in Parliament, were considered

insulting to the Irish, who all voted for Dixon—not because they wanted him—but because they wanted to punish their too outspoken representatives.

But London returned to its allegiance in the general election of 1854, and Mr. Wilson was again elected over Mr. Dixon. This was the last appearance of the latter in public life. He soon after became bankrupt, and left for a more congenial clime south of the lines.

Mr. Wilson continued to represent London until 1857. During this time he occupied an independent position in Parliament, and was recognized as one of the ablest of men in that body. Had he been a straight party-man, he would have become a leader. Indeed, from reports, it is possible he was looked upon as a man who ought to be premier. Baldwin and Lafontaine had retired from Parliament, and had been succeeded by Mr. Hincks. But a disintegration of parties was beginning. A section of the Reformers led by George Brown, ceased to support the Government—claiming that Mr. Hincks was not a good enough Reformer for them. On the other hand, a younger element in the Tory party, led by John A. McDonald, who realized that the time had gone by for antiquated politics, was growing in influence. At the election of 1854 the Government was left in a minority. There were three parties in evidence—the Reformers, the Tories, and the Clear Grits or radical Reformers. The Government party was the strongest of the three; but were in a minority of the whole house. Each party began pulling the wires on its own behalf. It has been stated that Mr. Hincks proposed to unite the two sections of the Reform party with Mr. Wilson as leader; but that, Brown refused his consent. While the Hon. Jas. Young of Galt, in his published “reminiscences,” mentions this reunion, I have not been able to obtain any proof of its truth. Mr. Hincks, in a lecture in later days, detailing the circumstances connected with the defeat of his Government, said nothing about this plan; and Mr. Wilson’s brother-in-law, Judge Hughes, who knew as much of his affairs as anyone, tells me he has no knowledge of it. Possibly it was only something thought of, but not attempted. But it might have been a good scheme. Both sections of the reform party could have united under Mr. Wilson; they certainly would not under either Mr. Hincks or Mr. Brown. If the latter had been opposed to a combination under Mr. Wilson, the result did not improve things, for him. For there came about a coalition between the Government and the Tories; and though Sir Allan McNab was made premier for the time, John A. McDonald was the leading spirit under whom the moderate reformer and the new-school conservative coalesced into what has since been known as the Liberal-Conservative party.

Mr. Wilson retired from the Assembly at the dissolution of Parliament in 1857. He did not, however, give up all interest in public affairs; for in 1863 he was elected to the Legislative Council by the St. Clair Division. But before he took his seat he was

appointed as a judge—a position which he filled with honor until his death.

While Mr. Wilson was a very strong man in London, he was too independent to give satisfaction to the leaders of the political parties. The Conservatives especially were on the look-out for a suitable representative. In 1854, Mr. Spence, Postmaster General, and Mr. Cayley, Inspector General, were in London in connection with the purchase of a site for a Post Office building; and were brought into close relationship with Mr. John Carling, from whom the land was subsequently purchased. Their association with Mr. Carling gave them a good opinion of his merits. He was a young man, taking a prominent part in Municipal affairs—both in the Council and the School Boards. Almost a native of the town (he was born in London Township), he was well-liked by all classes of the people. A man of fine presence, with a genial manner, and, above all, with a high reputation for honesty, he certainly appeared to possess the necessary qualifications for a parliamentary candidate. Messrs. Spence and Cayley, it is said, took the opportunity of their visit to make careful enquiry of Mr. Carling's fellow-citizens as to his character, and were able to give a good report to their leader, Mr. John A. McDonald.

A year or two later Messrs. Carling and McDonald met in Hamilton at a meeting of Great Western Railway directors; and the premier urged upon the young Londoner to offer himself as a candidate at the next election. Some correspondence with London Conservatives followed; and the result was that at the election of 1857, Mr. Wilson retired, and Mr. Carling became the Conservative candidate.

Both candidates at this election were straight party men. The Reformers nominated Mr. Elijah Leonard, one of the principal local manufacturers, and founder of the business still carried on by his sons. Mr. Carling was elected by a majority of over 600. But Mr. Leonard recovered from his defeat by being elected to the Legislative Council for the Malahide Division, in 1862. Both men were in the public eye as long as they lived. Mr. Leonard was in the Council until Confederation, when he was appointed to the Senate and held that position until his death in 1891. Mr. Carling became a Cabinet Minister both in this Province, and in the Dominion; was appointed to the Senate first in 1891 and again in 1896; received a Knighthood in 1893; and died full of years and honor in 1911.

In speaking of the politicians of early London, I have confined myself to the candidates, who were, of course, the representative men. But, in those days, as now, while the candidates were in the lime light, the man behind the scenes, who made and unmade candidates, were important people—sometimes more important than the men elected to represent them. The names of some of these can be given; but others have been forgotten.

Jno. Harris, the County Treasurer, a retired naval officer;

Jno. B. Askin, clerk of the Court; Jno. O'Neil, keeper of the Mansion House and leader of the Orangemen; James Given, a pioneer lawyer, afterwards County Judge; Murray Anderson, a dealer in stoves and tin-ware; W. Barker, agent for the Renwick estate, and one of our first mayors; H. C. R. Becher, who divided with John Wilson the leadership of the local bar; these, with others, were among the practical politicians of their time.

As to political campaigns, it may be said that they were conducted as they are to-day—only more so. The orators and canvassers of each party presented their arguments with embellishments. Facts were buttressed with fictions. Personal abuse and misrepresentation were permissible weapons. Debates were stormy, and were enlivened by cudgels and fists. An occasional riot only added interest to the contest of tongues. An election lasted for several days, and was by open vote. At the close of each day the opposing forces would compare the votes cast, and gather encouragement or the reverse as the case might be. Schemes would be devised for the next day's fight; and plans laid to bring out the electors who would vote right, and keep away those who would vote wrong. Meanwhile whiskey flowed more freely than usual; cajolery or bribery, violence or trickery, would be brought to bear as the case might require; the end always justified the means.

Pessimists to-day lament the evils connected with politics; and doubtless there is plenty of room for improvement. But when we compare the present with the past, we may congratulate ourselves on a higher standard of political morality than our grandfathers possessed; and be encouraged in the hope that the same rate of progress will develop still higher standards in the future.



## THE WRECK OF THE VICTORIA.

The construction of the London Water Works System in 1878-79, by building a dam at Springbank had the effect of raising the water in the river, and providing a beautiful stretch of some four miles for boating purposes. Some enterprising citizens took advantage of this by placing a couple of small steam boats on the river, which ran regular trips through the summer, and were especially patronized by excursion parties. The 24th May, 1881, was a very pleasant spring day, and large numbers of people availed themselves of the river ride. About five p.m., one of the boats—the Victoria—left Springbank for the city, crowded with passengers, probably seven or eight hundred. The boat was of 43 tons burthen, 70 feet long, with a 26-foot beam. It was probably loaded to three times its normal capacity. Besides which it is said to have been very lightly constructed; and, further, its timbers had been wrenched in the ice the previous winter. As the boat neared the Cove Bridge, about two hundred yards below the bend, it careened, the boiler broke loose, and carried away the pillars supporting the upper deck, and the entire structure sank to the bottom in some twelve feet of water. Estimates varied as to the exact number drowned, from 200 to 215. Four-fifths of these were residents of London, and the remainder from the immediate vicinity with very few exceptions. To mark the event, and the scene of the disaster, the London and Middlesex Historical Society has erected a memorial boulder. It is on the north side of the river within a few feet of where the Victoria was wrecked.



“VICTORIA” MEMORIAL

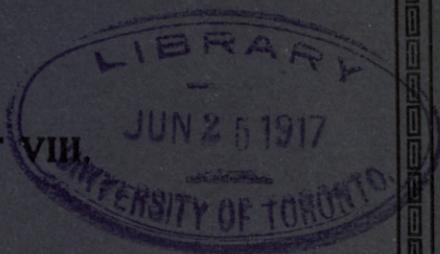
Transactions

....of the....

London and Middlesex  
Historical Society

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PART VIII



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1917



# London and Middlesex Historical Society

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## PART VIII.

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GOVERNOR SIMCOE'S TOUR THROUGH SOUTHERN  
ONTARIO

THE PROUDFOOT PAPERS — PART II.

THE SETTLERS OF LOBO TOWNSHIP

By D. J. Campbell, Esq.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF LOBO TOWNSHIP

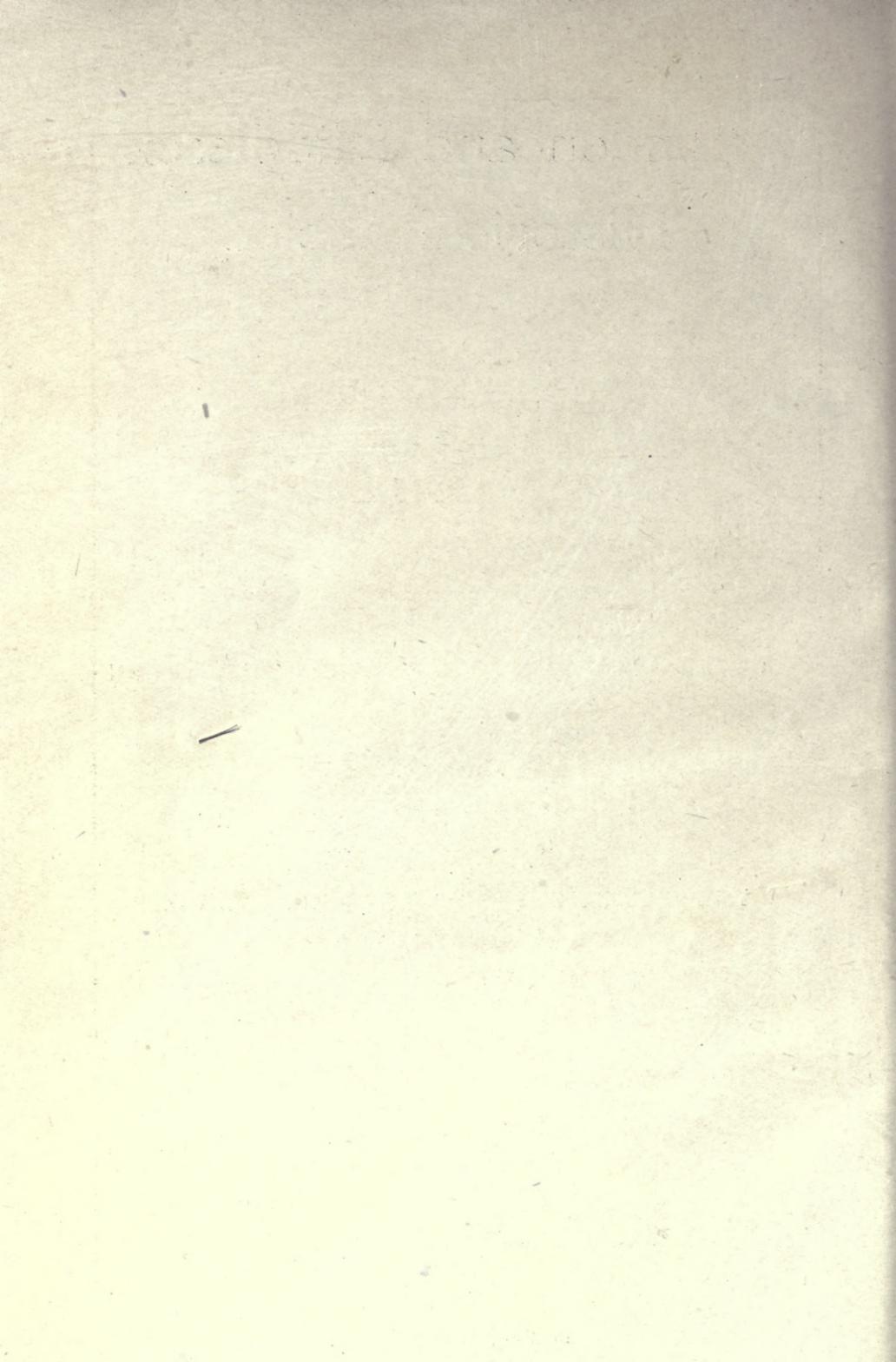
By Edgar M. Zavitz.

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1917

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**TRANSACTIONS—1916.**

- Jan. 18—The Village of London—Part I.  
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- Feb. 15—The Indian As He IS and Ought To Be—  
Rev. Walter Rigsby.
- March 21—Growth of an Ontario Village—  
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- Oct. 10—Canada in Peace and War—  
Frank Yeigh, Esq.
- Nov. 21—The Society of Friends of Lobo Township—  
Edgar M. Zavitz.
- Dec. 19—More Proudfoot Papers—  
Collected by Miss H. Priddis.



*Graves Simcocks*

## GOVERNOR SIMCOE'S TOUR THROUGH SOUTHERN ONTARIO

On the division of old Canada into two provinces—Upper and Lower Canada—in 1791, Col. John Graves Simcoe was appointed Lieut.-Governor of the Upper Province. He had been an officer of the British army during the American revolution, and was of the opinion that another outbreak of war might be expected. His first object, therefore, was to provide for the defence of the province over which he was to be governor. From maps consulted at the home office he received the idea that the River La Tranche was a large navigable stream, connected by a short portage with the Ouse (Grand River). On arriving in Montreal he consulted the records there; and we find him writing to the Colonial Secretary, under date December 7, 1791: "I am happy to have found in the surveyor's office an accurate survey of the River La Tranche. It answers my most sanguine expectations, and I have little doubt that its communications with the Ontario and Erie will be found to be very practicable, the whole forming a route which in all respects may annihilate the political consequence of Niagara and Lake Erie. . . . My ideas at present are to assemble the new corps, artificers, etc., at Cataragui (Kingston), and to take its present garrison and visit Toronto and the heads of La Tranche, to pass down that river to Detroit, and early in the Spring to occupy such a central position as shall be previously chosen for the capital."

The governor did not make his trip in the Spring following as he intended; he was unable on account of business to leave his temporary capital at Niagara. But in February of the year 1793 he made up his official party, and went west through the practically unexplored territory between Niagara and Detroit. No official account had previously been given of this section. French trappers and missionaries had gone through; but very little if any record had been made; and any maps the governor may have seen could not have been much better than incomplete sketches, made from the statements of transient observers. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a young Irishman, in the summer of 1789 had travelled across the peninsula; but all the references to the country in his letters home were vague and indefinite. Of settlers in the district there were very few between Ancaster and Detroit, and nothing in the shape of a village except Fairfield, the original site of the Moravian mission field in Kent county, almost exclusively Indian, and the Mohawk settlement in Brant county.

Mrs. Simcoe kept a diary during their stay in Canada; and from it may be gathered some references to the Governor's tour. Under date Monday, February 4, 1793, she writes: "The Governor set off from hence in a sleigh, with six officers and twenty soldiers, for the Mohawk village on the Grand River, where Capt. Brant and twenty Indians are to join him, and guide him by the

La Tranche River to Detroit—no European having gone that track—and the Indians are to carry provisions. The Governor wore a fur coat, tippet and moccasins, but no great coat. His servant carried two blankets and linen. The other gentlemen carried their blankets in packs on their backs.”

Of the officers accompanying Governor Simcoe on his tour several subsequently became persons of considerable importance. Lieut. Talbot went to England with the Governor after the latter had served his term in Upper Canada; but returned here in 1801, as Col. Talbot, and became the founder of the well-known Talbot Settlement. Lieut. Givens remained here, held a government office, and became Superintendent of Indian Affairs. His son, James, was one of the first lawyers in London, and died a county judge. The house he built and occupied still stands—No. 1 Stanley Street. D. W. Smith became Surveyor-General of Upper Canada, secured large grants of land, represented Essex in the first legislature of the province, and was made a baronet in 1821. Mr. Grey became Solicitor-General; he perished in the wreck of the schooner *Speedy* on Lake Ontario in 1804, along with a number of legal and court officials.

Major Littlehales was the Governor's secretary, and served in that position during his regime; after which he returned to England; entered public life; was Secretary of War for Ireland during the Lord-Lieutenancy of Lord Cornwallis; married a daughter of the Duke of Leinster; succeeded to the estate and name of the Baker family; became a Lieut.-General in the British army, and a baronet. He kept a journal of the Governor's tour, which follows these notes. There seems to have been two or more copies of this journal written. One was in the possession of Col. J. B. Askin, and at his death passed into the hands of the late Col. Shanley. This has been secured (in a slightly mutilated condition) through the efforts of our Curator, Dr. Woolverton, and is now owned by the Society. Another copy was the property of Mr. Scadding, a personal friend of Col. Simcoe, and on his death was found among his papers by his son, the late Dr. Scadding, of Toronto, and was first printed in 1833, in the Canadian Literary Messenger, a short-lived journal, published in York. It seems to have disappeared after being used by the printer. Which of these two copies was the original it is now impossible to say; the presumption is that they were contemporaneous.

David Zeisberger, the Superintendent of the Indian mission at Fairfield, across the river from the present Moravian reserve, kept a diary of his life, in which appear references to the Governor's visit to his settlement. These will be found in the notes appended to the journal.

#### Major Littlehale's Journal.

Feb. 4—On Monday his Excellency Lieut.-Gov. Simcoe, ae-

accompanied by Capt. Fitzgerald, Lieut. Smith of the 5th Regiment, Lieuts. Talbot, Gray, Givens and Major Littlehales, left Navy Hall in sleighs, and proceeded through the concession parallel with Lake Ontario to the twelve-mile creek. The roads being very indifferent and wet, owing to the unusual mildness of the season, we were obliged to stop there a short time. Reached the twenty-mile creek in the evening. Slept at one of Col. Butler's houses.

Feb. 5—Upon arriving at the forty-mile creek, an express arrived from Kingston, brought by two Mississaga Indians. This circumstance detained the Governor till the next day, when we with some difficulty reached Nelles, at the Grand River (or Ouse), being obliged to cross the mountain which bore sad relics of a devastating hurricane the previous autumn.

Feb. 7—About 2 o'clock we arrived at Capt. Brant's at the Mohawk Indian village, going along on the ice on the Grand River with great rapidity for a considerable way. The country between this place and Niagara, a distance computed about 70 miles, previous to ascending the mountain (considered a branch of the Alleghany). The settlement is in a tolerable state of improvement, the mountain is well timbered and richly dressed with pine, oak, beech, maple, etc. The torrents of rain issued from its summit from the several creeks which run into Lake Ontario break the ground, making deep ravines, and thereby much diversify the scene. The mountain runs parallel with Lake Ontario.

On our arrival at the Mohawk village the Indians hoisted their flags and trophies of war, and fired a feu-de-joie in compliment to his excellency, the representative of the king their father.

This place is peculiarly striking when seen from the high land above it—extensive meadows around it, the Grand River rolling near it, with a termination of forest.

Here is a well-built wooden church with a short steeple and an excellent house of Capt. Brant's. The source of the Grand River is not accurately ascertained, but supposed adjoining the waters which communicate with Lake Huron. It empties itself into Lake Erie, and for 50 or 60 miles is as broad as the Thames at Richmond, in England. Some villages of the Onondagos, Delawares and Cayugas are dispersed on its banks. While we were at the Mohawk village we heard divine service performed in the church by an Indian. The devout behaviour of the women (squaws), the melody of their voices, and the exact time they kept in singing hymns, is worthy of observation.

Feb. 10—We did not quit the Mohawk village till noon, when we set out with J. Brant and about twelve Indians. Came to an encampment of Mississagas and slept at a trader's house.

Feb. 11—Passed over some fine open plains said to be frequented by immense herds of deer, but as very little snow had fallen this winter we did not see them. We crossed two or three rivulets, through a thick wood, and over a salt lick, and stopped

at 4 o'clock to give the Indians time to make a small wigwam. The dexterity and alacrity of those people habituated to the hardships incidental to the woods is remarkable. Small parties with the utmost facility cut down large trees with their tomahawks, then bark them, and in a few minutes construct a most comfortable hut capable of resisting any inclemency of the weather, covering it with the bark of elm. During the day's march we saw the remains of several beaver dams.

Feb. 12—We went through an irregular woody country. Passed an encampment said to have been Lord E. Fitzgerald's when on his march to Detroit, Machilimaciac and the Mississippi. We passed a fine cedar grove, and about 1 o'clock crossed on the trunk of a tree, a small branch of the La Tranch (Thames), and soon after crossed the main branch in the same manner.

We met a man almost starved, who was overjoyed to obtain a temporary relief of biscuits and pork. He was going to Niagara from the conductor of the annual winter express from Detroit, who we afterwards met. We learned that the above man had been guilty of theft. We halted in an open part of the wood and butted as the last night. We were much fatigued, and refreshed ourselves with soup and dried venison.

Feb. 13—Early this morning the express from Detroit, with Mr. Clarke, a Wyandotte and Chippawa Indian, parted from us on their way to Niagara. We went between an irregular fence of stakes made by the Indians to intimidate and impede the deer, and facilitate their hunting. After crossing the main branch of the Thames we halted to observe a beautiful situation, a bend of the river, a grove of hemlock and pine, and a large creek. We passed some deep ravines, and made our wigwam by a stream on the brow of a hill, near the spot where Indians were interred. The burying-ground was of earth neatly covered with leaves, raised and wickered over. Adjoining it a large pole with painted hieroglyphics on it denoting the nation, tribe and achievements of the deceased either as chiefs, warriors, or hunters.

This day a raccoon was discovered in a very large elm tree. The Indians gave a most tremendous shout, and all set to work with their tomahawks and axes. In ten or fifteen minutes the tree was cut down. The way of entrapping the animal was curious. Judging correctly of the space the tree would occupy in falling, they surrounded it, and closed in so suddenly that the raccoon could not escape and was killed. The Indians at first amused themselves with allowing a Newfoundland dog to attack it, but it defended itself so well that I think it would have escaped from the dog but for the interposition of the Indians. Several more raccoons were traced in the snow and two of them taken by the same mode. The raccoons roasted made an excellent supper. Some parts were rather rancid, but in general the flesh was exceedingly tender and good.

Feb. 14—This day brought us within a few miles of the Del-

aware Indian village, (a) where we camped. The Indians brought us in some black and other squirrels. I observed many trees blazed and various figures of Indians (returning from battle with scalps), and animals drawn upon them, descriptive of the tribes, nations and numbers that had passed. Many of them were well drawn, especially a lion.

This day we walked over very uneven ground and passed two lakes of about four miles in circumference, between which were many fine larch trees. An Indian who carried a heavier pack than the rest was behind and on overtaking us said that a white man was coming with dispatches to the Governor. This person proved to be a wheeler, who, (as we afterwards heard) made use of that plan to get supplied with provisions and horses to the Grand River, and from thence with an Indian guide to Detroit. He quitted us under the plausible pretence of looking for land to establish a settlement.

Feb. 15—We breakfasted at the Indian Delaware village, having walked on the ice of the La Tranch for five or six miles. Here we were cordially received by the chiefs of that nation and regaled with eggs and venison. Capt. Brant being obliged to return to a council of the Six Nations, we stayed the whole day. The Delaware castle is pleasantly situated upon the high banks of the Thames. The meadows at the bottom are cleared to some extent, and in summer planted with Indian corn.

Feb. 16—After walking 12 or 14 miles this day, part of the way through plains of white oak and ash, and passing several Chippewa Indians upon their hunting parties and in their encampments, we arrived at a Canadian trader's, and a little beyond in proceeding down the stream the Indians discovered a spring of an oily nature, which upon examination, proved to be a kind of petroleum. We passed another wigwam of Chippewas making maple sugar. The mildness of the winter compelled them in a measure to abandon their annual hunting. We soon arrived at an old hut, where we spent the night.

Feb. 17—We passed the Moravian village this day. (b) This infantine settlement is under the superintendence of four missionaries, Messrs. Zeisberger, Senneman, Edwards and Young, and principally inhabited by Delaware Indians, who seem to be under the control, and in many particulars under the command of these persons. They are in a progressive state of civilization, being instructed in different branches of agriculture, and having already corn fields at this place. Every respect was paid to the Governor, and we procured a seasonable refreshment of eggs, milk and butter. Pursuing our journey eight or nine miles we stopped for the night at the extremity of a new road cut by these Indians, and close to a creek.

Mr. Gray missed his watch and being certain that he left it at our last encampment two of the Indians observed his anxiety about it, proposed and insisted on returning for it. They ac-

cordingly set out and returned with it the next morning. The distance there and back must have been twenty-six miles.

Feb. 18—Crossing the Thames and passing a new log house, belonging to a sailor named Carpenter, passed a thick, swampy wood of black walnut, where his excellency's servant was lost for three or four hours. We came to a bend of the La Tranch, and were agreeably surprised to meet 12 or 14 canoes coming to meet and conduct the Governor, who with his suite, got into them and about 4 o'clock arrived at Dolsen's, but previously reconitered a fork of the river and examined a mill of curious construction erected upon it.

The settlement where Dolsen resides is very promising. The land is well adapted for farms, and there are some respectable inhabitants on both sides of the river. Behind it to the south, are a range of spacious meadows; elk are continually seen upon them, and the pools and ponds are full with cray fish.

From Dolsen's we went to the mouth of the Thames in canoes, about 12 miles down and we saw the remains of a considerable town of the Chippewas, where it is reported a desperate battle was fought between them and the Senecas, and that the latter were totally vanquished and abandoned their dominions to the conquerors. Certain it is that human bones are scattered about in abundance in the vicinity of the ground; and the Indians have a variety of traditions relative to this transaction.

Going along the bordage of the Lake St. Clair we came to the northeast shore of the River of Detroit; Canadian militia fired a feu-de-joie. Soon afterward we crossed the river in boats, but were much impeded by the floating ice, and entering, the garrison of Detroit, which was under arms to receive His Excellency Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe upon his landing, fired a royal salute.

Detroit is situated in the strait between Lake Erie and Lake St. Clair. The Canadian inhabitants, who are numerous, occupy both sides of the river. Their property in land is divided into 3 or 6 acres in front, on which their houses and barns are built, by 50 in depth, which constitutes their farms and apple orchards. This with a few large windmills dispersed on the banks of the strait, give an appearance of respectability and population. Many beautiful islands enrich the view. The country about Detroit is perfectly level and flat. We had bad weather the whole of the time we stopped here—sleet and snow storms. Governor Simcoe reviewed the 24th Regiment and the garrison, examined Fort Lenault and the rest of the works, and then went in a calash to the River Rouge, where we saw a compact, well-built sloop almost ready to be launched.

The merchant vessels are here laid up in ordinary during the winter months (when the lakes are not navigable), in the same manner as his majesty's ships, which are placed under the protection of the guns of the fort.

We went to see the bridge where the Indian chief, Pontiac, after being unsuccessful in his treacherous attempt to surprise Detroit made a stand. So much slaughter ensued of British troops that it is distinguished by the name of the Bloody Bridge.

The distance between Detroit and Niagara, by the route we came, is about two hundred and seventy miles. The distance is greater by Lake Erie.

Feb. 23—Early on Saturday morning the Governor left Detroit, and the same firing and ceremonies as on his arrival, took place. We returned by Lake St. Clair, and in the evening reached Dolsen's, about forty miles.

Feb. 24—The weather was very bad, Lieut. Smith read prayers to the Governor, his suite and those of the neighborhood who attended, and we stayed at Dolsen's the whole day.

Feb. 25—It froze extremely hard, which enabled us to go on the ice in carioles up the Thames to the high bank, where we first met the carioles on our way to Detroit.

Col. McKee, Mr. Baby, (c) and several of the principal inhabitants accompanied the Governor thus far. Here we separated and each taking his pack or knapsack on his back, we walked that night to the Moravian village.

Feb. 26—We were detained at the Moravian village till noon to hear divine service performed by two of the ministers, one speaking extempore from the Bible, the other expressing it in the Indian tongue. (d) Today we went a little beyond one of our former wigwams, crossing some runs of water, ravines, and through lands which abounded with basswood, hickory and ash.

Feb. 27—We continued our journey and reached the Delaware village; some chiefs returning from their hunting were assembled to congratulate the Governor on his return, and brought presents of venison, etc. In the evening they danced, a ceremony they never dispense with when any of the King's officers of rank visit their villages.

Feb. 28—At six we stopped at an old Mississagua hut upon the side of the Thames. After taking some refreshments of salt pork and venison, well cooked by Lieut. Smith, who superintended that department, we, as usual, sang "God Save the King," and went to rest.

March 1—We set out along the banks of the river; then, ascending a high hill, quitted our former path and directed our course to the northward. A good deal of snow having fallen and still on the ground, we saw traces of otters, deer, wolves, bears and other animals, many of which being quite fresh, induced the Mohawks to pursue them, but without success. We walked 14 or 15 miles and twice crossed the river and a few creeks upon the ice. Once close to a Chippewa hunting camp, and opposite to a pine terrace, we encamped on its banks near a bay. The Governor and most of the party wore moccasins, having no snowshoes. These he had before found necessary on the course of his journey.

from Detroit to ye mouth of the Thames 30 Miles  
 from ye mouth of the Thames to Chatham about 15  
 from Chatham to ye Moravian Village 20  
 from Moravian Village to Delaware Village 27  
 from Delaware V. to New London at the forks 17  
 from New London to Oxford by the proposed Road 28  
 from Oxford to head of East parade 43  
 Burlington Bay 43  
 at ye Landing place 45  
 from the landing place to Niagara 22  
 (about)



OUTLINE OF GOVERNOR SIMCOE'S ROUTE FROM NIAGARA TO DETROIT, 1793.  
 (From a Drawing by Lieutenant Pilkington, copied by Mrs. Simcoe.)

March 2— We struck the Thames at one end of a low, flat island enveloped with shrubs and trees. The rapidity and strength of the current were such as to have forced a channel through the mainland, being a peninsula, and formed this island. We walked over a rich meadow and at its extremity came to the forks of the river.

The Governor wished to examine this situation, and its environs, therefore we remained here all the day. He judged it to be a situation eminently calculated for the metropolis of all Canada. Among many other essentials it possesses the following advantages: Command of territory, internal situation, central position, facility of water communication up and down the Thames into Lakes St. Clair, Erie, Huron and Superior, navigable for boats near its source and for small craft probably to the Moravian settlement to the southward; by a small portage to the waters flowing into Lake Huron to the southeast; by a carrying place into Lake Ontario and the River St. Lawrence. The soil is luxuriantly fine, the land rich, capable of being easily cleared and soon put into a state of agriculture, pinery upon an adjacent high knoll, other timber on the heights, well calculated for the erection of public buildings; a climate not inferior to any part of Canada. To these natural advantages an object of great consideration is to be added that the enormous expense of the Indian department would be greatly diminished if not abolished. The Indians would in all probability, become carriers of their own peltries; and they would find a ready, contiguous, commodious and equitable mart, honorably advantageous to the Government and the community in general without their becoming a prey to the monopolistic and unprincipled trader.

The young Indians, who had chased a herd of deer in company with Lieut. Givins, returned unsuccessful and brought with them a large porcupine, which was very seasonable, as our provisions were nearly expended. This animal afforded a very good repast and tasted like a pig. The Newfoundland dog attempting to bite the porcupine, his mouth was filled with the barbed quills, and gave him exquisite pain. An Indian undertook to extract them and, with much perseverance, plucked them out one by one, and carefully applied a root or decoction, which speedily healed the wounds.

Various figures were delineated on trees at the forks of the River Thames, done with charcoal and vermilion; the most remarkable were the imitation of men with deer's heads.

We saw a fine eagle on the wing and two or three large birds, perhaps vultures.

March 3— We were glad to leave our wigwam early this morning, it having rained incessantly the whole night; besides the hemlock branches on which we slept were wet before they were gathered for our use. We ascended the height at least 120 feet into a continuation of the pinery already mentioned; quitting

that we came to a beautiful plain with detached clumps of white oak and open woods; then crossing a creek running into the south branch of the Thames we entered a thick, swampy wood, where we were at a loss to discover any track; but in a few minutes we were released from the dilemma by the Indians who, making a cast, soon discerned our old path to Detroit.

Ascending a hill, and crossing a brook, we came at noon to the encampment we left on the 14th of February, and were agreeably surprised at meeting Capt. Brant and a numerous retinue, among them four of the Indians we had dispatched to him when we first altered our course to the forks of the River Thames. Two of the party had just killed a buck and a doe. One of the Indians wishing to preserve the meat from the wolves—or to show his activity—climbed up a small tree of ironwood which, being elastic bent with him till it nearly touched the ground; then hanging the meat upon the tree it sprang back into its original position. The meat was secure till the morning, when he cut down the tree. During this day's march it rained without intermission, and last night it thundered and lightened severely. The brooks and rivulets were swollen considerably, and we were obliged to cross these on small trunks or logs. In the afternoon we passed the hut where we slept on the 12th of February. I noticed very fine beech trees.

March 5—Met Mr. Clarke, and the winter express returning from Niagara, and Mr. Jones, (e) the Deputy-Surveyor. We again crossed one of the branches of the southeast fork of the Thames, and halted in a cypress or cedar grove, and were much amused by seeing Brant and the Indians chase a lynx with their dogs and rifle guns; but they did not catch it. Several porcupines were seen.

March 6—This morning we arrived at the Mohawk village—the Indians having brought horses for the Governor and his suite to the end of the plains near the Salt Lick. It had frozen exceedingly hard last night, and we crossed the Grand River at a different place from that we crossed before, and by a nearer route. In the evening all the Indians assembled, and danced their customary dances—the War, Calumet, Buffalo, Feather Dance, etc. Most of His Excellency's suite being equipped and dressed in imitation of the Indians, were adopted as chiefs.

March 7—This afternoon we came to Wilson's Mills (f) on the mountain.

March 8—A very severe and unremitting snow storm prevented our going farther than Beasley's, at Burlington Bay, (g) the head of Lake Ontario.

March 9—Late this evening we arrived at Green's, (h) at the Forty Mile Creek.

March 10—Sunday—the Governor arrived at Navy Hall. (i).

## NOTES

(a) Thursday, Feb. 21—"I received a letter from the Governor, dated Upper Delaware Village, on the La Tranche. He had a pleasant journey—passed a fine open country without swamps. The La Tranche, at 150 miles above its mouth is as wide as the Thames is at Reading." —Mrs. Simcoe's Diary.

(b) "Governor J. G. Simcoe and party arrived here this morning. He examined everything, and was well pleased therewith. We entertained him to breakfast. We told him that none of us missionaries had either renounced our allegiance to the King nor sworn it to the States." —Zeisberger's Diary, Saturday, February 16.

(c) Alexander McKee took a prominent part in securing the allegiance of the Indians to England during the American revolution, and was the founder of a prominent Windsor family. There were several of the Baby family in Essex; the one referred to in the Journal was probably Judge Jas. Baby, appointed by Simcoe to the Legislative Council in 1792.

(d) "Governor Simcoe and suite arrived and passed the night with us. We presented him with an address. He ordered his Commissary to draw for us an order on the King's stores at Detroit, because of our crop having been frozen. Wrote an answer to our address. After asking permission he, with his suite, attended our early morning service and worship. He expressed his satisfaction with the devout worship of the Indians. He and his party then continued his journey to Niagara." —Zeisberger's Diary, February 26.

(e) Augustus Jones made the original surveys of a large portion of Upper Canada, including the village of York. His field notes are in the Crown Lands Department at Toronto.

(f) Wilson's grist and saw mills, owned by Jas. Wilson, a U. E. L. refugee from Pennsylvania; site of present Ancaster.

(g) "Beasley's"—residence of Mr. Beasley, subsequently better known as Col. Beasley.

(h) Green was an influential early settler; Forty Mile Creek is the present Grimsby.

(i) From Mrs. Simcoe's diary, Sunday, March 10, 1793—"The Governor and Mr. D. W. Smith returned. It is exactly five weeks since he left this place. He went part of the way in sleighs, but walked the greater distance. The Journal does not contain many incidents. The map which accompanies it shows the various creeks they passed on fallen trees, which require some care and dexterity to cross. His Excellency's leaving Detroit under a salute from all His Majesty's ships lying there is mentioned. As also that His Excellency ordered prayers to be read in the woods on Sunday, and forty people attended. \* \* \* The Governor rose early on the march, and walked till 5 o'clock. A party of Indians went on an hour before to cut down wood for

a fire, and make huts of trees, which they do so dexterously that no rain can penetrate; and this they do very expeditiously. When the Governor came to the spot the Indians had fixed upon as a lodge for the night, the provisions were cooked. After supper the officers sang God Save the King, and went to sleep with their feet close to an immense fire, which was kept up all night. The Governor found his expectations perfectly realized as to the goodness of the country on the banks of La Tranche, and is confirmed in his opinion that the forks of the river is the most proper site for the capital of the country, to be called New London, on a fine dry plain, without underwood, but abounding in good oak trees. A spring of real petroleum was discovered on the march by the offensive smell."

In 1792, Governor Simcoe issued a proclamation changing the name of the River La Tranche to Thames. During the summer of 1793 he sent Mr. Patrick McNiff to make a survey of the forks of the Thames and in forwarding his report to the Home Office on the 30th September he wrote Mr. Dundas: "The tract of country which lies between the river (or rather, navigable canal, as its Indian name and French translation import) and Lake Erie is one of the finest for agricultural purposes in North America, and far exceeds the soil and climate of the Atlantic States. There are few or no interjacent swamps, and a variety of useful streams empty themselves into the lake or river. \* \* \* They lead to the propriety of establishing a capital of Upper Canada which may be somewhat distant from the centre of the colony. \* \* \* The capital I propose to be established at New London."

### The Governor's Second Tour

In March, 1794, Governor Simcoe made another journey across the peninsula. This was mainly in connection with official business undertaken by order of the Governor-General, Lord Dorchester; but gave him also opportunity to further examine the site of his proposed capital at the forks of the Thames. No record of this journey seems to have been kept by anyone. It would appear that he went overland to the river, striking it about Ingersoll; there took boats, and followed it down to Detroit, stopping at the forks; the return trip was made by way of Lake Erie. The following extracts from Mrs. Simcoe's and Zeisberger's diaries give all that is known about this second trip.

"Saturday, February 1, 1794 — I am in great spirits today as the Governor talks of going to Detroit in March, and spending a month there very gaily. But the greatest amusement will be the journey. We shall ride to the Grand River; from thence to La Tranche, where canoes will be built, in which we shall go down to Detroit in a few days; and we shall take Lake Erie on our return." — Mrs. Simcoe's Diary.

"Saturday, March 15 — An express has arrived from Lord

Dorchester, who orders Governor Simcoe, as soon as the lake navigation is open, to go and establish a fort on the river Miami, in a country claimed by the Americans, some distance below Detroit. The Governor thinks the order may be put into execution so much earlier if he goes down the La Tranche to Detroit, that he intends setting out tomorrow for the Grand River. This order of Lord Dorchester puts an end to my scheme of going to Detroit, which is an exceeding great disappointment to me." —Mrs. Simcoe's Diary.

"April 31st — Towards evening Governor Simcoe arrived with a suite of officers and soldiers and eight Mohawks, by water from Niagara. He at once asked for our school-house as a lodging. It was cold—having snowed during the day. He was much pleased when Bro. Sennemann offered his house, where together with his officers he then lodged. Two of his officers had been here with him last year. Our sisters entertained them. The soldiers lay close by the school-house; and the Mohawks were divided between two Indian houses, whom also our Indian brethren supplied with food. The Governor was glad to see so many houses built since he was here before; also that our Indians had cleared so much land; and he praised their industry and labor. Still more he wondered at seeing in the place such a great pile of lumber; and when he learned that it was destined for our meeting house, and also that the Indian brothers and sisters had brought it on sleighs without horses, he said: 'Would that I could have seen this.'" —Zeisberger's Diary.

"Friday, May 2 — Governor Simcoe arrived at six this evening from Niagara. He rode from the Grand River to La Tranche, where he embarked on the 29th March in canoes, and that day he reached the site intended for New London. The 30th he spent at the Delaware village; the 31st at the Moravian village; the 1st April at an Indian traders; the 2nd arrived at Detroit. \* \* \* The Governor stayed four days at Detroit, and then went to Captain Elliott's, on the River au Raisin; from thence 30 miles to the river Miami, in Ohio, and stayed at Col. McKee's, of Detroit, a little distance from thence." —Mrs. Simcoe's Diary. (The Elliott referred to here was Matthew Elliott, an Irishman, educated for the priesthood, turned soldier, emigrated to Virginia, fought in the revolutionary war, then emigrated to Canada, with all his slaves, received a grant of 2,500 acres from the government, and took up his residence in Malden township in 1784. He became Superintendent of Indian affairs; was in the battle of Queenstown Heights, and died a few days after as the result of exposure).

Governor Simcoe's views as to the location of the capital of Upper Canada at the forks of the Thames were over-ruled by the Governor-General, who seems to have preferred a site more convenient to Montreal, and more accessible by lake. Simcoe was required to move his temporary capital from Niagara to Toronto

(which he christened York), and the construction of public buildings was commenced there. But that did not change Simcoe's opinion. We find him writing to Lord Portland, February 27, 1796: "Should the seat of government be transferred to the Thames, the proper place, the buildings and grounds at York can be sold to lessen or liquidate the cost of their construction." He left Canada this year, and his successor in the administration, Peter Russell, inherited his views, speaking in his reports to England, of York, as "the temporary seat of government." Finally, Portland, in 1879, gave him distinctly to understand that the matter was settled, and that "the selection of York has been made on mature reflection."

The  
Proudfoot Papers  
Part II.



## THE PROUDFOOT PAPERS — PART II.

Diary of Rev. J. Proudfoot — Continued.

Wm.  
 January 28, Monday, 1833, Brantford. Rode down this day with Mr. John Wilkes in the sleigh about 10 miles along the Grand River to attend a general council of the Six Nation Indians, who have been convened for the purpose of deliberating upon some proposals which government had made to them about selling their lands. The Superintendent, Major Wingate, was present. The Indians and he spoke through an interpreter (Jacob Martin, a native). The council room is a squared log house between 50 and 60 feet long—floored. All around the sides and the end are low benches. On these sat the chief and his friends. At each end of the room was an enormous fire. On a cross form at one end sat the major. I sat on a short bench near him. The appearance of the Indians was very striking. Some of them had faces that were as mild and intelligent as those of civilized Europeans; but the majority had in their look that fierce savageness which is seen in the drawings of savages in books of travel. Some of them had painted their faces with ochre to make them look horrible. Two of them wore silver ornaments which hung from the cartilage of the nose and some of them had the outer rim of the ears slit for more than two inches, from which hung dangling a bunch of silver ornaments. Their dress was very varied and very fantastical. Some had a deerskin dress; some wore the European dress, trousers and surtout; some wore a hat; and many had a shawl or handkerchief tied around their heads like a turban, leaving a tuft of hair to assist their enemies in taking the scalp. The common Indian dress is first a shirt, sometimes frilled at the breast; then a pair of trousers half high up and held by strings around the waist, then a surtout, generally made out of a blanket, its skirts behind fall down to the calf of the leg; it meets in front down to the knee. Over all this is a blanket, when the day is cold, the whole fastened by a sash, some of silk, some of worsted. All wear moccasins. One man, called "Steel Trap," had feathers and porcupine quills stuck in his cap or turban, to make him look a great warrior. In the sash was stuck a knife before, and at one side a pouch of marten or weasel skin. Many of them smoked all the time of the council—all kept on their hats. There were some Methodist Indians present, who were better dressed. The council was opened by a very fine looking Indian called "Echo," who got his name for being a speaker. His speech opened to this effect: "The Indians of the Six Nations had met by appointment—they had opened the council house—they had provided plenty of fire wood which would burn clearly and well, and be peaceable (not crackle). They were thankful to the Great Spirit, who had spared so many in health and brought them together in comfort, and also that the Chief was brought in health to preside. The Major, after returning the compliment,

read out the propositions of the government respecting the lands on which they were to deliberate. The chiefs sat nation by nation and they were desired to deliberate each one by itself. There were several speeches made by different chiefs not bearing directly on the subject as it was the design to say nothing today—to talk during the night on it, and to answer tomorrow. During the deliberations there was carried into the room and set in the middle of the floor, a large brass kettle of boiling Indian corn with venison in it, to stand eo cool and then eaten by all.

From Brantford drove to Galt. The country around here is peopled principally by Scotchmen from Roxburgh and the North of England. I fancied myself in Scotland; for everything I saw was just as things are in Scotland. Many persons wore the Scotch plaid, all spoke with the Scotch accent. Galt is a thriving village, not well built, but well situated on the Grand River. It has a fine stream of water, which runs a saw-mill, a large flour mill and a fulling mill. On the opposite side of the river is Mr. Dickson's house, built on a rising ground commanding a fine view of the bridge, of the village and river. Saw some stone dykes—a great rarity in Canada. There are plenty of stones lying on the surface—almost all lime stone, and generally small. Returned to London and called on Dr. Lee and Wm. Lee, A. Robertson, Mr. Ross Robertson, Mr. Talbot, Schoolmaster, Squire McKenzie, and some other friends.

February 28, 1833. Left London in a sleigh drawn by two horses which cost eight dollars. The style in which we started did not augur well for the rapidity of our journey. Dined at McConnel's on the 16th Concession of London. We were well treated, dined on venison and tea for 1/6 York. Shortly after leaving there we entered Biddulph. The black settlement, called by the blacks "Wilberforce." The soil is very good. The dwellings of the negroes, wretched, badly built and very small. Saw very few of the blacks. At a slow rate we proceeded grumbling at our driver all the way. About 7 p.m. arrived at McConnel's, a son of the man, where we dined. It is near the North side of the Township of Usborne. This tavern was ordered by the Canada Co. to accommodate travellers. It is one of the most wretched places I ever spent a night in. The logs were not well built; the interstices carelessly filled up, no clay, no lime; and the wind finds its way at almost every place. The door did not fit by three or four inches. There was an enormous fire kept up, which caused such a draught of air up the chimney that made us colder before the fire than out of doors. There were nine lodgers in the house. My friend and I occupied one bed, such as it was. The innkeeper and his wife the other, all the rest got round the fire in a lump with their feet to the fire and wrapped in such as they could get, or had brought with them. We could not keep warm and were forced to rise and warm ourselves. We were none the worse for our sleep in the shanty. We only saw two

dwellings on the road and no living creature in the wood, though we were anxious to see a bear or a wolf. About 8 o'clock a.m. left McConnel's and reached Vanderburgh's Inn about two. It is situated on the corner of the Township of Tuckersmith, and at the point where the corners of Stanley, Goderich and Huron meet. The Inn is a new and good house. Came in a Mr. Lizars from Edinburgh, brother to the bookseller, the surgeon and the doctor of the same name. He is a surveyor. The land here is good, which the Canada Company sell for one and a half dollars an acre. Saw two birds, large woodpeckers, and what we supposed to be footmarks of a wolf in the snow. Saw many footmarks of the squirrel. What a desolate place the forest must be. Saw very few houses on the road side, and they were wretched cabins. Got to Goderich at 8 o'clock. On our way called at the house of Mr. Cook who has a number of paintings hung around the walls of his log house. They had once figured on the walls of a house in Princess Street, Edinburgh. Called to warm ourselves at the house of Mr. Papst, three miles from Goderich. Put up at Mr. Reid's in Goderich. After tea called on Mr. Gooding and Mr. James Hay, from whom I received a hearty welcome. Was informed there were about 1,500 souls in the Township of Goderich. Goderich is situated on the point of land where the River Maitland pours into Lake Huron. The ground on which it stands is very nearly level. It is at least 120 feet above the lake. The bank is quite as precipitous as a sand and gravel bank could be. The mouth of the Maitland forms a kind of harbor, where there lie tied up by the frost three schooners, the whole craft of the place at present. They sail to Detroit chiefly; but they sometimes go as far down the river as Prescott. It is proposed this season to have a steam boat on the lake, both for passengers and to make the voyage or trips for trade shorter and more sure. The people here are all very poor. The trade is done chiefly by boat. There is still a considerable trade done with the Indians for furs, which still pays well, but, which in consequence of competition produces far less return than in former years. The sales of storekeepers are to a great extent among the Indians. All complain of being poor. The town contains about 40 houses, scattered along the line of the projected streets. There is not a street free from stumps of trees. The office of the Canada Company stands on a point between the Maitland and a steep road which leads down to the wharf. There are few finer situations in Canada. All around it is being planted tastefully with trees and shrubs, and it will one day be a beautiful spot. Lake Huron is a splendid sheet of water. It is frozen over as far as the eye can see. The Indians catch quantities of white fish by spearing them through the ice, sometimes 100 in a day. There are three taverns, Reid's, Fisher's and McGregor's—the first supposed to be the best. There is nothing to boast of. The kitchen is good, but there are few cooking utensils to be seen; but this is

of no consequence as all Canadian cooking is done in the frying pan. The house is only weather boarded, some parts lathed and some plastered. The room we occupied let in the light and the cold and the snow at a hundred places, and it is very hard to keep warm, though we slept in one bed and had a buffalo skin for a cover. After breakfast settled our bill—4/8¼ each. We started back—got to Vanderburgh's, and after considerable trouble about conveyances got as far as Malcolm McLeod's on an ox sleigh, where we slept on the floor. As this was my first experience of such I must give an account of it. The house is a shanty begun to be built this winter after there was a foot of snow on the ground. The seams, however, were all well closed with clay that had been dug out of the floor. It is not more than 15 feet square. I saw only one bed and that very badly furnished so we determined that we would not sleep in it. Mr. McLeod, his wife and her sister and three children slept in it. A bunch of straw was placed on the floor, and we were given a sheet and a blanket, so Mr. Christie and I lay down with our feet to the fire and with our clothes on, and enjoyed a few hours' comfortable sleep. A chair was inverted at the head, on its sloping back a pillow was laid, which answered the purpose very well. We were surprised that we rested so well and had not got colds. The above is the way in which some parts of the many families always sleep; and they are a healthy race. I observed that the Canada Company had driven in mile posts, which is a great comfort to travellers in this dreary region. In the course of the day saw five red squirrels and two deer; saw many wolf foot marks in the swamps and in not a few places saw their track after deer. Alex. McKenzie told us a strange story. He said that generally a pack of wolves go in chase after a deer. All proceed slowly except one which follows as close as it is able, that when it has turned the deer, the simple creature returns the way it came, that it stops to drink where there is water, and that the remaining wolves are waiting in expectation, they being untired fall upon the exhausted innocent and devour it. We stopped at a black man's house in Biddulph. He is an old man—a cabinet maker—very discontented. He begged tobacco, and hinted he would like some bread. He says there are just 16 families; that each has 50 acres; that they are not very comfortable. When we arrived at McCombs', all were in bed, but they rose very cheerfully and got an excellent supper of venison, pork, potatoes and tea and then showed us to a bed with curtains.

Got back to London, March 7, 1833. Mr. Boston, of Lobo, called on me and chatted for a long time. Mr. John Talbot, school-master, also called. He told me that Mr. Cronyn had returned from York; that the Governor told Mr. Cronyn that Upper Canada will probably be divided and that London will be its capital; that it is his intentions to send respectable loyalist emigrants who may apply to him to this district. He wished Mr.

Cronyn to send him a list of unsold land in London and Westminster, that he might be able to direct emmigrants where they might find locations. That it is the intention of the government to raise up such a body of persons attached to the Constitution of Great Britain as may counteract the influence of Yankeeism so prevalent about St. Thomas and along the lake shore. Further that the large Episcopal Church is to be finished this year from funds in the hands of the government.

March 10. This morning attended the Episcopal service and heard Mr. Cronyn preach. I preached myself in the afternoon to a packed house.

March 20. On the evening of thi sday Mr. Christie and I supped with Mr. Alex. and Mr. Ross Robertson, Rev. Mr. Cronyn, his wife and a Miss Armstrong were of the party.

March 21. Left London today in the mail coach for St. Thomas, the charge, \$1.00. The road very bad, and we moved at the rate of little more than two miles an hour. We started at 8 and arrived at five-thirty. We dined on the road, had a good dinner which put us in good humor. When we went into the town we met a gentleman whom we had seen in London, a Mr. Chadwick, who is a grandson of Jonathan Edwards on his mother's side. He is intending to commence an iron foundry. St. Thomas is beautifully situated just where the two branches of Kettle Creek unite. It is a place of considerable business and there are wealthy people in it. It has two newspapers. The one a violent Tory, the other a Liberal, and represented as favoring Yankeeism, which I think, from all I have seen, is not true. It is Whiggish, but not Republican. St. Thomas has a general air of taste, the buildings, the signs, the stores all indicate that the people have a taste for the elegant, that is compared with other places. It resembles Brantford more than any place I have seen, perhaps because Americans prevail in both. Like Brantford too, it is situate on the bank of a river on high ground, and is cleared to a considerable way round. There was no conveyance in the place, even for hire; and as we did not want to stay longer than we could help when our mission was accomplished, we resolved to set forward and walk. So I sent my trunk to London; took my valise on my back strapped on with my comforter, and in this way we set out to walk 50 miles. The road beggared description. The mud deep in some places soft, and in others tough and adhesive. We could hardly get through creeping along at a little more than a mile an hour. Many times had I to leap the fence to get a few yards where I would not be mired. We started from St. Thomas at half past eleven and got to Hiram Brown's tavern in Malahide at half-past six, ten miles in seven hours. The country is the best cleared in Canada that I have seen. The fields have not a stump in them, the houses good, remarkably tasteful and even elegant. The forest half or three-quarters of a mile from the road. This part seems adapted for the raising

of fruit. There are on the street many fine orchards all of bearing age. Left Brown's this morning. Last night there had been a sharp frost so that the roads were so hard that they bore us for several miles until the sun acquired sufficient strength, and then we had mud as usual, but not so deep; then came the pine lands where the roads were sandy and good. The country through which we came today is irregular in its surface and for the most part pine ridges. We noticed that where the timber is hard-wood the land is flat and rich; where pine prevails it is irregular and poor. We saw on the road some beautiful spots; but the houses had not the same elegant and comfortable appearance as those we saw yesterday. Upon entering Bayham we crossed the Big Otter Creek. About half-past three we arrived at Mr. Lalor's house of entertainment on the bank of the Big Otter, where we were compelled to stop on account of fatigue. A house of entertainment differs from a tavern in that it has no license for the sale of liquor. There are several of these in Canada. They have all the appearance of a family concern, and none of the irregularities or noise to be found where liquor is sold. The accommodation is not so business-like, but the sober traveller gets what he wants — rest and food. We walked ten miles this morning for breakfast, which we got at Cook's about half-past eleven. Cook's father-in-law is an old Dutchman whose father was robbed of £8,000 in the American war. He remembered the war. I said I suppose you are a U. E. Loyalist? I am a Loyalist, but not a U. E. Loyalist; we did not draw land from the King, when we came to the country. Our host, Mr. Lalor, is a staunch Tory. Col. Talbot had once stayed a night in his house; and he seems to have made him his friend. He believes that the bad things said about the Colonel are all lies of the Liberals. Col. Talbot's plan with the Liberals is to trample them down; and Mr. Lalor thinks that is the only way with them, and the only way they deserve.

Left Mr. Lalor's this morning in a waggon which we engaged to take us 18 miles for \$2.00. Upon leaving his house we entered upon the sandy ridges which extend over the remainder of Bayham. The part of Houghton through which the Talbot Street runs, and the whole of Middleton, the timber is all pine, not very heavy but closely set; now and then we saw a little hard-wood. The soil is the worst I have seen. During the day saw about 20 deserted houses. The small clearings which we passed begun to be covered with pine, and were fast relapsing to the domain of the forest. Mr. Mitchell explained how it was. Col. Talbot, the government agent, was resolved to have the road opened; and when settlers applied to him for land, he would not grant it to them, except upon the side of what was destined to be a road. They were thus obliged to take the lands he gave them or want. These poor unfortunates, who, after building a house, clearing ten acres, cutting out a portion of the road, found

what they might have known at first, that the place would never repay them, and that they must go in quest of other settlements. The Colonel and his friends call this the true way of settling a country; but a more heartless way I cannot conceive. While we were at Sovereign's tavern there was a man going to Vittoria with a waggon and two horses, and he took us for \$1.00. The road here is all down hill. At first it was oak plains, where the soil is sandy but good for wheat, then pine flats, where we saw some of the handsomest pine trees I had ever seen. We saw some fine clearings, and a field of at least 50 acres of fine wheat. Vittoria is a beautiful place; and will when the trees are cleared off, be one of the sweetest in Canada. The approach to it from the North is down a small glen, which if it were tastefully laid out would resemble the finest kind of pleasure walks in the neighborhood of the best laid out gentleman's seats in the old country. Eight miles from Vittoria is Simcoe, a very thriving, smart little village. Next we came to Waterford, where there is a grist mill and a saw mill. There were more saw logs drawn to the mill than ever I saw before. All the villages in Canada are situate on creeks; and the finding of a water privilege is the first requisite in the formation of a village. Arrived at Mt. Pleasant, where we received a most hearty welcome from Mr. Bryning. He told us many of the difficulties he had to encounter coming into the country. His story was well fitted to make us think that we have no reason to complain. Started from Mt. Pleasant. The roads were very heavy walking, but nothing worth notice after what we had encountered for some days back. When we came down to the flat on the side of the Grand River the road was overflowed with water. We had to walk on the fences, there was no other way, for about 100 yards. As we came in sight of Brantford I was exceedingly struck with the beauty of the scene.

March 30. Got home to York, and began to get ready to take my family to London.

April 28. We left York this morning in the Great Britain steamer for Niagara and Queenstown. We were just about four hours and fifty minutes getting to Queenstown. The banks of the river are steep and very high. Went to see the place where General Brock fell, it is in a field behind the village. His body rests in the monument.

April 29. Chippewa. Rose by four o'clock this morning and got my luggage out of the steamer. I bargained to have it and us all taken to Chippewa for \$8.00, viz., 3 waggons and one pleasure waggon, I and my wife and the three youngest children rode in the pleasure waggon, the rest rode on the luggage waggons. At a point where the road approaches the river, the falls burst into view. What a sight. Got into Chippewa and got the luggage stored in a warehouse where it will lie without charge till the boat sails.

May 1st. Had to get my luggage on board the boat, as there

was scarcity of help. I had to put my shoulder to the wheel and toil like a porter.

May 2nd. On board the *Adelaide* in the Niagara River opposite Black Rock. In sailing up the river was very much interested in the scenery on both sides. The Grand Island belongs to the U. S. The current is very strong, running at the rate of seven miles an hour. It was too strong for the *Adelaide*, and fairly mastered her at a mile above Black Rock. After struggling with the current for half an hour the captain gave up and turned to the Canadian side at a place called Waterloo where he anchored. We stayed here some time, which was very wearisome.

May 4. When I awoke this morning found the crew getting up steam. I was afraid the boat would not be able to round the ice breaker. This is a projection of ten or twelve feet from the embankment of the Erie Canal for the purpose of throwing the water off the embankment and for breaking the force of the ice floated down from the lake. By a great effort the boat was got past the breaker and out of the strength of the rapids. We crossed over to Fort Erie and then dropped anchor. Fort Erie is a dilapidated fortification. The position is an important one. The village is small, but rather pleasant. At length we got into the Erie Canal and came up to Buffalo, which is a place I have heard a great deal of, and was very desirous to see. It is an astounding place.

May 6th. We awoke this morning about four o'clock in the hope of being landed at Kettle Creek; but there had been such a heavy fog that we had lain to for three hours during the night, and we found we were in Ryersee's Creek; so we had very little progress during the night. We had still to double Long Point, and had before us a long day's sailing. The weather was fine, and the lake smooth as a mill pond; so sailing was very pleasant. As we sailed along the bank of the lake we observed a few cleared spots, on all of which the wheat, so far as we saw it, was a beautiful healthy green color. About six o'clock in the evening landed at Kettle Creek Harbor, bearing the name of Port Stanley, a small place with a miserable pier. In consequence of the water of the lake being so low the steamer could not get up to the warehouse so I had to land my luggage on the quay, and then had to employ men to get it conveyed to the warehouse of Mr. Chase; as there was every sign of rain, which came on about dark, with vivid lightning. Paid for our conveyance in the steamer from Chippewa, \$24.00 for cabin, \$8.00 for luggage. I was glad to be once more on terra firma, with my family, all well. Put up at Mr. Birch's where we got good entertainment and all the beds the house could afford; some of those who, with ourselves stayed in the Inn sleeping on the floor on buffalo skins. All passed off very well, and were thankful to get our heads into a house.

Tuesday, May 7th. Rose early and engaged Mr. Birch to take us all to London in his waggon for \$8.00. Mr. Black, who

had come in the boat with us, went off to St. Thomas early, and sent down to Port Stanley two teamsters to take my luggage to London for \$5.50 a load. Had lunch in St. Thomas, which cost us \$1. The country on the road to London looked very beautiful; the day was fine; the horses were good, and Mr. Birch willing to get forward. Our journey was therefore a pleasant one, and we were in high spirits. Arrived at London about sundown, and very thankful that I and my family had got so far on our journey in health. Received a hearty welcome to London from my acquaintance whom I met. Well does it become me to unite in thankfulness to Almighty God for His tender mercies toward us.

Tuesday, June 4th. This is a great day in the township. It is the day fixed for the military training. The people began to pour in from all quarters, some on horse-back, some on foot; and by 11 o'clock every one of military age was assembled. The training was a very awkward business; all were in their ordinary dress; some of the officers had peeled sticks in place of swords, none had guns. The training consisted in marching; and the principal part of the time was spent in giving directions, in lecturing, and in swearing at the men for not performing the directions. The whole was under the command of Major Schofield. The officers did me the honor to invite me to dine with them. The dinner was in Traver's Inn. Bought from Mr. Boston, Lobo, ten bushels of potatoes for seed at fifty cents a bushel. Mr. Robertson told me today that as Mr. Jackson had left off preaching in London, that Mr. Cronyn and I may have the schoolhouse between us.

November 13. Went into London today to attend a meeting of a committee that had been appointed to take measures to obtain a classical teacher for London. We met in Dr. Lee's laboratory. There were present Dr. Lee, Mr. Askin, Mr. Parke, Mr. Seatcherd and myself. We settled all the preliminaries for the school.

August, 1834. A trip through Aldborough and to Tilbury. I and my eldest son, Mr. Morrell, and the two Stratheys, and Mr. Dobie, started on Monday morning in Mr. Jess Wilkes' waggon at 7 a.m. The desire of the whole party was to go and draw land (as it is called) in Tilbury. It was therefore requisite to call for Col. Talbot in order to get the number of lots not yet taken up. We got to his house about 3 p.m. We were all well aware that it would not be safe to call for him after dinner, it being his constant practice to take too much brandy, but we had no alternative, and besides, I was not at all unwilling to see the far famed Colonel in his peculiar mood. The man who acts as secretary and everything else, intimated to us that it was not safe to call for him. When we went to the house he was at his window and spoke to us out of the window. He was evidently half drunk, and his manner was exceedingly rude and insulting. I have seldom seen a man more contemptible in his appearance, short

and ill made, his face fiery and stormy and his manner the very opposite of what is found amongst all who have the smallest pretensions to the name of a gentleman. It is my wish to see him before dinner on my return. Leaving him we came into the township of Aldborough, and lodged at the house of Mr. Coyne, a very comfortable house where we got a good bed and a good supper. The country through which we travelled is of various character. Dunwich is still in a very wild state. The most part of it being, I suppose, the private property of Col. Burwell and Col. Talbot. These men, according to report, do not appear to be doing anything for the good of the country. Their immense properties lying in a state of nature. With regard to the place where Col. Talbot lives, it has all the appearance of carelessness. The houses are in a dirty tumble-down state, placed without the remotest regard to taste. His farming has been much talked about but on what grounds I could not see. The place where his house is situated affords a very fine prospect of Lake Erie, and yet, his house is not within view of the lake. A man of the most ordinary judgment would have taken advantage of the capabilities of the position, but not so Col. Talbot. Aldborough is a township I do not like. The crops seem to have been very inferior. The houses and barns are all ill made and carelessly kept. The sod for the most part sandy and very light. The surface is much cut up into deep ravines, by which the ground is not only very much broken but makes the road very bad. Many were the times we had all to leave the waggon, it being dangerous to ride down on the one side of the ravine, and very hard for the horses to get up the other side.

September 2nd. Harwich. This township seems to be better soil, and better farmed. There are many fine fields and some well filled barns. The next township, "Howard," is better land than any we have seen since leaving Southwold. The land in Raleigh seems to be sandy, or rather gravelly, and is well fitted for corn and tobacco, of both of which we saw some very large fields. One field of corn, about 40 acres, and some of tobacco of 8 or 9 acres. This is a profitable crop. It produces about 1,000 lbs. per acre dried, and brings \$5 in cash for 100 lbs. The corn is used to fatten hogs, and they bring cash. Saw a grist mill moved by horses—grinds 30 bushels a day. There are no streams for many miles which could move a mill, and the people seem badly off for mills. For a few miles the way was along the lake shore, all the way between Tilbury and Romney. The view was a grand one, and the roads excellent and we enjoyed ourselves very much. Mr. Smith's house was five miles back from the lake, the road to it through the bush and not cut for a waggon, we had therefore to walk. Coming back I joined my party at Col. Talbot's. They had gone on before each of them had got 100 acres of land in Tilbury and contrary to my expectations my son had got 100 too. Leaving the Colonel's we came to Fowler's tavern

in Southwold where we had breakfast, and got home to my own fireside at 8 p.m.

September 14, 1834. Preached today, the audience smaller in consequence of this being the first day in Mr. Cronyn's new chapel.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE ACCOUNT BOOK OF MISS MARY PROUDFOOT, LONDON, C. W.

BY MISS H. PRIDDIS.

On the completion of their education in Scotland, Mary and Anna joined the family in their Farm Home, London Township; and Mary, under the supervision of her father, opened a private boarding and day school in the village, on Bathurst Street. From the record of the account book she began work on the 18 August, 1835.

The first name entered is that of Miss E. Lee, well known to Londoners of a later generation as Mrs. J. B. Strathy, and at 95 years of age is still living in Toronto with her daughter, Miss Louisa Strathy. (1915.) The items are—"to copy of Goldsmith's Geography 4/9; and to pencil and drawing book 3/." For nine quarters' tuition in English, French, Music and Drawing, the charge was £6.15, received £3.15; then cordwood with the entry below £7 5s. Evidently the wood came to £3.10, 2/3 more than was due.

Miss Jane Wright, the second pupil came for one quarter in 1835, and again for a quarter in 1836. In addition to the Geography and Drawing material is 1/6 for copy of Murray's Grammar. "Phrase book and French Grammar" no price given. Signed, "paid in full."

The next entry must have been a bonanza, a whole school in itself. The Misses Sarah, Amelia, Eliza, Mary and Charlotte and Master John Harris. The books here amounted to £1.3.3. Primer. Telemaque 6/9. A shorter Catechism 4d, a rather noticeable item in the account of several staunch episcopal families. Six paint brushes 6d. Also on this memorable August day the Misses Anna, Maria, Theresa and Cynthia Askin. Their names remain with us in Cynthia, Theresa and Askin Streets, London South.

Goldsmith seems to be always the Geography used, Scot the Arithmetic, Nugent the Dictionary, and Murray the Grammar. They remained at school till November 18, 1836, which was five quarters and paid in full.

The next entry is the names of Mary Clark and Louisa Law-  
 rason. They remained five quarters; part payment in goods; five bushels of flour, two pairs of blankets, 1 lb of coffee. Unfortunately the money value of these articles not entered.

Miss Margaret Morril also arrived the first day. Telemachus and Levezae's grammar, and the phrase book, are among her books. She is evidently advanced in French; also in art as shown by "one cake of carmine paint, 6/."

Miss Matilda Robertson and her brother Ross are the last entered for the day. Sixteen pupils to start with for an expensive school in a town of 300 inhabitants must have been a very encouraging beginning for the young Scotch girl. Matilda left the 7th of October and returned in June to remain till the end. Ross did not return at all. The simple remark "not paid," after the October notes, opens a door to the young girl's worries. We can hear the sigh of relief with which she writes at the bottom of an account after some delay "paid in full;" and there are many such.

On the 19th August came Eliza A. Smith. Many of the pupils evidently left for the winter. There is a note "E" came back June 7th."

On the 19th August also came Marion Robinson.

On the 20th August Miss Anne Cronyn is added to the list. Already the record of accounts is dropping off. I think the good minister must have helped his young daughter at the very beginning, and then turned back to his beloved theology and parish work. We now have a bare list of names and books, no remarks. "Not paid" written at end of term, and no "paid in full" when the account closed. (The artistic temperament is opposed to the methodical). Miss Sarah Styles arrived August 25, needed no books but Murray's Grammar. Does not state when she left, but she came back 18th May. Miss Annie Kent came the 26th. Those two names are associated in our generation. Miss Tackaberry, with a list of books including Mavors Spelling Book and Butler's Atlas. Fees paid in instalments which worried the young teacher.

September 14th. Miss Sarah Tackaberry, also Miss Jane Jennings. Fees paid in goods.

October 26th. Miss M. Park, paid by instalments in flour. Remained a year; account wound up with "paid in full."

October 28th. Miss M. Hall. Same list of books including the Shorter Catechism. No account of tuition fee, but general receipt, "paid in full."

October 26th. Henry Marsh. Evidently pupils' names not put down as they arrive now, for the dates jump back and forth.

November 5th. James and Simcoe Lee, names only. Miss Ball, some books and accounts rendered.

January 11, 1836. The Misses Robb. Flour and straw tick towards payment. The Misses Kearns, nothing but names. Miss Rapelje, £15 out of £28 taken out in goods. Miss Carrol went in for art, and remained till the end.

February 23rd. A list of books, no other account for Miss Nelson. A quarter's tuition and Murray's Grammar for Miss Fennel. No other account but "paid in full" written all over the page. Looks as though the book was no longer treasured, and some of the small brothers were allowed to scribble.

Miss Elvira Flanigan's quarter begins in June, "paid in full."

August 8th. Miss Williams. £1.5 for quarter's tuitions. Received payment £1, with a scribbled "made in haste" under it.

Miss House came 8th August, left 8th September; "paid in full 7½." Miss Davis came 16th June. Miss Putman from Dorchester the 28th of November. Miss McFadden the 30th of November. Miss Talbot from London in August. No lists of books or accounts settled or unsettled on the pages devoted to any of these names; but in a list of names for fees further on, they all appear, even "papa," for Jessie Proudfoot was among the pupils. It was anxious times, and no doubt difficult to centre one's thoughts on routine, for the clouds of the coming rebellion was darkening the sky. It was not considered safe for children to run about the streets, and Mr. Proudfoot objected to his pretty young daughter being away from home; so the school closed.

Miss Coyne, first wife of Robert Wilson, entered in September; another warning of coming events; for Miss Mary Proudfoot was married to her brother, James Coyne, 1841.

The tuition fee was evidently £1.5 a quarter for English, and £1 extra for French, Music and Drawing. The first piano in London has been a disputed question. Miss Proudfoot's books show that she paid out for piano on the 18th August, 1835. Her father writes to her on the 5th of April, 1833, that there are several pianos in London.

Throughout the book are pages devoted to personal and household accounts, which give interesting information as to the necessities and prices of pioneer days. Several lists of twelve numbers would suggest that they are a year's statement of monthly accounts. One to Marjory, whose name crops up every now and again, is evidently a charwoman at 1s a day, in all 49 shillings.

The first six months is from one to three shillings—economizing till we see how things go, then four and five shillings, a weekly scrubbing, with ten shillings for house cleaning about the middle of June. 9/6 usually paid for a month's wood and "chippings." One month as low as 5/6, another as high as £1.13.3. Meat bought from O'Brien or Peters: beef, 6d; mutton, 7½d; groceries from Smith or Lawrason. The old-fashioned bees wax and turpentine furniture polish. Sugar 1/ per lb (probably loaf), coffee, 2/, candles, 1/6, apples, 1/3 bushel. She very prudently bought butter by bulk and veal by quarter from Mrs. H.

A list "for myself out of school money" is interesting. Bonnet, cleaning. 2/6, dressmaking 5/, pair walking shoes.

7/, two pairs prunella, 20/, spool of cotton, 8d, 2 yds. of cotton cloth, 2/, four of tartan, 8/. I wonder what "a diamond 10\$" means in the midst of all this practical economising.

A confusing part of the account keeping is the mixed currency of the day; one never knows whether a sterling shilling (25c), or a currency shilling (20c), or a York shilling ( $12\frac{1}{2}c$ ), is intended, as the same sign is used. When SS is written I have read sterling, for decimal currency \$ the dollar mark is always used. There are several lists of furniture, but the price is not often stated. Half dozen chairs, 25/s, water pail, 5/, four forms for school, 7/6, and lastly, "advertising paid to Grattan's, 17/6."



The  
Settlers of Lobo  
Township



## THE SETTLERS OF LOBO TOWNSHIP

Before the Society April 19, 1904.

BY D. J. CAMPBELL, TORONTO.

Lobo Township was surveyed in 1819, by Col. M. Burwell, and immediately thereafter immigration began, very largely from Argyleshire, Scotland. Among them were the following: Dougal, James, John and Daniel McArthur, from near Invermay; Archibald and John McKellar, from Finachairn; Alexander and John Sinclair, and John McIntyre, from Clack-a-Dubhe; another John Sinclair, who located on lot 6, con. 6, from Coira Budhe; Daniel Lamont, Alex. Johnston, Daniel Johnson and widow Johnston, from Caolasralde; Robert Morrison, from Hörmid; In 1823 came two more Scotchmen, Charles and Hugh Carmichael, from Craig Filheach. In 1824 came another Scotch contingent, also some from England. Among the Scotch settlers, not Argyle men, were two brothers, John and Andrew Ferguson. They left Melrose, Roxburyshire, June, 1819, and settled first in the Township of Charlotteville; but in February, 1821, they came to Lobo, purchasing lot 14, con. 3, from Daniel McCrea. Before leaving Scotland, Andrew married Janet Boston, some of whose people followed to Lobo later.

Among those who were not Scotch, the first were Jesse and Jonas Zavitz, from Humberstone, in the County of Welland, in 1824. They were originally from Pennsylvania. In 1823 came Ebenezer Perry, also from Welland. Isiah Gustin came from Long Point, in the same year. His father was a U. E. L., from New York, who settled near Vittoria in 1794, and built and operated one of the first mills in that section. After his death, his two sons, Isiah and Elphalet, disposed of the mill and came west—Isiah settling in Lobo, and Elphalet in London Township, on the town line opposite Lobo. Richard Edwards, an Englishman, from Banbury, Oxfordshire, came in 1824; and S. Bullen, another Englishman, about the same time.

Aaron Allen, so far as can be learned, may have been a relative, possibly a son of Ebenezer Allen, one of the first settlers in Delaware, who came from Ancaster, and became the notorious head of a family (some of them half-breeds) well known in the county in earlier days.

The largest landowner among the pioneers was Capt. John Matthews, an Englishman, an officer in the Royal Artillery, and one of the staff of the Governor-General, the Duke of Richmond. On the death of the latter, in 1819, Matthews retired on a pension (his own corps having been disbanded), and settled in Canada. He located first at Long Point; then secured a grant of 1,000 acres in Lobo, and settled on lots 7 and 8, on the first concession.

Col. Burwell, who surveyed the Township, together with other favored parties, secured large sections of Lobo before the

settlers came in. As the latter arrived, much of this pre-empted land was transferred to them—of course, for a consideration. To these latter, in most cases, the original crown deeds were issued directly.

The adjoining Township of Caradoc was surveyed in 1821, and its first settlers were of the same class as their neighbors in Lobo. Among them were Archibald and Malcolm Campbell, lot 23, con. 6, from Achacoish; Duncan McKellar, lot 23, con. 6, from Finachairn; Lachlan, Peter and Duncan Sinclair, from Coira Buidhe. The Bartlets, Sutherlands and Batemans came in 1820; the Lockwoods and Fenwicks in 1821; Hugh Anderson in 1825; and the Degraws in 1836.

The pioneers of 1820 and 1825 who were heads of families and had sons not old enough to take up a grant for themselves, purchased 100 acres, and some even more, getting a certain time to make their payments. They found the time too short for the length of their purse, however, the required settlement duties too onerous, together with the arduous labor of clearing their own locations and providing the necessaries of life for their families. In those days they had long tedious walks to the grist mill—no roads excepting paths blazed through the woods—and often carried the grist on their back, sometimes, especially in the winter, having to make a second trip to take the grist home. They often helped the miller to cut the ice off his water wheel to get the mill started. No wonder they found the time too short to pay for their extra lands, and perform the duties imposed upon them by the government. There were no public works, or any means to get cash in those early days. There were no immigration agents, no one to lead and guide the pioneers to their locations, which were chosen and taken up in Little York without even seeing them. They did not know the character of the lots, excepting that the surveyor's report spoke favorably of the land in the Township of Lobo. They had to find their way to their new homes as best they could. The Lobo people, utter strangers, in a strange land, started into the woods westward, 90 or a 100 miles, from the end of their boat travel, from Little York or the Square, without any guide to direct them, with very few general directions as to which way to go. We may be sure that they suffered many trials, privations, hardships and difficulties coming this distance, but their real difficulties had only now commenced. They were men and women of iron will and indomitable courage or they would have broken down under the load of hardships and trouble they encountered.

Compare those hardy pioneers, who left their native land of their own accord, without any assistance, crossed the Atlantic in sailing vessels taking six to eight weeks, and the St. Lawrence and the lakes, made their way on foot to their several locations without any guide. Compare these trials with the trials of the immigrants of today, who are chaperoned to locations, govern-

ment agents to go before them, agents with them on swift steamers on the Atlantic, agents with them on fast railway trains to their journey's end, agents to look after their welfare and comfort after having located. One would think that today's immigrants were put into glass cases to keep them from harm, or to keep the wind from blowing on them during the passage.

### The First Tax Roll

Whether or not the early settlers in Lobo Township were called on to pay taxes before 1825, is not quite certain. At all events, the earliest tax roll found to date is for that year; and is given below. The names on the list constituted the taxable population of the township in that year, and were unquestionably the pioneers. Of some of them no information can now be obtained. Of others, better remembered, or whose descendants are still in the township, are the following: Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 40, 43, came in 1824, from Leas Mor; No. 7, in 1820, from Hormid; Nos. 8, 9, 10 and 35, in 1820, from near Inverary; Nos. 14, 15, 23, and 24, in 1824, from Craignish; Nos. 19 and 20, in 1820, from Finachairn; Nos. 21, 25, 26, 27, in 1820, from Caolosraide; No. 36, in 1820, from Coira Budhe; Nos. 37, 38 and 39, in 1820, from Clach a Dubha; Nos. 41 and 42, in 1823, from Craig Fitheach; Nos. 33 and 48, in 1823, from Roxburyshire; No. 31, in 1824, from Banbury, England; Nos. 45 and 46, from England; Nos. 11, 12 and 13, from Welland County.

It will be noticed from the roll, that at this time the settlers were mainly grouped in the lower part of the township. Nearly all the Scotch were in a space bounded by lots 5 to 15, on the 4th, 5th and 6th concessions. The Zavitzes were the farthest away from "The Forks,"—on lots 6 and 7, on the 10th and 11th concessions. The English were mostly around what is now Komoka; the exceptions were Edwards and Gustin, who got in among the Scotch.

### COLLECTION ROLL

For the Township of Lobo, in the County of Middlesex, for the year 1825.

No.	Names of inhabitants.	Lot.	Con.	Value of property assessed.		Amt. to be collected.	
				£	s.	s.	d.
1	Aaron Allen . . . . .	2	8	45		4	9
2	Duncan McIntire . . . . .	4	8	58		6	1
3	Neal McKeath . . . . .	5	7	20		2	1
4	Simon Vanmier . . . . .	6	2	34		3	7
5	Duncan McIntire . . . . .	12	6	30		3	2
6	Duncan McKeath . . . . .	13	6	44		4	7
7	Robert Morrison . . . . .	2	8	38	16	4	$\frac{4}{8}$
8	Dougal McArthur . . . . .	13	5	68	4	7	$1\frac{1}{2}$
9	James McArthur . . . . .	14	5	31	4	3	$3\frac{1}{2}$
10	John McArthur . . . . .	14	4	25	8	2	$8\frac{1}{2}$
11	Ebenezer Perry . . . . .	7	10	27		2	10
12	Jesse Zavitz . . . . .	7	10	73	4	7	$8\frac{1}{2}$

No.	Names of inhabitants.	Lot.	Con.	Value of Property assessed.		Amt. to be collected.	
				£	s.	s.	d.
13	Jonas Zavitz	6	11	68	4	7	1 ½
14	John McDougal	5	5	40	8	4	2 ½
15	Alexander McDougal	6	5	20		2	1
16	John Meek	4	1	134		14	
17	William Powers			57		5	4
18	Joel Westbrook			3		4	
19	Archibald McKellar	1	6	41	4	4	4 ½
20	John McKellar	1	6	33	4	3	6 ½
21	Daniel Lemone	1	5	76	12	7	10 ¾
22	James Tomlinson	4	2	165		17	3
23	Duncan McCall	15	5	32	8	3	4 ¾
24	Dugal McCall	16	6	38	16	4	4 ½
25	Widow Johnson	8	5	32	8	3	4 ¾
26	Alexander Johnson	10	5	31	4	3	3 ½
27	Daniel Johnson	8	5	23		2	5
28	William Vancurin	7	8	24	12	2	6 ¾
29	William Markle	9	8	91		9	6
30	Samuel Ramey	12	2	31	4	3	3 ½
31	Richard Edwards	12	3	36	8	3	9 ¾
32	Esias Gustin	12	4	27	8	2	10 ¾
33	John Ferguson	14	4	34	4	3	7 ½
34	John Reynolds			6		8	
35	Daniel McArthur	6	5	42		4	5
36	John Sinclair	6	6	42		4	5
37	Alexander Sinclair	7	6	47	4	4	11 ½
38	John Sinclair	9	6	44	4	4	7 ½
39	John McIntire	13	5	30	16	3	2 ¾
40	John McCall	9	6	20	16	2	1 ¾
41	Charles Carmichael	11	8	35		3	8
42	Hugh Carmichael	11	8	29	4	3	1 ½
43	John McLaughlin	9	8	26	12	2	5 ¾
44	Thomas Earl			20		2	1
45	Simeon Bullen	5, 6	1	176		18	5
46	Capt. John Mathews	7, 8	1	311		£1	12 5
47	Ira Jarvis			164	12	17	1
48	Andrew Ferguson	14	3	39		4	1
49	Marvel White	1	8	107		11	2
				£2675	8	£13	19 9 ¾

Amounting to thirteen pounds, nineteen shillings and nine pence ¾, currency, including one-fourth of a penny per pound, which is added to pay Members of Assembly for the year 1825, avoiding fractions.

Sir—It is ordered that you collect and pay, into the hands of the Treasurer of the London District, the sum of thirteen pounds, nineteen shillings and nine pence ¾, currency, on or before the first day of August next, ensuing the date hereof.

JOHN B. ASKIN,  
C. P. L. D.

Woodhouse, 1st June, 1825,  
To the Collector for the Township of Lobo  
for the year 1825.

The sums mentioned in the roll are in Halifax currency—  
—a pound being four dollars.

## THE VETERANS OF ARDRISHAIG

My grandfather, Malcolm Campbell, of Achahoish, North Knapdale, and his brother Archibald, from adjoining Coshindrochaid, with their young families, came to Canada in 1820, and settled in Caradoc in 1821. My mother, Christina Smith, was born in Ardrishaig; so we will for convenience call this little spot on the town line between Lobo and Caradoc, taking the first school house as a centre, by the name of "Ardrishaig;" though it really never had a name. It never had a post office, mill, store, or shop of any kind. No business was carried on but farming. In 1818, no single white person lived there, nor north to Lake Huron. As late as 1828, Archy McGugan, who located on lot 1, concession 9, of Lobo, was on the western limits of civilization, or habitation.

The early Scotch settlers had little capital to invest in the new country. My grandfather brought with him a wife and four children; sixteen shillings sterling; a silver watch; a soldier's gun, and sufficient good clothing for the family. And that was a good average degree of wealth for the pioneers. But they worked hard, and prospered. Hard work agreed with them. And the following list of the more prominent who reached old age, despite all the hardships they suffered, or were still living in 1903, will be of interest:

Grandfather Campbell came in 1819, died at 80. His wife, Mary Smith, from Baile Baigh, at 95; his mother, Isabella McLellan, 84; his daughter, Christena MacArthur, 84; his brother Archy's second wife, Isabella Morrison, daughter of Dugald Morrison and Mary McKellar, from Hormid, came in 1820, was 86; John, Duncan and Archy McKellar, sons of Alex. McKellar and Mary Muir, from Finachairn, in 1820; John died at 80, his wife at 84; his son, Alexander, at 81; his son John, living, 80. Duncan died, 87; his wife, 97; Archy's wife was Nancy McLean, daughter of Donald McLean, of Lecknabaan, Crinan. She came in 1818 to Aldboro. Donald McGugan came in 1828 from Barnagadd, died at 88; his wife, Nancy Campbell, at 88; his son, Donald, at 80; his wife, Mary McNeill, 88; their son Malcolm, is an M. P., past ten years. John McGugan died at 83; his wife, Sarah, daughter of Godfrey McTaggart, at 88; Lachlan, Duncan and Peter Sinclair came from Coire Buidhe, in 1824; Lachlan died at 85; his wife, Sarah McIntyre, at 91; his daughter, Mrs. Duncan McLean (Mor Mhor), came in 1829, died at 93; Duncan at 92; Mrs. Peter Sinclair at 90. Elder Dugald Sinclair, Baptist minister, preached 70 years, in Lochgilphead, 1820-1831, whence he came to Lobo, died in 1870, aged 93; his wife, Christena Sinclair, from Oban, 85; her sister, Elizabeth, 90. Mrs Duncan McDonald, from Coshindrochaid, came in 1829, died at 92. Donald and Archy McLellan came in 1828, died at 84 and 80. Peter, Archy (tailor), and Duncan (liath) McKellar, came in 1825, 1830, and 1828. Mrs.

Duncan (liath) is yet living at 98. Peter McVicar came in 1830. These four families came from near Finachairn. The Lamonts came in 1820 from Coalasraide—John died at 90. Neil McCalum's family came from Kames, Lochgair, in 1835. Archy Fletcher came in 1843, from Greenock; he died at 80; his wife, Margaret, 81. Malcolm Crawford came in 1843, from Caolosraide. Peter McBean came in 1839, from near Inveraray; died at 85. Mrs. Christy Graham, daughter of Duncan Smith and Isabella Smith, Baile Broaich, came in 1829, died at 81; her sister, Catherine, and brother, Archy, still living at 83 and 88. Mrs. Duncan McFarlane came in 1842, from Baliver, near Tarbert, died at 80. Capt. Marvel White was about 90, and William Ticknor over 80. Mrs. Betsy McKellar came from Ardrey, 1828, living at 83; and my mother, living at 82. All the above are within the three-mile limit in "Ardrishaig."

### THE ARGUMENT OF THE HAT

This is the story as told to me by Archibald Sinclair, of lot 6, con. 6, one of the pioneers; and corroborated by Alex. McKellar, of Sault Ste. Marie, who had it from his mother. The principal character, Capt. Matthews, as I have already mentioned, was one of the largest landholders in the township. He was very popular; and in 1825 was elected with John Rolph to represent the county in the Provincial Legislature. Though his social and political ties naturally connected him with the supporters of what was termed "The Family Compact," he became dissatisfied with their conduct of public affairs; and was one of the first men in the Legislature to advocate reforms. As a result he was subjected to considerable persecution by the ruling powers; was deprived of his pension; and went to England (where he died), in the vain hope of recovering his standing in the army. Long after he had fallen a victim to the assaults of his enemies his kindly deeds were favorite topics of conversation at the pioneers' firesides. Among others were the following:

In 1825 the government officials were very persistent in demanding payment by the settlers of the dues accumulating on their land purchases; and a movement was started among the latter to secure an extension of time of payment. In this the captain naturally interested himself, for it seriously affected the well-being of many of his constituents. One day, shortly before leaving for Parliament, he was discussing the matter with one of them—Archie McKellar—when an idea came to him, and he said: "Archie, give me your hat."

Archie was rather astonished at this request. The hat was an article made out of oat straw by Mrs. McKellar, who was only an amateur at that kind of work. It was useful as a sunshade, but certainly not ornamental.

"What under the canopy do you want with my hat?" asked Archie.

"I am going to wear it in parliament," was the answer.

"Oh, no," cried Archie; "you could have it if you wanted to wear it in the bush; but you must be crazy to think of wearing it when you go to parliament."

Then Mrs. McKellar put in her objection; "Indeed, and I would not let Archie wear that hat to 'The Forks,'" she said.

"No, indeed," added Archie; "I would not wear that hat to 'The Forks' my self."

But the captain insisted, and carried off the hat. When the proposition for an extension of time for the delinquent settlers was before the Legislature he explained the circumstances, and made an urgent appeal on behalf of the people, most of whom were absolutely unable to meet the demands of the officials. "These men," he declared, "are not beggars, but men of sturdy, independent, loyal spirit, who do not want to be relieved of any of their obligations, and only ask for a liberal extension of time, when they will pay the last farthing they owe." And holding up Archie's hat, which he had been wearing, he said: "That is an ocular demonstration of what I have been telling you. That is the best kind of hat I could get among the farmers of my district. It shows I am not exaggerating the condition of these people."

The captain's eloquence, backed up by Archie's hat, had the desired effect. A liberal extension of time was granted; and when any of his constituents expressed their gratitude for his efforts on their behalf, he always insisted on dividing the credit with the old straw hat which Archie would not wear at "The Forks."

### A GLIMPSE OF REBELLION DAYS

When the militia were being called out, pressed for frontier service, from the 4th to the 8th concessions of Lobo and Caradoc Townships, the able-bodied militia men on both sides of the town line, held, on February 5th, a midnight meeting—a council of peace—and decided that self-preservation was the first law of nature, and concluded that they would retire for a period to the middle of the big swamp, south of No. 20 S. R., Caradoc. They all tramped south on the 8th line to the creek that flows west from the swamp, then, taking off their shoes and stockings, marched up the creek channel to where they built their camp of poles and brush and stayed there a number of weeks in the winter.

They carried on their backs the necessary provisions, camp utensils and bedding. The next morning before daylight, Mrs. Alex. Fisher, lot 1, con. 3, Lobo, followed, taking a sheaf of oats under each arm, she coaxed her cows to follow her as far as the creek, so as to obliterate the refugees' tracks, and then turned home.

As often as their supplies ran short, a couple would come out at night for a supply, and next morning one of the faithful

women—home reserves, would take the cows to cover any tracks to the creek.

The older men who were exempt from military service stayed home, and a number of families were apportioned to each to look after their welfare and comfort. One refugee was not pleased—was quite indignant at old Squire Duncan McKellar's non-attention to his family. His wife and baby daughter were nearly famished with the cold for the want of fire-wood.

Mrs. Hector McNeil (Mairi Eachran) lived on the Mt. Brydges road, and made two visits yearly to tailor McKellar's, and had him write a letter to her brother Peter at home. The blaze-trail was through a part of the swamp. She made an early start, but soon lost sight of the blaze and was lost. To use her own words, "I was like a ship on the wide ocean, without a compass, and I didn't see the rooting of a hog, or hear the crowing of a rooster all day." She wore a scarlet cloak with a hood. When getting near dark she was still plodding through the underbrush as best she could, and happened on to the barracks. The refugees heard the rustling and saw the red cloak, and all retreated in haste, thinking that the red-coat pressmen had discovered their lair. "Come back here, I am lost, I heard of you before." Hearing a woman's voice they returned, and perforce were obliged to listen to her impromptu lecture on loyalty, and their getting the country all "up-side-down." She related her lost-in-the-woods experience, and after supper two of the men piloted Mary to the 8th line. She had, like the men, to take off her shoes and stockings and walk down the creek channel to the 8th line, then along an open road north to the town line. They did their best to get her promise not to tell what or whom she saw, or what was said. Her only reply was, "A Dhia cuidich mi," (God help me). The next week the camp was abandoned.

Mary arrived at the tailor's about nine. The very first thing she told was her lost experience, the refugees' barracks and her cold walking in the creek. She stayed a couple of days with the tailor's family. He wrote her letter and she insisted on adding a postscript, "I am working hard every day since I came into this world, and will leave it just as much up-side-down as the day I came into it."

One night, one of the men took a short cut to the barracks and backed a chaff mattress from home. There was a small hole in the lower end, and through it the chaff dribbled on the snow all the way. A hunter crossed the track, and from curiosity traced it back to the owner's barn. He called on Squire McKellar, a near neighbor, who explained the matter. The next time a couple came out for provisions, the squire told them of the chaff track, when he of the mattress, was court martialled, and though he was exonerated, he was severely reprimanded, and ordered in future to take the safe, though long road down the 8th line to the creek. The now only living man that took part in this

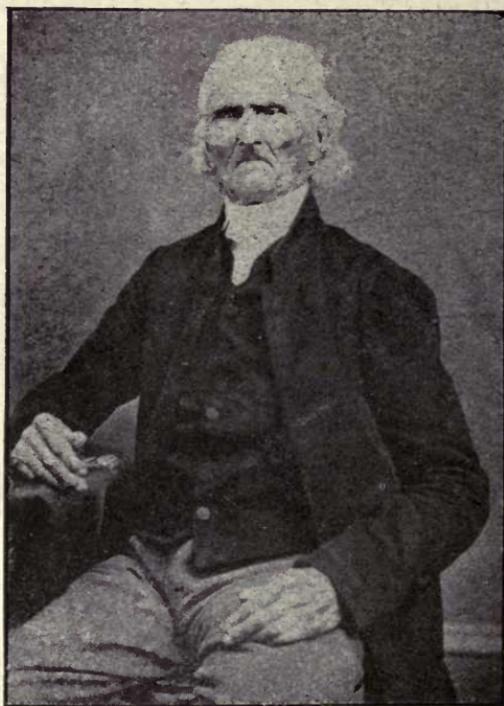
drama, of 60 years ago, is Angus McDonald, of Mandaumin, Sarnia Township.

Very many of these same fellows, after all, did service at the front, and the privations they had to endure were often more severe than their monotonous swamp experience. Donald Smith (not a refugee) was threshing oats with a flail in the log barn, when the red coats pressed him into service, and gave him only time to eat his dinner, but no time to prepare anything for his mother and sixteen-year-old sister. The neighbors looked after their welfare during his absence. While on duty he contracted a severe cold and sickness, of which he died two years later.

The men received no clothing of any kind and had to wear their own. One of them, Mr. McGugan, from near the town line, one cold drizzly night, was on sentry near Malden. His shoes were sadly worn, and his good home-made stockings the same. His feet were sore, wet and tired. He unstrapped the basswood strings that tied them to his feet, removed his stockings and wrung them as dry as he could, and was changing them upside-down for his sore feet, when unexpectedly an officer came along. In his hurry and in the dark he lost his musket, lost his shoes and worse, forgot the countersign. He, however, boldly challenged the man on horseback, "Who goes there?" The officer replied, "Chippewa." "Yes, yes, thank you, an' gosh bless mi," and never again to his dying day, forgot that countersign, "Chippewa." He was not disturbed any more that night, but he failed to find his musket or shoes till daylight.

The  
Society of Friends of  
Lobo Township





BENJAM N CUTLER.

## SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF LOBO TOWNSHIP

BY EDGAR M. ZAVITZ.

There is in the centre of Lobo Township, in the centre of Middlesex County, a small body of people known as the Society of Friends, or Quakers. They were pioneers, not only in the clearing of the primeval forest, but they were pioneers in the clearing of people's minds from old superstitions, and ancient barbarisms. There have been no reform movements in the Township in which Friends have not been either leaders or staunch supporters. No matter in what form the temperance cause came up, they used it in driving out alcohol. If they could not get just what they wanted, which was total prohibition of the sale, traffic and use of all intoxicating drinks as a beverage, they took as much of it as they could get (I mean as much of the prohibition) from whatever political party, and ever worked and hoped for more.

It was their creed to follow peace and practice love with all men and all nations, believing **that** to be the only way to end wars. The typical Quaker would not fight. They could strap the gun on his shoulder, and march him in the battle's front, but they could not make him shoot. He obeys Christ, both the spiritual and the historical, which are one in their teaching, and would follow Him even to the Cross for love's sake.

As to their religious assemblies, they worship in the Temple of Silence, where every soul is a priest or a priestess, and there is no need of a mediator. The outward voice is often heard, but the ordination and the anointing is of God, not man.

I present these facts of the Friends' faith, that their acts, which make their history, may be read in a truer light, for if a Friend is anything he is sincere, and his acts and life reflect his faith. He does not trust in hope for any vicarious salvation, but rests his soul in its attitude of love towards God and good-will and forgiveness towards his fellow men.

With this introduction and explanation I will endeavor to give a few facts that might pass as history concerning that little community selected, at your request, from all the world.

If I over-estimate and over-praise I ask you to judge with the leniency of Goldsmith where he screens the pastor, his father, by saying:

“Even his failings leaned to virtue's side,” for I am conscious of a feeling akin to that which Scott describes in those noted lines—

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead  
Who never to himself hath said  
This is my own, my native land?”

The place of our birth, and the scenes of our childhood, unwittingly bias the most of us, more or less, but it is a fault that we can condone, or, with Goldsmith, pass as a virtue.

The first Monthly Meeting of Friends in Canada was established at Pelham, Welland County, in 1799. Norwich M. M. was established in 1819. The Preparative Meeting, which forms a unit of the M. M. was established in Norwich in 1816, Yarmouth in 1819 and Lobo in 1857.

Thus as "Westward the course of Empire takes its way," so the Society of Friends penetrated westward into the wilderness of this western peninsula of Upper Canada. Previous to the Preparative Meeting an Indulged Meeting had been granted to Lobo Friends back in 1849, several families, at different times, having taken up land and made for themselves homes in the vicinity.

John D. Harris and wife were the first settlers that afterwards formed a part of the meeting. They came in 1834. Benjamin Cutler came in 1837. John Marsh in 1839. My father, Daniel Zavitz, came in 1843.

Pardon me if I narrate some of his trials in love and home-making. I do so just to give you a general idea of the experiences of those pioneer times. He purchased a hundred acres at about \$4.00 per acre, on which not a tree had been cut in the way of clearing: He bought an axe and resolutely went to work. He says: "At first it went very slow and discouraging, but I hacked away, cleared seven acres, and sowed to wheat, which looked very promising the next spring, but the late frosts caught it, and it was fit only for chicken feed." But he had no chickens, and if he had, eggs were only 5 cents a dozen.

Batchelor's life under such discouraging conditions and alone in the wilderness could be endured only by the prospect of its coming to a happy conclusion. So after four years of chopping and building and longing he went back to get a companion. She was Susan W. Vail, living at Oakfield, New York State, about 40 miles east of Buffalo, having been born in New Jersey, at the foot of the Green Mountains, within sight of "Washington's Rock."

Their honeymoon lasted five days. The bride and groom, perched on a lumber wagon loaded with their household goods, from his father's home in Bertie, took their way through the forests to their tiny home hewn in the wilderness. Their pilgrimage might read as charmingly as the journey homeward of Hiawatha and Minnehaha, "through interminable forests," or of Alden and Priscilla, as "through the Plymouth woods passed onward the bridal procession." After some time of winding their devious way along the blazed trail they came upon the little cabin which was henceforth to be their home. Just the very spot, one might think, that Cowper imagined, and longed for, and sang about,

"O for a lodge in some vast wilderness,

Some boundless contiguity of shade."

Having arrived at their destination they unpacked their goods, with joyful hearts, thankful for their safe journey over

the hazardous way; for the road was very icy, and the hills were much steeper than at present. On the steepest ones the horses would slide from top to bottom. A rail was put through the hind wheels to lock them so they would not try to get ahead of the front ones, and upset the precious load down the embankment.

Lobo Meeting was mostly composed of removals from Pelham Monthly Meeting, to which place their forefathers had immigrated from Pennsylvania, there known as the Pennsylvania Dutch. The original stock we used to think came from Germany, but now we think maybe they came from Holland. The name Zavitz may have been a corruption of Zuider Zee. I give this merely as a suggestion of mine.

In 1850 one acre of land was given by Benjamin Cutler, and half an acre by John Marsh for a Meeting House and burying ground. The house was built of wood. In 1859, so many Friends having moved in, this house was found to be too small and a new building was erected of brick, size 32 ft. by 50 ft., at a cost of \$700.00. This building is used at present, always being kept in good repair, well painted, plain but useful, serving still the community even more variedly and fully than ever in its history.

Besides the families named above we might mention the Shotwells, the Mummas and the Wilsons, as old familiar names of the neighborhood.

The grounds also have been enlarged by the gift, in 1887, of half an acre by Caroline V. Cutler. They now contain two acres. It is an ideal, quiet, Quakerly spot, inviting repose and meditation. Beautiful shade trees, preserved from the ancient woods, cast their welcome shade here and there over the lawn, while on the south and west of the house protecting it from the piercing blasts of winter and the scorching suns of summer rise a stately grove of pines, planted there nearly fifty years ago by young Friends who were not too much wrapped up in their own selves and their own times that they could not think of other people and times; which thought may be laying up treasures in heaven.

I have spoken of Friends' interest in temperance. I shall relate two occurrences in the early days of the settlement that indicate their stand on the subject, and exerted a wide influence in placing the ban on whiskey. In 1838, when Benjamin Cutler had the timbers hewn out ready to erect his grist and saw mill, word got around that there would be no whiskey provided. This was an innovation on their festive and hilarious occasions and the people said they would not come unless they could have their accustomed drink. "All right," he told them, if they would not put it up without whiskey the timbers would lie there and rot. But when the appointed day arrived there were plenty of hands and less wrangling and swearing than usual. They wanted the mill even more than their afternoon of whiskey, for many of them had to carry their wheat on their backs eight or ten miles

to get it ground, and then carry their flour home, and they knew it was no holiday.

At another raising John Marsh and James McCollom were present and before it commenced the bottle was passed around a couple of times, when they said: "Gentlemen, if that bottle appears again, we shall go home." Their help was indispensable and the bottle didn't appear again.

In those early days there was big game in the woods. Bears were frequently seen prowling around in the day time. The howling of wolves often was heard at night, and the mild eyed deer would sometimes graze in the clearing with the cattle. They were known even to go with the cows up to the barn.

The Indian too was there. And they were tamer even than the deer. They often erected their wigwams on the flats of the creek, — the squaws plying their basket trade, and the men making axe handles. If their sojourn in the settlement was too brief to erect their camp they would spend the winter's night by the kitchen stove or preferably the open fireside in the white man's house. They were trustworthy and honest, except when they would steal back the Black Ash and Hickory from the woods the white man's government had stolen from them. But if they would not forget an injury neither would they forget a kindness. I shall mention one occasion typical of their honesty. There was an old Indian whose name was Simon. His wife's name was Rosy. They came to my father's one day and begged \$2.00 to buy Rosy a calico dress as the one she wore was getting rather shabby. They said they would pay it back, bye and bye. Soon afterwards Simon died. As soon as possible Rosy came back with \$2.00 saying, "My ole man made me promise to take that \$2.00 we had saved up and pay our debt to you." My father commended her on their honesty and told her to keep it. He had intended it as a present.

Many people think the Indian savage and blood-thirsty, but treat him kindly and he was always your friend. The spirit of Penn's Treaty with the Indians was lived over and over again in every Quaker settlement in the New World, and amid all the guerilla warfare between the Whites and the Red men on this continent not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed, except in two or three cases when the Quaker lost faith in his peace principles and sought armed protection. Such is the fruits of kindness. Would not that peace policy of the Quakers end all wars throughout the world? O Christ, that men only knew the power of love that led Thee by the way of the Cross into glory!

The Society of Friends in Lobo was early interested in the intellectual as well as the spiritual welfare of their younger members. In the winter of 1875-6 a literary society was organized which afterwards obtained the name of "Olio." The Olio became famed far and wide and many of those who had the good fortune to attend it attribute much of their after success to the

opportunity for culture it afforded them. It ran its brilliant course for a quarter of a century. The number at its meetings varied from the teens to nearly two hundred. A history of its first decade was compiled and printed and a copy has been deposited in the Archives at Ottawa. The good work of the Olio is being perpetuated by the "Young Friends' Association" which started soon after the Olio ceased and is at present a flourishing organization furnishing to the young members opportunity in public speaking, reciting, short story and essay writing, debating etc. Thus there has been a continuous means for the development of the intellectual and spiritual life of the succeeding generations that have come and gone for the last forty years.

The "First-day School," too, has been running since 1880. It takes the child soon after it begins to walk and endeavors to instil into its mind, in a simple way, the basic principles underlying true Christianity. The gray haired fathers and mothers likewise attend. We claim that there is no age limit shutting out the learner from the school of Christ. We believe that every child is born in purity, that it never passes, while on earth, beyond the possibility of losing it. Therefore we are interested in all, from the cradle to the grave. Our school has always taken an active part in the Lobo Township Sunday School Association which held its twenty-fifth convention this summer, 1916.

From 1886 until 1900 the Monthly Magazine called the "Young Friends' Review," was edited and published by Friends at Coldstream, being printed by A. Talbot & Co., of London. It was greatly appreciated by many, but the arrangement of being farmers first and editors at leisure, or rather at pressure, did not always work harmoniously, and the little paper was given up, or rather transferred to Friends in New York, and after a few years it merged into the "Friends' Intelligencer," of Philadelphia.

In a purely literary sense I might mention two movements Friends were largely active in inaugurating. In 1882 there was formed the "Lobo Lecture Club." Its object was to bring to the rural community the best lecturers and elocutionists obtainable. It ran successfully for five years. Among the many noted entertainers we might mention, J. W. Bengough, Dr. Wilde, Manley Benson, A. A. Hopkins, Professors Meeke and Bell-Smith, Dr. Sippi and Senator G. W. Ross. One of the first "Farmers' Institutes" ever held in the Province was handled by the L. L. C., when President Mills, Professors Panton and Shuttleworth, accompanied by the Globe reporter, held a series of meetings in the Town Hall at Coldstream.

Some time back we mentioned the Olio. In 1887 the "Coldstream Public Library" had its birth in the Olio. It ran on private subscriptions and members' fees until 1892, when it was incorporated into the great Provincial System. It contains some 2,500 volumes and is much used and appreciated by the public.

It is considered by the Department one of the best rural libraries in the Province, particularly commended for its choice selection of books.

As I intimated in the beginning, the history of Friends has been greatly influenced by the code of rules laid down for their conduct in the "Book of Discipline." Twice a year the Society queries after its members and advises them as to their diligence in attending our religious meetings; as to their love and fellowship towards each other; as to their total abstinence from the use of all intoxicating liquors as a beverage, or abetting its traffic in any way, also from the use of tobacco in any form; as to helping their fellow members who require assistance; as to providing all children under their care with school learning sufficient to fit them for business; as to bearing a faithful testimony against war; as to the non-use of oaths both profane and judicial; as to the paying of their debts and dealing justly with their fellow men; as to plainness in speech and apparel; summarizing the whole matter up in the injunction of Jesus to "let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven," with the added admonition to our ministers of the gospel "to dwell in that life which gives ability to labor successfully in the Church of Christ, adorning the doctrine they deliver to others by being good examples in deed, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith and in purity of life."