

"Ducit Amor Patriae"

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.
No. 38

RECORDS OF NIAGARA

A Collection of Documents Relating
To The First Settlement
1778 to 1783

Collected and Edited
By
BRIG.-GENERAL E.A. CRUICKSHANK

Published by the Niagara Historical Society
1927

RECORDS OF NIAGARA

The First Settlement

On 26 June, 1778, General Frederick Haldimand arrived at Quebec, bearing a Commission as Governor-in-Chief of the Province of Quebec which then included all the country ceded by France, north of the Great Lakes and the Ohio River as far as west of the Mississippi. He took the oaths of office the next day. His predecessor, Sir Guy Carleton, remained in Canada for nearly a month afterwards and seems to have discussed the situation of the province very cordially and frankly with Haldimand. The prosperity of Montréal and in fact of the province generally, was largely dependent on the success of the fur trade. The Military Posts in the "Upper Country" at Niagara, Detroit and Mackinac had been established and were maintained for its protection but were dependent for their very existence on the good will of the Indians. For nearly a year, in 1775 and 1776, all imports from England and exports from Canada had been cut off by the invasion of the province by the Rebels from New England. The Indians had suffered much from being deprived of their annual supplies of clothing, arms, ammunition, and other articles which had become necessities of life and comfort to them. John Butler, the acting superintendent of the Six Nations, finding his position at Johnstown on the Mohawk River unsafe, had been ordered by Carleton to establish his office at Fort Niagara, where he found little difficulty in persuading a band of Indians to join a small party of regular soldiers, commanded by Captain George Forster in an effort to reopen the communication with Quebec. This expedition captured the post at the Cedars, defeated a force advancing to relieve it, and finally joined the British troops, who had come up the River from Quebec, on the Island of Montreal. In June, 1777, Butler was instructed by Carleton to collect as large a force of Indians as he could and join Colonel Barry St. Leger, who had orders to advance from Montreal and attack Fort Stanwix, situated where the present city of Rome, N.Y., now stands. As the Indians considered this Military Post as a menace to themselves, they readily agreed to co-operate, and almost a thousand warriors accompanied Butler to the rendezvous at Oswego. He had already enlisted a Company of Rangers to direct and control their operations. With this company and four hundred Indians, he took a principal part in the defeat of a force advancing to relieve the besieged garrison, at Oriskany. But the siege was ultimately abandoned on the approach of a much larger body of the enemy and the Indians dispersed to their villages in bad temper and much dispirited by the unsuccessful result of the expedition. Butler went to Quebec to settle his accounts and received further orders. He was commissioned by Carleton to enlist a Battalion of Rangers, consisting of eight companies, each of them to be composed of three officers and fifty other ranks, to act in conjunction with the Indians, who were in future to be employed offensively when it seemed expedient.

Two of these companies were to be exclusively formed of "people speaking the Indian Language and acquainted with their customs and manner of making war," who were to receive double pay. The other six companies, "to be composed of people well acquainted with the woods, in consideration of the fatigue they are liable to undergo," were to be paid two shillings a day, which was considered an unusually high rate of pay, although they were required to arm and clothe themselves. Haldimand afterwards reported that eight companies of rangers, enlisted on these terms had cost the

government as much as twenty companies of regular infantry. Butler returned to Niagara and during the following winter succeeded in recruiting three companies of rangers, which were gradually increased to ten before the end of the war.

The surrender of the army commanded by General Burgoyne by the convention of Saratoga had been followed by open hostilities on the part of France, the appearance of a strong French fleet off New York, and the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British Army. Although the province was not threatened by any immediate attack, Haldimand's means of defence were very limited, as, in the case of invasion by the French, he felt certain that he could not rely for any support or assistance whatever from the inhabitants and very little under other circumstances. The upper posts were weak and feebly garrisoned. If they were taken or destroyed by a raiding force from the hostile provinces, the valuable fur trade would be lost inevitably. The friendship and active alliance of the Indians must be preserved at all cost, he declared, "for if they do us no good, they may do us much harm."

He reported that "the Upper Posts may be easily cut off by Oswego River below or by Fort Pitt and back Settlements of Virginia above." Carleton had abandoned the Fort at Oswego, which had been built and successfully defended by Haldimand twenty years before. The Six Nations were clamouring for its re-occupation for the protection of their villages but no troops could be spared for that purpose although Haldimand admitted its great importance. "The Navy Upon The Lakes," he wrote, "are by the last Accounts in very good order, and put upon an exceeding proper Footing, an unremitting attention must be paid to keep them up, to see that they are all well officered and well manned, for upon securing the Navigation of the Lakes as well as of the Portages, the safety and preservation of the Upper Posts very much depend." To give the ships greater security in the winter and in foul weather he determined to take possession of Deer Island in the St. Lawrence, about twelve miles from Lake Ontario, which he renamed Carleton Island in compliment to his predecessor in the government, and where "a commodious & safe Harbor." for the small ships then navigating the lake had been discovered.

An engineering officer with a sufficient body of soldiers and artificers, was sent there "to establish a Post at the entrance of Lake Ontario to serve the purpose of a safe place for the Traders to send their goods which go from Montreal in Boats, till the King's vessels now the only Craft allowed to navigate the Lakes can be spared from the more urgent services to transport them to Niagara, a secure Harbour for these vessels and a Defence against the enterprises of the Rebels upon this Province by that great avenue into it."

The annual export of furs from Canada was valued at not less than two hundred thousand pounds sterling. Fully one half of these furs were brought to Montreal by way of Lake Nippissing and the Ottawa River and the goods bartered for them were taken up by the same route but the following contemporary memorandum shows that the trade by way of Lakes Ontario and Erie was very important and the furs obtained at Niagara and Detroit were valued at an average of 50,000 pounds per annum.

MEMORANDUM ON TRADE BY THE LAKES (1778?)

Memorandum relative to ye Trade in the Upper Country by the Lakes Ontario and Erie. It is carried on in Batteaux from La Chine to Carleton Island and employs during the Summer and Autumn near 200 Men in navigating these Batteaux and may produce

Returns in Furs to ye amount of 50,000 pounds on year with another. Goods sent to Niagara and Detroit are exposed to the Danger of falling into the hands of the Rebels provided they make themselves Masters of those places and therefore the Propriety or Impropriety of granting passes for this Branch of the Trade must depend entirely upon the intelligence which the Governor may have of the Enemies designs and the Idea which he has of the strength and safety of these Garrisons. Tho' the difficulty of evil minded persons supplying the Enemy with goods is not near so great as from Michillimackinak, yet Precautions may be easily taken which would as long as these places are capable of defence, prevent the Goods from being Conveyed to ye Enemy. Government has very properly taken all ye Vessels upon Lakes Ontario & Erie into their own hands, hence the necessity of all Goods being transported from Carleton Island to Niagara and from thence to Detroit in the King's Vessels from whence they may be disembarked and lodged within the Forts of Niagara or Detroit, ye Commanding Officers of which may be instructed not to allow the Traders to go into the Interior parts of ye adjacent Country but restrain the Trade to the environs of yet Forts and this it is said may be done without injuring ye Trade as the Indians in these places have not been much accustomed to have Traders go amongst them, whereas ye contrary Custom has prevailed toward Michillimackinak & ye Grand Portage. Supposing the Situation of Niagara & Detroit to be such as will permit the Governor to Grant Licenses for ye Trade, it is much to be wished that Means could be fallen on to prevent undue preferences to be given in ye transporting the Goods from one place on the Communication to another. Under pretence of ye denomination of being Sutlers to the Garrisons Several persons have had their Goods carried over whilst those of other Traders, which arrived at Carleton Island or Niagara before them have been left behind to the great detriment of Individuals and to ye Increas(e) of the public Expense for ye fewer ye Traders and ye fewer ye Goods at any Post, the greater price ye King's Servants in that Country are obliged to give for such Articles as may unfortunately be wanted for ye King's Service, no doubt the Commanding Officers do right in encouraging & rewarding such Traders as have shewn attachment to Government but that should be in giving them preference of selling for the King's Service at the same prices as other Traders & not in Transporting their goods out of their turn which if not put a stop to, will in time create an Exclusive Trade in that part of the Country and be productive of many evils. One thing was forgot in ye Memorandums relative to ye Trade to la Baye &c. that every year many Canadians remain in these Countries, an exact Account should be had of their Number and ye Custom discouraged as much as the Nature of Ye Trade will permit, these men turn fond of a savage Life and if they become considerable in Numbers may likewise prove dangerous to the tranquility of that Country.

(B.99, pp 176-8)

The transportation of supplies and goods for Detroit and other western posts over the portage of nine miles around the Falls of Niagara was a difficult and expensive task and one of Haldimand's first acts was to let a contract for this service in which the contractor was bound under a considerable penalty to carry the goods of the merchants at a certain fixed rate, which condition they soon complained he had failed to comply with and had overcharged them. They consequently appealed to Haldimand for redress and he ordered an investigation by a commanding officer.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LIEUT.-COLONEL MASON BOLTON TO
GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED AT NIAGARA, SEPTEMBER 18TH, 1778.

"Last winter this place was quite lumbered with merchandize even the Officer's Barracks was filled with goods, as I would not suffer any to remain at the Landing during the winter but ordered the soldiers of the Garrison to bring down twenty-six Batteaux Load. Your Excellency very Justly observes that the eagerness of the Merchants in forwarding such immense quantities of Merchandize may tempt the Rebels to draw near this Post & I am astonished that last year when there were goods to the amount of fifty thousand pounds sterling on Deer Island (1) no attempt was made to destroy them, where they intend to lodge their goods this winter, I no not, for it will be absolutely impossible to get the half of them over this year on account of the Provisions ordered for the Upper Posts."

(B.96-1, pp.216.7.)

Haldimand had by that time decided to encourage the cultivation of land in the immediate vicinity of the military posts in the hope of lessening the expense of the transportation of provisions, which had strained the efforts of the marine service to the utmost. He had commanded the Post at Oswego for many months in 1758 and 1759, had visited Fort Niagara, and even travelled over the portage road, and was consequently personally acquainted with the difficulties of conveying supplies to the distant stations. (1) Carleton Island.

In moments of despondency, Bolton had written to him that the expense of maintaining the posts was so enormous that he thought it a pity that they had not been abandoned to the Indians altogether and they "were costing Old England far more than they were worth." The number of persons he had to feed were daily increasing by the arrival of recruits for Butler's Rangers and other refugee loyalists. The demands of the Indians for provisions and other supplies became more exacting and he dared not disregard them from motives of humanity as well as public policy.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LIEUT.-
COLONEL BOLTON, DATED AT 'SOREL THE 7TH OF OCTOBER, 1778."

"The great expense and difficulty attending the Transport of Provisions to the Upper Posts make it much to be wished that effectual means could be fallen upon at them All for raising a supply within themselves that might relieve them from their inconvenient and sometimes distressing dependence upon what is sent them from below, and at the same time ease Government of part of the heavy charges to which it is now subject on this Account -- I must desire therefore that the Contractor at the carrying place and any other capable person you can find be urged to make use of every means to enable him, in which you will no doubt assist him all you can, to cultivate as much land next year as possibly about the Fort; at least to lay a foundation of by degrees, supplying entirely the Post with Bread; -- And the rearing of Cattle is likewise possible, I should imagine to bring about in time. At present the excursions of the Indians might probably furnish something towards a supply of this Article: -- and in the mean time I must recommend to your care to essay everything possible which may spare the salt provisions as much as it can be done with propriety and without exposing them to be spoiled."

(B62, pp 259-60.)

The average length of time allowed for the conveyance of a letter from Quebec to Niagara was stated at six weeks when the navigation was open and for several months in the winter communication practically ceased. Bolton seems to have lost no time in collecting the information required by the Governor and replied early in the following spring. In the course of the fall and winter, Butler had built a large range of log barracks on the opposite side of the river from Fort Niagara for the accommodation of his battalion of Rangers which had then increased to a strength of about three hundred of all ranks, besides many old men, women, and children, belonging to their families and those of other fugitive loyalists. This was without doubt, the first building erected after the naval quarters, known as Navy Hall in the present town of Niagara. The account for the cost of construction seems unusually large.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LIEUT.-COLONEL MASON BOLTON,
COMMANDING AT FORT NIAGARA TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED
'NIAGARA, MARCH THE 4TH, 1779.'

"In a former letter, I acquainted you that I should consult every person here who could give me any information concerning the Plan of Agriculture you proposed some time ago & now beg leave to enclose you their opinions."
(B.96-1, p.253)

FROM LIEUT.-COLONEL MASON BOLTON TO GENERAL HALDIMAND
NIAGARA, March 4th, 1779.

No. 31.

Sir,

The gentleman I have consulted on the plan of agriculture Your Excellency was pleased to mention to me some time ago, (in raising Corn &c., to assist in supplying this Post with Provisions) are of opinion that such an undertaking would be attended with difficulties for which no advantage for some years could result to this Garrison nor can they think it would be advisable at this time as such a scheme might be displeasing to our allies the Six Nations.

By the definitive treaty with them in 1764, they ceded to His Majesty in full right the Lands four miles east of the River or to the Petit Morass which they suppose to be Johnson's Landing running Southerly 17 miles to a Creek above Little Niagara, taking in the Portage.

They promised not to obstruct the Passage at the Landing Place or any use of the tract granted but if they recollect this article right which they think is the 3rd the Six Nations mention allowing only such improvements as may be necessary for supporting the stock sufficient for carrying on the business at the portage. They recollect about eleven years ago the Indians expressed an uneasiness at Mr. Stedman's making too great improvements & intimated that altho' it might have been necessary they should have been first consulted on it.

In the year 1767, Sir William Johnson acquainted the Lords of Plantations that the Six Nations would not suffer any Grant to be given of their Lands on the Portage or any more improvements except by their permission.

They have been rather particular on this passage to point out the necessity of first obtaining the Indians' permission before such a plan would be put in execution. They further wish to observe that after this grant might be secured, it would probably lay a foundation for disputes which after the great expense Government has been at in bringing about this alliance with the Six Nations ought to be avoided.

It is also their opinion that the Savages would commit frequent depredations on the grain & stock which might introduce differences between the Garrison & the Indians.

They also think both from the Soil and Situation the West side of the River (the Country belonging to the Mssessagues & in the Government of Canada) by far preferable to the East & where none of those difficulties or differences can arise & are of opinion that an opportunity now offers to make a beginning by encouraging some of the distressed Loyalists lately arrived at this Post for His Majesty's protection.

With the little stock they have brought the second year, they may possibly support themselves & families, the third they might be useful to this Post, and from that period the increase would be considerable so that in six or seven years such a plan would be serviceable to Government & individuals that may be induced to undertake it.

(B.96-1, pp. 251-3)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND DATED AT NIAGARA, MARCH 8TH, 1779

"As Colonel Bolton thinks it proper that I should settle for the Expenses incurred by building of Barracks for the Rangers & distressed Families, I have taken the liberty to draw a Bill upon your Excellency for 2,527.19.2, the amount of said expenses. Your Excellency will learn from Capt. Butler the necessity there was for this work & the propriety there was of it being built on the opposite side of the river & he will also be able to give an explanation that may be required in regard to the accounts."

(B.96-1, pp.148-50)

Haldimand immediately reiterated his instructions to Bolton to lose no time in beginning a settlement on a small scale by encouraging a few families to undertake the clearance and cultivation of land on the west bank of the river nearly opposite Fort Niagara.

THE PETITION OF ALEXANDER ELLICE

To His Excellency Frederick Haldimand, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of Quebec, and the Territories, depending thereon in America, Vice-Admiral of the same, General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the said Province & Frontiers thereof, &c. &c., &c. The Petition of Alexander Ellice on behalf of the Merchants of Detroit sheweth: That Your Excellency was pleased to enter into a contract with John Stedman for carrying merchandize over the Portage of Niagara, and in consideration thereof Your Excellency was pleased to take a Bond from the said John Stedman in favour of Your Petitioners, dated the 27th of July last, binding him to charge only four shillings & six pence New York Currency for transporting each gross hundred weight, after such contract was notified at Niagara, which could only be done by order of Your Excellency on the said John Stedman, therefore if omitted ought not (in your Petitioners humble opinion) operate to the disadvantage of the Merchants.

However it has been said John Stedman's continuing to impose six shillings per Cwt. contrary to the spirit and intention of his bond, even during the months of September, October & November, notwithstanding the notification could have been made in twenty days which would have terminated that charge on the seventeenth of August last.

Your Petitioner therefore prays that Your Excellency will be pleased to order payment to be received at the rate of four shillings & six pence per cwt. For merchandize carried over since the said seventeenth of August last, and that your Excellency will direct the said John Stedman to furnish proper accounts expressing the mark & weight of each Package, or if the Packages are small & several weighed in the same scale, the marks of such their weight together, which however reasonable & necessary he has refused to do.

Quebec, 26th May 1779.
(B.217, p.80)

Stedman's activity and diligence in forwarding supplies and merchandize has induced Colonel Bolton to make a favorable report and he asserted that no partiality had been shown to any of the Merchants, but that their goods had been transported in a regular rotation and although in wet weather the portage road was at times nearly impassable, a much larger quantity of their property had been sent on than could be shipped up Lake Erie. The prospect of high profits had caused the keenest competition among the Traders and he was seriously embarrassed in consequence by the accumulation of merchandise at Fort Niagara. He stated the situation very frankly. A subsequent letter from Captain Matthews shows that Stedman had not been notified of the change in tariff.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BOLTON, DATED QUEBEC, JUNE 7TH, 1779.

'I cannot but approve of your having forwarded Capt. Aubrey's Detachment to Detroit and the sooner you send down those men belonging to it that you mention to be unfit for service, from a confirmed state of bad health the better, and here I must repeat to you my anxiety for having every useless mouth removed from Niagara for the reasons I have already mentioned to you, which is still as urgent as ever. All Prisoners & Idle people from the Frontiers I hope you have already sent, if you can find amongst the distressed families, three or four who are desirous to settle upon the opposite side of the river, who are good Husbandmen and who discover Inclinations for improvements of *Land Only*, exclusive of every other view or pursuit, I would have you establish them there, affording them whatever assistance you may think necessary, whether by a little provision or a few Labourers, for which indulgence they are to understand that their Labour is to be calculated for, and to tend as much to the supplying of the Garrison as to their private advantage.'

(B. 104, p.28)

Bolton was instructed to notify Stedman of the date when the modified tariff of charges for the transportation of goods over the Portage was to come into force.

FROM CAPTAIN ROBERT MATTHEWS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BOLTON
QUEBEC, 16th August, 1779.

Sir,

In consequence of a Letter which I received the 16th Instant from Captain Brehm, desiring I would lay before His Excellency the Commander in Chief the paper I now transmit to you, in order that he might decide upon the propriety of Mr. Stedman's charges for transporting Merchants goods over the Carrying Place at Niagara specified in the Lines marked with red Ink, I have it in command from His Excellency to acquaint you that, from the Tenor of the said Paper, it evidently appears that the notification therein mentioned was intended immediately to follow the Contract, that His Excellency understood it had been transmitted to you, and that the omission could have been occasioned only by His Secretary, Captain Foy's illness. His Excellency therefore further desires, that Mr. Stedman may be acquainted that he is to charge no more than according to the rates specified in his Contract, from the 8th of August 1778 (which allows six weeks for the conveyance of the intended Notification from Quebec to Niagara) after the 27th July, agreeably to His undertaking signed that day by Him in presence of Captain Le Maistre and Mr. Williams.

(B. 104, p. 44)

The disastrous result of Lieut.-Governor Hamilton's expedition to Vincennes and the successful invasion of the country of the Six Nations in which many Indian villages were completely destroyed had changed the situation so much for the worse that the task of supplying provision for thousands of Indians who sought food and clothing at Niagara, and to a less degree at Detroit, seemed almost hopeless. In reporting these facts to the Secretary of State and demanding reinforcements and supplies from England, Haldimand took care to bring his project of establishing settlements near the western posts to his attention and asked his approval. A reply to his letter could not, of course, be expected until the following spring at the earliest.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN NO. 33, DATED AT QUEBEC, 25 SEPTEMBER, 1779

"I beg likewise to represent to Your Lordship, that if it is intended to preserve the Upper Country and Fur Trade, one thousand to fifteen hundred men, with a necessary supply of Provisions distinctly for that Service alone, must be employed as early in the Spring as the River becomes navigable."

"The present state of Provisions in this Province and my pressing letters upon that interesting Subject point out to Your Lordship the Impossibility of undertaking any operation of that kind altho' the Salvation of the Province were to depend upon it, (which I think it does), without very early Supplies from home both of Troops and Provisions."

"I have many years regretted that measures were not adopted such as to prevent the safety of the Upper Posts from depending upon Supplies from Home, so very distant, the Transport so extremely precarious and attended with such a heavy Expence to Government, all of which might be obviated, the Troops infinitely better provided and the different Posts be in perfect Security by raising grain and all kinds of Stock at Detroit, which from its central situation could very well supply Niagara and Michilimackinac;

the same Plan very practicable at Niagara, and there is nothing wanting but a Beginning, it will necessarily be attended with some Expence the first two or three years, but would even in as many more amply repay it."

"In these times nothing of the kind can be vigourously undertaken but should this unfortunate War have a speedy termination, it should be immediately carried into Execution, and in such case I should be glad to receive Your Lordship's approbation of and commands to undertake what I am convinced would produce the most salutary effects for His Majesty's interest in that Country."

(Q. 16-2, pp.563-8)

Bolton was informed of the complaints of the merchants that Stedman had failed to transport their goods over the portage as promptly as they wished and he instructed to take additional precautions to protect them from a sudden incursion of the enemy which seemed probable, after their victorious advance as far as the Genesee River and the precipitate flight of a majority of the Six Nations to the neighbourhood of Niagara.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LIEUT.-
COLONEL BOLTON, DATED QUEBEC, 11TH NOVEMBER, 1779

"There are complaints that the contractor at your carrying place does not provide sufficient means of transporting the goods which arrive there, the principal reason which induced me to make the contract was to give satisfaction to the Merchants, he must therefore at any rate provide everything requisite for that purpose, and to prevent their murmurs on that subject in the future."

"I am informed that a great quantity of goods lie at the carrying places at Niagara, guarded by a small party & observing the eagerness of the Merchants to send such quantities up, I am apprehensive of this becoming a Bait to tempt the Rebels, and to draw them upon your Post, for which reason I must desire, that you detach a company to each of these places, with the most particular orders, and if possible that a Block House with some enclosures of Picketing or other easier effected work, be erected to cover the ground whereon the goods lye, and to serve the party as a defence in case of sudden attempts, & it will be necessary that you have Indians employed constantly on scouts to give you early intelligence of the approach of the Enemy, in order the better to enable you to make these Detachments Capt. Augbrey (1) is now directed to send you your Light Infantry Company immediately."

(B. 96-2, pp. 134-6)

Bolton had continued his inquiries relative to the proposed settlement and advised caution in undertaking this without the full consent of the Indians.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LIEUT.-COLONEL BOLTON TO GENERAL
HALDIMAND, DATED AT NIAGARA, NOVEMBER 11TH, 1779.

"I have consulted every Person here who can give me any information in regard to supplying this Post with bread and from all accounts it is impossible for the Contractor (2) with all the assistance this weak Garrison can give him to do more than cultivate as much

(1) Commanding at Carleton Island.

(2) John Stedman, Contractor for transport of stores over the Niagara portage.

land as well supply his own cattle, &c., during the present trouble, perhaps hereafter in more peaceable times it may be accomplished agreeable to Your Excellency's plan but even then it will require at least seven years to do it, at this time we must be a little cautious how we cultivate or encroach upon the lands of the six nations, a subject we have often talked over at our Councils & informed them that the Great King had never deprived them of a single acre since the Year 1759, at which time he drove the French out of this Country, this they readily acknowledged, observing at the same time (that) the Rebels had acted in a very different manner for which they should severely repent. "The Indians from my observations are naturally suspicious & altho' easily encouraged with anything that promises them advantage are still inclined to believe evil reports of designs against themselves from even the meanest Authority. But this Your Excellency must know much better than I am able to inform you from your long experience and knowledge of this country. I beg leave to observe also that the Indians not only make free with the Corn Gardens but often with the Cattle belonging to Mr. Stedman & some times even with those under the Cannon of this Fort..... I shall make further inquiries in order to give Your Excellency every information in regard to so essential an article." (B.96-1, pp. 227-32.)

On the other hand, the Colonial Secretary warmly approved of the proposal and urged Haldimand to lose no time in carrying it into effect.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED WHITEHALL, 17TH MARCH, 1780. NO. 23

"The care of raising provisions for the Garrison by cultivating the Lands around the Posts, when the Return of Peace, or the state of the War will admit of the Troops being so employed will be another charge suitable to their office ---- And indeed as the expenditure of Provisions at the Upper Posts is become so enormous, you cannot too soon take some Measures for inducing all who are fed, to contribute to raise them for themselves.

(B. 44, pp.10-11)

NEXT IS A MAP 'PLAN OF THE FIRST NIAGARA PORTAGE (From a Copy in the Dept. of Lands & Forests (Ontario), Toronto. (See attachment - 2 parts.)

Plan of a survey from Fort Niagara to the Landing Place above the Falls, showing the exact distance between both places, also the different turnings and windings of the River Road. A. Fort Niagara. B. The place where the English Army landed, under the command of B.O. Prideaux, July 6, 1759. C. The place where the boats must be unloaded, and where the Portage begins. D. The loading place from Lake Erie, or the upper part of the portage. E. The only place on the River where Mills can be built. F. The falls. G. An old fence made by Mr. Jonkaire.

In fact Germain was so favourable impressed that within a month, he wrote again on the subject, to emphasize his approval.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED WHITEHALL, 12TH APRIL, 1780 NO. 31

"Much advantage as well as a considerable saving of expense must accrue from employing the Indians, and the inhabitants and Troops in cultivating the Lands about the Posts in the Upper Country, and I should think their attention to their own safety and comfort, and exempting themselves from the dreadful consequences of a failure of supplies from the Lower Country, which must at all times be hazardous, would excite them to Industry, and to gain some knowledge of Husbandry. Should however any further Inducement be wanting you would do well to add presents of Tools and even Premiums upon Products to spur them to diligence."

(B. 44, pp. 78-9)

These letters did not reach Quebec until late in the following June. Meanwhile, the fur traders showed no sign of being intimidated by the increased danger of losing their goods through capture by the enemy and their importunity finally exhausted the Governor's patience.

FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BOLTON, QUEBEC DATED April 17th, 1780.

Sir:

I have daily applications from almost every Merchant, who trades towards Lake Ontario, to grant passes for the Transport of Goods to Niagara, and they do not fail to accuse those to whom I have granted passes for the Supply of the Troops with having smuggled up a large quantity of goods.

You must be sensible of the evil tendency of such abuses and I request that as much as possible you prevent its continuance.

In the present situation of affairs, I cannot think of granting any passes for trade until I have your opinion on the subject, and I request that you will as soon as possible, send me the truest account you can collect, of the merchandize, that now remains at the several upper Posts, and whether you think the arrival of any more, would be useful or detrimental to the King's Service, expressing also what articles you would approve of being sent, and the quantity nearly of each.

(B.104, p. 119)

Bolton protested that he had made every effort to treat the Traders with entire impartiality in the transport of their goods although he had little doubt that some of them were disregarding the regulations under which they had obtained their licenses.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LIEUT.-COLONEL BOLTON TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED AT NIAGARA, MAY 16TH, 1780

"I have done everything in my power to serve the merchants & to forward their goods in rotation but that some of the people they employ smuggled goods up I have scarce a doubt of, not that I in the least suppose they ever gave any orders or knew

anything of the matter, nor is it scarce possible I believe for the commanding officer of a Post to guard against such abuses."

(B. 96-2. p. 23-4)

After being explicitly assured of Germain's approval, Haldimand lost little time in giving orders to Bolton to proceed with the settlement. Colonel Butler had been at Quebec and had undertaken to supervise the establishment of several families on partially cleared land near the Barracks occupied by the Rangers. His influence with the refugee loyalists and knowledge of farming were believed to be very important. It is clear that the Governor was strongly influenced by his advice.

FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO COLONEL BOLTON

Quebec, 7th July 1780

No. 26

Sir:

Having maturely reflected upon the vast expense, uncertainty and difficulties attending the Transport of Provisions to the Upper Posts and for the better accommodation and support of His Majesty's Loyal subjects who driven from their homes take refuge at Niagara, I am come to a resolution to reclaim the land granted by (the) Messessaguas to Sir William Johnson for the Crown, situated on the south west of the river opposite the Fort, directions of which will be communicated to you by another letter, which Land will be divided into several lots and distributed to such Loyalists who are capable of improving them and desirous of procuring by industry a comfortable maintenance for their families until such times as by peache they shall be restored to their respective homes should they be inclined to quit their situation at Niagara.

As the above mentioned grant of land will be reclaimed at the expense of Government and of course remain at all times, the sole property of the Crown and annexed to the Fort. Those who settle upon it are not to consider that they have the smallest right to any part thereof, the produce alone being their property. They will hold their possessions from year to year which will be granted to them by the Commander in Chief for the time being according to their merits. If at any time, they should remove either from inclination or by order of the commanding officer, they are to have permission to dispose of their crops, stock of cattle, etc., and a reasonable allowance will be made to them for their improvements. For their further encouragement no rent will be required of them. They will be allowed a reasonable amount of provisions for the space of twelve months after they are put in possession of their Lots. Steel Mills Ploughs and other implements of Husbandry will be furnished them gratis and you will please to afford them every assistance Whether of horses or otherwise as shall be in your power to those whose Sobriety, Industry and good conduct may entitle to such indulgence.

Some part of this land being already cleared and all of it being fertile it is expected that in a short time the Produce will be considerable. The settlers are therefore to understand that the produce of their farms over and above their own consumption is not to be removed from the Post but disposed of to the commanding officer for the use of the Troops and not to Traders or accidental Travellers.

(B. 96-2, pp. 145-7.)

Within a week, this was followed and emphasised by a second letter.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LIEUT.-
COLONEL MASON BOLTON, COMMANDANT AT FORT NIAGARA
DATED AT QUEBEC, 13TH JULY 1780.

"By your letter of the 7th Inst. which will be delivered to you by Lieut. Col. Butler, you will be made acquainted with my intentions of settling Families at Niagara, for the purpose of reclaiming and cultivating Lands to be annexed to the Fort, the expediency of this measure is sufficiently evinced, not only by the injury the service has and must always suffer from a want of a sufficient supply of provisions as well as for the present unavoidable consumption of the Indians, as for the support of the Troops it may be necessary occasionally to march into that country but likewise to diminish the immense expence and labour attending so difficult and so distant Transport, I am therefore come to a resolution to extend this scheme to the several Posts in the Upper Country, it already being in some forwardness at Carleton Island & I here enclose Instructions for carrying it into Execution at Detroit which you will please forward to the Commanding Officer after you have perused them. And you will give such orders & assistance as you will judge most expedient for promoting with the utmost dispatch & vigour an undertaking so apparently Beneficial to Government as well as to the ease and comfort of the Troops

.....
"My letter to Col. Johnson whom I refer to you for particulars, will inform you of the situation I have chosen at Niagara, which he is directed to purchase from the Mississagues Indians. Lieut.-Col. Butler with whom I have conversed fully upon this subject has promised to give you every assistance in his Power & from his knowledge of farming, his being upon the spot with his Rangers and his acquaintance and influence with those who may be found to settle, I am persuaded you will find him very useful. I have conversed freely with him upon this subject and have desired him to engage any Loyalists He may find proper persons about Montreal and to take them up with him.

He informs me there are some good Farmers in his Corps who either advancing in years or having a Large Family he could dispense with, you will probably find these fit persons to employ, the more so as they are likely to have assistance in clearing &c. from their comrades, but amongst those people little can be expected without a gratuity, and as that business must be done by Volunteers & fatigue men, it will be necessary that you furnish Col. Butler from the King's store a sufficient quantity."

On the same day Haldimand wrote to Colonel Guy Johnson, the Superintendent of the Six Nations, who was then at Niagara, giving him special instructions to purchase a tract of land on the west side of the Niagara river, four miles in width, extending from Lake to Lake.

FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO COLONEL GUY JOHNSON
Quebec, 13th July 1780.

Sir:

Having communicated to Lieut. Colo. Bolton my Intention of cultivating a sufficient Quantity of Ground at Niagara to supply, in part, Provisions for the Consumption of that Post, & given him necessary directions for that Purpose --- I have to

desire that you will purchase for the King upon the most advantageous Terms, in your Power the Tract of Land belonging to the Messessaguas, opposite to the Fort, bounded by the River Niagara, and what is called the Four Mile Creek, extending from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie in a Parallel line or near it, with the river, taking the advantage wherever it can be done, of a natural boundary ---- Lieut. Colonel Butler informed that at the time the Six Nations ceded to Government a certain Tract of Land on the opposite side of the River, the Messessaguas did, or were about granting the ground in question, Altho' never claimed, to Him, and the Information of Sir William Johnson's Papers, I refer you for this Knowledge, & only mention it because I think that reminding them of it, may make them more reasonable in their demand --- I would however wish to have them satisfied, & as I conceive the speedy execution of this Scheme of consequence to H.M. Service, You will lose no time in forwarding it by the Purchase.
(B. 107, P. 123.)

In his reply Johnson stated that while he believed that the Mississaugas had a just title to ownership of the land, he considered it advisable to obtain the consent of the Senecas, who were the principal nation of the Confederacy, and claimed a certain overlordship of suzerainty over them.

FROM COLONEL GUY JOHNSON TO GENERAL HALDIMAND

Pg. 22

Niagara, August 21st, 1780

Sir,

I have been Honored with your Excellency's Letter of the 13th Ulto respecting the Lands I am directed to purchase for cultivation &ca. Agreeable to which on the arrival of some Chiefs whose presence becomes necessary, I shall immediately proceed to execute your orders, in the best manner I can, And at as little expense as is in my power, but as it is in the neighbourhood of the Senecas & more than once subjected to their Claims it is necessary to make some previous Arrangements with their Chiefs, to facilitate the Business with the Mississagas who I apprehend will make few difficulties -- I shou'd however observe that as the Preliminary Articles in April 1764, and the Treaty of Peace, Alliance & Cession with the Senecas in July following to which Lieut. Col. Butler alluded, were both drawn up by myself I am enabled to inform Your Excellency with Certainty about them, that the Grant was of the Lands on the East side of Niagara Straits, (of the depth of four miles) to Fort Erie and of two miles on the West Side provided it was solely reserved for the use of the Crown, forever (they being Jealous of Settlers) & that it was surveyed in the presence of Sir William Johnson, & certain Seneca Deputys which cou'd not then be accomplished.--- This Cession was then made by the Senecas & the Misisagas were not mentioned at all, neither were they Partys in subscribing, however this might be done in conformity to the Claims of the Six Nations, in my Ideas the Mississagas have good pretensions to it & your Excellency may Depend on my Conducting the Transaction in the best way I can for preventing future disputes ----

The Senecas at the same time excepted the Islands and insisted on Sir W. Johnsons acceptance of a Deed for them, but that has never since been Agitated by Himself or Family.

(In a P.S.)

The Hurons of Detroit with many of the Western Indians & also some Chipeweighs & Mississagas were present at the Treaty in 1764.
(B. 107, pp.151-2)

An expedition from Detroit commanded by Captain Henry Bird of the 8th Regiment had lately captured and destroyed several Forts on the Frontiers of Kentucky, which had been built for the protection of the border settlements from Indian raids. Nearly four hundred of the settlers had been brought as prisoners to Detroit where the Commandant proposed to settle them.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LIEUT.-COL. BOLTON, DATED AT "QUEBEC 39TH AUGT. 1780"

"In regard to settling the prisoners from Ohio at Detroit it is so favourable to my determined scheme for agriculture, much approved and strongly recommended from home, that it must be encouraged but at the same time I should think it unsafe to permit so many of them to remain together and perhaps impolitic with respect to the Indians who are naturally jealous and suspicious, and should any bad consequence result from settling those people on their Lands, they will attribute to Design. I therefore wish to have them divided between Detroit, Niagara and Carleton Island, those who remain at Detroit to be settled on Hog Island -- at Niagara you will dispose of as many as the situation will admit of, and send the rest to Carleton Island, and as the season will be too far advanced for them to build after their arrival, you would do well with the assistance of Colonel Butler, to choose proper situations and have log houses erected for them by the Rangers, and whatever men you may occasionally be able to spare from the Garrison.

"You will of course observe that these people must be settled in strict conformity with the regulations transmitted to you, all of them who are artificers should be employed and reasonable pay allowed them, and in communicating these instructions to Major DePeyster you will please to direct that a portion of the artificers found amongst them may immediately be sent to Michilimackinac, if the navigation should be open, to assist in building the new Fort."

(B.104, p. 154)

Most of these prisoners were of German origin and had taken no part in the Revolutionary movement. About twenty of the young men enlisted very readily in Butler's Rangers and the remainder willingly settled as farmers on the lands assigned them.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LIEUT.-COLONEL BOLTON TO GENERAL HALDIMAND DATED AT NIAGARA, SEPTEMBER 4TH, 1780.

"I find the purchase of the and from the Mississauguas must be delayed until Col. Johnson has a meeting with the Chiefs of the Six Nations."

(B.100 p.454)

As the Indians had to be assembled from their villages and hunting grounds, or their return awaited from the War, several months must necessarily elapse before this meeting could be held and the requisite approval of the Senecas obtained to the purchase.

Haldimand immediately reiterated his former instructions to Bolton in very forcible terms.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO COLONEL GUY JOHNSON, DATED AT QUEBEC, 29TH SEPT. 1780.

"In regard to the Land to be purchased from the Messesaguas, I have only to repeat my wish & desire that you will effect it in the best and speediest manner --- Every Ration of Provisions you issue will remind you of the necessity of the measure, and the sooner it is completed, the greater will be the Advantage to Government and to the Residents."

(B. 107, pp.166-7.)

In anticipation of this purchase of lands Butler had already established some families on clearings in the woods near his Barracks, where log-houses were built for them and some grain was sown in ground roughly broken up with such implements as could be procured for the purpose. Colonel Bolton had long been in ill health and was tortured by rheumatism which made him almost helpless and incapable of any exertion, mental or physical. For this reason, he had applied for leave of absence a year before to return to England, which Haldimand had refused, saying that he was unable to send an officer of sufficient rank to relieve him. Bolton now renewed his application and urged that a senior officer should be detailed to take the command of the Upper Posts for very obvious reasons which he stated. Brigadier General H. Watson Powell, who had been in command of the Montreal District was finally appointed and arrived at Niagara in October. This change of commanders was taken advantage of by Guy Johnson to hold a council with the chiefs of the Six Nations, which was attended by both these officers. Although no mention is made of the fact, it seems probable purchase was then solicited and obtained from these Chiefs of the Indian Confederacy, who had been much humbled by the devastation of their country.

COUNCIL WITH THE SIX NATIONS, 1780

At a Meeting held at Colo. Johnsons Quarters at Niagara, the 29th Octo'r in the Presence of Brigadier General Powel & Lt. Colo. Bolton before Colo. Johnson, Superintendent &ca. And other Officers of his Department with the Chiefs of the Six Nations &ca. being introduced and Seated the Indians by Aaron the Mohack Chief addressed Colo. Johnson as follows----

Brother,

We are come here now before you on your Intimation to us of the Arrival of a General at this Place & that Colo. Bolton is going down the Country. We are few in Number as you know, our Chiefs are almost all at War but we speak for the whole as we know their Hearts.

Brother,

We first take our new Brother the General by the Hand and Welcome Him to this Place, hoping that the Great Spirit will direct him to act wisely and that he will be our friend and we assure him that we shall be ready to shew him our Regard & Harken to his Councils. ---- We in the next place take our Brother Colo. Bolton by the Hand assuring

him of our Regard and that we shall never forget that during some years he has had the Command of this Place, he has always used his Endeavours to do us Justice & to assist us in all things in his Power & we wish that the Great Spirit may preserve him when he goes away towards the sun rising.

Brother,

We have no more to say at present but to assure the General of our Love hoping he will always remember that we are a People who have been long true & faithful to the Great King. And we hope that under a General who we hear is a good & wise Man & with a Superintendant who knows us so well as you do & who studies to direct us for the best that we shall continue as happy as we have been till we have conquered our Enemies.

General Powell then addressed the Indians, Expressing his Satisfaction at seeing them with the Assurance that he would continue to do all on his Part for them & would shew all possible Kindness to the deserving recommending it to them to continue to deserve well of Government and assuring them he should continue to assist Colo. Johnson's Endeavours & afford him his Countenance in the discharge of His Duty --- Colo. Bolton then addressed them in a few Words, thanking them for their favourable Remembrance of his Attention to them, Assuring them that he would make a like Report to the Commander in Chief of their good Behaviour particularly those who had distinguished themselves. Adding that they might depend on General Powell's pursuing the same Measures for promoting their Happiness & wishing them to continue by their good Conduct to preserve the Reputation they had acquired, --- After which Colo. Johnson addressed them saying that he was very happy to find they had had so agreeable an Interview with the General & Colo. Bolton & that they might rely on the General's pursuing the same friendly System for which they had expressed their Gratitude to Colo. Bolton, whose friendship they had long experienced. -- That he hoped they would on their Parts by their gallant Services, their orderly Department, And Endeavours to prevent Irregularities endeavours to establish the good Opinion the General had conceived of them in which Case he could assure them of his Friendly Regards.

To which they answered with many Thanks to the Genl. and good wishes to Colo. Bolton And that they should use all Endeavours in their Power to prevent Irregularities and deserve favour, ----Then after being ordered some Liquor as a Compliment from The General and Colo. Bolton, they took leave.

(B.119, pp. 162-4)

On the last day of October, Bolton embarked in the Ontario, a new ship and the largest on the Lake, taking with him an Officer and thirty men of the 34th Regiment for Carleton Island. Two days afterwards, the Ship was seen near the north shore of the Lake off the mouth of the Genesee, and then nothing more was heard of her or of any of those on board. In one of his first letters, General Powell reported unfavourably upon the situation of Butler's Barracks, which had been chosen for convenience of obtaining logs for building.

FROM BRIGADIER GENERAL H. WATSON POWELL TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, EXTRACT OF A LETTER DATED NIAGARA, NOVEMBER 18TH, 1780.

"There certainly could not be found a more improper spot for the Barracks of the Rangers, whereas if they had built them opposite to the Garrison they could not only have enjoyed a good situation but they might have been constructed in such a manner as to have retarded any Attack upon this Place, which is very much exposed on that side & have secured to the Rangers a certainty of Retreat in case of necessity."
(B. 100, pp. 488-92)

The seed grain promised from Lower Canada had not arrived and Powell urged that it should be sent forward as early in the following spring as possible.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM BRIG. GENERAL H. WATSON POWELL TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED AT 'NIAGARA, DECR. 4TH, 1780."

"The Colonel (Guy Johnson) likewise mentions that he expected some Indian Corn & Pumpkin seed would have been sent up this summer in order to plant this Spring but as it has not arrived if Your Excellency thought proper to order about two hundred Bushels to be sent to Coteau du Lack during the winter, it would probably arrive early enough in the Spring to plant and be the means of saving Flower. (Flour) Colonel Butler also wishes to get up some Wheat to sow in the Spring as the Fall Wheat intended for the Loyalists arrived too late to sow this Season."
(B.100 pp. 498-500.)

Haldimand and his Military Secretary, Captain Mathews, both apologised for this remissness and promised that the seed grain should be forwarded promptly, on the opening of navigation.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS, DATED 'NIAGARA, 7TH DECEMBER, 1780"

"Capt. Twiss (of the Royal Engineers) promised me a Forge for the Families who are to settle here, but it never came up, please put him in mind of it, the Families will want four Grindstones and a dozen of hoes for planting in the Spring -- I have four or five Families who have begun and built themselves houses & would have put wheat in the ground last fall, had it arrived in time. I have wrote Captn. Morer (Maurer) for some Spring Wheat, Buck Wheat, Indian Corn & Oats to come up early in the Spring. I wish it might be forwarded. The wheat sent up last Fall I shall put into the Commissary's Store as provisions, the Harness sent up is not the Kind wanted, if dressed leather could be sent up, I would get some of the Rangers to make the Kind Requisite."
(B.105, pp. 233-4)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO BRIG. GENERAL H. WATSON POWELL, DATED QUEBEC, 11TH APRIL, 1781

"The Wheat &c., mentioned in your Letter of the 4th is already at Coteau du Lack in order to be forwarded by the very first Battau which leaves that place and I hope their early arrival will in some measure Compensate for the disappointment last Fall and give some assistance to the Provision store the next."
(B. 104, p. 191)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS TO COLONEL JOHN BUTLER, DATED AT QUEBEC, 12TH APRIL, 1781

"His Excellency is sorry to find that the Fall Wheat arrived too late but you can reclaim it from the store & distribute it at the proper season this year. Some Spring Wheat, Indian Corn, & small seeds are now at Coteau du Lac with positive instructions to be forwarded by the very first Batteaux, the Forge, Dressed Leather & Grind Stones are likewise read & will accompany them.

P.S. You will receive 10 Bushels Spring Wheat, 4 Bushels Buck Wheat, 4 Bushels Oats, 4 Bushels pease & some small seeds.

You will apply to Colonel Johnson for the Barrel of Indian Corn, a quantity being sent him for the Indians."

(B. 105, pp.259-60.)

The projected council with the Chiefs of the Chippewas and Mississaugas for the purchase of the tract of land ordered by Haldimand was not held until the 9th of May, 1781, when a Deed was obtained from them for the first lands for settlement in the present Province Of Ontario. The long delay was probably due to the difficulty of assembling the Indians from their distant villages and hunting grounds.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM COLONEL GUY JOHNSON TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED NIAGARA, 9TH MAY, 1781.

"I had the honor to write to Your Excellency on the 23d Ulto on the State of Affairs respecting My Department, Accompanied with a Return, since which I convened the Chipeweighs and Mississagas interested in the Lands you directed to be purchased for the Crown & have obtained a Deed from them for the same in the usual Form which was executed this day & is herewith enclosed---- "I have not been able to find Any Natural Boundary, neither did I think it advisable to make the Lines Parallel to the Courses of the Strait as it would be attended with difficulty & could not be easily comprehended by the Indians; but I took one Course on the Chipeweigh River & another to Lake Erie, by which the Contents are more favorable for Government (as I shall shew them from a sketch which I intend to transmit, by another opportunity) & the Indians are well satisfied, having received about the value of Three Hundred Suits of Clothing, which was as little as I cou'd give them, and they wou'd have got the most part of that quantity in a little time without any consideration from their necessitous condition."

(B.107, pp 224-5)

Ten days later, Johnson wrote again to report that the limits of the purchase had been marked on the shores of the two Lakes.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM COLONEL GUY JOHNSON TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED AT NIAGARA, 19TH MAY, 1781.

"Lieut. Terrot of the Royal Artillery marked the two points on this Lake and Lake Erie, of the late purchase & I now inclose from one of my Maps a little Sketch of the whole, but I shou'd think it wou'd be advisable to have the Line run & marked all the way, for preventing future disputes, or mistakes respecting the Boundary."

DEED OF LAND FROM THE CHIPPEWAS AND MISSISSUGAS

To All Persons whom these presents may concern, We the Sachems and Chiefs of the *Chipeweighs & Missisagas*, Inhabiting at and near *Weghqueta* at the Head of Lake Ontario In the Vicinity of Niagara on behalf of ourselves and all our people here convened by Colonel *Guy Johnson*, His Majesty's sole agent, and Superintendant of the *Six United Nations of Indians, and their Confederates*, send Greeting. Whereas the Chiefs of the Six Nations and several of our then Chiefs did in the Month of *August, in the Year, One Thousand Seven Hundred & Sixty Four*, at this place, In the presence and at the desire of *Sir William Johnson*, Bart, deceased, our late Superintendant entered into a Treaty for the Ceding to His Majesty *King George*, the Third, A Certain Tract of Land on the West Side of the Straits Leading from *Lake Erie to Lake Ontario* which Cession was not then fully arranged, or finally executed by us, and Whereas we have been now summoned to attend at this place, to make and perfect a Cession of the same, and of such Lands as have been required by *Colonel Johnson*, to be ceded to the King Agreeable to orders received for that purpose, all which we have fully explained to us by the said Colonel Johnson, and have duly considered the same.

Now Therefore Know Ye, that we the said Sachems, and Chiefs of the before mentioned Nations, as well thro' our Zeal, Loyalty and Attachment to His Majesty, as in consideration of a Handsome present to us made by our said Superintendant Colonel *Johnson* in part and on behalf of his said Majesty, the receipt whereof we do Acknowledge. We the said Indians have for Ourselves, Heirs, and Successors Granted, Bargained, Sold, Released and Confirmed, and by these Presents Do Grant, Bargain, Sell, Release and Confirm to our said Sovereign Lord King *George the Third*. All that certain Tract of Land situate on the West Side of the said Strait, or River Leading from *Lake Erie to Lake Ontario*, Beginning at a large White Oak Tree forked Six feet from the Ground, on the Bank of the said *Lake Ontario* at the distance of four English Miles measured on a Straight Line from the West Side of the Bank of the said Strait, opposite to the Fort of *Niagara*, and extending from thence by a Southerly Course to the *Chipeweigh* River, at the distance of *Four Miles* on a direct Line from where the said River falls into the said Strait above the great fall of Niagara, or such a line as will pass at four Miles West of said Fall in its course to said River, and running from thence by a South Easterly Course, to the Northern Bank of *Lake Erie* at the Distance of *Four Miles* in a Strait Line Westerly from the Post called *Fort Erie* thence easterly along the said Lake by the said Post, and northerly up the West Side of the said Strait to the said *Lake Ontario*, thence Westerly to the place of beginning together with all the Hereditaments, and Appurtenances to the same belonging, or in any way appertaining and also all our Estate, Right, Title, Property, Possession, Claim, or Demand in Law or Equity in or to the same, or any part thereof, To Have and to Hold the Whole Lands, and premises hereby Granted, Bargained, Sold, Released, and Confirmed as aforesaid with the Hereditaments, and Appurtenances thereunto belonging unto our said Sovereign Lord King *George the Third*, His Heirs, and Successors to and for his and their own proper use, and behoof forever. In Witness whereof we the Chiefs of the said *Chipeweighs and Missisagas*, have hereunto set our Marks and Seals at Niagara the ninth day of May *one thousand seven hundred and eighty one* in the *Twenty first* year of His Majesty's Reign. Sealed and delivered in the presence

of (the words) have between the 7th & 8th lines and Word (All) between the 18th and 19th lines (being first interlined) as also the following Words between the 15th & 16th lines Vizt. (or such a Line as will pass four Miles West of the said fall in its course to said River ----

Andrew Parke, Capt. in the Kings or 8th Regt.

William Potts, Capt in the Kings or 8th Regt.

John Dease, Depy Agent Indian Affairs.

Alex. McKee, Depy Agent Indian Affairs.

I certify that the above Instrument was fully explained to the Indians and executed in my presence, & a consideration amounting to about 300 Suits of Clothing given to them.

G. Johnson, Colo. & Superintendent.

The Mark of Nanibizure, a Chipeweigh.

A Swan

The Mark of Paghquan, a Missisaga.

A Bear

The Mark of Wabacanine, a Missisaga

An Eagle

The Mark of Menaghquah, a Missisaga

A Duck

Endorsed: Copy

Sale of a Tract of Land by the Chiefs of the Chipeweighs and Mississagas Indians of a Tract of Land on the West Side of the Straits leading from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario To the Crown, dated Niagara 9th May 1781.

(B. 114, pp.175-6.)

The Winter of 1780-81 was unusually severe on the Niagara and attended with heavy falls of snow which had nearly cut off all communication between the Military Posts. A succession of heavy gales on Lake Erie in the Spring had greatly damaged the Stockade at its lower end which for convenience of the transhipment of supplies and merchandise had been built close to the shore, where it was furiously assailed by the waves and cakes of floating ice when the lake rose to its highest point.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM BRIG.-GENERAL H. WATSON POWELL TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED AT NIAGARA, MAY 25TH, 1781.

"Since I had the honor of writing to Your Excellency, I have been at Fort Erie, which is in general in a bad state of defence. The Face next the Lake is laid almost open by the lake storms, and the whole Fort must be new picketed. The artificers and now repairing the works and the engineer took that opportunity to mark out the Boundary Line of the Land lately purchased from the Massasages."

(B. 101, pp. 75-6.)

Butler continued to press his demands for implements necessary for the progress of the settlement which he was carefully supervising, and for which he was entirely dependent on such articles as were sent up from Montreal. A few draft horses and cattle had been brought in from the Frontiers of New York.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER TO CAPT. ROBERT MATHEWS, DATED AT NIAGARA, 30TH MAY 1781

"Lieut. Col. Butler desires me to present his respectful compliments to you and would be glad if a dozen Breeding sows were sent up for the use of the Farmers. There is an old man in the Rangers named Michael Showers, tho' he is fit for service Lieut. Col. Butler has permitted him to Build a House, and he is clearing, Planting & Commencing Farmer, he wants permission to bring up his Family from Machies (Machiche) this Colonel Butler would indulge him, if agreeable to His Excellency the Commander in Chief, they can be assisted by four of the Rangers who were left sick in Canada, viz. Philip Burt, James Crowder, Jacob Van Alstyne and Jacob Augustine, the Latter would likewise be of use in the Farming way, if his Family were allowed to come up as the Family he has are not lazy. A Smith will be requisite for mending and making at first the Plough Shares, Hoes and Axes &c. For the Farmers, if one of the Rangers were allowed or in fact any other soldiers, they can be ordered to work at any fixed Rate, but this Coll. Butler just now tells me he has wrote you."
(B.105, pp. 264-6.)

In the Autumn so much progress in cultivation had been made that Colonel Butler made an application for the return of several families of men in his Battalion, who had been sent down to Montreal to economise provisions at Niagara.

FROM COLONEL JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS
Niagara, 4th Octr. 1781.

Dear Sir,

I enclose you a list of Rangers' Families whom I were glad were permitted to come up in the Brigades, they are at Maskies (Machiche) most of them excepting the Sergeants are good Farmers and whom I mean soon to recommend as Farmers to settle at this Post, no Provision for said Families will be expected excepting what his Excellency, the General, may see fit to allow other Farmers when they commence on that footing."
(B.105, p.292)

Favourable weather in the Autumn enabled him to make an encouraging report before the Winter set in.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM COLONEL JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS, DATED AT NIAGARA, DECEMBER 1ST, 1781.

"The Winter being so moderate has enabled to Farmers to clear the ground and prepare it for planting & sowing early in the Spring; if they only begin to cultivate the Land in summer, the season is over before they can expect to draw any subsistence from their labour. I flatter myself that in a short time the Farmers will be found to be of essential use to this Post -- they have maintained themselves since Septr last and were only allowed half rations from the beginning."
(B.105, pp 300-3)

General Powell, however, took a far less hopeful view of the new settlement and by Colonel Butler's advice about fifteen hundred Indians divided into bands under the direction of Brant, Dochstader, Tice, and other officers of their Department, were sent to

plant Indian corn at Buffalo Creek. This venture proved very successful as a large crop was harvested. Stedman seems to have anticipated that his contract for the conveyance of goods over the Portage might not be renewed and the following petition shows the efforts that he took to protect himself in that event. In fact, however, the contract was continued to him and his heirs until 1791, when it was removed to the new carrying place on the Canadian side of the river, which had then become passable.

THE PETITION OF JOHN STEDMAN

To His Excellency Frederick Haldimand Captain General & Commander in Chief of the Province of Quebec General & Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the said Province and the Frontiers thereof.

The Humble Petition of John Stedman Contractor for the Carrying Place at Niagara. Sheweth

That Your Petitioner in consideration of his having performed & fulfilled the several Articles of former Contracts for the Carrying of Provisions & Stores over the Carrying Place at Niagara for His Majesty's Service did obtain from Your Excellency a further Contract for carrying the same from the 6th of March 1779 for the Term of seven years; in the seventh Article of which Contract it is provided, That your Petitioner shall be permitted to remove the Buildings and other Conveniences which shall be erected during the said Term on the said Premises thereby granted at the expiration thereof. That your Petitioner having been at a great expense in erecting several Houses on the said Premises, it will be productive of great Loss to your Petitioner to be at the expense of removing the same at the expiration of the present Contract in case he should not have a further Term granted him.

May it therefore Please Your Excellency to direct & order That at the expiration of the present Contract your Petitioner shall have full Liberty & Authority to Dispose of & sell all the Buildings then erected on the said Premises together with all the Stores & other Articles thereon at a fair valuation to be made within Three Months from the Determination of the present Contract by three indifferent Persons, one of whom to be chosen by your Petitioner, the other by the Person who may be appointed to succeed him in the carrying of Stores as aforesaid & the third to be appointed by such Person as may be appointed to succeed him in the said Contract with Government shall take the said Erections, Buildings and Stores at such valuation so to be made as aforesaid and pay for the same within Six Months from the Time of such valuation.

And your Petitioner will every Pray

John Stedman

April 17th, 1782

(B. 105, pp.307-9.)

Guy Johnson was recalled and Colonel Butler was instructed to act as Superintendent of the Six Nations in his absence, a post for which he was well qualified by his previous long experience in that department and acknowledged influence with them. He continued to hold that appointment until his death in May, 1796. He found the Indians in great distress both for clothing and provisions and made urgent requisitions for supplies.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS HEADED "LIEUT. COLL. BUTLER 16TH MAY, 1782."

"I duly received and laid before His Excellency the Commander in Chief your Favor of the 7th of Decr. Acknowledging the Receipt of the General's orders to take upon you the Direction of the Indian Department in the Absence of Coll. Johnson, & reporting for his Information your obedience thereof --- The Period of Time & Circumstances that have since passed have so materially altered the subjects of your Letter, that it is become unnecessary to recur to them --- His Excellency having ordered up a supply of Indian Presents by the earliest Transport, it is to be hoped your Principal Anxiety is by this Time relieved. -- Corn is likewise sent up for the Farms, & I am directed to acquaint you that His Excellency derives great pleasure from your Report of their Progress, & the Utility Already experienced from them. He recommends a continuance of your Attention to that Public good."

.....
(B.105, Pg.310.)

Shortly after this letter had been written another urgent application for supplies was received from Butler.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN MATHEWS TO LIEUT. COLONEL JOHN BUTLER, DATED 'MONTREAL, 19TH MAY 1782."

"I have to acknowledge the Favor of your Letter of the 18th April, communicating for His Excellency's Information you distress for want of Indian Goods. I laid your Letter before the General and am commanded to acquaint you that before your Letter was received, a supply of Goods was well on its way to you, & I hope is by this time Arrived or very near it. -- His Excellency persuades himself that no pains will be spared on your part to reconcile the Indians to relinquish the Superfluities they have been Accustomed to Receive -- the thinking part of them must be convinced it proceeds from a motive & wish to continue to them Supplies of such Articles as their real wants require, and which you may assure them from His Excellency he will be careful and they shall not want."

.....
EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM BRIG.-GENERAL H. WATSON POWELL TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED AT NIAGARA, APRIL 14TH, 1782.

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

(B.102, pp. 29-31)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM BRIG.-GENERAL POWELL TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED NIAGARA, MAY 17TH, 1782.

"There has been some Indian Corn purchased here lately for seed for the Indians and for the Governments Farm. I beg to know if you choose it should be charged on the Indian Account or paid for by the Commissary. It cost only twelve shillings per bushel N.Y. which is one third less than I paid for it in Canada, and as the Farmers will probably

have more to dispose of, you will please inform me if any more is to be purchased as the Indians would rather have it than flour."

(B.96-2, pp 37-8)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO BRIG.-
GENERAL POWELL, DATED 31ST MAY, 1782

"Your supply of flour would no doubt arrive time enough to relieve their wants until the Mills would do it more effectually.

"And I strongly recommend to you to encourage the raising of Indian Corn, never fail purchasing it when that can be done, it will be served to the Indians to save want.

"I shall be glad of a return as nearly as can be found of the quantity of grain & stock raised last year, as it will be pleasing to observe this progress."

(B. 104, pp. 318-9.)

The progress of the Niagara settlement was still considering impeded by the want of the blacksmithing outfit, which Butler had repeatedly asked for, and had been promised to him.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM COLONEL JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN
ROBERT MATHEWS, DATED NIAGARA, JUNE 1ST, 1782

"I have not as yet received the Smith's Tools for the Farmers, nor hear of 'em being on the way notwithstanding the great necessity."

Butler was greatly cheered by the assurance of Haldimand's approval and an intimation that the implements and other articles so long expected would certainly come to hand before long. He reported that two enterprising settlers were planning construction of Mills.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM COLONEL JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN
ROBERT MATHEWS, DATED AT NIAGARA, JUNE 12TH, 1782.

"Your favour of the 16th Ult. I received. As I wrote you a few days since leaves me very little to say at present -- I am happy His Excellency is pleased with the progress of the Farmers, they certainly have done very well & would have done much better had they received Smith's Tools, provisions, &c. - the want of which has very much disappointed them, as they expected to be supply'd Agreeable to the Memorandum His Excellency gave me, which memorandum, (I imagine) were lost with the late Colonel Bolton.

"Seven or Eight Rangers got their Families from the Frontiers last Fall, these with some others that have been here for some time are desirous of being discharged and leave to settle on Lands near this place, provided they can be supply'd with Provisions for one year, and such Smith work as may be necessary, these People were bred Farmers & I am of opinion will soon be useful to this Post, as well as to enable them to support their Families comfortable, which at present is very difficult. I daily expect a number of Recruits from the Frontiers, which will enable me to keep my Corps complete after discharging these People that are in the decline of life, also having large Families.

"Peter and James Secord, Farmers, are about building a Saw and Grist Mill, which I think will be a great acquisition to this Post, they mean to purchase the Stones & Iron Work in Canada but beg His Excellency's assistance by permitting them to be sent up in the King's Batteaux."

(B.105, pp. 319-20)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL H. WATSON POWELL TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED AT NIAGARA, 27TH JUNE, 1782.

"In respect to your wish of knowing what progress has been made in agriculture here, it is impossible to ascertain it, as the farmers raised scarcely enough for their own consumption. The small quantity of Indian Corn purchased for Government was raised by Captain Brant's Volunteers at Buffaloe Creek."

(B.102, pp. 99-100.)

Butler, it will be noted, had already made a decidedly encouraging statement and Haldimand must have been puzzled to reconcile these rather contradictory reports.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM COLONEL JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN ROBERT MATTHEWS, DATED NIAGARA, 29TH JUNE, 1782.

"P.S. The Farmers Utensils &c., agreeably to one of my former Letters if they are not already on their way shall esteem it a favor as well as the Farmers themselves to be sent to this Post by the first opportunity."

(B. 105, pp.226-7.)

Butler was promptly instructed that the Government would bear the cost of the construction of the projected mills and that the Secords would be allowed to work them as tenants in accordance with the seigniorial custom of the Province, as "banal" mills which the farmers would be obliged to use for the grinding of grain and sawing of timber.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS TO BRIG.-GENERAL POWELL, DATED QUEBEC, 8TH JULY, 1782

"Col. Butler has represented the desire of James Seacord to build a Saw & Corn Mill desiring only to have the assistance of Government to carry stones &c., as this savors of their wishes to establish them as private property. His Excellency has directed me to acquaint you that he will by no means permit them to build on that footing (but) wishing to encourage works so useful has ordered me to write to Colonel Butler upon the subject and he is desired to shew you the letter for your information of the particulars wished by His Excellency which he desires you will have executed agreeably thereto."

(B. 104, pp. 338-9.)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS TO COLONEL JOHN BUTLER, DATED AT QUEBEC, 9TH JULY, 1782.

"I have also received and laid before His Excellency Your letter of the 12th Ultimo respecting that the Farmers. In order to encourage that useful branch He has no objection to your discharging the men you mention & grantng them Provisions or other little assistance for Twelve months provided they are not fit for active Service, which &

their Lots of ground &c., you will of course submit to B.G. Powell. With respect to the Mill proposed to be built by the Seacords, His Excellency will not permit anything of the kind as Private Property, it must be undertaken entirely upon the same footing as the Farms. Some estimate of the expence must be sent down by the most Intelligent of these men.

The General will provide and send up the materials, they will be paid for building the Mills and allowed a reasonable profit for working them, the Sooner Seacord is sent down the better and he should be furnished with Remarks in writing respecting the situation of the intended Mills, the materials wanted, what parts of them can be procured above, etc.

The Smith's Tools have been Certainly forwarded. Capt. Twiss has this moment told me so, but I shall immediately write upon the subject to Capt. Maurer. Nails and a quantity of Iron has been sent to the Acting Engineer and if the Glass that will be wanting for the Store House is not in the King's Store, it must be purchased. Genl. Powell, but for particulars it will be necessary you shew him this letter."

(B. 105, pp.328-30)

A General Survey of the Settlement was prepared by Colonel Butler and forwarded to Quebec for the governor's information.

Butler replied that the Mills were intended for the general benefit of the Settlement and the neighbouring Garrison, which had hitherto suffered much inconvenience from a shortage of flour and boards.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM COLONEL JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS, DATED AT NIAGARA, 2ND SEPT., 1782

"I Received your favor of the 9th July, as to the Mills that were proposed to be Built by the Seacords, it was never intended for Private Property, but for the benefit of the Garrison and the whole settlement. Brigr. Genl. Powell as well as myself thought it would be rather a hardship to send one of the Farmers to Head Quarters at this season of the year as it would lose much time in gathering their Grain &ca., and supposed an estimate which is sent would answer every purpose."

(B. 105, p. 236)

The French Trading Post at Toronto had been destroyed and abandoned in 1759, immediately after the capture of Fort Niagara, and it does not appear that any attempt had since been made to re-occupy that place or to establish a trading post until this time when one of the merchants residing at Niagara made an application to the commandant for permission to make such a venture. General Powell had then been recalled to Montreal and replaced by Lieut.-Colonel Dundas for a short time pending the arrival of his successor. Dundas referred his request to the Governor.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LIEUT.-COLONEL A. DUNDAS TO CAPTAIN MATHEWS, DATED AT NIAGARA, 13TH SEPT. 1782.

"Mr. Thompson, Merc't here, has applyd to me for leave to send a Person to Taranto, opposite this, to trade with the Indians: I told him I could not grant his request

till His Excellency's Pleasure on that head was known; be so good as to let me know what answer I shall give him -- I must observe that Mr. Thompson is a very modest, good sort of man, and has suffered much from the Rebels on the Mohawk River.
(B. 102, pp. 175-6)

Brigadier General Allan Maclean, who had raised the Regiment at first known as the Royal Highland Emigrants but which afterwards became the 84TH Foot, and had relieved Powell at Montreal, was then selected by Haldimand to succeed him in command of the Upper Posts.

Haldimand's Letters to him at this time continued to show a warm interest in the promotion of the settlement and the construction of the Mills.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO BRIGADIER GENERAL ALLAN MACLEAN, DATED AT QUEBEC, 21ST OCTOBER, 1782

"There is a Serjeant Brass of the Rangers, who has undertaken a Mill of two pairs of stones at Niagara. It is impossible to send up the materials wanted from hence this year, but they shall be forwarded to the Coteau du Lac in the Winter and pushed up by the very first boat in the Spring. In the meantime you will find every preparation made in order that the work may go on immediately upon the arrival of the Materials."
(B. 104, pp. 357-8)

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO BRIG.- GENERAL MACLEAN, DATED AT QUEBEC, 31ST OCTOBER, 1782

'Brigadier General Powell having represented to me the great relief the Traders and Farmers at Niagara would receive from being permitted to draw some flour from the King's store until such time as they have means for grinding their Wheat, You will please to order their wants to be supplied and in the mean time to receive their wheat into store until it can be ground when the quantity issued to them will be replaced.

There is likewise a quantity of Indian Corn raised at Buffaloe Creek, said to amount to 2,000 Bushels, that and as much more as you can procure should be purchased and put into store."
(B. 96-2, pp.188-91)

Butler was called upon to furnish an estimate of the probable cost of the construction of the proposed Mills, which he supplied in the following memorandum.

MEMORANDUM BY COLONEL JOHN BUTLER, UNDATED

The expences for building a saw and grist mill at Peter Secord's farm will amount to 500 pounds N.Y. Currency for cutting and hauling Boards and Timber, building and filling in both Dams, Nails, Iron, Stones, Bolting Cloth and Saw excepted. The Saw Mill to be built first to get boards and small Timber for the Grist Mill. The expence at Head of the Four Mile Creek will amount to 50 pounds more, where there is plenty of water for both Mills, which the other has not.

Very soon after his arrival at Niagara, Maclean assured the Governor that he would give the necessary assistance in the construction of these Mills and reported

progress from time to time, during the following winter and spring although no contract had been let for the work, nor any agreement made with the non-commissioned Officer of the Rangers, detailed to carry it out, who, fortunately, was a skilled millwright. He asked for instructions how the workmen were to be paid.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL MACLEAN TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED AT NIAGARA, 12TH NOV. 1782

"Serj't. Brass of the Rangers shall have every assistance he shall want, to carry on the Preparations for constructing his Mill Early in the Spring."
(B. 102, p.225)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL MACLEAN TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED NIAGARA, 24TH NOVEMBER, 1782.

"Lieut. Brass, formerly Serj't. Brass now employed to prepare Materials for Building a Corn and Saw Mill, says that he will undertake to Compleat the Dam and finish the Mills at an expence of 500 Pounds York Currency; or to be allowed so much a day, as pay during the time he is Employed, as he is to be the principal Workman himself."
(B. 103, pp. 237-8)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL MACLEAN TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED NIAGARA, 2ND FEBY. 1783

"I have the pleasure to inform Your Excellency that all the Timber for a Grist Mill and Saw Mill is Cut Down and Squared, and will be on the spot where the Mills are to be Constructed in ten days and if the Iron Work is sent up in (the) Spring, the Mills will be soon fit for use. I should be glad to know from Capt. Twiss what he may think reasonable wages to the two Mill Wrights, I do not mean the Principal Undertaker Lieut. Brassy of the Rangers, he besides being the Director is also the principal Workman and will expect more than any of the Other two Mill Wrights; and the Common Carpenters that cut & square the timber are asking six shillings York Currency per day, but this I think too much. Captain Twiss would also be the best Judge of what they ought to have, they are all Rangers."
(B. 103.4).

Maclean was eventually instructed to act on his own discretion and informed that the iron and mill stones necessary for their completion would be sent up from Montreal, but as unusual, considerable delay occurred in transportation.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS TO BRIG.-GENERAL MACLEAN, DATED AT QUEBEC, 9TH FEBY., 1783

"In regard to Mr. Brass's proposals for building the Mills either for 500 pounds New York Currency or at an allowance per day, I am directed to acquaint you that at this distance, unacquainted with the situation, Resources, &c., &c., it is impossible to determine which is the most eligible to pursue. His Excellency therefore desires you will consult with Col. Butler and any other good judges you may have upon the spot and decide accordingly, paying every attention to Expedition and Economy. His Excellency

further recommends to your particular notice an unremitting attention to the progress of Cultivation so happily begun at Niagara, his view being that he should not only afford the Troops an allowance of fresh provisions and vegetables, but to furnish in as great a part as possible the ordinary Provisions for the Garrison and by that means lessen the transport from hence or provide against any accident that might happen to interrupt it. His Excellency last Fall desired that a return should be transmitted to him describing the several Farms and specifying as nearly as possible the produce of them in order to perceive the yearly progress made.

Nothing of the kind being yet received, I am directed to signify to you His Excellency's desire that you will so soon as possible have a return of the Kind made out and transmitted by the first opportunity."

(B.96-2, pp. 204-5)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO BRIG.-
GENERAL MACLEAN, DATED AT QUEBEC, 1783

"I am pleased to find that the preparations for the Mills are in such forwardness and care shall be taken to forward the iron work as soon as the Navigation begins. In regard to the Wages of the Artifiers employed in that Work, I observed in my last dispatch that you must be directed by good judges upon the spot. I have therefore only to add that the wages demanded as mentioned in your letter by Squarers are infinitely higher than any given by Captain Twiss to persons in the King's service.

(B.96-2, pp. 211-14.)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS TO CAPTAIN
WILLIAM TWISS, R.E., DATED HEAD QUARTERS, QUEBEC, 13TH MARCH,
1783.

"Brig. Genl. Maclean informs His Excellency that al the Timber for a Grist & Saw Mill is cut down and will be squared and upon the spot in ten days from the date of his Letter and requests the Iron work for the Mills may be sent up as soon as possible that they may be completed and set a going. His Excellency desires therefore that you will give the necessary orders to have the Iron Works made & forwarded to Coteau du Lac, that advantage may be taken of the earliest boats after the navigation opens."

(B. 154, pp. 420.1.)

Maclean sturdily declined to consult any person who might inferentially be suspected of having a personal interest in the letting of the Contract.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL MACLEAN TO GENERAL
HALDIMAND, DATED "NIAGARA, THE 29TH MARCH, 1783"

"I shall pay great attention to what your Excellency is pleased to recommend respecting the Mills. That work shall be forwarded with all the Expedition possible; You, Sir, very justly observe that it is difficult to determine which is the most eligible plan to pursue with respect to Economy in the Expence to be incurred; but as the work is going on with all possible diligence, the taking a Little more time to Consider this business will occasion neither delay nor inconvenience. Your Excellency must therefore pardon my declining to consult with Colonel Buttler, (good man as he is) or with others

here, who may be supposed to be the best Judges; it is a hard matter for the best men to divest themselves of prejudice or partiality, in a matter wherein they are interested in One of the Parties; besides its a maxim I find that has been long adopted in this Part of the World, that whatever can be got from Government, is well got, where no censure can ensue. I shall therefore presume to try and Consider this matter with more deliberation, & Communicate my own Ides on the subject to your Excellency for your consideration. Colonel Butler assures me both Mills will be ready to work on or about the first of July, provided the Iron work comes up early in the spring. I shall go upon the spot in a few days and make my report to your Excellency.

"Colonel Butler also tells me that the return your Excellency wished to have of the farms here and their produce, that he had given such a return to General Powell, but in that return Copy of which I saw and which I herewith transmit, only altering the dates, I enclose I see there is no description of the Farms. I have therefore directed Colonel Butler to make out such a Return as your Excellency wishes, and transmit it by the first and Earliest Opportunity."

(b. 103, pp. 53-4)

By this time, news of the disheartening Treaty of Peace had been received and it was naturally expected that this would be followed by a general disbandment of all Provincial Troops raised during the War. The Officers and Soldiers of the Rangers had little expectation of being able to return to their former homes and they were considering the advantages of a settlement on the Peninsula near their Barracks. A much larger tract of land than had been already purchased would be required to supply them all with lands.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM COLONEL JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS, DATED AT NIAGARA, 31ST MARCH, 1783.

"As the accounts of a Peace that we have from the Colonies will probably make a great alteration in the situation of the Officers and Men, many of them are looking about for Settlements & if His Excellency would give them Lands here, there are many of them, I am persuaded, that will not think of returning. Eight of the Officers have already made considerable improvements.

"The Lands to the Twelve Mile Creek and Westward as far as Lake Erie, are in general very good & may be I believe purchased from the Indians for about five or six hundred Pounds Sterlg. and under proper Regulations I think a considerable settlement might be formed in a short Time if the General would give us Lands there. Perhaps a Plan of this kind may be worthy His Excellency's consideration, however, I leave that to you to determine and either lay it before him or not, as you judge best.

"The Farmers actually settled here are not well satisfied with the uncertain Tenure on which they hold their Lands & Improvements, and would much rather be subject to a small Rent if they might have them more effectually secured to them. Should this be done, I am persuaded there are some of the People of this Description who have even Property in the Colonies that would not think of returning.

"The Saw and Grist Mills are both in forwardness if the material from below arrives in Time, I imagine may be set going by the Beginning of June."

(B. 105, pp. 354-6.)

The discontented farmers had prepared an address stating their wishes, which Butler presented to General Maclean who forwarded it to Haldimand.

FROM GENERAL MACLEAN TO GENERAL HALDIMAND
NIAGARA, 3rd May, 1783

Sir,

At the request of Lieut. Colonel Butler, I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency, An Address of the Farmers here, on Account of the precarious footing upon which they hold their farms, and I really believe there is a great deal of reason for What they Advance, this is however that must be left to your Excellency's Consideration, but Colonel Butler has desired me to say that he and the farmers will be great Obligated to your Excellency, for let(t)ing him have some answer to give to those poor People when Convenient. He says none of his People will ever thing (sic) of going to attend Courts of Law in (the) Colonies, where they could not Expect the Shadow of Justice and that to repurchase their Estates is what they are not able to do, that for a much smaller Sum, the Missesagas will part with 12 Miles more along the Lake, and they would rather go to Japan than go among the Americans where they could never live in Peace.

(B. 103, p. 121.)

MEMORIAL OF FARMERS (UNDATED)

To John Butler, Esq., Lieut.-Col, Commandant of the Corps of Rangers, &c. The humble address of farmers residing on lands on the west side of the River Niagara. On our first settling you were pleased to read His Excellency General Haldimand's Proposals on which we settled, and expecting one year's provisions and a blacksmith to work for us, which we have not had as yet. Part only of the provisions have been given to us.

We shall esteem it a singular favor to lay this before Brig.-Gen. Maclean. We should be forever obliged to His Excellency if he will be pleased to grant us leases or some other security for our farms, as our present uncertain situation is very discouraging as we are obliged to sell our produce, what little we raise, at such prices as the Commanding Officer thinks proper. We have no objection to furnish the Garrison at a reasonable price, what quantity they may want, to be fixed by the Commanding Officer; at the same time beg leave to sell to merchants and others at the price we can agree, from being obliged to pay the Merchants their own price for everything we want. We should be very willing to subject ourselves to a rent for our farms after a term of eight years, as the footing we are on at present, we are liable to be turned off our places when the Commanding Officer pleases. We are happy for the present being not under the slightest apprehension, but the Commandant often changes, which makes our stay uncertain.

Isaac Dolson, Elijah Phelps, Thos. McMicking, Donal Bee

On behalf of ourselves and the rest of the Farmers.

(B. 103, p. 492.)

Butler had employed Allan Macdonell, who was one of the settlers, to survey and mark the boundaries of the allotments already made.

FROM LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS
NIAGARA, 3rd May, 1783

Sir,

Your much esteemed favours of the 12th March I received. Brigadier General Maclean has not as yet communicated to me His Excellency's pleasure respecting Captain Tinbrook.

As His Excellency the Commander in Chief is very desirous to know the progress of the Farmers settled near this Post. I take this opportunity to transmit you an exact survey of the Settlements, and will as soon as possible, send you an estimate of the same specifying the quantity of Land already cleared and cultivated with the different kinds of grain planted and sown &c.

I also inclose the account for surveying those Lands, which I beg you will lay before His Excellency as Sir John Johnson has positively forbid the making any charges in the contingent accounts, that is not immediately Indian expences, and Brigadier General Maclean has also refused to defray any expences of the kind whatever. Several people have apply'd to settle on Lands at this Post, and would have been doing something for themselves by this time, had they not been refused Provisions.

I have comply'd with His Excellency's commands in every respect as nearly as possible relative to Indian affairs, indeed I cannot help saying far exceeding my own expectations circumstanced as I was, but my close application, and strict attention to the Indians has hitherto kept them in good Humour, but now I am fearful of a sudden and disagreeable change in their conduct, as yesterday an express arrived here from General Washington with the Terms of the present peace, the Indians finding that their Lands are ceded to Americans, will greatly sour their Tempers and make them very troublesome and will be attended with great difficulty to reconcile them to such Terms. I have wrote Sir John on the occasion and requested his presence.

(B.169 p.3.)

Haldimand replied that he was unable to comply with the desires of the farmers as he was still awaiting instructions from England, but promised to show them all possible favour in the final arrangement of the Settlement. Sir John Johnson was instructed to go to Niagara to quiet the minds of the Indians, which he was very reluctant to do, saying that Colonel Butler could accomplish as much as himself, but finally obeyed an impertive order.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO GENERAL
MACLEAN

DATED AT QUEBEC, 25TH MAY, 1783

"It is not in my power at present to consider the Memorial of the Farmers recommended in your letter of the 3d instant, but you may assure Colonel Butler, in their behalf, that in whatever General arrangement shall be made, I shall shew them every Indulgence in my Power."

(B. 104, pp.421-2.)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO SIR JOHN
JOHNSON

DATED QUEBEC, 26TH MAY, 1783

"Since my last letter to you, I have conferred at large with Colonel Claus and Joseph Brant upon the expediency of settling such of the Six Nations Indians on the North Side of Lake Ontario and River Niagara, as shall prefer that situation to the risk of returning to their former settlements now subject to the Americans and it gives me pleasure to find that Joseph so readily adopts the Plan. Uncertain when I shall receive Instructions from Home upon this interesting subject and finding that the Indians are become very impatient and discontented with their present situation, and as I am informed by Joseph they are in daily expectation of receiving Proposals from the United States, I have come to a resolution to send off Major Holland, the Surveyor General to Cataraqui to examine that Place and Country upwards, and if he should find them favourable to my view, He is to make application at Carleton Island for assistance to make a Beginning. He goes properly prepared in every respect for this business and altho' other Duty will Oblige Him to return before it can be accomplished, He will leave it in such a Train as to have it effectually performed, and such a Report procured as will enable me to decide with certainty upon the success of the measure. Wishing that Joseph may from Personal Knowledge & Observation have it in his Power to make a faithful Report to the Indians of what is doing in this matter and give his opinion of what it is likely to turn out, I have desired him with a few Mohawks of his own desiring to accompany Major Holland to Cataraqui and in the mean time agreeably to my Letter of the 22d Inst. I wish you without delay to proceed to Niagara to quiet the apprehensions of the Indians, by convincing them that it is not the Intention of Government to abandon them to the Resentment of the Americans. Joseph will deliver to you my answer to the Speech He brought in behalf of the Six Nations, which you will lease communicate to them on your arrival at Niagara, with whatever speech from yourself upon the occasion. Upon Reconsideration of Joseph's Speech by Him & Col. Claus, they have made some alterations which the Colonel will communicate to you."

(B. 115, pp. 113-5.)

Maclean had been much perplexed as to the scope of an order directing him to discontinue all public works at the Posts which were to be ceded to the United States by the recent Treaty of Peace, but finally decided to proceed with the completion of the Mills on the Four Mile Creek, as an undertaking of the utmost importance to the settlement in the neighbourhood.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL MACLEAN TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED 'NIAGARA 10TH JUNE, 1783"

"Your Excellency's Letter of the 26th April (which Letter I received on the 9th May) forbids the Carrying on of Fortifications or any Public Works whatever at the Upper Posts, which orders were immediately complied with; but I did not apprehend, that the Mill, a bui(l)ding on the other side, came exactly under the description of Public Works at this Post. I allowed the eight men at work on the Mills to continue at work, as your Excellency seemed to wish them finished; and, that did you incline to discontinue building the Mills; that it would have been Particularly mentioned. Indeed it would be a great pity not to go on with that work, as the want of Mills would oblige the settlers to quite their farms, besides preventing many others from taking farms, who wish much to

stay on the other side rather than be forced to become the Subjects of the American States.

My reason for troubling your Excellency on this subject, is that in two Letters your Excellency was pleased to mention that the Iron Work for the Mills would be sent up with the first Boats Early in the spring, and none having arrived, I am under some apprehension, that the Mills might be comprehended in the order, tho' not expressed.

I shall therefore request that your Excellency may be pleased to let me know if its meant that the finishing the Mills is to be put a stop to; indeed they cannot now do much until they have the Iron Work for the Saw Mill, as the Saw Mill is all finished to the Iron Work, and if it was once sett a going the Grist Mill would very soon be compleat." (B. 103, pp 196-7.)

His anxiety on this subject was expressed once more in a second letter, dated only two days later.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL MACLEAN TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED 'NIAGARA, 12TH JUNE 1783"

"In my Letter of the 10th I forgot to mention that there is a quantity of wheat brought in by the farmers to the King's Store, for which they received flour agreeable to your Excellency's Orders, and this year they will have above twice the quantity, all which will be useless, should the Mills not be finished; and should Government resolve to take Post on the Other side, the Saw Mill would be of the greatest consequence and in six months would pay the expence of Building it."

(B. 103, p. 199.)

Meanwhile the situation of the Loyalists had been considered by the British ministers and a royal instruction was prepared directing the governor of the province of Quebec to offer them grants of land on a certain moderate scale, to be held as tenants of the King as their feudal seigneur in accordance with the customary tenure of lands in that Province, free of rent for the first ten years and afterwards at an annual quit rent of a half penny per acre. Besides the usual oaths of allegiance, the new settlers were to be required to make and subscribe a declaration that they would maintain and defend the authority of the King in His Parliament as the supreme legislature of the Province.

ADDITIONAL ROYAL INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, GEORGE R.

Additional Instruction to Our Trusty and Wellbeloved Frederick Haldimand, Esqr. Our Captain General and Governor in Chief of Our Province of Quebec, in America, or to the Commander in Chief of the said Province for the time being. Given at Our Court at St. James's the 16th Day of July, 1783. In the Twenty third of our Reign. Whereas many of Our Loyal Subjects Inhabitants of the Provinces, now the United States of America, are desirous of retaining their Allegiance to Us, and of living in our Dominions, and for this purpose are disposed to take up and improve lands in our Province of Quebec; and We being desirous to encourage our said Loyal Subjects in such their Intentions, and to testify our approbation of the loyalty to Us & obedience to our Government, by allotting Lands for them in our said Province; And whereas We are also

desirous of testifying our approbation of the Bravery and Loyalty of our Forces serving in our said Province, and who may be reduced there by allowing a certain quantity of Land to such of the Non-Commissioned Officers and Private Men of Our said Forces, who are inclined to become settlers therein. It is Our Will and Pleasure, that immediately after you shall receive this Our Instruction, you do direct our Surveyor General of Lands for our said Province of Quebec, to admeasure & lay out such a quantity of Land as you with the advice of our Council shall deem necessary & convenient for the Settlement of our said Loyal Subjects, the non Commissioned Officers & Private Men of our Forces which may be reduced in our said Province, who shall be desirous of becoming Settlers therein such Lands to be divided into distinct Seigneuries or Fiefs, to extend from two to four leagues in front, and from three to five leagues in depth. If situated upon a Navigable River, otherwise to be run square, or in such shape and in such quantities, as shall be convenient & practicable -- and in each Seigneurie a Glebe to be reserved and laid out in the most convenient spot, to contain not less than 300 nor more than 500 acres; the propriety of which Seigneuries or Fiefs shall be and remain vested in Us, our Heirs and Successors, and you shall allot such parts of the same as shall allot such parts of the same as shall be applied for by any of our said Loyal Subjects Non-Commissioned Officers & Private Men of our Forces reduced as aforesaid, in the following proportions; that is to say To every Master of a Family One Hundred Acres, and Fifty Acres to each person, of which his Family shall consist

To every single Man Fifty Acres.

To every Non-Commissioned Officer of our Forces reduced in Quebec Two Hundred Acres.

To every Private Man reduced as aforesaid One Hundred Acres.

And for every Person in their Family Fifty Acres.

The said Lands to be held under Us Our Heirs & Successors, Seigneurs of the Seigneurie or Fief in which the same shall be situated, upon the same terms, acknowledgements and services, as Lands are held in our said Province under the respective Seigneurs holding and possessing Seigneuries, or Fiefs therein; and reserving to Us our Heris and Successors, from and after the expiration of Ten Years from the Admission of the Respective Tenants, a Quit Rent of one half penny P Acre.

It is our further Will and Pleasure, that every person within the meaning of this Our Instruction, upon their making application for Land, shall take the Oaths directed by Law, before you or our Commander in Chief for the time being, or some Person by you or him authorized for that purpose, and shall also at the same time make and subscribe the following declaration, Vizt. "I A.B. do promise and declare that I will maintain and defend to the utmost of my Power of Authority of the King in his Parliament as the Supreme Legislature of this Province," which Oaths and declaration shall also be taken made and subscribed by every future Tenant before his, her, or their Admission, upon Alienation, descent, Marriage, or any other wise howsoever, and upon refusal, the Lands to become revested in Us our Heirs and Successors.

And it is our further Will and Pleasure, that the expence of laying out and surveying as well the Seigneuries or Fiefs aforesaid as the several Allotments within the same, and of the Deed of Admission shall be paid by the Receiver General of Our Revenue in the said Province of Quebec out of such Monies as shall be in his hands, upon a Certificate from you or Our Commander in Chief for the time being in Council, Oath

being made by our Surveyor General to the Account of such Expence; Provided however that only one half the Usual and accustomed Fees of Office shall be allowed to our Surveyor General or any other of Our Officers in the said Province entitled thereunto upon any Survey or Allotment made, or upon Admission into any Lands by virtue of this our Instruction.

.....

.....

(The two paragraphs omitted relate particularly to the Seigneurie of Sorel)

And it is Our Will and pleasure that a Record be kept in the Office of the Receiver General of our Revenue of every admission in Lands as well as by virtue of this our Instruction, as in cases of future Admission by Alienation or otherwise, a Docquet of which shall be transmitted yearly to Us thro' one of our Principal Secretary's of State, and also a Duplicate thereof to Our High Treasurer or the Commissioners of our Treasurer or the Commissioners of our Treasury for the time being. G.R.
(Q. 26 B. pp. 221-5.)

The Mills still remained unfinished as the long promised iron work had not been received and Maclean's letters still continued to state his anxiety on that subject.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL MACLEAN TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED 'NIAGARA 19 JULY 1783.'

"I am sorry Your Excellency has not been Pleased to let me know What is to be done with respect to the Mills, we are under the Necessity of issuing a quantity of Flour to the Farmers; we cannot let them Starve, and tho' they had some Wheat Last Year and will have a good deal more this Year, but it will be of no use till the Mill is finished, if we had the Iron Work, it would Soon be finished may I therefore request that your Excellency will be pleased to let me know, if we are to Expect the Iron work for the Mills this season. I suppose that Sum rum will ar(r)ive soon."
(B. 103, p. 276)

In forwarding the additional royal instructions to Haldimand, Lord North, who was once more a minister as Secretary of State for the Colonies, took care to inform him that no lands were to be allotted to any person who did not intend to settle upon and improve them and that none but persons of approved loyalty should be accepted as settlers. The rent was so moderate that he confidently expected it would be satisfactory.

FROM LORD NORTH TO THE GOVERNOR OF QUEBEC

Whitehall, 24th June, 1783.

Sir,

The distressed situation to which many of His Majesty's faithful subjects in the Province and Colonies Now the United States of America, are reduced by adhering to their Loyalty, and Supporting the British Constitution, has induced His Majesty to Afford them every encouragement due to their zeal and sufferings; And as numbers of those deserving Loyalists may wish to settle in Quebec, it is His Majesty's pleasure that every assistance and support should be held out to them -- The additional Instructions which I

now transmit to you with respect to the allotting Lands for their cultivation and Improvement, and which includes such Non-commissioned Officers and Privates of His Majesty's Forces which may be reduced in Quebec, is a proof of His Majesty's gracious attention to their situation, as well as to the Improvement and Strengthening of the Province and I am to signify to you his Royal Pleasure that you do in all things strictly conform thereunto and that you do also give the necessary directions to all the Officers whom it may concern that the same may be in every Instance fully complied with. Your Approved Zeal for His Majesty's Service, your experience, and your perfect knowledge of the Country will enable you to carry into effectual execution His Majesty's gracious Intentions and however full and clear the Instructions may be, I am sensible that much must be left to your discretion and prudence, upon which I am persuaded I may full depend, and I shall therefore only touch upon a few particulars which are more immediately Interesting

.....
(The omission relates to the settlement of the Seigneurie of Sorel.)

It is certainly an object of the utmost importance to the welfare of Quebec that no person should be permitted to settle therein but those of approved Loyalty, for this purpose His Majesty has thought it expedient that the Declaration mentioned in the Instruction should be made and subscribed to by all persons who shall Apply for Lands; I must therefore recommend to your particular attention, that the same be tendered upon every application, and I must also desire that you will be careful that no Lands be in any instance allotted but to those who actually intend to settle and improve the same without delay. The Rent to be reserved upon every Allotment is so moderate, that I flatter myself it will be satisfactory to the Settlers, and more especially as the remission for ten years is an additional encouragement to their Industry. As you will by my other Letters by this opportunity, be informed of His Majesty's further Intentions of encouragement to the proposed settlers, I shall not add any more in this than to repeat how much I depend upon your Zeal, Prudence and Discretion in the Execution of His Majesty's Pleasure."

In a second letter, Lord North pointed out particularly that the declaration to be subscribed by the settlers acknowledging the supremacy of the British Parliament did not extend to taxation as by an Act passed in 1778 that Parliament had "in the most express terms restrained itself from every imposing any Taxes or Duties in the Colonies except for the Regulation of Trade, the produce of which Taxes or Duties to be disposed of by the Provincial Assemblies."

FROM LORD NORTH TO THE GOVERNOR OF QUEBEC

WHITEHALL, 24th July 1783.

Sir,

In my Letter of this date, I transmitted to you an additional Instruction for your Guidance in granting Lands to His Majesty's Loyal Subjects who have taken or may take refuge in Quebec; and those Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates of His Majesty's Troops who may be reduced therein: And as a part of that Instruction directs that all persons whatever, upon their application for Lands, besides taking the usual Oaths as directed by Law, shall make and subscribe a Declaration acknowledging His Majesty in Parliament to be the supreme Legislature of the Province, I think it necessary to observe

to you that the Declaration however General cannot extend to taxation, Parliament having by the Act of the Eighteenth of his present Majesty, entitled "An Act for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning Taxation by The Parliament of Great Britain in The Colonies, Provinces and Plantations in North America and the West Indies, &c." in the most express terms restrained itself from ever imposing any Taxes or Duties in the Colonies except for the Regulation of Trade, the produce of which Taxes or Duties to be disposed of by the Provincial Assemblies: such being the case, it was judged not only Unnecessary but implying some doubt of the sincerity of Parliament to make any exception in the Declaration, the exception being already made by Parliament itself in a manner so solemn and effectual that nothing can add to the security the subjects in the Colonies derive under it; these Observations you will naturally make a proper use of, should any Objection be made of the Declaration or the construction of it; And I doubt not but the necessity of guarding against disaffected Persons becoming Settlers in Quebec, will convince His Majesty's Loyal Subjects, of the Propriety of that Test, by which they cannot be affected or deprived of any Indulgence or Encouragement to which they are so justly intitled.

(B. 45, pp. 111-2.)

The unexpected arrival at Niagara of some itinerant traders from Albany with several boat loads of goods for sale provoked a strong protest from the local merchants.
PETITION OF MERCHANTS AT NIAGARA

Niagara, 1st August, 1783

Sir

We the mercantile people of this place on behalf of ourselves and all others in the Upper Posts beg leave respectfully to represent to you the hardships we must be exposed to if Merchandize is at present allowed to be brought into these Posts from the States of America.

You are well acquainted that there is now here and at the rest of the Upper Posts a very large quantity of Merchandize, the whole of which has been imported from Great Britain and on the Article of Rum, a duty paid to command of no less than nine pence Quebec Currency pr. gallon.

While these Posts are occupied by British Garrisons, we presume they cannot be considered under the Jurisdiction of America and as no laws have yet been framed to regulate the Commercial Intercourse between the Province of Canada and the States of America, we conceive that the inhabitants of the latter cannot be entitled in this situation (to) Trade therein. They are rather in our opinion to be regarded as Smugglers who introduce Merchandize into the Country without paying the legal rates to the prejudice and ruin of the Fair Trader. And the merchandize they introduce is probably the Growth and Manufacture of Nations, the Rivals of Great Britain imported in foreign Bottoms. We need only mention this to show how unreasonable it would be that merchandize of this description should be allowed to be sold by strangers in British Territories and in competition with British merchandize imported by British subjects.

We are with much respect, &c.

Hamilton & Cartwright, John Thompson, Samuel Street & Co., Douglas & Symmington.

(B. 96-2, pp. 265-6.)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL MACLEAN TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED AT NIAGARA, "AUGUST THE 2ND, 1783"

"This moment the Merchants brought me the Letter which I have the honor herewith to transmit to Your Excellency. I acquainted them with my having taken effectual steps to prevent any more such People Passing Oswego till I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's orders, and that I also got these three People to write to the Magistrates of Albany not to permit any more Boats or People to come uphere, and with this answer they were well pleased until they have Your Excellency's determination. (C. 103, p. 299-301.)

Lord North directed Haldiman's special attention to the contiguous settlements of the Officers and men of the Loyalist Regiments.

FROM LORD NORTH TO THE GOVERNOR OF QUEBEC

WHITEHALL, 7TH AUGUST, 1783

Sir,

His Majesty being Graciously disposed to Testify His Approbation of the Loyalty and Service by the Commissioned Officers of His Majesty's Provincial Forces who may be reduced in the Province under your Government, by directing that Allotments of Land within the same should be made to them proportionable to their Rank in the Service. I for that purpose transmit to you and Additional Instruction by which it is His Majesty's pleasure you should in all things conform, and I must in particular recommend to your attention that part of it which applies to the contiguous Settlement of the Officers and Privates of each Corps reduced, as it will certainly add to the strength and security of the distinct settlements as well as of the Province at large.

(B. 45, p. 114)

Butler, it appears, was already preparing for the contemplated second purchase of Lands from the Mississaugas.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM BRIG. GENERAL ALLAN MACLEAN TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED NIAGARA, 8TH AUGUST, 1783.

"In spite of all my Efforts, I am sorry to inform Your Excellency that there has been a much larger quantity of Rum Expended than I could wish, in about Sixteen days, not less than 422 Gallons, sixty Gallons of that quantity, Colonel Butler carried with him to the Missisaga Country, where he is gone with presents for 500 Missisaga Indians. I was Very Glad that Colonel Butler made this Proposal as it will prevent their Coming here, and save a quantity of Provisions: Colonel Buttler Carried two of his own People with him that he can depend upon, to leave in that Country, to this Proposal I Consented *only* Untill your Excellency's further Pleasure Should be known, which I request that I may have Soon, I also Request that you may be pleased to Signify to me for my Guidance, what may be thought a reasonable quantity of Rum Monthly for the Six Nations for it appears to me that the People at the head of Indian Department Seem to vie with each other who Shall Expend most Rum, and the Great Chiefs are Striving who shall drink most Rum."

(B. 103, pp. 319-20)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM BRIG. GENERAL ALLAN MACLEAN TO
GENERAL HALDIMAND, NIAGARA, 13TH SEPTEMBER, 1783

"The Indians are Very Quiet and Very Peaceable and it depends upon Colonel Butler to keep them so, and I have not a doubt but he will, he stands in need of no help from me or any Other Person. He however requests that the Winter Cloathing for Indians may be sent up soon, so that the Indians may be left at Liberty to go a hunting which will save us a great deal of Provision."

(B.103, p. 353)

An officer of the 8th Regiment who had served with a Detachment of Rangers in the field had been directed to make a report on the State of the Battalion preparatory to its disbandment. A copy of an Albany newspaper had been brought to Fort Niagara, which contained a report of a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the District of Saratoga, called to discuss the terms of the Treaty of Peace with respect to the repatriation of the Loyalists, which had unanimously passed a resolution declaring that "any person who has voluntarily joined the late Enemy of the United States and who shall hereafter return to this District such person will be treated with the severity due to his crimes and infamous defection."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN WILLIAM POTTS, 8TH REGIMENT,
TO GENERAL HALDIMAND, DATED AT NIAGARA, 14TH AUGUST, 1783.

"The late views of great part of the Corps (Butler's Rangers) was to return to their former Home as soon as a reduction should take place, but from the late Publication of the Colonists and the disposition that they seem to have avowed to abide by it, has much abated the ardor & anxiety of the men on the purpose to return home & the promises & hope of Coll. Butler to obtain some general settlement for them upon the neighbouring Lands of this Lake & River seems to have taken up & engaged very much both their consideration, hope, wishes and expectation that they may succeed in Grants of land to that end, which I believe most of them at present are disposed to settle upon, if granted to them but on that subject should your Excellency see it needful, Coll. Butler can explain to you more fully and at large."

(B. 105, pp. 359-63)

The Summer was drawing to an end and still the long expected Iron Work and Mill Stones to complete the Mills had not arrived and Maclean wrote again on the subject in terms of deep anxiety.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL MACLEAN TO CAPTAIN
ROBERT MATHEWS, DATED "NIAGARA, 18TH AUGUST, 1783".

"I shall be much obliged to His Excellency if he will be so good as let me know, if we are to Expect the Mill Stones and Iron Works for the Grist Mill this Season, for I do not hear anything of them, and the poor Farmers are all in dispair as they have a good deal of Wheat this year, and the Wheat of last year is now in the King's Store."

(B. 103, p 338)

Haldimand was still awaiting precise instructions from England respecting the proposed settlement of the Loyalists and although he had given orders for the survey of lands on the Upper St. Lawrence and the north shore of Lake Ontario, he was unable to make any allotment of land and could only assure Maclean that justice would be done them and that those who had already settled would be treated equitably.

FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND to GENERAL MACLEAN

HEAD QUARTERS, QUEBEC, 11TH SEPTEMBER, 1783

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 18th Ultimo upon the Subject of Granting Lands to Six Men of your Regiment from the Lotts which have been laid out by Colonel Butler on the side of the River opposite to Niagara.

You may rest assured that such deserving men of your Corps as are in the predicament of other Loyalists, and intitled to His Majesty's Bounty, shall have every Justice done to them; but as I have determined that the strictest Impartiality shall be observed in the distribution of such lands as shall be granted to the Refugee Loyalists, it is not in my power to gratify individuals until the plans which I have adopted shall take place. I inclose for your information Instructions which I have given to Mr. Collins (The Deputy Surveyor General) for the Rule of his conduct in laying out the Settlements at Cataraqui; these will be followed in all other parts of the Province where Loyalists shall be settled.

I do not comprehend that part of your letter where in you say that Colonel Butler has marked out seventy lotts of land, 30 of which are nominated for different persons--- You can only mean the few farms already occupied, upon the Terms you are acquainted with, for I never delegated any other power to Colonel Butler or any other Person, and I shall send a Surveyor to lay out those lands agreeably to the plan I have before mentioned. I am nevertheless pleased that Colonel Butler has made a beginning, as it will forward my intention --- He some time ago made application to me, on behalf of his Corps, for settlements on that side of the River, but upon the principle here mentioned, I did not think fit to anticipate this business, whatsoever. I have nevertheless every Inclination and Intention to serve Colonel Butler's Corps and the Loyalists, who have already settled there, in such manner as shall be equitable, and at the same time, consistent with their Welfare ----- Major Ross has been much distressed for a Person who understands the construction of Mills, and wishes much for a visit from Mr. Brass of Colonel Butler's Rangers -- It is probable he will find many among the Loyalists now going up, acquainted with that business, but if not, you will please, on his application, to send Brass to Him if he can be spared from the Mills at Niagara.

(B. 104, pp. 431-2.)

The Materials for the Completion of the Mills seems to have arrived in time to finish them before Winter set in.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN ROBERT MATTHEWS TO GENERAL MACLEAN, DATED AT QUEBEC, 15TH SEPTEMBER, 1783.

"The Mill Stones and Iron Work for the Mill was also forwarded a long time ago and by a letter from Major Ross, you must 'ere this time have received them."

By the last Ship leaving Quebec before the close of navigation, Haldimand despatched a letter to the Colonial Secretary which shows that he was still without instructions but very hopeful of good results from the projected settlement in the "Upper Country."

FROM GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LORD NORTH

Quebec, 6th November, 1783.

My Lord,

I have to Express the great regret which I feel at not having received Dispatches from England. There are many things of which I could wish to be informed by His Majesty's Ministers for the Rule of my Conduct. I indeed know that the Intention of Government is to do everything in their Power to alleviate the distresses of the Royalists and to procure for them and their Families a comfortable subsistence, with this View I allow them Provisions and have been under an Necessity to provide Many of them with Money and Clothing. In Order to exempt Government from these Expences, I lose no time in preparing for a Settlement for them at or near Cataraqui. Since my last Letters, I have Received a Report (l) of some Intelligent Persons whom I sent to examine the Land on the Bank of the River Outawa &c. from Carillion upwards as far as Cataraqui. I inclose a Copy of the Report and two Plans, which will give your Lordship a better Idea of the Country than Words can. I am happy to find that there are in the Gift of the Crown, Lands of so good a Soil and in a favorable Climate, sufficient not only to settle the Provincial Corps when disbanded, but all such Royalists as may come from the Southward with a View to finding Asylum from the Tyranny and Oppression of their Countrymen. I foresee great advantage from this settlement. The Six Nations wish it, the Royalists settled together in Numbers will form a Respectable Body attached to the interests of Great Britain and Capable of being Useful upon Many Occasions. Their Industry will be in a very few years raise in that fertile Tract of Country great Quantities of Wheat and other Grains and become a Granary for the Lower parts of Canada, where Crops are precarious and liable to be engrossed by a few designing and interested Traders; an Evil to be apprehended this year, for wheat is at present raised to the price of Two Dollars per Bushel, -- Fisheries in Nova Scotia and the Isle of Cape Breton Considered as National and Commercial Objects are certainly preferable to Settlements where Agriculture is the sole prospect, but still, Justice and Humanity require that the Royalists should have a choice, and even advantages with regard to the Fur Trade may result from the Settlement at Cataraqui. (Kingston) The Lands Contiguous to the Fort, I have, to avoid any difficulty purchased from the Misissaga Indians for an inconsiderable sum. I have not as yet received reports in consequence of the orders I have given to examine the Land on the North Side of Detroit, tho' I am well Convinced that there is a Tract of Good Land there, and which could be easily Purchased from the Hurons in case it should be found necessary. During the ansence of Brigr. General Maclean the Command of Niagara and Dependencies has devolved upon Lieut. Colonel de Peyster as the Senior Officer in the Upper Countries; I have therefore ordered Lt. Governor Hay to relieve Lt. Col. De Peyster at Detroit and have given him Instructions to be very Particular in making an Inquiry into the nature of the soil &c. on the north Side of Detroit.

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(1) The Journal of Lieut. G. French sent on this expedition is printed in the Report on Canadian Archives, 1890, pp. 67-70.

It became known that some of the Officers of the Indian Department serving at Detroit made Private Treaties with the Indians there for the purchase of considerable tracts of lands, and this fact probably encouraged Hendrick Nelles to apply for permission to do the same. The application was unsuccessful and all similar purchases were declared invalid.

FROM LIEUT. HENDRICK NELLES TO GENERAL HALDIMAND
NIAGARA, NOVEMBER 19TH, 1783

Sir.

From a small acquaintance I had the honor to have with Your Excellency when I was a Lieut. under Sir William Johnson at Oswego in 1759 and from Your Excellency's Good Character I take the Liberty to address to you on behalf of myself and Family for permission to purchase a Tract of Land from the Missassagoe Indians along the Lake, or any other Tract which is not already taken up for the Use of the Crown or Individuals or as may seem good to your Excellency to grant Agreeable to Act of Parliament for appointing Commissioners to examine into the Losses I have sustained and I have made an Acct. of the Losses I have sustained and addressed it to the said Commissioner but having no desire of returning to my former Possessions under the Government of the States & wishing to bring my sons up under Government of the Sovereign I have so long and faithfully served, do earnestly pray that Your Excellency will be Pleased to Take into Consideration your Memorialist and I shall every remain,

Sir, with the greatest esteem, Your Excellency's most obedt. &c.

HENDRICK WM. NELLES

(B. 105, p. 379)

A general census of the Loyalists residing at Fort Niagara, of the Farmers already settled, and of the Officers and Men of Butler's Rangers with their families and dependents was finally completed about the beginning of December in compliance with the governor's instructions.

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

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

(B., Vol. 169, page 1.)

JOHN BUTLER.

¹ In a petition to Lieut.-Governor Simcoe, dated July 1st, 1794, Peter Secord asserted that he was "the First Settler on land in this Country."

RETURN OF PERSONS, ETC.—Continued.

By Families	Name	Men	Woman	Boys	Girls	Age	No. of family	Rations Issued
Millar— <i>Con.</i>	Thomas Millar	1				29		
	John Millar		1			18	7	4
	Noah Millar			1		13		
	Unis Millar				1	16		
	Sarah Millar				1	12		
Drake	Joseph Drake	1				40	1	
Davis	John Davis	1				42	1	1
Wing	Abraham Wing	1	1	1	1		4	23/4
	John Butler Lieut Colonel.							
	Total	23	19	35	25		102	29 1/4

(B. 105, pp. 381 et seq.)

RECAPITULATION OF LOYALISTS INCORPORATED IN THE CORPS OF RANGERS, COMMANDED BY LIEUT. COLL. BUTLER.

Companies.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	No. of Rations received.
Lieut. Col. John Butler	40.	12	19	17.	88.	48.
Captain Caldwell.	46.	7	7	7	67.	48.
" McDonell.	53.	11.	12.	9.	85.	56.
" Ten Brook	44.	10.	10.	11.	75.	51.
" Hare.	52.	9.	10.	14.	85.	67.
" Frey.	39.	16.	13.	17.	85.	44.
" McKinnon.	46.	8.	11.	16.	81.	49.
" Bradt.	49.	10.	14.	11.	84.	52.
" Dame.	49.	19.	18.	24.	110.	57.
" Genevay.	51.	9.	8.	9.	77.	54.
General Total	469.	111.	122.	135.	837.	526.

NIAGARA, 1st Decr. 1783.
(B. 105, p. 396.)

JOHN BUTLER,
Lieut. Colonel.

RETURN OF PERSONS UNDER THE DESCRIPTION OF LOYALISTS, SPECIFYING THE NUMBERS, AGE AND SEXES, RESIDENT AT NIAGARA 1ST DECR. 1783.

By Families	Names	Men	Women	Boys	Negro men	Age	No. of each family
Bennet	Alexr McNabb.			1		15	
	James Bennet	1				71	
	Negro Man				1	19	2
Street	Samuel Street	1				30	
	Lockwood Street			1		15	2
Cartwright	Richard Cartwright	1				25	
	Richard Beaseley	1				22	2
Thompson	John Woodsides	1				54	
	John Thompson	1				45	
	Dorothy Thompson		1			43	
	Abraham De Forrest			1		14	
	Negro				1	15	7
	do				1	12	
do				1	10		
do				1	6		
Burch	John Burch.	1				42	
	Martha Burch		1			36	2
	Total.....	7	2	2	5		16

James Bennett.
(B. 105, p. 380)

RETURN OF PERSONS UNDER THE DESCRIPTION OF LOYALISTS, SPECIFYING THE NUMBER, AGE & SEXES OF EACH FAMILY, BEING FARMERS SETTLED AT THIS POST, NIAGARA 1ST DECE. 1783

By Families	Names	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Age	No. of family	Rations issued
Seacord	James Seacord	1				53		
	Magdalen Seacord		1			40		
	David Seacord	1				23		
	Magdalen Seacord		1		1	19	7	
	Hester Seacord		1			17		
Forsyth	Mary Seacord			1		13		
	James Seacord		1			10		
	James Forsyth	1				44		
	Uriah Forsyth		1			38		
Banter	Daniel Forsyth		1			11		
	Wm. Forsyth		1			9	6	3
	John Forsyth		1			2		
	Sarah Forsyth		1			5		
McMicken	Philip Banter [Bender]	1				40		
	Mary Banter		1			30		
	John Banter		1			8	5	2
	Mary Banter		1			5		
Rose	Sarah Banter		1			2		
	Thomas McMicken	1				33		
	Jane McMicken		1			66		
	Jane Cooper		1			43	6	3
Stewart	Thomas Cooper		1			14		
	James Cooper		1			11		
	Harvey Alexander		1			3		
	Daniel Rose	1				26		
Depue	Jane Rose		1			25		
	Hugh Rose		1			5	5	1
	William Rose		1			2		
	John Rose		1			3 1/2		
Seacord	Peter Seacord	1				62		
	Abigail Seacord		1			40		
	Peter Seacord		1			18		
	Stephen Seacord		1			16	7	
	David Seacord		1			10		
Phillips	Margaret Seacord		1			15		
	Elizabeth Seacord		1			14		
Louts	Elijah Phillips [Phelps]	1				34	2	
	Eleanor Phillips		1			24		
	Samuel Louts	1				44		
	Sarah Louts		1			36		
Millar	John Louts		1			14		
	George Louts		1			11		
	Sam'l Louts		1			9	7	
	Job Louts		1			3		
	Sarah Louts		1			10		

RETURN OF PERSONS, ETC.—Continued.

By Families	Name	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Age	No. of family	Rations issued
Every	Jurden Every	1				42		
	Sarah Every		1			43		
	Edward Turner			1		20		
	Hanna Turner				1	14		
	Sarah Turner				1	11		
Fields	George Fields	1				62		
	Rebecca Fields		1			58	2	2
Showers	Michael Showers	1				50		
	Hannah Showers		1			43		
	Michael Showers			1		12		
	John Showers				1	7		
	Elizabeth Showers				1	19		
	Laura Showers				1	17	9	3
	Hannah Showers				1	14		
	Ann Showers				1	9		
McDaniel	Mary Showers				1	1		
	Allan McDaniel [McDonell]	1				49		
	Hannah McDaniel		1			35		
	William McDaniel			1		6		
	Alexr. McDaniel				1	3	5	2
Elsworth	Hannah McDaniel					1		
	Francis Elsworth	1				38		
Stewart	Mary Elsworth		1			27	2	2
	George Stewart	1				31		
	Mary Stewart		1			23		
Depue	George Stewart			1		3		5
	David Stewart			1		2		
	Charles Stewart			1		1 1/2		
	John Depue	1				55		
Dolson	Mary Depue		1			43		
	Charles Depue			1		21		
	Wm. Depue			1		16		
	John Depue			1		14		8
	Susanna Depue				1	12		
	Elizabeth Depue				1	10		
	Marian Depue				1	7		
Millar	Isaac Dolson	1				41		
	Mary Dolson		1			30		
	Daniel Dolson			1		10		
	John Dolson			1		8		
Millar	Isaac Dolson			1		6		8
	Elizabeth Dolson				1	12		
	Mary Dolson				1	3		
Millar	John Dolson	1				81		
	Thos Millar [Millard]	1				54		
	Mary Millar		1			55		