

"Ducit Armor Patriae"

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

No. 18

EARLY HISTORY OF ST. MARK'S

REMINISCENT PAPERS, NO. 1

SOLDIER PENSIONERS

EARLY SHIPBUILDING

ROBERT GOURLAY

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NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Its objects are the encouragement of the study of Canadian History and Literature, the collection and preservation of Canadian Historical Relics, the building up of Canadian loyalty and patriotism, and the preservation of all historical landmarks in this vicinity. The annual fee is fifty cents.

The Society was formed in December 1895. The annual meeting is held on Oct. 13th. Since May, 1895, over four thousand articles have been gathered in the Historical Room - seventeen pamphlets have been published, eight historical sites have been marked, and an historical building erected at a cost of over \$5,000.00.

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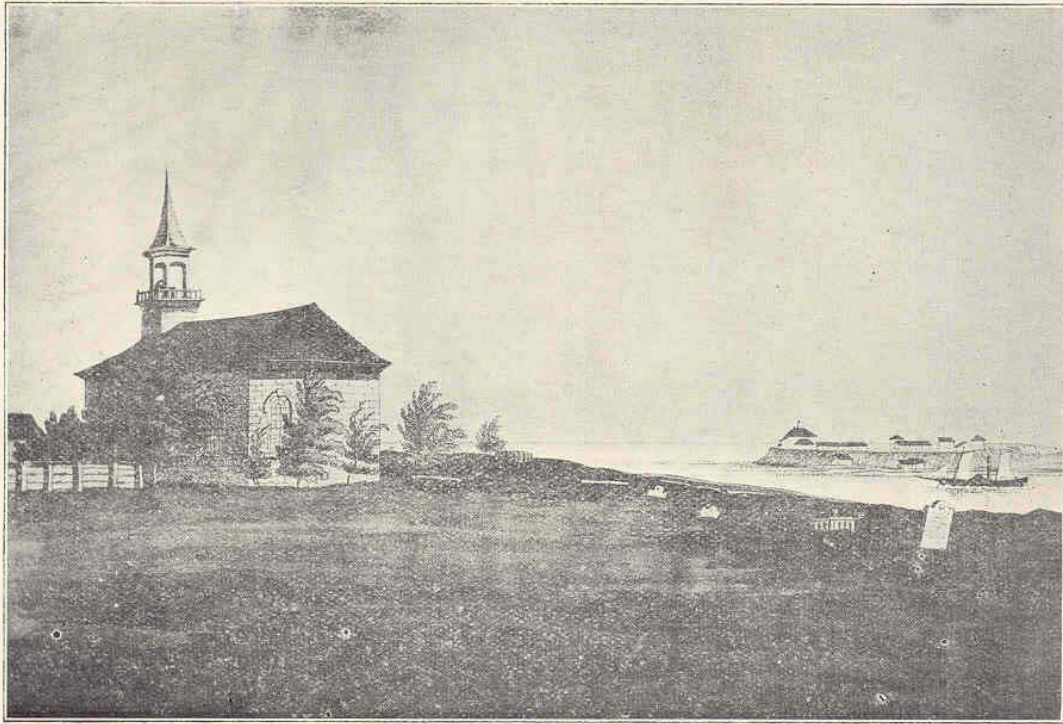
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ST. MARK'S EARLY HISTORY



WATER COLOR OF ST. MARK'S IN 1834, BY D'ALMAINE.

It has been said that "oftimes things come to those who wait" and again that "we find what we are looking for" and what follows may be taken as an illustration of this as for many years diligent search has been made with regard to St. Mark's.

Various dates have been given for the building of the beautiful old church with its ivy covered walls. It has been believed by many that the church dates from 1792, the year when Rev. Robt. Addison came out as a Missionary to this region sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but from consulting the Dominion Archives and different works of travel the present writer had stated that the Church could not have been built prior to 1804 but now from information sent by Mr. Cyril de M. Rudolf, the matter is definitely settled by extracts carefully made from the yearly reports of the S.P.G. We are much indebted to this gentleman for kindness and courtesy shown and the judicious selection he had made. Mr. Rudolf paid a visit to Niagara in 1906 and becoming interested in the Historical Society of which he is now a member, has sent us this valuable information in many type written pages. The information gleaned previously had been thus arranged:

In Mrs. Simcoe's Diary 29th July, 1792 - "There is no church here but a room has been built for a Masonic Hall. Met for service in Free Mason's Lodge where divine service is performed on Sunday."

1795 - The Duke of Rochefoncault de Liancourt says: "No church has yet been built in Newark."

1797 - July 31st - "Mr. Addison is appointed to Newark" proposes to give L100 to build a church when they are disposed to raise subscriptions.

1798 - Feb. 20th. "No part of the money granted for building churches in 1788 has yet been applied for as sites have not yet been chosen, L500 to York, L500 between Newark, Cornwall and Sandwich. Recommends that subscriptions be raised by inhabitants; treasurer and church wardens to be appointed.

July 4th "The Western District is the only one which has reported wardens elected."

1802 - Russel to Hunger "L200 granted to Church at Sandwich, the intention being to advance money as Church Wardens were appointed for Newark, York, Cornwall.

May 20th, "In Niagara, Sandwich, Cornwall, York, the people are building or preparing to build and are applying for their proportion."

1804 - In Col. Clark's Diary, St. Catharines, "In 1802, liberal subscriptions made and Episcopal Church built in 1804." (St. Mark's)

1806 - In Heriot's travels is an engraving of Niagara showing several buildings, one of which is supposed to be St. Mark's.

1810 - In report of S.P.G. published 1819 in possession of the Society, is an extract from Mr. Addison's report. "The Church at Niagara, the best in the Province was finished in 1810." An earlier report says: "Arrived at Niagara in May, found there was little probability of people paying the L100 promised. By great frugality and some little private possessions I am free from want. My mission is laborious. I must either neglect my duty or make a circuit of 150 miles several times a year through a wild country. From all sources I have less than L100 a year." It had been my intention to write to the S.P.G. to obtain information from the reports so that this vexed question might be settled conclusively but this had never been done but now by the kind assistance of Mr. Rudolph the preceding statements are confirmed. The old register dating from 9th July, 1792, kept so carefully had given the idea to many that the Church was built the same year, the original part, the nave or north end still stands, the chancel was built in 1843. The Church was used as a Hospital by the British after the Battle of Queenston Heights, by the Americans for a Barracks in their six months occupation of the Town in 1813, burned in December of that year, restored in 1822, the centennial of the organization of the congregation was held in July, 1892, so far was known from reliable sources. What follows is indisputable. Thanks are hereby tendered to the S.P.G. for their courtesy in allowing the following extracts to be made.

Part of Mr. Rudolf's letter is given: J.C. Ed.

"By the courtesy of the authorities of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I have been examining records with a view to finding out for you what I could concerning the ecclesiastical history of Niagara.

Unfortunately although there is a large collection of original letters and other documents bearing on the early history of the American Colonies, there is a gap at our particular period. I was however permitted to go through the Minute Books of our Society, and as I had the opportunity I thought it best to make fairly copious extracts, and send you the results herewith.

You will notice that the extracts are not confined to the building of the Church, as I included anything I thought might be of interest to you, with the exception of Mr.

Addison's mission to the Indians, which seems to have been the absorbing theme for him.

The Indian Settlement was 90 miles from Niagara so I suppose hardly comes within your district.

I hope that what I send will be of use to you; it give me the greatest pleasure to help you as I heartily sympathize with your enthusiasm.

P.S. In transcribing the records, I have followed the originals as closely as possible, and have preserved any unusual spellings, etc."

The two following Extracts are taken from "200 Years of the S.P.G.," by C. F. Pascoe and not from the original documents."

The Rev. John Ogilvie, S.P.G. Missionary to the Indians in the State of New York in a letter dated Albany, New York, Feb. 1st, 1760.

"Last summer I attended the Royal American Regiment upon the expedition to Niagara, and indeed there was no other chaplain upon the department, though there were three regular Regiments and the Provincial Regiment of New York. The Mohawks were all upon this Service, and almost all the Six Nations, they amounted in the whole to 940 at the time of the siege. I officiated constantly to the Mohawks and Oneidoes who regularly attended Divine Service - The Oneidoes met us at the Lake, near their Castle, and as they were acquainted with my coming, they brought ten children to receive Baptism and young women who had been previously instructed - came likewise to receive that holy ordinance. I baptized them in the presence of a numerous crowd of spectators who all seemed pleased with the attention and serious behaviour of the Indians - The possession of the Important Fortification of Niagara is of the utmost consequence to the English, as it gives us the happy opportunity of commencing and cultivating a Friendship with these numerous Tribes of Indians who inhabit the borders of Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, and even Lake Superior; and the Fur Trade, which all centers at Niagara, is so very considerable that I am told by very able judges, that the French look upon Canada, of very little Importance without the possession of this important Pass - In this Fort, there is a very handsome Chapel and a Priest, who was of the Order of St. Francis, had a Commission as the (French) King's Chaplain to the Garrison. He had particular instructions to use the Indians, who came to trade, with great hospitality (for which he had a particular allowance and to instruct them in the Principles of the Faith. The Service in the Church here was performed with great Ceremony and Parade. I performed Divine Service in this Church every day during my stay here, but I am afraid it has never been used for this purpose since, as there is no minister of the Gospel there. This neglect will not give the Indians the most favourable impression of us."

The Rev. John Doty, S.P.G., Missionary in Canada, wrote Jan. 1783, "Minutes of the present state of the Church in the Province of Canada." With regard to Niagara, the inhabitants are for the most part, English Traders, and pretty numerous. It has likewise been for some time past, a place of general rendezvous for loyal Refugees from the back parts of the Colonies: and especially for the greater part of the Six Nation Indians, who have withdrawn, with their families, to the vicinage of that place, where it is likely they will remain; among the rest are part of the Iroquois or Mohawk nation."

Mr. Doty estimated that there were 40 Protestant English Families at Niagara.

S.P.G. Report for 1789.

Bishop Inglis reports that "no person is yet to be met with for Niagara." The Report goes on to say, "The inhabitants of Niagara, consisting of many thousand Protestants, have signified their anxious desire to have a worthy Clergyman appointed for them which the Bishop has promised, if they will properly comply with the usual previous requisitions of contribution to his annual support, building a house and providing a glebe."

S.P.G. Report for 1790.

"From his second letter it appears, that Mr. Stuart has been prevented by sickness in his family from visiting Niagara as soon as he intended. - The inhabitants seem very desirous of have a Clergyman placed among them, and are willing to contribute to his support. He intends visiting them again next spring. (The Rev. J. Stuart was Missionary at Kingston, Cataraqui and to the Mohawk Indians).

S.P.G. Report for 1791.

Contains as usual, "A List of the Society's Missionaries, Catechists and School Masters, with their respective Salaries, and the places at which they officiate." In this, as No. 48 of the 58 Missionaries (6 being in Canada) appears for the first time: "Mr. Robert Addison, Missionary at Niagara, L50. In 1794, and onwards Mr. Addison's salary was 50 pounds and for visiting the Indians, 20 pounds.

S.P.G. Report for 1792.

It is stated with reference to the Rev. J. Stuart, "In the last summer he went to Niagara, and was detained there almost four weeks, as Chaplain to the Upper House of Assembly, and he found the people well disposed to make Mr. Addison's situation as Comfortable as may be, whose talents and character, he says, will doubtless contribute to the increase of the members of our Church."

In the proceedings of the General Meeting of the Society held at Lambeth Palace on January 16th, 1795, His Grace, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury being in the chair, on the recommendation of the Bishop of Quebec an additional 20 pounds per annum was granted to Mr. Addison "to aid him in the expenses of travelling to the Mohawks at Quenti."

The following abstracts are taken from the original M.S. Proceedings of the S.P.G., the spelling, etc. being unaltered.

At a General Meeting of the Society held on May 21st, 1790, His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury being in the chair, the committee reported that a letter had been received from the Bishop of Nova Scotia dated March 15th, 1790, in which his Lordship stated, among other matters:

"That he had received a joint letter from Colonel Butler and R. Hamilton, Esqr. of Niagara, stating the desire of the People there to have a Clergyman. The inhabitants are 1000 men, 700 women (This refers to Fort Niagara then British), and 1400 children, half of which are of the church, and a very few Papists. They also transmit the copy of a bond, by which the 12 principal inhabitants engage to pay 100 pounds per year to any Clergyman appointed by the Bishop or the Society, from the time of his arrival for seven years to come, unless a legal provision is made in the mean time. That he will have a

glebe and house, and if he chooses it, may easily procure lands for his own private property. Besides this, that a subscription is set on foot by the Magistrate in each Township for building Churches and supporting Ministers; and the first Protestant Clergyman that shall arrive, of whatever denomination, are to be the first provided for out of their subscriptions. The state of the country, it seems, requires this latitudinarian scheme, many leading men being Dissenters, who have no Clergymen, and Government has not interfered in the business and as the annual income of the wealthiest people is from 100 pounds to 200 pounds, it is their intention that this Clergyman's income should be nearly the same, (the bond of 100 Pounds being paid to the Clergyman appointed by the Society, which is a separate business) and whoever goes first, if he manages prudently, will have a majority of the inhabitants. That the Bishop knows of no person and desires that the Society would endeavour to send a worthy active man. The People are generous and public spirited, the climate is mild, rather warmer than New York State; the soil is exceedingly good throughout the whole district, which is almost isolated, bounded on the North (Geography rather misty) by Lake Erie, on the south by Lake Ontario, on the West by the River, which runs out of the former into the latter of those Lakes, and in which is the greatest cataract of Niagara; and on the East by a very large river that runs into Ontario. The Bishop adds that if he were in the prime of life, he knows no place in America that he would prefer."

At the General Meeting, May 20th, 1791, the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair:-

"An application was made by the Revd. Robert Addison, A.M., late of Trinity College, Cambridge, to be taken into the Society's Service, recommended by Edward Montagu, Esqr., and Mr. Humphrey's, Lecturer of Hampstead. Agreed that he may be a proper person to send to Niagara, if the Bishop of Peterborough and Ely should give a satisfactory account of him." (Trinity College is the largest and most famous College in the University of Cambridge, though not the oldest having been founded in 1546 by King Henry VIII.)

At the General Meeting June 17th, 1791, the Archbishop of Canterbury being in the chair: "The Secretary read 2 letters; one from the Bishop of Ely, another from the Bishop of Peterborough; in which the account of the Rev. Robert Addison was so satisfactory that the Board Agree to appoint him their Missionary to Niagara, with a Salary of fifty pounds, to commence at Midsummer next, and the Treasurer was directed to advance him half a year's Salary."

The following extracts are taken from the abstracts of Mr. Addison's letters read at various meetings of the Society. (N.B. The dates are the dates of the letters, not of the Meetings).

"From Mr. Addison, Missionary at Niagara, Canada, dated Quebec, April 29th, 1792, which came by Mr. Toosey, to whom he refers for an account of himself, and who advised him to stay the winter there, and to a letter he had received from Messrs. Forsyth & Co., Merchants at Montreal, dated October 31st, 1791, wherein they write that they thought it proper to mention to him that the season was too far advanced to admit of almost a possibility of reaching Niagara; and were it probable, he would find the travelling which must be by water, exceedingly uncomfortable, and that they thought his safest plan to delay his journey till spring; the navigation being open about the end of April."

October 3rd, 1792. "That as he had only arrived the July preceding, he could say little concerning the place. He is the only Clergyman of any denomination, and has always preached to a pretty large Congregation. They have no Church, but hope that the governor who is to winter with them, will assist in the building of one. He has officiated in various parts of the Settlement near 30 miles apart, but has been prevented by sickness from baptizing and preaching at much greater distances, to which he was invited. He has already baptized 47, married 2, buried 7."

April 6th, 1792. Mr. Addison states that the boundaries of the Parish are not fixed and the number of inhabitants increases daily. "That his Congregation is very considerable, though his Communicants have not yet exceeded 17, but that, if the Governor continues with them, much may be expected from his presence and example."

Letter from Mr. Stuart, dated October 10th, 1793.

"Mr. Addison, he says, has not received the Salary promised by the People, nor has he obtained the 100 Pounds allowance from Government, so that he has nothing certain but the Society bounty." The Meeting "Agreed in opinion that Colonels Butler and Hamilton be requested to inform the Society why the terms on which they desired a Missionary have not been complied with."

Letters from Mr. Addison:

October 23rd, 1793. "Everything is very dear in the Settlement: but by great frugality and some little private possession he is free from actual want. The humble Settler who labours on his land is kind to him; the rich Trader endeavours to be polite; but he is sorry to say that their Subscription is likely to end in words. As they, however, still continue to promise fair, he would wish the society not to remonstrate with them at present. The worst circumstance is that they have no Church - nor have they any Clerk so that he has the unpleasant task of going through the Morning Service without a pause and sometimes without the responses being made in an audible manner. He has written to some of his acquaintances in London to set on foot a little subscription to enable him to alter these matters."

October 23rd, 1795. "In which he returns his sincere thanks to the Society for the Gratuity which was very acceptable. That he has hitherto had very little pecuniary assistance from his People, but hopes in future that he shall receive more; should it be otherwise he shall be happy to avail himself of the Society's permission to remove to Nova Scotia, although the only objection to his present situation is too small an income for so dear a place."

August 27th, 1795. "That a small place for Public Worship has been built about 10 miles from Niagara, and he expects there will be another 6 miles further, the subscription being in some forwardness. That he has been with the Mohawks, where he baptized 15 and had 16 communicants. But the fatigue and expense of the journey prevents his being with those devout Indians as much as they deserve. That a Presbyterian Minister is settled among them and is much caressed by the common people; but he still and heartily wishes he may be of use, as he seems liberal and well-informed, and must lessen Mr.

Addison's toil of travelling about the country, as the greatest part are Presbyterians; That Col. Butler has received the Society's letter and promises to do something. The collection this year was about 45 Pounds but would have been better had Mr. Hamilton been there. He has heard nothing of any support from the Government but still hopes it

will come, for he has been several hundred pounds out of pocket by his Mission. He is encouraged however, by the Society's approbation of his labours."

June 27th, 1796. "That he considers himself much obliged to the Society for their permission to leave Niagara, and remove to Nova Scotia, tho' he inclined to wait the event of the Bishop's application to the Ministry in his favour, which Genl. Simcoe has promised to support. That he had applied before to Govr. Simcoe respecting his officiating for his Regiment in the Fort without any emolument, and he said it was not in his power to help him. That what he receives from the Society is the principal part of his income. He has been a Chaplain to the House of Assembly for which he had 100 dollars a year. Govr. Simcoe allowed him 10 pounds per year, but he has left, and the 5th Regt. for the 3 last half-years allowed him 10 guineas, but they were also gone. Surplice fees amount to nothing. Two dollars are usually paid for a wedding; nothing for Christenings or Burials. His subscription in the last year but one amounted to little more than 30 pounds. The last year, they made no collection, and when the Provincial Secretary, Mr. Jarvis mentioned it to him, he seemed disinclined to it. Tis, he observes, at best but a pitiful means of support. A man seems to lose his liberty and consequence in proportion to what he thus receives from the Public. That in his last journey to the Mohawks, he baptized 18 Indians, 3 Negroes and 32 Whites. Captain Brant interprets for him, and the serious deportment and devotion of these poor creatures is exemplary. He has 18 Communicants as pious and conscientious as can be found, he is persuaded, in any Christian congregation. The whole of his Baptisms since his last amount to 121; Marriages 4; Burials 16; Communicants at Niagara 14.

May 29, 1797. "That his Communicants increase both in the Settlement and among the Indians. That the magistrates of Niagara have applied to the Duke of Portland in his behalf, which was the more acceptable, as it was done without his solicitation or knowledge. That, his Mission is very laborious, and he must either neglect his duty, or make the circuit several times in the year of more than 150 miles thro' a wild country. That, he had performed his duty with humble and conscientious assiduity, and struggled with very narrow circumstances. He fully expected 100 pounds per year from Government, as the Secretary said he might depend upon it. He thinks his case the more hard, as Mr. Raddish, by whom he sends this letter, is allowed it. He requests the Society's permission to come to England next summer, as he shall then have been seven years in their service, but should anything be done for him before that time which will make his situation easier, he believes he should not venture on the journey, as he dislikes the Sea extremely. (This dislike is repeated in several following letters.)

May 3rd, 1798. "He has the satisfaction of acquainting the Society that he is one of the four Clergymen appointed for Upper Canada with an allowance of 100 pounds per annum. And if every article of life was not extravagantly dear, he should think himself well provided for. He says that the Bishop of Quebec mentioned to Mr. Stuart that Chaplains of Regiments were to be abolished, & Clergymen residing in the vicinity of Forts, who could attend the Garrison, were to be allowed for it. If so, he wishes to be mentioned as residing close to Fort George, Niagara & at present doing duty there without any emolument. The good people of Niagara had quite forgotten their subscription. His Indian Mission goes on well - 20 Communicants. There are about 550 belonging to the Church & they are increasing as he has some friendly serious Indians

who, under his direction, persuade the neighbouring villages to be baptised, and teach them the principles of Christianity, as well as they are able."

15th July, 1799. "He wishes to have the society's interference to require Mr. Hamilton &c. to comply with their engagements with the Bishop of Nova Scotia to pay their Missionary 100 Pounds a year, which they have never done. The whole amount of the subscription from the inhabitants in the eight years he has been there is only \$200. & for two or three years past it has ceased. He mentioned it to Mr. Hamilton & he has promised to apply to Government for some wild land to make up all arrears. He adds, that as the settlers are all well satisfied with him, as his Congregation seems rather to increase, & the farm he purchased in the Parish is very productive, besides the probability of his being at the head of a Grammar School at Niagara, he should be unwilling to leave the place."

October 1st, 1803. "That since his last, he has baptised 55, married two couples and buried four. He accounts for his having fewer than before from the arrival of a Scotch gentleman, a Dr. Young, from Montreal, by special invitation he supposes. He is said to be a good preacher, but he has the misfortune of poverty. To show the disposition of his parishioners, he says that they gave 500 dollars a year for 3 years to a Minister who is since turned trader, & he believes they will give him something more. He (Mr. Addison) is however about trying to bring his people to a settlement, & will acquaint the Society with the issue of it in his next."

Dec. 27th, 1804 - "His Congregation rather increases & they begin to talk seriously of building a Church."

June 6th, 1804 "Two Presbyterian Ministers have been licensed to marry, one of whom lives at Niagara, the other in the next Township. Most of the Settlers that come in from the States are Dissenters. His Congregation, however, rather increases & is sometimes crowded. They are about subscribing for a Church. The Court House which is now used, is a good convenient room".

July 1st, 1805. "His Congregation increases. The Church is begun and half up."

January 27th, 1807. "The Church at Niagara is not yet finished. They began on too large a scale for their means, but have entered into a fresh subscription & hope to complete it in the course of next summer."

July 5th, 1807. "The Church advances slowly. The floors however is laid & the windows nearly ready for glazing; but it is not to be wondered at that it goes on no faster, as almost all the settlers about Niagara are Presbyterians. He says, that he is often asked for Prayer Books & told that there are none in the shops. A Church Bible too would be very useful to him, as his eyes begin to fail & he can only read good print with glasses." In response to this request some Prayer Books & a Quarto Bible were sent to Mr. Addison.

Jan. 2nd, 1808. "The Church at Niagara advances but slowly. It has gotten the first coat of plaster & he hopes that it will be fit for Divine Service towards the end of summer."

July 10th, 1808. "That nothing has been done to the Church, the expense having disheartened his good hearers; but it has gone too far to be neglected, & the next effort will finish it. Every part of his Mission is as prosperous as before."

Jan. 14th, 1809. As to Communicants, "He had 18 at a settlement 30 miles from him & at Niagara 12 or 14. He does his best among a people to whom he was sent, & believes his labour is not quite in vain."

Jan. 5th, 1810. "They have so far finished their Church at Niagara that Divine Service has been constantly performed there since last August. The pews are handsome & sold for more than 300 pounds. It is the best Church in the Province & they hope to complete it next spring if their funds do not fail."

July 2nd, 1810. "That in the new Church, where Service is now performed, he has large Congregations; & in two country places 10 or 12 miles from Niagara, the inhabitants have erected two small convenient Chapels, where he alternately performs Divine Service on the first Sunday in every month to crowded audiences. The Communicants rather increase, being in the whole Settlement something more than 56. But he is most satisfied with his success among the Indians."

Jan. 16, 1811. "That the Church is now very neatly finished, except some seats in the Gallery & the Congregation, which is large, is well accommodated for Public Worship."

August 11th, 1812. "They were all in bustle and confusion from the Declaration of War by the American States.

October 4th, 1813. - "That the Baptisms are so few is owing to the distress of the times. The enemy, after taking Niagara, sent most of the respectable inhabitants as prisoners of war into the States, 2 or 300 miles into the interior. He was put upon his parole & suffered to remain in his own home. But when our Army advanced towards Niagara they formed a line about four miles from the Town and his house (which is nearly that distance) was some time the headquarters. Then he performed Divine Service to the separate divisions alternately, & visited the sick, who were very numerous. They expected to fall back when the winter sets in."

Jan. 7th, 1814 - "That during the last half year, The Enemy, being in possession of Niagara, he did not perform his duties as usual. The Town and Church were burnt & the Enemy have crossed to the other side of the River. It is not possible He says, to describe the horrid scenes he has witnessed. He has reason however to be very thankful. For tho' he has been plundered, made prisoner of war, & harassed till he was dangerously ill, yet his house, which is about 3 miles from the Town has escaped & affords an Asylum to several sufferers who fled from the flames. They hope for happier times & to see the Church which was fortunately built of Stone, repaired."

July 11th, 1814 - "This part of the Province is again the seat of war. A battle was fought six days since within 10 Miles of his residence, in which the British Force was obliged to retire; in consequence the whole country is open to the Enemy & nothing is to be expected but scenes of wretchedness & desolation.

Feb. 14th, 1815. "He has witnessed during the last summer Campaign, almost the sad scenes of Distress which a Country subject to the Ravages of War can suffer. The English troops however, by the blessing of heaven, tho greatly inferior in Number to the Enemy, have driven them beyond the Frontier. The Church is covered and used as a Commissary's store. Mr. Addison performs Divine Service in the General Hospital.

July 10th, 1815. "The Church is still used as a Commissary's Store but it will very soon be emptied as a new store house is in great forwardness.

Jan. 30th, 1816 "By means of a subscription the Church has been sufficiently repaired for the performance of Divine Service, though it is by no means so comfortable as before its destruction by the Americans.

Aug. 3rd, 1816. "By means of a private subscription, they have been enabled to repair the Church, so that they could make use of it in the summer, but during the winter some other place must be prepared for the Congregation. At the Bishop's last visitation 54 of his congregation were confirmed; this number would have been almost doubled had not the enemy been so long in possession of the country & destroyed the Town."

Jan. 10th, 1817. "They have long been in expectation that Government would give them some assistance in repairing their Church which was used as a Government Store House previously to its being burnt by the enemy. Should their expectation be disappointed, he is fearful that a considerable time must elapse before the building will be put in proper state for Divine Service."

July 15, 1818. "The Church has lately been twice repaired by subscription, but they cannot make use of it in winter. They have some expectation of procuring assistance from Sir John Sherbrooke as it was used for a Barrack during the war.

Jan. 10th, 1820. "The Church which had been so dilapidated during the War that it could not be used in cold weather will soon be thoroughly repaired as the Lieut. Governor has appropriated 500 pounds for that purpose.

July 4th, 1820. "He has been much occupied in superintending the repairs of the Church."

Jan. 28th, 1821. "Population 900 mostly Presbyterians, but the most respectable part attend the Church."

(From the record book of St. Andrew's Church (Presbyterian) dating from 1794 it seems that there are no regular minister from 1821 to 1827 and from other records it is known that many of the inhabitants attended the services of both churches, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon - Ed.)

REMINISCENT PAPERS

No. 1 by Rev. J. C. Garrett

JOHN M. CLEMENT

The Niagara Historical Society in the brief period following its inception, that is to say, from December 1895 to 1907, the year on which we have entered, has done much to perpetuate the memory of those men and women to whom Niagara with the parts adjacent, owes so much for making it what it has been and what it is now. Not only have names and incidents been rescued from oblivion and preserved to us and future generations by its means which while dimly remembered, it were impossible to forget, by the discovery of new facts to them relating, or by a resetting of the facts, known and recorded, in terms and associations better appropriate and more truly worthy. Little and large have been touched into a truer and more appreciable form, which proves the later judgments concerning peoples, the truer and the better. And, just here, without the very slightest savour, I assure myself, of offence to good taste, I may take the opportunity -- I

shall not say liberty -- to mention that no one has done more on the lines indicated than that lady who has presided over the society's destinies during most of these years. Person and place alike have been made luminous by virtue of her pen, and to-day, most largely by her efforts, long and well sustained, stands within the precincts of the old historic town a building presently to be dedicated to the purposes of this Society.

In this Memorial Hall shall be deposited relics already gathered from the past, and, when the things of today have become ancient, they too shall find representative perpetuation there.

The history of a place is but the story of its people, men and women whose lives have affected it, or those whose lives it has been known to affect. There must be greater or lesser in the proportion of the significance in the proportion of any. Its buildings, great or small, indifferent or imposing, are merely monuments of the men who built and of those who occupied them. In themselves, considered they are nothing or next to nothing; in their use and purpose, as they serve our ends presently or as they have served the purposes of those who reared and utilized them in days anterior to our own, dwell their significance. Even the ruins of structures erected in other times are index to the thought, the feeling and the character of the people of those times in which they were planned and brought to completion, the very decay of which adds charm to their interest.

Now, while much has been recorded of the men and women of the past of Niagara and the things that are monumental of them, it would be folly on our part to stay further proceedings, and act as if we considered the story complete. The curtain has not yet finally fallen and while the stage of action stands and the drama proceeds, incident and its makers must still be regarded, and all that is worthy of interest to-day, should be so noted as not to be lost to that interest or forgotten to-morrow. Every stone fitted to place in the fabric reared must be of importance thereto, as it is of its substance, whether it be oblong or square, round or non-descript, and may not be left without some degree of consideration - some measure of notice.

That within the few years last past, some of the epoch-markers and era makers of Niagara, whose dust, reverently deposited, has but begun to mingle with the earth beneath the trees in the midst of the silence of beauty and the beauty of silence so very characteristic of their last earthly resting place, lived and moved and had their being in our midst, there need be no want of information, as there is abundance of evidence.

Yet not those who, without the least hesitation, may be considered and called such alone merit consideration. The tiny lamp has often served us as we could not the brilliant sun. The great and the greatest, the lesser and the least have alike for us an interest, for each alone can have his attribute by comparison with each. As to both it does not so much presently concern us that they sleep or rest peacefully after the fitful fever of their early life, as it does that their names shall be recorded and their memory cherished by those who succeed them in place and period and yet more by their successors in period and place. After so much of remark by way of foreword, I may now proceed with my subject.

The first man, as I left the train on my advent to Niagara, to take me by the hand was the People's Church Warden, John M. Clement, familiarly called "Johnny." This on the 31st day of October, 1888. Taking my grip from my other hand, he bore it as he led me there, to the Rectory. From that time to the day of his death, I kept him more or less in view.

Even when for a time, he lived in St. Louis, Missouri, having been engaged by Mr. J.H. Lewis as a clerk in his establishment in that city, I tried to keep him within the circle of my interest and the substance of my inquiries. That he went down there too late in life to make a real success of it is not to be considered wholly a matter of blame on his part. Away from the associations of the greater part of his career, as well as the intimacy of his family, the formative period of his life all behind him, it was all but impossible that he should accommodate himself to the new circumstances. An U.E. Loyalist by inheritance and a Tory by inheritance, conviction and choice, he could not, at his very earliest, have made a very true or enthusiastic United States' citizen. Be that as it may, his time in the great Republic was, as most of us know, comparatively brief and not overly successful.

To go back to the beginning, let me say, that, at the time I first knew him, he kept a very small store in the place now occupied by P. Librock, Jeweller, on Queen St. What was really sold there at the time, I cannot recall to mind, but I know there was more retailing of Protestant-Ecclesiastical, Tory-political and Blue and Capitular Masonical Information than of the more material matters that usually change hands in such a place.

Warm-hearted, genial and jovial, with gifts that should have given him wider influences and opportunities so I have been informed, of larger life and usefulness, the wonder is that he could so easily have contented himself with the measures of his accomplishments. We have not far to seek, however, to find him in those particulars in good company, some of the men of genius extraordinary, whom, presently, I need not instance, lest your view I may make comparisons absurd.

Before my knowledge of him began his better days had well-nigh, if not wholly, passed, and, if it be evident that he was not destined to succeed in the world of affairs and business, it was through no lack of ability, limit of education or want of information. He was bright beyond many, alike in ability to acquire and bestow the things of intelligence. Instead of his becoming, as it was originally intended he should, a learned physician, he became a local politician, though never to his own advantage in the attainment of place and power. Had he but served himself with all the zeal he served the Liberal-Conservative Party in local politics, I hazard the assertion, that he had been happier and wealthier, if not healthier, in possession during his later life's period of more of the world's good things in the sense material, and, perhaps, more of the things that related to affection, which alone can grace and sweeten this work-a-day life. So far as we can see, in the event of any party triumph, he was never selected by the men he supported for the solace of spoil sharing. He died owing his political party nothing.

To the Craft (Free Masonry) he was, doubtless, ever and always too free. There was no limit to his labour in the cause thereof but that of his cable tow, whose extent was indeed beyond that of the many combined.

To serve his Craft, he would brook no hindrance. Yet, as in Politics, so in Masonry, sparing no pains to advance its interests, it would be hard indeed to discover any personal advantage beyond that which was purely social, that ever accrued to him from it. He made many men Masons who never made much, as a man, of him. He was a Mason, however, "from the tips of his fingers to the end of his toes," as someone has graphically expressed it. Those who remember him will not find it difficult to call to mind the disadvantage under which at times he laboured, owing to a rather harassing defect of utterance. His speech flowed perfectly, when he could dismiss its consciousness. Those who, in the sanctuary of Lodge and Chapter, have heard him give

almost the whole of the work, routine and degree, which, owing to the deficiency in mnemonics of those in office, he was often compelled to give, must remember his superiority to such trying disadvantage in the happiness and constancy of his triumph over it. His verbal memory was remarkable to a degree.

Despite an occasional lapse, that to himself more than to any other, brought the blush of conscious shame, he was a Churchman and a Christian. Never failing in attendance at a Tory political gathering, always present at every communication of his Lodge and convocation of his Chapter until overtaken by fatal disease, he never forgot, even in the interest of these, to occupy his seat, at the morning service, as often as the Sunday came around, in the Church of St. Mark, which we believe was ever first in his affection. With a number of others, he was in the early days of my ministry here, afraid of that which is high in Churchmanship, and I fear he half doubted me, nevertheless, in due course, he came to appreciate the fact, that all is not high which by some may be considered so and being a Mason and therefore a ritualist, he grew to learn the difference between reverence and ritualism.

Of the antecedents of my subject, so extraordinary in the regard of things extraordinary yet so ordinary in ordinary things, it need only be said that both his father and mother were of honourable and historic families - George A. Clement, his father, being the son of that hero, who under the name of "Ranger John," Mr. Kirby has made immortal in his poem "The U.E." but whose proper name was that of our subject, his grandson John Clement. His mother, Hannah Ball, who at the age of 90 years is still in our midst, is the daughter of John C. Ball who fought for King and Country at Queenston Heights. As Miss Carnochan informs me, to whom I am indebted for the facts to them relating, both families, Ball and Clement, were among the earliest settlers in the vicinity, of what are termed U.E. Loyalists, having come to the country in 1780.

Honoured and industrious, as well as being in possession of considerable means, Mr. & Mrs. Clement gave their son John M., a good education and in affairs abundant opportunity to succeed, so that whatever he may have lacked in the beginning or end, was beyond the power of parents to supply.

John M. Clement was born in the Township of Niagara on the 4th day of October, 1841. He was educated at the Grammar School of Niagara and that of Drummondville, at the former under Rev. H. Phillips and at the latter under Mr. James M. Dunn - his favourite study being Geometry in which he was proficient. To use the exact words of one of our best authorities, let me say, "Nor must be forgotten the interest he took in the cause of education, being Secretary and Treasurer of the High School of his native town for many years." At one time, a dispute having arisen between town and township as to the erection of the present High School building, it was greatly owing to his exertions and those of the Rev. Chas. Campbell, the Chairman, that a successful issue was obtained. At a public meeting afterwards Mr. Clement, in referring to the struggle said, "We might well have quoted the words of St. Paul that we had fought with beasts at Ephesus."

That he ever matriculated at the University, I am unable to affirm, though as already stated, parental intention seems to have been to make him a doctor of medicine. But "The best laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft' a glee," and so they appear to have gone in his case, for he never arrived at that desirable destination.

In early life, he married Miss Donaldson of Grantham and to them in due course, two children were born - a daughter and a son, both of whom are to-day occupying

positions of honour and usefulness in the world, a credit to themselves, their parents and this their native town.

Its joys and sorrows coming to an end, Mr. Clement departed this life, after a very painful illness borne with great patience and fortitude, at the Marine and General Hospital, St. Catharines, on the 25th day of April, 1902, leaving behind his aged mother, his wife and his children, - all of whom to him were very dear.

During his illness, alike at his mother's and at the hospital, I, as his clergyman, frequently visited him, till, without murmur or complaint to me, he passed on to join the silent majority. This I can assert, without equivocation or mental reservation of any kind, I never heard, under any provocation, the late John M. Clement utter one slanderous word or make complaint that he was ever slandered. Had he been less kind in some regards, in others he had been more considerably dealt with, and, I am persuaded, more tenderly cared for and kindly treated, but no disparaging word he owes, seeing that in strength and weakness, as ourselves, he only could be human - he was but a man. He asks not of us now for any of his frailties the offer of apology, for every one of his, our own must be in some degree.

This, or any paper that may follow, I am not writing as an historian, so that for their form, I need offer no apology. To do justice to some historic claims and, thereby to ourselves, is not my sole intention, but rather to save from possible oblivion some few names that should not be forgotten. It is to me more than sadness to think that the appreciation most shown of names and characters must be post-mortem - that they of whom it may be most appropriately uttered and recorded, are beyond the gratification of hearing any kind words of ours spoken or seeing them when written. Often too late must come the manifestation of our sympathy and favour. Our flaws, our frailties and our failings stand out conspicuously, and are brought home to us abundantly in the light of life; our graces, gifts and goodnesses most reveal themselves on the sable background of death and the grave. Perhaps it may be better so. Peace! Let him rest, whose life, as ours, had its own term of weariness! God knows us best! The true good in all is ever in His view, whatever else is there, and yet, what else He sees, He sees through eyes of mercy - mercy indeed, that every soul must claim, and which to claim is surely to secure. How strangely mixed in quality is every life of man!

SOLDIER PENSIONERS

"And there are Deeds that shall not Wither. And Names that must not Pass Away."

The diplomacy of British Governors has accomplished much, the courage and manliness of British Officers has helped the nation muddle through many difficulties. But diplomacy nor courage of leaders could "Make the Kings come down nor the emperors frown," if behind these was not the rank and file of the British Army.

In the old days, a man taking the Queen's shilling gave up twenty-one years of his life. He was sent from barrack-room to battle field, from battle to barrack from England to Indian, to Canada. Sent to back up the blundering diplomacy of politicians, often led into ambush by incapable if courageous officers, in time of peace in all sorts of trouble,

as in an old song of my father's. "Sent to clink. Five times for selling my kit. Three times

for desertion" - and so on through the list. -- In time of war no thought of desertion though his rations were "Standing water as thick as ink." A bit of beef that were three year stored - A bit of mutton as tough as a board." or as was served to them in the Crimea, dried pease which they must cook as best they could.

The men whose time expired while in the colonies were encouraged to settle there. Those who had but a short time to serve often exchanged to the incoming regiments that they might be in the new land when given their discharge. Even desertion was very very common, when orders to return home were expected.

Niagara being for so many years, a military centre had great numbers of those soldiers, official known as "out pensioners of Her Majesty's Hospital at Chelsea." We remember some of them, quiet, respectable men who still clung to the habit of "keeping themselves and their accoutrements clean, going to Church every Sunday, getting drunk occasionally - considering it treason, "to vote other than "Tory" - and calculating time from "Pension Day". Also they had leanings towards matrimony, age never being considered an obstacle.

Their widows never seemed to have difficulty marrying another pensioner. We remember well, one such who had six husbands, five of whom had been soldiers.

"Time rolls his ceaseless course
The race of yor who danced our infancy upon their knee
And told our marvelling boyhood legends store
Of those strange ventures happed by land or sea
How are they blotted from the things that be
How few all weak and withered of their force
Wait on the verge of dark eternity
Like stranded wrecks - the tide returning hoarse
To sweep them from our sight
Time rolls his ceaseless course."

The governor has left his reports and letters - the officer his letters and diary -- We think these worthy gather letters, diaries and reports to keep in memory those who lived in the strenuous days of yore.

Private Tommy Atkins left behind him no memoirs - the rising generation hear from his lips no tales of the sufferings of the Crimea, the horrors of the mutiny nor talk of plague and fever which wrought no less havoc in the Regiment. Their graves are flattened now, and all but forgotten but surely they too deserve some measure of recognition from a society formed for the purpose of keeping in memory all that goes to make up the history of our town. They did not talk of patriotism but in many a march and fight had they proven their willingness to give up their lives, "For the pride of the race and the peace of the land."

Those who lived with them were not taught patriotism by flag saluting and wild hurraing - but pride and love for the race and all its glorious history came with the lump in the throat that rose when listening to some tale of great heroism. Love and loyalty to our Queen was kindled in our hearts when we say the dimmed eyes glow, saw the bowed shoulders square themselves as an old man would live again though a well remembered

scene. They could relate many a barrack room tale of war, but as the service of most of them was during the "piping days of peace." their favourite stores were usually some incident in the life of the Queen. The following is a sample:

"The Regiment was at Aldershot and had formed a hollow square to witness tearing the stripes from an old Sergeant. The Queen whose presence seems to have been unexpected, rode up and questioned the prisoner. He told her of his sufferings and service in the Crimea. With the tears streaming down her face, she turned to the Commanding Officer and asked for a full pardon." One of the particulars of this scene which seemed to be very important to the teller and was duly impressed upon the hearers was that the Queen had on a most beautiful pink dress on this occasion."

The list of names in the pensioners' book recall to many of us the faces or characteristics of those who used to be so familiar to us: John Fulton, Robt. Beaven, Wm. Hacker, Corpl. John McKenzie, Corpl. Wm. Maxwell, were all regular attendants at St. Andrew's Church when I was a child. Maxwell was the sexton. Mr. Fulton was an elder in the Free Kirk, and after the union, in St. Andrew's, Mr. McKenzie was librarian of the Mechanics' Institute for some years. Mr. Goodwin was always accompanied by a dog as white and as woolly as a sheep and we cannot think of one without the other. The name Jesse Keitley recalls a very much bent old man who went to Church when he could barely move one foot past the other. Kent again was a man as straight as in his soldiering days, but renowned more for his Irish wit than for the uprightness of his ways. Collins served his full time in the Royal Navy and no doubt learned many useful things there, but being master in his own house was not one of them. His matrimonial disturbances were the amusement of the neighbourhood in which he lived.

THOMAS BURNS

Sergeant R.C.R.

In the list of the "Pensioners' Relief Fund" 1870, there are 66 names. In April 1882, there are 27. This Fund seems to have been dropped at that time. In a list of the Pensioners, May 31st, 1882, there are 36 names. To-day there is but one British pensioner in Niagara, Mr. Thomas Burns, who during the summer still performs the duties of a Custom House Officer. Mr. Burns has a remarkable memory, giving the date of almost any event in his experience. He joined the band of the Royal Canadian Rifles, 2nd August, 1847 and was sworn in by Justice of the Peace Simpson, who was afterward M.P. for Niagara. His services lasted 23 years and 9 months, in that time being shifted many times as far East as Fort Lennox and west to London, which was west in those days. He was the son of a man of the 85th King's Own Light Infantry. His wife, whom he married in 1850, was a daughter of Jas. Holohan of the 15th, and their son, the late Sergt. Jas. Burns of London, was Bugler of the R.C.R. at 12 years of age and served as Bugler in the Fenian Raid, later receiving a medal for service in the N.W. Rebellion, 1885. He himself has the Fenian Raid medal. With a pleasant laugh, he tells how they were reported as having captured four switches, a meerschaum and a shako."

Mr. Burns transferred from the band to the ranks and was discharged Servant in 1870. He served on the Montreal Police Force for some years, but in 1883, returned to Niagara where we hope his stalwart form will be a familiar sight for many years to come. He died Jan. 3, 1908, after a few hours illness, less than a month after this was written.

He was still in the band when it was sent from Toronto in the "Peerless" to take part in the last Funeral of Brock, Oct. 13, 1853. Mr. Burns remembers the firing party and Niagara and marched to the Hamilton homestead where the funeral procession started from. The Car was modelled from that of the Duke of Wellington. It was four tiers high, having upon it and about it swords and rifles that had been used in the War of 1812. "Before we started," says Mr. Burns "the same Mr. Ball who had just been showing us Brock's hat called upon all survivors of 1812 to come forward as chief mourners. One of the fellows standing near my brother Pat, who was drum major stepped out. "Here, come back" says Pat, "What _____ are you doing there? "Whist' be quiet will you - sure ain't I survivor of 1812, I was born in that year," and he went in a chief mourner.

As nearly all the old soldiers who lived in Niagara within our memory finished their time in the Royal Canadian Rifles it might be interesting to say a little about this Regiment. "In 1806, Col. Brock, afterwards Sir Isaac Brock, laid before His Royal Highness, the Commander in Chief, the outline of a plan for the formation of a veteran battalion to serve in the Canadas. (Life of Sir Isaac by his nephew F. Brock Tupper).

He writes, "Experience has taught me that no regular regiment however high its claims to discipline, can occupy the Frontier Posts of Lower and Upper Canada, without suffering materially in its numbers. It might have been otherwise some years ago; but now that the country, particularly the opposite shore, is chiefly inhabited by the oiliest characters who have an interest in debauching the soldier from his duty; since roads are opened into the interior of the states which facilitate desertion it is impossible to avoid the contagion.

What I would presume humbly to recommend is the establishing of a corps composed of men deserving, by long and faithful services, of the most liberal protection and favour, whose interests would be so interwoven with the safety and prosperity of the country as to ensure a continuance of good conduct.

And Canada instead of being the ruin of part of the army would be a most eligible quarter." The Duke of York sent his thanks for "the very sensible observations which H.R.H. will not fail to take into consideration at a seasonable opportunity." The next year the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion was sent out and then the R.C.R. was formed at St. Helen's Island 1841. To join this, a man must have served 15 years in the Army, have a good conduct record and never have been court martialed. The members of the band must be the sons of soldiers. Thus we would naturally conclude that it would be a well drilled, well disciplined regiment. So it was in many respects but good sergeants were not the necessity that they are in a Regiment receiving "Raw Recruitites." In this Regiment they never became the trusty responsible men upon whom the officers depended and to whom the ranks looked up. But the Sergeant of to-day might be in the ranks to-morrow and the ranker in his place in the Sergeant's Mess. The dignity which we naturally associate with that office was unattainable by these men. The following reminiscences of Mr. Burns illustrates this. The Commissariat store house in Toronto was near the wharves opposite a tavern known as The Half Way House. Provisions were carried in a large box having four handles.

One day a hurdy-gurdy playing in front of this tavern inspired the Sergeant in Charge to mount this box and dance for the amusement of his men and the crowd about. Next day, he could say with Mulvaney, "I was Sergeant wanst afterwards redushed."

The orphans of the Pensioners were many of them sent to the Duke of York School in England and the Hibernian in Ireland. These schools formed grand recruiting stations for the Regiments. A number of the band of the R.C.R. were from these schools. Mr. Burns tells us of three who deserted while the Regiment was stationed at Butler's Barracks. Their plans were well laid and told to only one other. The band did not play outside during mess as it does now at camp time, but inside. The room was brilliantly lighted with a large number of candles. IT was the duty of one to wait behind and extinguish the lights which were for the benefit of the band. This man was the accomplice of the three. On this night, he lingered over his work as long as he dared then the band formed and was marched to quarters where the roll was called. It was only then that

George Hill, Hare and Dunleavy were missed. By this time, they had reached a boat waiting for them at the Half Moon Battery. Neither they nor their instruments were seen again. A few years ago, Mr. Burns noticed an article praising the work of Geo. Hill, band master at West Point. He wrote and found out that this was a son of the George Hill who had deserted from the band of the R.C.R.

PRIVATE WM. LUNN

After twenty-five years 116 days service in the Army, Private Wm. Lunn was blinded while on sentry duty at Butler's Barracks.

He was looking upwards at a spider spinning its web, when it fell upon his face. He immediately clapped his hand upon it squashing it. The poison entered his eye. He was sent to hospital and in a few days was told that he would be all right. The old Doctor went away and Mr. Lunn always declared that the young man left in his place had put vitriol in his eye. At any rate, he lost the sight of both eyes. He lived in Town for forty years after this.

His discharge reads - Private Wm. Lunn No. 486 born in the Parish of Oakingham in or near the Town of Reading county of Berks - enlisted in London in 56 Reg't. Nov. 6, 1832 at the age of 23-1/2 years, the last 10 years in R.C.R., Services in Jamaica - West Indies, landed in Canada 10 May, 1840. Discahrged 1857. Pr. Lunn however claimed to be 5 years older than what was shown by his papers. He had given it wrong as he was over the enlisting age.

An application for increase in pension had evidently been made as of course being blind he could not add to his income doing the odd jobs by which so many of the old soldiers kept themseves in "Baccy & Beer."

The following answer to such an appeal is among the letters and papers held by his daughter Mrs. Wm. McCarten:

Royal Hospital Chelsea, S.W.
20th May, 1864.

Wm. Lunn, Late of Canadian Rifles.

With reference to your application of 12th ultimo, I am directed to acquaint you that you have been awarded the full rate of Pension authorized by the regulations for your services of 25 years and 4 badges, viz. 1s2d a day and as you were discharged in consequence of having completed your period of service and not for disability you have no claim to any increase to that rate.

A. MOORHEAD, Secretary and Registrar.
County of Lincoln, Province of Canada.

I think that it was during the Zulu War that Mr. Lunn was almost a daily visitor at our house. He would talk of the Crimea, would tell of the bridge that was formed of dead bodies at Balaclava, would speak of how weak they were when relieved by the French but 80 men left the Regiment, yet his papers mention no service there nor had he a Crimean medal so that it is probable that his stories were second hand. I went to see him in Toronto a few months before he died. He tried to tell me an old yarn about being caught stealing cabbages while on the march, but would wander off on something else. He was then 91 years old.

JOSEPH EARS

A genial old fellow that we remember more for the excellence of his strawberries than for anything else was Joseph Ears of the 2nd Brigade Light Infantry. He would say, "Our Officers were no small guns, Earls, Dukes and all that!" The late Mr. Jas. Swift belonged to the same Reg't. The last time I talked with Mr. Ears he told again with many chuckles the same story that was also told when Swift's name was mentioned. "It was just after the Queen's marriage and we were having a grand review. We had marched past and were coming back at the double. Swift never could run and was way in the rear. The Prince asked who that man was. He was told Swift. Well, well said the Prince with a laugh. "Swift by name and slow by nature." This joke never lost its freshness.

CORPORAL HENRY RICHES

At the age of 39 years, Henry Riches had won his discharge after serving 21 years, 41 days. He was born in the Parish of West Gate in the Town of Canterbury in the County of Kent. He enlisted at Canterbury for the 41st Reg't. on the 17th August, 1843, at the age of 16-1/4 years. He was discharged at his own request "Free with Pension May 22, 1866.

The discharge was confirmed at the Horse Guards 3rd day of July, 1866. He went to the Crimea and after serving there two years and a half, returned to England without ever having been in hospital. He was always a little bitter over the treatment there, but took care to emphasize the fact that it was not the officers who were to blame, but those in authority at home. He was one of 11 men out of 3 regiments who returned after an assault upon Sevastapool. He was always very proud of his two medals, one having the bar for Sevastapool 1854, which he called the Victoria medal it having the Queen's head upon it.

In some way since his death, one bar has been lost and Mrs. Riches cannot remember what it was for. She thinks it was on the medal for 1855. She also says that he was recommended for the Victoria Cross for service at Sevastapool. He was married while stationed in Wales. He came to Canada in 1858 and joined the R.C.R. in Kingston. His first wife having died, he married the daughter of Timothy Harrington of the R.C.R. (a pensioner at Niagara). For a number of years, he was an enthusiastic member of the local company of the 19th Battalion.

He died May 22nd, 1888, leaving a widow and ten sons and daughters, all of whom are still living.

JAMES OGILVY COX

Commonly known as Gentleman Cox, was the son of Capt. Cox of the 37th. His brother was an Officer of the R.C.R. and he was brother-in-law of Capt. Geale of the same Reg't. He enlisted in the 100th. The term of service of this reg't. was ten years or twelve in case of war. At the end of their ten years service the reg't. was in Montreal and as many of the men did not wish to leave Canada again they asked for their discharge. Cox was one of these. He then enlisted in the R.C.R., which was disbanded two years later. He lived about

here for a number of years. If not acquainted his well known introduction, "I am a gentleman, my name is Cox," soon put you on his list of friends. He had been discharged on account of the disbandment of the reg't. but never thought of applying for any pension. About fifteen years ago, friends interested themselves and made application. He received \$100. cash and 6d a day for life. His money soon went and his 6d day was all he had to depend upon. He died in St. Catharines and was buried in St. Mark's Cemetery.

A few of these old men had been what was called "mollified pensioners". That is after serving at least fourteen years they demanded their discharge took a lump sum and left the army waiving all claims to a pension. These as a rule were not men who looked ahead. They quickly spent what they had. The British Government learned that many of its old soldiers were destitute and granted them a gratuity of 6d a day after they had reached 60 years of age. One of these men in Niagara made application for his 6d a day.

The answer came back that he had demanded his discharge when men were badly needed 1837, therefore no gratuity would be granted them. During the Crimean War many of these mollified pensions re-enlisted for Garrison duty to allow the Regiments to go on active service.

ELIAS JONES

I do not remember this unique figure but have heard of him so often that it seems to be remembrance. He was born in Caernavon, April 1st, 1764, died in Niagara 1873, at the age of 109 years. He served eleven years in the Royal Navy and the rest of his time in the 58th Reg't. He served in the Peninsular War, being wounded at Vittoria and when on the Pyrenees. He came to Canada in 1832 and served as Sergeant of the Niagara Volunteers in 1837. The late Senator Plumb was much interested in this old man and did what he could to make his old age comfortable. An application was made in Parliament for aid. (He was believed by some to be but a mollified pensioner.) The following note by Sir John A. MacDonald was written on the back of the Petition when it was forwarded to the proper authorities, Cameron and Richards who were respectively Commissioner of Crown lands and Provincial Secretary.

"I think between you and Richards, you could vote this old buffer a small gratuity. You as a Tory and Richards as a Reformer." This was probably more effective than elegant for the old soldier was well taken care of after this till his death 7 years later.

BERNARD McBRYAN

Barney McBrayn is described by one of his old neighbours as a kindly, sensible man who was equally at home in visiting a sick child or an old comrade. He was born in the Town of Omagh, County of Tyrone, enlisted at Londonderry for the 56th Regt. of Foot on 14th July, 1828, at the age of 18 years. His service was 21 years, 5 days services in the West Indies, 8 years in North America. He was discharged in consequence of disability 14th July, 1849. His papers are very much stained and hard to decipher but it seems that for some cause probably the disability referred to above his pension was increased. He had I think two sons and four daughters. At least two of these married American Soldiers from Fort Niagara and one grandson joined the U.S. Army. While so much is being said about old age pensions, we wonder if such a thing would have the same effect that the certainty of a pension seems to have had on the British soldier. They were not afraid of work but as a rule, seemed to have no desire to save money. Many of them bought a little cottage with an acre or two of ground while never claiming their land grants. Barney was one of these. The following is a copy of his paper.

Bathurst St. Barracks.

Toronto, 7th June, 1858.

Certified that Bernard McBrien from the Royal Regiment of Canadian Rifles, has served in the Canadian Enrolled Pension Force and as a Member of the Police Force for five years and has faithfully performed his duty when called on to act in the above Force and is now under the Act of Parliament 14 and 15 Vic., Cap.77, entitled to fifty acres of land and is strongly recommended as being a steady and industrious man for an additional Free grant of 100 acres under the provisions of the order of Council of the 26th August 1857.

Signed

I. L. TULLOCK, Military Superintendent of Pensioners.

(Not very sure of name.)

We cannot be reminded too often that Niagara has a glorious history that our fathers were a sturdy race ready to do and dare for king and country. There are those with us who are proud of being descendants of the U.E.L.'s who left all and faced for the second time the hardships of pioneer life because of their loyalty.

Some of us are proud of being the children or grandchildren of those who had no worldly wealth but the "bit o'pension." I was told lately that it was the new comers who had somewhat raised the moral tone of our town. Perhaps the daughter of a man who was born in a barracks and who served in a regiment is prejudiced but as I recall one by one these old "comrades," remember their simple faith in God and the Church - think again of their pride "the Regiment," their loyalty to the Queen, and the cheery kindly interest in one another I cannot but think that they compare favourably with those of the present day. It may be that their outlook was not broad, that they had no plans for the uplifting of mankind but with Church and State and Pension safe what more was required?

EARLY SHIP BUILDING AT NIAGARA

Contributed by

AUGUSTA ISABELLA GRANT GILKISON

(We are much indebted to Miss Gilkison of Brantford, for those extracts from the Diary of her Uncle Robert Gilkison, and the notes she has furnished in explanation. Miss Gilkison is the great granddaughter of Wm. Jarvis, Secretary to our First Governor, Col. John Graves Simcoe, and his wife, the daughter of Rev. S. Peters, D.D. Miss Gilkison has contributed many manuscripts to the Historical Society relating to the Jarvis, Gilkison and McCormick families. In the Hamilton Family Burying Ground at Queenston, is buried the widow of Wm. Jarvis, as two daughters married sons of Hon. Robert Hamilton while another married Thos. McCormick, whose daughter married J.T. Gilkison, the father of Miss Gilkison, to whom we are indebted for the material of this paper, being extracts from the diary of her uncle, Robert Gilkison and a short note relating to the writer of the diary.)

J. C. Ed.

Robert Gilkison, fourth son of Capt. Wm. Gilkison and Isabella Grant, daughter of Commodore Grant of Grosse Point near Detroit was born at Queenston, 1810, was christened by the Rev. Robert Addison at Niagara, as may be seen in St. Mark's Register. He was taken home to Glasgow in 1815 by his father and mother with five brothers to be educated and was apprenticed to John Wood a shipbuilder at Port Glasgow when he was fourteen years of age and remained there till August 1834, when he came to Niagara and engaged himself to the Niagara Dock Company, Capt. Melville then being President. The first steamboat he built was the Traveller, 1835, for the Hon. John Hamilton, at the cost of L8000, her length was 145 ft., width 23 ft. 6 in., depth 11 ft. Her speed was 11 to 13 miles an hour, she was considered the fastest boat on Lake Ontario then. The next steamer was the Experiment, 1837, for Mr. James Lockhart, 98 ft. long, width 14 ft., depth 15 ft. speed ten miles an hour. He also built the Transit, then the steamer Queen Victoria in July, 1838 for Mr. Lockhart, length 130 ft., breadth 13 ft. 6 in., depth 7 ft. 3 in., speed 12 miles an hour, 50 horsepower, cost of building L6000. The Steamer Gore was also built for Mr. Lockhart at the cost of L15,052, being 45 horsepower. He also built the Steamer Niagara for the Hon. John Hamilton in 1839, also a gunboat to protect Lake Erie at Chippawa.

A. I G. GILKISON

"April 26th, 1838 - While stepping on the shore from the new Steamer Victoria, the gangway slipped and I was precipitated into the dock, the result of course was a through ducking luckily unattended by any blow in my descent, the water was very cold, when rescued, my heart appeared to rise to my mouth and involuntarily, I sobbed like a child.

April 30th. Intelligence reached Niagara of the arrival at New York of the first two steamships from England; the smaller of the two was built by my old worthy friend, John Wood. The Sirius made her passage from Cork to New York in eighteen days. Her opponent, the Great Western, accomplished the voyage in fifteen days. The success of these vessels at once decides the question of navigating the Atlantic by steam, for my part I never had a doubt on the subject of the success of effecting a communication by steam vessels across the wide Atlantic between the two countries. We may also look forward to the passage money being greatly reduced L30 the present fare to one half. Our American

neighbours will find a sad falling off in the receipt of their packet ships and justly - so, splendid and comfortable as they are, they must yield way to enterprise and the genius of the age we live in.

Sunday, May 18th. Mr. Robert Grant died on Thursday last and was buried at Thorold yesterday, David Grant and I attended the funeral, he was my father's great friend and was sixty years of age.

June 1st, 1838. Intelligence reached Niagara that the British steamboat, Sir Robert Peel, was burned by a party of American ruffians while taking on wood at a small island adjoining the American shore, the pirates plundered the boat previous to setting her on fire, the passengers lost all they had which was considerable.

June 5th. We were under an apprehension of an attack last night from the American side but all things continue quiet, a strong guard is kept at the dock and I have placed a boom across the entrance of the basin which will give them much trouble to cross, should any be so bold as to attempt such an enterprise.

June 13th. The new Steamer Queen Victoria, we expect to try to-morrow when it is to be hoped the expectations one has formed of her speed will not be disappointed as everyone connected with the Dock Company feels anxious for her success - none more so than R. G. and fat jolly Capt. Melville.

June 14th. The new steamer Queen Victoria had her trial trip up the Niagara River, both banks of this noble sheet of water are clothed in green and the whole appearance of surrounding scenery is most interesting. The vessel's speed will be about eleven miles an hour. Our second trip from Niagara to Queenston was forty-two minutes up and twenty-five minutes down, a rate which will render her Queen of Lake Ontario, it is a feather in my cap and will add much to the credit of the Company.

June 21st. Mr. Lockhart has succeeded in disposing to the Government of his small steamer, Experiment for 4500 pounds, Mr. Lockhart says his profits have been 2000 Pounds for twelve months work. Excellent.

June 25th. The rebels still among the good people of the Frontier, a party having assembled about twenty miles from this are now harassing the interior but from the determined measures adopted by our Governor, Sir George Arthur we may look forward to their proceedings being speedily crushed as the parties sent in pursuit succeeded in capturing nearly twenty of the invaders so that in a few days, they will be dispersed.

June 29th. The celebration of her Majesty's Coronation, I passed in company with a party of sixty ladies and gentlemen on board our new Steamboat Queen Victoria. It was her first trip to Toronto, the distance of thirty-eight miles, we accomplished in three hours and seven minutes a rate hardly exceeded by any other boats.

We had a delightful afternoon and after a pleasant dinner danced quadrilles with great spirit until our arrival at Queenston about eight o'clock in the evening where a part

of the Company landed while the remainder returned to Niagara. I never passed a more agreeable day, everything passed off happily without a single circumstance to annoy or disturb the harmony of those assembled. In the evening our village was illuminated.

In Toronto, the appearance must have been gay for this part of the world, as every shop and building would have its light.

July 2nd. The Victoria commenced her trips leaving Niagara at 7, Toronto 11, and Hamilton 4 p.m. arrived here at 8 p.m. accomplishing the 121 miles in ten and a half hours a rate of sailing not exceeded by any boats on the lake.

July 11th. A small party of Dragoon Guards arrived here staying until Lord Durham reaches Niagara.

July 18th. Yesterday Lord Durham and Sir John Colborne reviewed the 43rd Regiment of Light Infantry whose movements during the exhibition of a sham fight were highly creditable to the Corps. The precision of their movements and rapidity of their charges, both cavalry and artillery gave one a tolerable idea of what the said reality would display if the parties had been engaged with an enemy. The ground chosen was immediately in the vicinity of the Falls, and though rough, still was sufficiently clear and smooth to afford an excellent position for review.

Lord Durham arrived this morning on his way back to Toronto while the boat remained at the wharf, he received the addresses presented by the inhabitants of Niagara and in return replied in a neat speech. They cheered him as the Steamer glided out. At the Review at the Falls, Lord Durham and staff were in brilliant uniforms and presented an interesting picture and the whole happy event went off without an accident.

July 23rd. Prisoners are on the trail for treason taken in arms who had been engaged in an attack upon a party of Lancers near the Short Hills, one condemned to die.

July 30th, The leader of the Gang, Morreau displayed much firmness, only slightly agitated when he received

July 30th. Morreau was executed this morning. Our worthy Sheriff, Mr. Hamilton had to do the deed. (He never got over it and died 19th Feb. 1839. I Robert Gilkison witnessed the whole thing and was on the jury for conviction) One more will be executed, a man named Beamer, they are contemptible specimens those engaged in this silly rebellion, they are without judgment, to invade a colony like this with 28 men displays madness in its most glaring colors.

July 30th. Lord Durham arrived by Steamer, merely touched, then went on to Queenston. He and Lady Durham went on to the Falls. Sir George Arthur and Sir John Colborne arrived midday, they too went on to the Falls.

Sunday, Aug. 4th. Saturday, the Judge condemned to death sixteen prisoners guilty of high treason, fourteen of those culprits will be transported, the other two hanged, next week will decide the fate of the remaining members of the whole gang.

Aug. 5th. Four years in Canada, which has now become my home. But I shall visit Scotland once more, should the Great God permit. Amen.

Sunday, August 26th. Bishop Mountain of Quebec, read part of the Communion Service in St. Mark's Church and also gave a sermon, not particularly remarkable in its matter or highly interesting in its delivery. I think after hearing the Bishop frequently one would become reconciled to the peculiarity of his style of preaching.

Aug. 29th. Repaired H.H. Smith's Schooner, Birmingham at the cost of 45 Pounds.

October 13th. Saturday night. The poor man's delight. Often I have, when toiling during the week, hailed the approach with feelings of sincere pleasure. A meeting of Directors took place at the dock office this afternoon, the result is Mr. Lockhart is determined to build, so that I shall have my hands full this winter, in spite of all that is said, Mr. Bethune, another steamboat proprietor, is also in treaty for another boat with the Company. The Dock Co. will still flourish.

October 21st. Mr. Cayley, our new President, instead of Capt. Melville resigned, appears a man well versed in mercantile affairs, shrewd in his observations and of most cheerful and gentlemanly manners. The successor of Mr. Cox, Mr. Gorrie proves and industrious book-keeper thoroughly acquainted with the proper system to be adopted in the management of the concern.

Sunday, Oct. 30th. Sitting up late invariably prevents me from early rising the succeeding morning, such has been the effect of my attendance at brother Archie's last evening when we enjoyed ourselves merrily till midnight dancing to the grinding of a species of hand organ resembling in sound the tone of one of those ancient harpsichords now defunct, at any rate it was cheerful.

Nov. 26th. This forenoon I gave up housekeeping and now reside with brother Archie, wife and son, it will not be so lonely for me the coming winter.

December 16th, 1838. Frosty. Friday, as ordered, a general fast throughout Upper Canada, was duly held, we had service in all places of worship, the churches were well filled. The Dock Co. does the most of the repairing on ships of all the lakes.

Jan. 1st, 1839. Danced the New Year in at a Subscription Ball, everyone enjoyed themselves, we had part of the 43rd Band which together with the fair sex and number of scarlet jackets on the floor added much to the brilliancy of the ball.

January 12th, 1839. I am employing men to make the gunboat for the Government; she will be more like a scow than a boat such are my orders; she may answer for their intended purpose, it will cost them three hundred pounds. Ten thousand Militia are in Upper Canada together with nine regiments of Regular Troops a force

sufficient to meet twice the number of invaders, the country will suffer dreadfully in its commercial pursuits.

January 19th. The gunboat is half planked, will be finished next week, she will be a thorough Tub.

Feb. 22, 1839. Archie and I attended the funeral of Sheriff Alexander Hamilton, a large company of his friends were there, his remains were interred in the Family Private Burying Ground.

Saturday, 23rd. Attended the funeral of Mrs. Boulton; she was only twenty-six years old; a most amiable disposition much regretted by her numerous friends.

March 18th. The Steamer Transit has commenced her trips between Niagara and Toronto. The Steamer Traveller has come to be overhauled.

April 7th, Sunday. Heard a very good sermon from Mr. Creen, our worthy pastor. Our harbour this forenoon presents a gay aspect, no less than three Steamers are in Port besides a half a dozen Schooners, all of which are decorated with streamers and present a most agreeable sight. The Steamer Queen Victoria now employed by the Government is manned with a large body of British Tars and looks well.

April 22nd. Mr. Lockhart's new Steamer Gore, glided beautifully into the water; a large concourse of people attended the launch, everybody appeared gratified by the sight. My men kept it up by a dance this evening at which I was heartily pleased with their enjoyment.

May 8th. Was in Toronto to attend a survey of Mr. Lockhart's boat Victoria previous to his receiving her from the Government in whose hands she has been during six months. I found everything in good order and afterwards had the pleasure of being informed that Mr. Lockhart had effected a sale of the Steamer Captain Richardson for 7000 Pounds currency, a good price which will amply repay the owner. The Steamer Traveller has also been sold to the Government for 9000 Pounds, an excellent sale for Mr. Hamilton. She was my first Steamboat in Canada one which has been of infinite service to me as placing me once in a respectable station in my profession.

May 12th, 1839. The plans I had formed for a trip to Glasgow are again defeated. Mr. Lockhart has given another contract for a large Lake Steamer so my duty is to remain and build it. It will be called the Niagara.

It may be my last Steamer. (It proved to be so he went home in 1840 to Glasgow for a visit, took ill and died with brain trouble after a long illness at Leith, April 8th, 1855, aged 45.)

The Niagara's dimensions are length, 158 ft., breadth 23 ft. 6 in., depth 11 ft. Tonnage 400, and horse power 35.

August 25th. Received word from Capt. Harper, Royal Navy, that the Government are determined to build a Steamer for Lake Erie and that I was to undertake her construction, either at Chippawa or Dunnville, whichever I deemed the best place for it so it was decided that Chippawa was the place most suited to build the Gunboat Draught.

August 5th, 1829. Attended the funeral of Capt. Melville's oldest boy this forenoon. Old Bob Hamilton dined with me and greatly added to my amusement by his description of scenes in the Southern States where he had been for the last three years.

September 15th. The first vessel that went through the Long Sault Rapids was built at Kingston by a Mr. White, an American builder for the Hon. John Hamilton, it was towed up to Niagara by the Steamer Great Britain to have her engines put in, her length was 200 ft. and she went at the rate of fourteen miles an hour. This Steamer was destined for smooth water and to overcome those terrific Rapids the Long Sault situated below Prescott, a triumph which I sincerely hope she may accomplish as her proprietor the Hon. John Hamilton, has displayed a highly interesting spirit in attempting this difficult task which should the vessel overcome, the inhabitants of Canada will ever be his debtors.

Extract from a letter of Mrs. Wm. Jarvis dated, "Newark, Nov. 1792. The grand Master Wm. Jarvis was installed in great form, a procession of all the fraternity with music playing, etc. Rev. Mr. Addison, Grand Chaplain, a young brother, made that morning read prayers and preached a sermon after which there was a dinner.

Jan. 13th, 1793. Captain Brant dined with us; it is the first time I ever spoke to him. I saw him at the Assembly before. Our winter has not yet begun, we went to the Lodge or Assembly on the 13th in a sly when the snow had been for a week and the clay was in so soft a state as to receive the wheel of a chaise half way to the axle.

The weather is so mild at this time that we might sit without a fire were it not for fear of taking cold. I have not clothed in any other way than I have been in London. Our printer has got his press up and commenced printing but nothing public as yet, a paper is expected to be printed weekly, most likely will begin the 18th January.

Extract from a letter from Jasper T. Gilkison, Feb. 9th, 1822, to his father, Capt. Wm. Gilkison. I was last night at a party given by George Hamilton, we kept it up till 4 a.m. Mrs. Jarvis danced as well as any of us she is now 85 years of age and as active as ever."

ROBERT GOURLAY
BY JANET CARNOCHAN.



HELEN GOURLAY, DAUGHTER OF ROBERT GOURLAY.
TAKEN IN 1878.



NIAGARA COURT HOUSE AND JAIL.
BUILT IN 1817.

To call Robert Gourlay (the Banished Briton) one of the most remarkable men who has taken his part in weaving the web of our Canadian History is no exaggerated statement. To mention his name to some is like shaking the proverbial red rag before their indignant glance while to others his name is that of one who fought for nearly all the political freedom we now enjoy. His real history is very little known and it will be a surprise to many to know that he was a philanthropist, well educated, well born, at one time wealthy, of strict integrity and it was said of him by one well fitted to know that he was better informed in regard to the poor laws of Great Britain than any other man in the kingdom. He was recognized as an authority in all matters relating to parish rates, tithes, pauperism generally and he was consulted by members of Parliament, political economists and even by members of the Cabinet as to the best means of improving the poor laws. And yet with all this, it was his fate to languish in prison both in Canada and England; by his misfortunes, his mind became unbalanced and he by his own will, condemned himself to break stones on the road in England thinking thus by manual labour in the open air to restore the balance of reason. Quarrelling with the Chief Dignitary in his Parish in Scotland, then in England by a long course of litigation with the Duke of Somerset, he was ruined financially; he turned to Canada in the hope of working out a scheme of emigration to relieve the poverty in the old land, and calling attention to evils which existed in Canada, he was unjustly banished from the country. In England, in his efforts to improve the poor laws and present Petitions to Parliament, he foolishly attacked Lord Brougham and was confined for some years as mentally unbalanced.

Returning to America in the culmination of the turmoil of 1837-8, although he was truly loyal to king and country he was looked on by many as disloyal. Many of the

following years of his life were spent in unwearied efforts to have the sentence pronounced against him declared unjust.

Notwithstanding all the difficulties and dangers through which he had struggled, he lived to the age of 85, dying in Edinburgh in 1863.

Born in Fifeshire, Scotland in 1778, his father was, like the father of Sir Walter Scott, a writer to the Signet in Edinburgh and possessed estates to the value of 120,000 pounds, but by the fall in values after the Battle of Waterloo and by unwise investments, lost nearly everything just at the time his son was also in difficulties.

Our Canadian writer Dent says "Robert Gourlay a man of good abilities and upright intentions who spent the greater part of a long life in endeavouring to benefit his fellow creatures and yet owing to the peculiar idiosyncrasies of his character, was foredoomed to disappointment and misfortune. His father had said of him when a schoolboy, "Robert will hurt himself, but will do good to others. Always battling for the right, he seemed to others to put himself in the wrong." A description of him by Mr. Alexander Henderson runs thus, "He holds a ready pen, writes in a style of considerable force and pungency, possesses a mind of energy and execution and a body capable to endure much fatigue.

Although bold and decisive in his political opinions, he acts from real principle. In conversation he possesses a frank and honest zeal with pleasing off-hand manners." Robert Gourlay is interesting to us as here the remarkable trial took place described by Dent, resembling in its style Macaulay's celebrated description of the trial of Warren Hastings. In the old jail and court house built in 1817, now occupied as a home for waifs and strays of the mother land, Gourlay was confined eight months. The scene is described vividly, the court room, the judge, the lawyers, the witnesses, the jury, the prisoner with his almost maniacal laugh when called on for his defence after eight months confinement in a close cell the latter part in the heated atmosphere of July and August.

Dent's description begins thus:

"In the afternoon of a warm and sultry day towards the close of one of warmest and most sultry summers which Upper Canada has ever known an extraordinary trial took place at the Court House in the old Town of Niagara. To speak with absolute precision, the date was Friday, 20th August, 1819. The court room which was the largest in the Province was packed to the doors and though every window was thrown open for ventilation, the atmosphere was almost stifling." The whole description is worth reading and may be found in the opening chapter of Dent's Story of the Upper Canada Rebellion.

But now we must go back for a few moments to see what course events had brought Robert Gourlay to such a pass. Educated at the High School, Edinburgh, the University of St. Andrew's and Edinburgh University, the companion of Dr. Chalmers, in 1799 at 21, he became a Captain in the Fifeshire Volunteers, afterwards a

Volunteer in 1803 in the Yeomanry Cavalry. Kind and generous to the poor, he made himself familiar with their needs and his great knowledge on the subject caused his appointment by the English Government in 1801 to conduct an inquiry into the state of the poor in England. He travelled principally on foot through the chief agricultural districts of England and Scotland and recommended a system of emigration as a remedy for much of the distress.

In 1807, he married and settled on one of his father's estates. There he became involved in a quarrel with the Earl of Kellie, the cause a trifle but Gourlay was always ready to

oppose what he thought wrong and never scrupled to throw himself into "the imminent and deadly breach." Next we find him in England in 1809 in Wiltshire as a tenant of the Duke of Somerset. Here he set an example in model farming, gaining premiums for the best ploughing and the best crops, but in a pecuniary sense, the farm for which the rent was 600 Pounds was not profitable as he had expended several thousand pounds in improvements and farm stock. He had been asked by the Duke for the benefit of his knowledge and experience as regards farming but when he began to agitate for a reform of the poor laws (and they were bad enough) and to write violent letters to the Papers, petitioning Parliament against abuses of power, the Duke began to regret that he had given a twenty-one year lease to Gourlay and a pretext was found of a technical nature and ruinous litigation ensued. A decree was at length pronounced in his favour but he was a ruined man and his father's affairs being much involved at this time, no help could thus be obtained. Having some property in Canada in his own right in the County of Oxford, and also land in right of his wife, he resolved to visit Canada with the idea of settling there and he arrived there in June, 1817. He determined to engage in business as a Land Agent and to set on foot a scheme of emigration from Great Britain to Canada and travelled through the country which was afterwards published. This was just at the period when the evils of the Family Compact were being felt, and Robert Gourlay had no hesitation in exposing those evils. At this date, when it is acknowledge that Canada has the best system of Government known, that we have more freedom than in Britain, and of our neighbours across the line, those at least who have investigated the matter, acknowledge that in many respects our laws are better than theirs and still give us more freedom, in this age we have no idea, can hardly believe that such evils existed. In the first place, there was no responsible government, in England such had long existed but here the members of the Cabinet need not be members of Parliament and thus representatives of the people by their vote. Appointed by the Governor at his will they might be officials already with salaries, relatives or even young men just out from England knowing nothing of Canada.

The Parliament has no power over the Executive as during eight years, 325 Bills passed by the Assembly had been rejected by the Council.

2nd. Land Granting. Large areas were given to favourites. These were subject to no taxes and not improved, no roads were made and thus the progress of the country impeded. Even the U.E. Loyalists who had had grants given to them for their Loyalty and to compensate for their losses often suffered from being placed in these neglected spots and often sold their land for a trifle.

3rd. War Veterans often did not obtain their war losses for weary years, the widow and the children of those who had given their lives for their country were thus destitute.

4th. The Clergy Reserve Trouble. Huge tracts between settlers were left uncultivated and the roads unimproved and thus settlement of the country obstructed besides the grievance of the words Protestant Clergy being interpreted to mean the Church of England.

5th. Besides all this, the favouritism shown to those in power and the injustice to others, all this caused a feeling of discontent and much retarded the progress of the country.

To obtain information for the proposed book for emigrants Gourlay sent out a series of questions, thirty-one in number to the principal inhabitants of each Township. Looking over these questions now, we may well be amazed that such information should be regarded as objectionable or criminal. The questions relate to the number of people, the number of Churches, Schools, Stores, Mills, the Soil, Timber, Minerals, Wages, Cost of clearing land, Crops, State of Roads, Wild lands, etc. etc. These questions were all important for those emigrating and had no bearing on politics. But it was the last, the thirty-first which was the stinger found objectionable to the ruling powers, "What in your opinion retards the improvement of your Township in particular or the Province in general and what would most contribute to the same? Will it be believed that such efforts were put forth by the rulers that in the counties of York and Simcoe containing large tracts of waste land not a single answer was received and in other places the 31st question was left unanswered.

When answered, the almost invariable reply was the immense tracts of land held by non-residents as the Crown and the Clergy Reserves. The reply from Kingston was, "The same cause which has surrounded Little York with a desert creates gloom and desolation about Kingston, the seizure and monopoly of the land by people in office and favour.

So far Mr. Gourlay was in the right but now his to him unfortunate facility of expression in attacking abuses gave a handle to his enemies. He wrote violent letters to the papers, abusing Dr. Strachan and others in power and thus injured his cause. In a document published by him, a Petition to the Prince Regent which was a true picture of the land question, a passage was fastened on by the Executive as libellous and a criminal prosecution was set on foot against the writer. He was arrested and thrown in jail at Kingston in August, 1818 but was acquitted. A few days after, he was again arrested and tried at Brockville for another alleged libel in the Petition but was again acquitted. It was now resolved to drive him out of the country and to do so to fall back on an Act passed in 1804, the Alien Act aimed at seditious or disloyal persons who had not lived six months in the country and who were not British subjects or had not taken the oath of allegiance. Not one of these applied to Gourlay who was a loyal British subject and had lived in Canada a year and a half. A charge was made and he was arrested by the Sheriff of the Niagara District and brought before the Hon. Wm. Dickson and the Hon. Wm. Claus, an oath having been taken by Isaac Swayzie that he "verily believed that Robert Gourlay was an evil minded and seditious person and that he had not been an inhabitant of the province for six months."

He was ordered to leave the country in ten days. This he did not do and on the 4th of January, 1819, was arrested and lodged in jail where he languished till the 20th August, almost eight months. Although he procured a writ of Habeas Corpus to appear before Chief Justice Powell at York and had the evidence of Hon. R. Hamilton and Geo. Hamilton that the charges were false, he was remanded to prison although the highest legal authorities pronounced his imprisonment illegal and indeed the Alien Act to be unconstitutional, he remained in close confinement in a close cell only allowed to speak to friends through a hole in the door in the presence of the Jailer. While in prison, he wrote a letter which appeared in the Niagara Spectator. The editor Bartemus Ferguson was absent and knew nothing of its contents but for this he was arrested, confined in Niagara Jail

for sedition his sentence being to pay a fine of 50 pounds, be imprisoned for eighteen months, stand in the public pillory for one hour, find security for 1000 Pounds and remain in jail till fine be paid and security given.

Such were the glories of the free press of ninety years ago, such were the gold old days that we sometimes hear spoken of.

But to return to Gourlay. He himself gives an account of his sufferings and on the day of trial his appearance was pitiable. He had prepared a defence in writing but when called on his memory deserted him and he found no words to come to his aid, holding the document in his hand, he burst into a maniacal laugh which must have brought strange feelings to those assembled, especially to his prosecutors. He was condemned to leave the country within twenty-four hours on pain of death as a felon. The Hamilton family to their honour it is told gave him shelter that night the 20th August, 1819, and the next day he crossed the river and thence proceeded to England where he found his affairs in confusion, his wife dispossessed of the farm, the new tenant having obtained all the improvements for a trifling sum while his father from bad investments and the depreciation of the value of property after the Battle of Waterloo, was unable to assist him. From the wreck of his property he gathered sufficient to enable him to prepare the material he had amassed for publication enough for three volumes which he took to London where they were published in three large octavo volumes in 1822 called the Statistical Account of Upper Canada. Like much of his writing, although containing valuable information, it is loose, rambling and diffuse in style sometimes almost incoherent and irrelevant. His restless nature again caused trouble, he seemed to have a mania for presenting Petitions and Lord Brougham at first promised his assistance but becoming wearied with his pertinacity took no further notice of him when Gourlay, no doubt in a fit of mental aberration actually attacked with a whip, that nobleman. For this he was confined two years by medical authority. Although quite restored, he refused to give bail and occupied his time in reading the papers, studying, corresponding with his family and kept himself well acquainted with affairs in Canada. For some years, we know little of his occupation. In 1826 and 1828, he published articles the latter year relating to Emigration Societies in Scotland. In 1834, he came over to the States and in 1837, during the Rebellion, gave information to Sir Francis Bond Head relating to gatherings in Cleveland to invade Canada for which he received the thanks of the Governor, all this showing his loyalty. In 1838, he returned to Canada and for years wrote letters to Governor after Governor, Parliament after Parliament, the Duke of Wellington, the King, the Queen, all complaining of his wrongs. He returned to Scotland, living on what was saved from the wreck of his father's property but in 1857 again came to Canada for a short time and finally died in Edinburgh in 1863 at the age of 85.

So far I have been able to gather from sources open to all but just lately a very rare book has been loaned to me for a short time, a thin yellow pasteboard covered book of 112 pages but much of it in very fine print so that its examination took much time. The cover reads thus:

THE BANISHED BRITON AND NEPTUNIAN

A record of the life, writings, principles and projects of Robert Gourlay, Esq., now Robert Fleming Gourlay. (The coat of arms has the motto: Profundus Ceruit.)

Boston, Printed by Samuel A. Dickenson, 1843. (In very fine print, the verses which no doubt expressed the feelings of this man of many tribulations who had laboured so long for the benefit of his fellow men and yet had succeeded so badly), the quotation is from the book of Job, 29th and 30th Chapters. "Oh that I were as in months past as in the days when God preserved me when his candle shined upon my head and when by his light, I walked through darkness -- as I was in the days of my youth the secret of God was upon my tabernacle -- when the Almighty was yet with me - when my children were about me -- But now they that are younger than I have me in derision whose fathers I would have disdained to have sit with the dogs of my flock."

This copy which lies before me - I know not where is to be found has incised on its first page, "To David Thorburn, M.P.P., with Mr. Gourlay's respects." There are twelve numbers of the Neptunian filled with letters, petitions innumerable. He seems to have had a cacoethis scribendi as a friend of mine called this itch for writing, there are letters to all sorts and conditions of people, 13 to Sir Francis Bond Head whom we may well call a feather head, 10 to the Duke of Wellington, 7 to Sir R. Jackson, 4 to Lord Durham, 4 addressed to Parliament, 2 to Lord Sydenham, 2 to Sir Geroge Murray, 1 to Sir George Arthur, 1 to King William 4th, 1 to Queen Victoria, 1 to Wm. Lyon McKenzie, Hon. Jno. Nelson, Sir Jno. Cambell. No. 1 commences with an address to the Hon. House of Representatives of Massachusetts in 1843 giving an account of his life and difficulties, tells of his efforts to relieve the poor and of his scheme of emigration and now the late treaty with Great Britain has renewed hope and he ventures to lay his projects before the people of the United States.

Then follow testimonials which he had gathered in 1831 on applying for the Chair of Agriculture in Edinburgh University, 16 from farmers in Wiltshire, 10 from University Professors, 7 from Clergymen of the Church of Scotland, others from business men, farm servants, practical farmers, all bearing witness in his favour to his wonderful knowledge of agriculture, political economy, emigration, poor laws and speak of his powers of elocution, his patriotism, ability, good humour, equanimity, unimpeachable integrity and, that he has the sentiments and manners of a gentleman. One letter is signed Thomas Chalmers afterward the celebrated Dr. Chalmers. The letters written by him are dated from many places, Boston, Cleveland, Queenston, St. Catharines, Niagara. The second number of the Neptunian begins with an address to the people of the United States which showed his courage as he ventured to reproach them for establishing slavery in Texas and for attacking Canada in 1812. The subject of most of his letters and addresses is to have the unjust sentence pronounced on him reversed. When he was pardoned and allowed to return to Canada, a pension of fifty pounds granted him, he refused to accept this and said, "I do not want mercy but justice. I do not want merely to have the sentence reversed, but to have it declared that it was unjust from the beginning that I many not go down to the grave with this stain resting on my children." In one of his letters, he shows that he was in advance of his time as he wishes the King to visit Canada, not that Canada be independent but each Province to legislate for itself that all the provinces be invited each to govern its local affairs but a general government presided over by a viceroy, each province to send a representative to the British Parliament. As an example of his difficulties ornate style take his letter to King William 4th. "From the land into which I was banished, I now protest against the monstrous cruelty and injustice from this foreign

land, I appeal the last time, and still dutiful and submissive, respectfully put these questions:

Shall I an eleve of the oldest and least tainted family of Fifeshire whose father was for many years, a Magistrate of that county and where I myself received from your Majesty's Royal Father, thirty-five years ago a Captain's Commission. I who till this hour, can challenge the world to accuse me of a single mean, cowardly or dishonourable degraded and expatriated by villainy. In fine shall justice be denied to a British Subject and the most sacred constitutional right violated in his person by men, clothed in the livery of power and assuming the sanction of royalty, rather than that sire, I shall as did one of my name perish for my principles at the stake.

Meantime, trusting that your Majesty will speedily cause inquiry into my case and most heartily wishing well to my native country, I am your Majesty's loyal subject,
Robert F. Gourlay.

In 1837 a letter to the Queen begins: - Most Gracious Sovereign - Far from home and in a foreign land, your Majesty's speech to Parliament has warmed my heart, strengthened my patriotism and revived expiring hope. Through life, I have been loyal but now my loyalty is more fervent seeing the British Crown sustained by the veriest purity."

Next come his letters to F.B. Head conveying information as to parties arming in the States for which he received letters of thanks from the Governor. One letter to Sir Francis is diffuse saying that for thirty-four years, he has been devoted to the cause of the poor. He has read of the Rebellion with sorrow and shame for all this might have been avoided had the Government been more regardful for the good of the country.

A letter purporting to come from Wm. Lyon McKenzie but which was found to be fraudulent was replied to curtly in the third person singular and a letter afterwards condemns the appear to arms in no uncertain terms. "During four years residence in the United States, I have witnessed far worse than European domination, that of the worst passions, mobs, murder, sacrilege, I have seen Texas conquered only to the domain of slavery. And you holding out a bait of three hundred acres of land to Republicans who would grant no asylum to slaves in Canada. You call yourself a Patriot and fly from home to enlist scoundrels for the conquest of your country."

Having vainly tried to gain interviews with officials, he comes all the way from Ohio to have a personal interview with Lord Durham at the Falls, but again fails. In a letter from St. Catharines, he claims that he had, though aged, feeble and lame, done more for the province in giving warning of invasion than hundreds of your armed men. Letters to Lord Sydenham followed. Meanwhile an appeal to Parliament for inquiry into his wrongs, he had the satisfaction of known that his banishment in 1819 was declared illegal, unconstitutional, and without excuse or palliation. This was confirmed by the signature of Lord Sydenham who died the next day. His memorial to the commons of U.C. dated at St. Davids in 1839 is witnessed by David Secord and a committee was appointed the names of Thorburn, McMicking and Woodruff appear. When at Niagara, he heard that he was to be allowed to reside in Canada, he at one took the steamer for Toronto, his friends jubilant that they had carried the day after a seven hour struggle and he was to be pardoned.

Imagine their dismay when Gourlay instead of being grateful told them that they had wronged him and insisted that he be heard on the floor of the house, but this was not

granted. At Kingston, it was recommended that some allowance be made him to pay his personal expenses in attending the Legislature so many times, but again delays dogged his steps as nothing could be done till the arrival of the new Governor. Waiting in Quebec in December we can understand his fling at Canada. "Late as it now is, I would make an effort to escape to a warmer climate for the winter from this place which yields me neither sufficient warmth, employment, society or sympathy". No. 7 of the Neptunian is taken up with a minute account of what we must confess is a most preposterous affair in Niagara in which we find many familiar names. A public meeting was announced in terms which were considered by some as highly objectionable, placards were left at the Harrington Hotel, British Hotel and Jas. Miller's Hotel. At one of these, it was said the placard was destroyed when Gourlay actually promptly brought an action before Mr. Clement, J.P. for the price of 10s 6d. Judgement was given in his favour when lo the placard was produced not having been destroyed and so he says "ended this foolish, vexatious business." An amusing part of the story is that the lawyer who had objected to the phrase on the placard of his villainous treatment 28 years ago as referring to Canada was told by him, "You may be a good lawyer but you are a poor arithmetician and not able to subtract as it is only 19 years since I was in Canada and this refers to the lawyers in England."

A pension of 50 Pounds a year being conferred on him this he indignantly refused as the satisfaction demanded had never been given.

In No. 9 he writes from the Transit at Queenston, giving some circumstances relating to the War of 1812, which provoked a reply from Col. James FitzGibbon. He tells of visiting the field of the Battle of Beaver Dams and obtaining information from Mr. George Keefer, the Rev. Mr. Fuller, Mr. Ball and Mr. J. Upper. While attempting to hold a public meeting at Beamsville, he was attacked by Andrew Muir and the familiar names occur of Nelles, Mittleberger, etc. A very strange statement occurs as to his sleeplessness and a letter is written to the Boston Medical Journal 1843. He says during three periods, I have been bereft of sleep, first in 1833 for six weeks, again in 1837 for five months and now during the last four years and five months, he tells that he was healthy, sometimes walking thirty or forty miles a day but that from his imprisonment in 1819 he had been debilitated and only recovered by a resolution to go to hard labor, "which I did for three months, breaking stones on the roads in Wiltshire and living on the earnings of sixpence a day from Sept. 9th to Dec. 22nd, 1833." He tells that the evils from his imprisonment in England, he overcame by a vegetable diet, tells of consulting Drs. Widmer and Dr. Robinson in Toronto and Montreal, the latter had a patient, Mr. Jamison, who had not slept for five months. "My sleeplessness has been a matter of jest. I have tried many remedies but none availed but I say - Let me rest from persecution unrelenting for 35 years, give me my rights, my deeds to land in Canada, restore my property in Britain, taken iniquitously, let me rejoin my children in a happy home."

Showing the eager, earnest, restless nature, the picture is given of the plan he drew for a pagoda and flower garden in Boston Common which is dedicated to the citizens, and his article on the science of city building telling of his drawing plans in London, Edinburgh, New York, Cleveland, Kingston, Washington, but naively confesses that "hitherto all my prospects have been marked by untoward circumstances and endless persecution." As showing that he was in advance of his time, in the paper he drew out in

1824, for Lord Brougham to present to the British Parliament relating to Canada he proposed that ten men of business and talent be sent to British North America, two to Newfoundland, two to Nova Scotia, two to New Brunswick, two to Lower Canada, two to Upper Canada, having spent a month in each province to meet at Quebec for consultation, that the provinces be united but each to govern its own local affairs that Legislators be united but each to govern its own local affairs that Legislators be chosen by the people, that one Legislative Councillor shall have liberty to come home to England to sit in the Imperial Parliament to speak. That the land reserved for Protestant Clergy be put under management for judicious sale. That two able engineers be sent out to survey the River St. Lawrence to improve navigation. That no duties be imposed on goods passing between British America and the United States. That steps be taken so that the British Army be supplanted in British America by natives and not chargeable to the Home Government.

That at the end of fifteen years, a convention be held to amend the Constitution if necessary. This is pretty well for Gourlay in 1822, as these measures were obtained after many years and through much discussion, acrimonious debate and strong opposition, the Reciprocity Treaty and Secularization of the Clergy Reserves in 1854, Confederation in 1867 others not till 1902 and 1907 respectively, the Canal system is not yet all that it should be, Reciprocity it is true only lasted thirteen years and if the last of his proposed measures has not been carried, we know that at least four Canadians sit in the British Parliament.

What shall we say of this life which began with such promise, who are we to pronounce judgment, or apportion praise or blame? Some have called him an egotist, an agitator, who have defended him from the charge of being a seditious person. An eager restless ardent mind was his, ever revolving some change to benefit mankind.

"To breast the blow of circumstance
And grapple with his evil star."

The phrase-maker has said that though he was always in the right, he put himself in the wrong, but we must remember that the wrong of that day would not be looked on as the wrong of to-day, the wrong of writing strong, incisive letters against injustice and abuse of power, this would be thought far from wrong now when the utmost license is given to the press. He was certainly a man born in advance of his time. We cannot but feel sympathy for this restless, uneasy spirit, nor can we wonder that the sense of the wrongs he had suffered embittered his mind and he ever laboured under a keen sense of the wrongs of others as well. It was only by breaking all Parliamentary laws that Plimsoll obtained a measure for the safety of sailors often at the mercy of avaricious and uncaring ship owners. What reforms have ever been obtained without agitation, without suffering to the movers, nay even obloquy and abuse. Through what struggles came the freedom of the Netherlands from the cruel hands of Spain, the Abolition of Slavery, the Reform Bill, Emancipation Bill.

Through what seas of blood was gained the freedom of the slave in America. To him,

"Life was not as idle ore
But iron dug from centre gloom
And heated hot with burning fears

And dipped in baths of hissing tears
And battered with the shocks of doom
To shape and use."