

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
WATERLOO HISTORICAL
SOCIETY



NINETEEN TWENTY-SEVEN



THE KITCHENER AND WATERLOO
COLLEGIATE AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOL

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
WATERLOO HISTORICAL
SOCIETY



NINETEEN TWENTY-SEVEN

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WATERLOO, ONT.

COUNCIL

1927

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SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Waterloo Historical Society was held in the Museum in the Public Library, Kitchener, on the evening of November 4th, 1927. There was a good attendance of members and other friends of the Society.

The President, D. N. Panabaker, was unable to attend the meeting and A. R. G. Smith, Vice-President for New Hamburg, presided.

The following papers and addresses were presented.

President's Address.

The Trail of the Aborigines through Waterloo County, A. F. Hunter, M.A., Secretary Ontario Historical Society.

History of Elmira, Geo. Klinck.

Kitchener Collegiate Institute, H. W. Brown, B.A.,

Later valuable papers were received from General Cruikshank and from Mr. Wintemberg, both of Ottawa.

A meeting in February, 1927, was addressed by Prof. Fred Landon, London, President Ontario Historical Society, who spoke on "Some Phases of Confederation."

The 1926 Report was the largest the Society has ever published. In addition to the papers read at the annual meeting, this report contained the addresses delivered at the dedication of the Waterloo Pioneers Memorial Tower. These addresses were given almost in full, and the Report forms a very valuable record of this event, putting into permanent form the story of the pioneer settlement of the district.

The Society deeply appreciates the assistance received from the Education Department, Toronto, in again printing the Annual Report.

The Society also gratefully acknowledges the continued support of the Kitchener Public Library Board in providing quarters for our collection and lighting and heating the same.

Grants as in the past have been made by the County of Waterloo, City of Kitchener, City of Galt and Town of Hespeler. These grants are being applied to advantage and are a source of encouragement to extend our work and provide necessary equipment in the Museum.

A list of the donations received is given elsewhere in the Report. As this report completes another five year period we have appended an index of papers and other articles for ready reference.

The election of the Officers for 1928 resulted as follows:

President.....D. N. Panabaker
Vice-President.....Rev. J. E. Lynn
Secretary-TreasurerP. Fisher, Kitchener
Members of the Council.....W. J. Motz, W. H. Breithaupt,
W. V. Uttley and Miss B. M. Dunham
Museum and Publication Committee....W. H. Breithaupt, W. J. Motz
and Miss B. M. Dunham

Local Vice-Presidents:

GaltJ. E. Kerr
Waterloo.....Dr. C. W. Wells
ElmiraGeo. Klinck
Hespeler.....W. H. Weaver
New Hamburg.....A. R. G. Smith
Ayr.....Miss E. D. Watson
St. Jacobs.....E. Richmond

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1927.

RECEIPTS:

Balance on hand on Jan. 1st, 1927.....	\$207.12
Members' fees	\$53.00
Sale of Reports	8.06
Grants: County of Waterloo	75.00
City of Kitchener	50.00
City of Galt	25.00
Town of Hespeler	20.00
	<hr/>
	231.06
	<hr/>
	\$438.18

DISBURSEMENTS:

Printing and binding	\$12.37
Postage and stationery.....	13.20
Caretaker and curator.....	31.50
Sundry Expenses	51.81
	<hr/>
	108.88
	<hr/>
Balance.....	\$329.30

Audited and found correct,

J. H. WUEST, Auditor.

P. FISHER, Secretary-Treasurer.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

As president of the County Historical Society, I sincerely regret that business which takes me from home at this time, prevents my attending the Annual Meeting, but by selecting a Chairman for the Meeting, from the list of capable Vice-Presidents of the organization, the meeting will suffer no disappointment as a result of my absence.

Mr. A. R. G. Smith, local Vice-President for New Hamburg and Wilmot Tp., has very kindly consented to act as Chairman for the occasion.

In addition to Mr. Smith's many useful activities in connection with the Agricultural and other interests of Waterloo County, and not to mention his valued support in the past of our Historical Society, I should like to mention as a matter of outstanding County interest at the moment, the Educational Enterprise with which he is at present associated, as President of the Advisory Agricultural Council.

I refer to the Short Courses in Agriculture and Home Economics financed by the Ontario Government, which are to be held in Waterloo County this winter.

The Short Course in Agriculture is a three months' study of the same subjects which are taken up in the first year at the Ontario Agricultural College, while the Home Economics Course for girls is the same work as that given in the First year Classes at McDonald Institute at Guelph. In both cases the services of Professors associated with the Colleges to the number of about fifteen are made available to the Classes.

This Winter School, as it may be called, is one of six separate Courses provided by the Agricultural Department of the Provincial Gov't, and its coming to this County this year was made possible by the growing activities in agricultural development in this County.

The organization of these classes which will be held in New Hamburg, has been accomplished by the co-operation of the Corporation of New Hamburg and the Wilmot Agricultural Society with the Agricultural Representative of Waterloo County, Mr. E. I. McLoughry, of the City of Galt. The Village of New Hamburg has gratuitously set aside two public halls for the accommodation of the classes. As secretary of the Wilmot Agricultural Society, Mr. Smith has been spending much of his time assisting in working out the details of preparation for this Winter School.

You will have noticed that the Program Committee has arranged that our honored Past President and Chairman of the Museum and Publishing Committee, should inform you of the more recent contributions to the Historical Museum, and Mr. Breithaupt may have a few words also to say regarding the publication of the Annual Reports for 1927.

Mr. Kerr, another of our local Vice Presidents, representing Galt, and a staunch friend of the organization from its inception, has been requested to present a summary of the events of Current History of interest to this section of Canada, one feature of which will undoubtedly be with reference to the celebration the past summer of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation of the Canadian Provinces.

I shall therefore not devote any time to these matters, but permit me to say that the work of those already mentioned, and other members of the Executive Council and Officers of the Society, throughout the year is deserving of sincere appreciation, and I personally desire to express my thanks to them at this time.

Mr. P. Fisher, our untiring Secretary-Treasurer, has been generously spending his time and sacrificing his personal convenience throughout the year,—as through many previous years—in the interests of the Society, and if he were to be at all adequately remunerated for his work, we should have to materially increase our revenue.

The presence of A. F. Hunter, M.A., of Toronto, Secretary of the Provincial Historical Society, affords us an opportunity to say to him that the practical assistance he has given the County Society throughout the past number of years and the present one as well is appreciated beyond words. His coming to address the Annual Meeting places us under a further great obligation to him, and our Society may rightly feel indebted to the Officers of the Provincial Society since not only the Provincial Secretary but also Mr. Landon, the President, has this year responded to our invitations to address meetings held here.

To others who have prepared papers on local history for presentation at this time, or for publication in our 1927 Report, we are much indebted.

For this Confederation Jubilee Year, the most practical contribution I have found it possible to make to the records of the Society is a tabulation of certain County Statistics of the Confederation period. The tables submitted are too lengthy to read at this time, but my thought in connection with them is that in addition to the local interest attached to the statistics, they may furnish the student of Confederation days in Canada with this local

data, and to the extent to which the conditions of those times in Waterloo County represent the average Canadian situation of the period one is able by a study of these local conditions to judge of the true setting of the events of that interesting epoch in our national history.

Then as a side light upon the same period I have found the study of the local advertising of those days to be at least interesting, and I think some of the features of the public advertisements which appeared between 1860 and 1870 or down to 1880 are worthy of space in our county records. If some of the wood-cuts illustrating the improvements in agricultural implements, etc., could be reproduced in our next Annual Report I think it would be enlightening to many of our younger folk who have not realized the advances actually made within the memory of even middle aged citizens of this County.

The character and perhaps the trading ethics of the business men of the sixties and seventies of last century come to the surface I think, in some measure, in these advertisements of the times and in the tradesmen's advertising particularly, it is not difficult to trace the development of a fashionable dress consciousness among the people, and considering that the population of the County was at that time, to so large an extent, rural, it is somewhat surprising.

Not only the advertising but the appropriation of names for various enterprises display artfulness which has gone beyond the stage of a simple pioneer people.

Witness the following,—

The name "Dew drop Distillery" given to a Blair enterprise in the early sixties.

"Excelsior Horse Shoeing Shop" name given to a smithy in Wellesley about the same time. The enterprising smith makes the following announcements to his patrons— "Those having horses suffering from lameness are requested to bring them to me, as my system of shoeing is found successful in such cases—No Cure—No Pay."

There were a large number of other blacksmith shops of those times displaying similarly ambitious announcements, most of them placing emphasis upon the *scientific* methods they employed in horse-shoeing.

A wagon-maker in Galt places his resourcefulness before the public in the following terms,— (This advertisement was dated 1864). "Victoria Carriage Works — This factory manufactures all descriptions of work, from a five dollar wheelbarrow to a thousand dollar carriage — The machinery is now complete for

the turning out of ONE WAGON PER DAY" etc., etc. One might regard this industry as the forerunner of one of Mr. Henry Ford's modern plants.

In the same year an industry in Branchton, North Dumfries, advertised as follows— "George Timmins—Branchton—Manufacturer of 'Lightning Matches'—decidedly the best matches made—" It is of interest to note that this match factory began operations about 1854 and was still operating in 1884, making the old fashioned blocks of matches which the older people present will recall.

The newspaper publishers themselves applied features of advertising which are striking, as the following will illustrate,—

"The Ayr Observer (1864) 'The proprietor flatters himself that he is capable of doing printing as neatly, as expeditiously and as cheap as can be done in any other office in the country'."

The universal appeal to the vanity of the man of the seventies is readily seen in the following examples of tailor shop business cards of these times.

"Linwood Emporium of Fashion"—"A perfect fit guaranteed in all cases—Latest New York Fashion Plates always obtained."

"Linwood Fashionable Merchant Tailoring Establishment"—"A perfect fit guaranteed—Call and examine my stock, terms and pattern plates of latest style before getting a misfit elsewhere."

"Wellesley Emporium of Fashion"—"A perfect fit with satisfaction guaranteed."

"Fashionable Merchant Tailor, Wellesley—Latest fashion plates always obtained. Call and examine stock, styles and prices before getting a misfit elsewhere."

Note the apparent unfriendly rivalry existing in the two small places cited above, this is not found in the following:

"William Stephan, Elmira—Fashionable Emporium—No fit, no pay."

Tailor shops were located all over the country in the sixties and seventies which called themselves "Emporium of Fashion" and all of them "Guaranteeing perfect fits."

It is no doubt to be supposed that this guarantee was always appropriate, as unquestionably the purchaser would himself 'throw a perfect fit' in cases where his new suit was a misfit.

One strange combination is observed. In connection with the Nithville Flour and Oatmeal Mills, Ayr, a tailor advertised as follows: "Fashionable tailoring establishment—First class cutter—Well fitting suits made to order."

It would appear that this Oatmill mill could afford to take no chances to have its porridge-fed patrons look badly proportioned by suits that were not good fits, and preferred to take the responsibility of properly clothing them.

Enterprise of a high order is exemplified in a Wellesley advertisement which reads— "Wellesley Agricultural Works—Mfrs. of Best Quality of Bells—Of all weights up to 1000 lbs. Call and see our bells and hear their tone before going abroad—Our bells are warranted and they excel those of Markham or Troy foundries."

Other Agricultural Implement Manufacturers were not wanting in enterprise, as the following will show and many other similar advertisements might be quoted—John Watson, Ayr—"The following implements for variety, material, workmanship and style will challenge competition with any other on the Continent."

St. George Agricultural Works—"New Model Canadian Mowing Machine, Lightest draft in the Dominion."

Space will not admit of further illustrations from the advertisements of business men of the Confederation period, but to further illustrate the ambitious names appropriated by some of the traders, etc., the following will suffice— In 1878 the Village of Ayr boasted two "Medical Halls" and at the Northern end of the County, Elmira came a good second with one "Medical Hall." Elmira, however, omitted 'Hair Oil' from its list of commodities while both Ayr 'Halls' stressed this essential item of the period. Elmira, however, and one of the Ayr stores, featured Wines and Liquors and Patent Medicines among the long list of goods for sale, Elmira placing in italics the statement "The only Licensed Liquor Store in Woolwich."

In the list of occupations of the inhabitants of those days these are found—

Stumper—Robert Campbell, Ayr

Piper—James Souter of the same Scotch settlement.

Night Pumpman—Edmund Littlewood, Breslau.

Toll Keeper—Thomas McVenn, North Dumfries.

Shoe-peg Factory—Jas. Gladstone, Ayr.

This peg factory was said to be the only one in Western Canada. Walter Davidson was the peg-maker in the plant.

Ambrotype Artists were mentioned in several of the villages and larger towns, notably Crosshill and two at Ayr.

The village of Berlin at that time was distinguished as having a Portrait painter and a Landscape painter in the persons of Thomas Miller and S. F. Rawson respectively, both of whom made their headquarters at Roats Hotel.

There were also Stage Drivers, Potters, Gunsmiths, etc., but apparently only one manufacturer of musical instruments in the County at that time, viz. Jonas Cope, Branchton.

There was also apparently only one speculator in the County who, it is needless to say, did not operate among the Scotch Settlements, but was located in the settlement of Crosshill, probably among the Orangemen.

The public school at the Village of Ayr was apparently served in a unique manner,—Donald McLean being the head teacher, Miss McLean the assistant, and Mrs. McLean the primary teacher.

Other occupations of an unusual character compared with the present, may be mentioned.

In addition to pump-men, employed by the railways, there were also wood-men, (wood being locomotive fuel).

In the records we find a manufacturer of spinning wheels and reels; also patent washing machines of an early type.

Jacob Hoffman, in Berlin, made Venetian blinds.

George Froelich of the same place, and John Riddels, of Elmira, are named as potash manufacturers, whose ash wagons, travelling about the county, were familiar to all in those days.

George Hitzler of Blair is named as a coverlet-weaver.

A tin peddler by the name of Chas. McKay, of Branchton; and a candle-maker by the name of Adam S. Oliver of Galt are among others on record.

The most striking combination would appear to be that of proprietor of a dentist's office, a hair-dressing saloon and a fruit-store combined. Hair dressers and fruit-stores appear to have been the usual combination for some reason not today very clear.

COUNTY OF WATERLOO
CENSUS BY ORIGIN - 1861

	England & Wales	Scotland	Ireland	Natives of Canada (Not French Origin)	Natives of Canada (French Origin)	United States	Maritime Prov.	Prussia, German States & Holland	France	Russia & Poland	Spain & Portugal	Sweden & Norway	Switzerland	Italy & Newfoundland	West & East Indies	Other Places	Coloured Persons	TOTAL
Village of Berlin	89	47	53	962	36	127	2	608	16	.....	1	1	4	.....	.....	.....	10	1956
Town of Galt	318	786	268	1466	10	133	8	50	6	.....	.....	.....	2	1	6-5	10	30	3099
Village, Hamburg	36	20	39	401	16	39	6	288	14	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	2	.....	868
" Hespeler	18	50	42	320	8	26	.....	135	2	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	604
" Preston	22	41	18	612	75	60	.....	588	77	.....	.....	2	41	.....	.....	5	.....	1538
" Waterloo	15	50	16	631	19	44	5	477	7	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	1273
Tp. N. Dumfries	178	1227	142	2390	.....	122	8	90	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	4161
" N. Waterloo	45	13	23	2307	242	211	.....	947	162	2	.....	.....	11	.....	.....	4	.....	3969
" S. Waterloo	163	194	103	2464	9	206	.....	787	50	.....	.....	6	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	3995
" Wellesley	239	270	429	3375	171	132	4	1072	171	.....	1	.....	20	.....	.....	3	.....	5888
" Willmot	160	102	129	3064	689	124	7	1544	313	2	.....	.....	26	1	1-2	5	.....	6173
" Woolwich	183	239	39	2931	164	175	1	11873	94	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	3	18	5256
	1466	3039	1301	20932	1439	1399	41	7959	913	4	2	9	139	2	7-7	35	58	38,780

**COUNTY OF WATERLOO
CENSUS BY RELIGION - 1861**

	C. of England	C. of Rome	F. C. of Scotland	F. C. of Scotland	United Presbyterian	Methodists	Baptists	Lutherans	Congregationalists	Disciples	Quakers	Mennonists & Tunkers	Unitarian	Universalists	Jews	Christians	Protestants	Other Creeds not classed	No Creed or religion given	TOTAL
Town of Galt.....	588	395	252	637	678	334	66	31	3	6	5	133	3	3	2	.....	.....	45	34	3069
Village of Berlin..	200	237	11	110	18	167	65	790	2	.....	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	192	21	1956
" Hamburg	85	152	40	9	20	16	6	415	.....	.....	.....	42	.....	.....	.....	81	1	75	48	868
" Hespeler	22	92	11	48	5	51	.....	227	.....	.....	.....	36	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	6	604
" Preston	51	271	6	4	53	45	4	975	.....	.....	.....	36	.....	.....	2	.....	21	7	63	1538
" Waterloo	50	106	28	48	9	51	10	641	1	.....	.....	80	.....	3	.....	.....	89	19	139	1274
Tp. N. Dumfries	200	130	454	1454	1058	165	53	181	5	.....	.....	187	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	121	153	4161
" N. Waterloo	63	1130	29	73	4	232	77	1085	.....	2	.....	1002	.....	2	.....	6	25	204	35	3969
" S. Waterloo	227	429	60	371	143	395	105	1110	.....	.....	.....	711	.....	.....	.....	19	9	280	127	3986
" Wellesley	682	1586	60	740	38	303	146	1197	9	.....	56	308	.....	11	.....	13	52	60	27	5888
" Wilmot	446	1168	112	11	114	987	100	1957	.....	.....	.....	1084	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	79	109	6173
" Woolwich	107	652	180	230	6	634	155	1681	1	.....	.....	743	1	.....	.....	.....	152	475	239	5256
	2721	16348	1252	3735	2146	3979	787	10290	20	9	61	4334	1	25	4	119	350	1565	1013	38,750

THE TRAIL OF THE ABORIGINES THROUGH WATERLOO COUNTY

By A. F. HUNTER, M.A.

The trail about which I intend to speak was mainly a canoe trail, with portages connecting stretches of rivers navigable for canoes. When the forest covered this country the flow of the rivers was more uniform than now, and canoe navigation less difficult. The melted snows of winter did not run off in the first weeks of spring with river floods, as they do now, carrying destruction to property and even to life. This present day condition is the result of the clearing of the land.

The aborigines who used the trail were canoe-using Indians,—not the Neutrals (although these did make use of the trail) but chiefly their predecessors, the Algonquin-speaking Indians, who were here before the Neutrals and have continued to be the indigenous native tribes of Ontario. The Neutrals came and went; but the Algonquin tribes held their ground except for their temporary retreat during the occupation by the Neutrals, and the trails of the Algonquins, used by them from remote times, remained in use down to the coming of the whites.

It will be convenient to introduce the highway about which I am to speak, and which was evidently one of the great routes of the Province in aboriginal times, by the same passage from which I first realized its importance and general course. From Governor Simcoe's letter of Sept. 20, 1793, to Secretary Dundas, we read:—"A River (the Nottawasaga) some few miles beyond (Pentanguishene Harbour), whose entrance is said to be navigable, . . . I apprehend to be the same which the Indians mention as affording a communication with the main branch of the La Tranche (or Thames)" p. 56, Simcoe Papers, Vol. II. The communication mentioned was by the Pine River, an important branch of the Nottawasaga, the Irvine River, the Grand River, then across to the Nith and finally to the Thames.

Simcoe's reference to this trail fitly begins this account of it. All such trails had been in use for centuries. Their directions depended upon the physical features of the country. The one under review, *via* the Nottawasaga River, passed within nine miles of Lake Simcoe and there was a trail or portage from near the outlet of the Pine River into the Nottawasaga, over to Lake Simcoe. On all the early maps from about 1680 onward, from Coronelli's (1688) to Charlevoix' (1740) and even to the conquest of Canada in 1759,

Lake Simcoe was called Lake Toronto, and the district around it was called the Toronto Region. The word 'Toronto' means 'the place of meeting'. All the trails in Ontario of aboriginal times passed to and from that quarter. There was Champlain's trail corresponding mainly with what is now the Trent Valley Canal. There was the Humber trail from the city of Toronto overland to the Holland River and then to Lake Simcoe. The city has derived its name because the trail led to the Toronto Region, just as the Ottawa River led to the Ottawas, a nation in Michigan, etc. And then there was the trail to the Thames and the Detroit frontier. The aborigines shunned the frontier of the great lakes.

The Pine River received its name because it flows through the Pine Plains of Simcoe County. Many people have never heard of the Pine Plains, but have heard of Camp Borden, which is the same thing. The river comes down from the Blue Mountain escarpment, and was the southern boundary of the Tobacco nation of Indians. The Pine River and the Irvine River have their sources within half a mile of each other near Horning's Mills at the boundary between the Townships of Melancthon and Mulmur. Here there was an important portage over to the stream flowing southward to the Grand River. Another portage seems to have been used from a branch of the Irvine in Amaranth to the upper waters of the Nottawasaga River, but it was less used than the one at Horning's Mills.

And there are evidences that the aborigines used the main stream of the Grand River to its headwaters in Garafraxa, and then by still another portage over to the main branch of the Nottawasaga River in Mono, but the Irvine seems to have been the favorite route.

The junction of the Irvine with the Grand, and the Falls on the Grand a short way above the junction, were important landmarks to the aborigines. Indian tribes for centuries made the Falls of the Grand River at Elora their most favorite camping place, doubtless because of the excellence of fishing at a cascade, where fish are stalled in their migrations. The late Dr. David Boyle, when teaching the school at Elora, formed a museum in which were many Indian relics found there.

In the Tenth Annual Report (1922) of this Waterloo Historical Society, at page 267, it is shown that Indian pottery fragments were found in the railway excavation behind the Dominion Tire Foundry. The city of Kitchener was therefore near the great trail of the aborigines, and Waterloo county was on the front street of the country during the Indian days.

The first white settlers everywhere selected spots for settlement near the canoe trail, and this was doubtless the rule which Betzner

and Schoerg followed when they settled in Waterloo County. And so the Memorial Tower carries an additional meaning by being on the line of communication of aboriginal days. Mr. Breithaupt, in the Fourteenth Annual Report of this society, speaks of the main highway from Guelph to Goderich passing at the spot. There was a portage across to the Nith River in Blenheim Township; that river was used for a few miles, and then another portage reached the upper waters of the Thames.

Mr. W. J. Wintenberg lived formerly at Washington in Blenheim Township and examined the Indian sites in the neighborhood of the Nith River quite exhaustively. He found that sites of the Neutral Indians extended northward to the Nith, but not beyond it. Only a few exist as far north as the Nith, and none of those so far north as the Nith are what might be called large sites. Those found northward of the Nith he called pre-Neutral, and they were mostly quite small,—one or two camps in every case, indicating they were those of canoe Indians, who had camped for a while on their journey. In fact, the results he obtained seem to indicate the line of the Nith might be regarded as the boundary between the two kinds of Indians, if indeed they were contemporaries. His results appear in the Archaeological Reports of Ontario for 1899 and 1902.

The crossing from the Grand River to the headwaters of the Thames appears to have been in duplicate, just as that from the Nottawasaga to the Grand was in triplicate, as we have seen, since there is evidence of a portage from the Conestoga to the Avon, and then down the west branch of the Thames.

Some knowledge of the leading position this great trail held in the days before the white men is of the first importance. A reader of the early French narratives relating to this part of Canada will find various references in them that confirm the trail described in this outline sketch. Thus, as Daillon passed from the Hurons to the Neutrals in his journey of 1626 through the country of the Tobacco Nation, he doubtless came by this route to the Neutrals and was perhaps the first white man in Waterloo County, unless some fur trader had antedated him, which is not improbable.

When the Hurons were dispersed in 1649-50, some of them fled to the country of the Neutrals. This route was the highway for them. As I have shown from Mr. Wintenberg's work, it does not appear that the towns and villages of the Neutrals were so far north as this route.

One of the last migrations of Indians to pass over this aboriginal highway was the refugee band of Pottawattomies, as they fled after the Blackhawk war in Michigan in 1832. They settled finally on Christian Island, and have been absorbed into the Chippewa bands.

A complete survey is the only method that has value for investigations upon the occupation of the country by the aborigines. Many persons speculate on the movements of the early travellers, missionaries and traders without the recognition due to the physical features of the country and the actual aboriginal haunts. Their library arm chairs take the place of field-work. This latter class of work is needed in every county in this Province.

When Mr. Breithaupt asked me, a few weeks ago, to address you, the circumstance that decided me was this: it would give me an opportunity to urge someone, no difference whom, to begin to record all the particulars about aboriginal remains in this county, which affords as good promise of a rich field as any other. It was the highway by which nations passed in the centuries that are gone,—“whole nations gone like last year’s snow”, and as the poet Bryant reminds us:

“And we have built our houses on
Fields where their generations sleep”.

THE KITCHENER AND WATERLOO
COLLEGIATE AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOL

ITS HISTORY

A paper read before the Waterloo Historical Society at its Annual Meeting on November 4th, 1927.

By H. W. BROWN, B.A.,

Secretary-Treasurer of the Collegiate Board.

My personal acquaintance with the school and the members of its staff of teachers began about the year 1890, so that all information which I may present concerning the earlier years of the school, as well as much of a later date, will of necessity be second-hand, but I hope none the less authentic on that account. At the outset I want to acknowledge valuable assistance received from the late county inspector, Thomas Pearce, H. M. Bowman of the Ex-Pupils' Association, ex-principal David Forsyth, and particularly ex-principal J. W. Connor, whose wonderful memory reaching back over the multitude of events of the last half-century is excelled only by his love for the old school and for all those who had any active connection with it.

The selection of a title for this paper proved to be somewhat of a difficulty. There never was an institution known as the Kitchener Collegiate Institute although there can be no doubt as to which institution is meant, that title being used generally at the present time in educational circles in the province for the correct title, namely The Kitchener and Waterloo Collegiate and Vocational School. To tell the whole truth this school has been known at successive times as the Berlin County Grammar School, the Berlin High School, the Berlin Collegiate and Technical Institute, the Berlin and Waterloo Collegiate and Technical Institute, the Kitchener and Waterloo Collegiate and Technical Institute, and finally the Kitchener and Waterloo Collegiate and Vocational School. Perhaps a better title for this paper than any other would be "The History of Secondary Education in this High School District."

This history has to do with a period of seventy-three years, which period resembles ancient Gaul in this, that it is divided into three parts, at least I am taking the liberty of making such a division, and the further liberty of naming the divisions as the pre-Connor period, the Connor period, and the post-Connor period. As the history of the school lengthens out the post-Connor period will inevitably break up into sections. In fact, the first twenty years of that period may now very well be described as the Forsyth period, which in its turn gave way on the retirement of Mr. Forsyth

to a new order of things in a new school under new Departmental regulations and new local administration to meet, or attempt to meet, a call more and more insistent from the commercial and manufacturing interests of this industrial centre, in common with those of other similar centres.

The outstanding characteristics of these periods, into which the history of the school easily falls, will vary as those passing judgment vary. Be that as it may, there is no denying the fact that the pre-Connor period was one of too frequent change in administration, no fewer than eleven principals having served the board and the school in a period of sixteen years. The Connor period, which occupied the next thirty years of the school's history, made for stability and permanency to as great a degree as practicable, not only as to location of the school but as to teaching force. It was in this period, too, when the Berlin High School became known internationally in sport. The Forsyth period—one of twenty years—was a period of expansion and progress. The buildings were enlarged to meet the greater demand numerically for academic training and to meet a demand which was growing rapidly among the masses for education along lines more practical and less academic. This advanced policy of the board and the principal placed the school in an advantageous position when the vocational education movement received in Canada additional impetus from both the provincial and federal governments in the form of promises of substantial financial assistance on building, equipment and salary accounts. And thus was the way prepared for a new period,—the present one—which began in September, 1923, with a new school built and equipped to serve as far as may be the commercial and industrial requirements of the community, as well as the academic or purely cultural.

To return to the early days of the school, one is tempted to say that if there is any virtue in a humble beginning the Kitchener and Waterloo Collegiate can lay claim at least to that virtue. Years before high schools, or collegiate institutes, were known by such titles, to be precise, on April 2, 1855, the Berlin County Grammar School opened the doors of a very small building on King Street East, to about thirty boys who gave some promise of a professional future, and who could be spared from home in those early busy days, when almost all work was done by hand. This building which was little larger than a toy, and which stood a little west of the corner of King and Eby streets, had been used as a printing office. Its use as a school did not continue longer than two years, during which time no fewer than four headmasters held sway in it. They were Rev. Henry Macmeekin, Donald McLennan, Francis Evans, and Philip Clerihew, M.A., in the order named. The first board consisted of Henry S. Huber, chairman, Wm. Davidson, secretary, Dr. John Scott, Isaac Clemens, David S. Shoemaker, and David

Chalmers. The salary of the first principal was £150 and the fees were five shillings per month.

In 1857 the newly built seven-roomed Central Public School was opened with a staff of three teachers which was increased later in the year to four teachers. Since there was ample accommodation in this building for the Grammar School, or, as has been asserted, since the Grammar School board members were the owners of the land on which the school was built and were agreed to accept accommodation for a term of years in lieu of payment for the land, the premises on King Street were vacated and thirty-five boys under the direction of the new principal, Robert Mathieson, B.A., took possession of the room in the north-east corner of the second storey, the room which the writer and his class of senior third boys and girls also took possession of in their turn just forty-three years later. The Grammar School occupied these quarters for fourteen years and was presided over successively by Robert Mathieson (May, 1857), Charles Camidge (August, 1859), Hugh I. Strang, B.A., (May and June, 1863), who became later the well-known principal of Goderich Collegiate Institute, David Ormiston, B.A., (August, 1863), C. A. Neville, M.A., (October, 1867), Rev. A. J. Travers (May and June, 1869), J. H. Thom, M.A., (August, 1869), and James W. Connor, B.A., (January, 1871). It was during this period that the first secondary school assistant teacher in this high school district was appointed. This gentleman was the Rev. F. W. Tuerk who began his duties as teacher of German in October, 1863, and who continued those duties with distinction for thirteen years. During the stay of the Grammar School in the Central School building, Thomas Miller, Rev. John MacMechan and James Colquhoun followed Henry S. Huber in the order named as chairmen of the board, while the office of secretary was held successively by William Davidson, John B. Snyder and Hugo Kranz. Unfortunately the attendance records of the school prior to 1868 have not been preserved; therefore, the list of the names of the pupils as prepared at the close of the Connor period is incomplete. As far as the writer knows, the only student survivors of that period are William Stahlschmidt, of Preston, Judge Klein, of Walkerton, George C. H. Lang, of Kitchener, Henry Jackson, of Chicago, and William Weaver, of Hespeler. Other well-known students of that somewhat early time were the late Dr. Lackner, Allen Huber, John King, the Premier's father, Sheriff Motz, P. E. W. Moyer, William Roos, David Shoemaker, Dr. Bowers, Edward and Fred Colquhoun, Barnabas Devitt, Dr. Aaron Eby, Moses Moyer, George Stanton, Dr. Walmsley, Dr. McIntyre, Dr. Winn and Dr. Shantz.

As has just been mentioned Mr. Connor was the last master of the Grammar School in the old Central School, his term there being from January to June, 1871. He was engaged by a board of which there are now no survivors. They were James Colquhoun, Chair-

man, Hugo Kranz, secretary, D. McDougall, William Oelschlager, Dr. D. S. Bowlby and W. H. Bowlby. Mr. Connor delights to dwell on the incidents which surrounded his early coming to Berlin. He recalls that he rode in John Roat's bus from the Grand Trunk depot to Gaukel's tavern which was his home for a few days, and which quite measured up to the recommendations of the Grand Trunk Railway conductor as given to him on the train.

In describing his first day at school on Monday, January 5th, 1871, Mr. Connor says in his profound way, "These were the students assembled there and then:—

"Peter J. Alteman, son of a builder in Waterloo, afterwards a teacher and then an Excise man; William H. Becker who attended only one half-year, Herman and Hilmar Boedecker, sons of the senior partner in Boedecker and Stuebing, importers of German books, stationery, etc., who soon left town; William H. Blackburn, who was in his last year at school; William Chalmers, a very clever boy, who became a law student; Alexander Davidson, son of Sheriff Davidson, who studied medicine; Charles D'Esterre, son of a customs officer, removed to another town by the Department; A. Diestelmeyer, a country boy, who came for only one term; John C. Falls, son of the Rev. A. S. Falls, B.A., Anglican clergyman, a fine youth, steady and diligent, and an excellent cricketer, who obtained an excellent position in a Winnipeg establishment; Alexander Jackson, son of Mr. H. F. J. Jackson, leading business man and cricketer, whose example Aleck followed; William H. Graff attended only in winter; Herman Heller, son of an hotel keeper, and not attending long. Then there was Isaac M. Levan, (Ike Levan), a very popular though somewhat frail boy, who matriculated, gaining honors and a scholarship, and who afterwards became a very successful teacher and a High School Inspector; Charles Moe, a German boy not attending long enough for me to get really acquainted with him; James Gordon Mowat, who after two years' absence had returned in 1871 but soon went into journalism, editing the Galt Reformer and Canadian monthly, and who, as "Moses Oates", wrote many humorous sketches; also his brother, John Mowat, who became a successful barrister; Cyrus E. Moyer, like his brother, P. E. W. Moyer, a publisher; Alexander Mackie, son of John A. Mackie, J.P., Merchant, King Street; Andrew J. Peterson, son of A. J. Peterson, clerk of the Division Court,—his strong point was German; James A. Potter, a farmer's son, and later a successful business man in Winnipeg; John A. Rittinger, son of the senior partner of Rittinger and Motz, publishers of the Berliner Journal, who thanked me for correcting his errors in English pronunciation; Naylor Rogers, son of the Manager of our only Bank of those days; Charles J. Scott, son of the late Dr. Scott; Robert and Frank Stanton, sons of Charles Stanton, a county official; James

Ward, an hotel keeper's son, afterwards a commission agent; Dibert Yeagley, son of D. Yeagley, and Jacob Yantz, a very diligent boy and good Latinist and cricketer.

"The girls were Sophia Bodenbender, daughter of the German Baptist Pastor, a good steady girl, and long since deceased; Margaret Burke, niece of Mrs. J. A. Mackie, who went to her cousin, Mrs. J. C. Falls, Winnipeg; Margaretta Dobbin, who became Mrs. Robert Barbour; Eva M. Eby, granddaughter of Bishop Eby, pioneer teacher and missionary; Mary Frank, daughter of the printer and part-time Editor of the Berlin Telegraph, who later entered the Winnipeg Post Office; two other good students were Bella Potter and Wilhelmina Rothwell, who also became a teacher and later Mrs. William Craig of Saskatchewan, also Kate Gaul, a daughter of an old resident who became Mrs. Perrin of London and Lillie and Nellie Van Camp, daughter and niece of Dr. Van Camp, our dentist. New pupils after the vacation were W. H. Breithaupt, later a C.E., and railway bridge engineer, mainly in the United States, his cousin, L. H. Wagner, who became a presiding elder of the Evangelical Church, and John R. Feick, a faithful student, as were nearly all that from this time joined us."

The year 1871 was, from a legislative point of view, probably the most momentous year educationally in the history of Ontario. Common schools became public schools and grammar schools became high schools; local superintendents of schools with their boards of public instruction were superseded by county inspectors and county boards of examiners; and steps were taken to improve text books, to broaden the curricula and to prepare better teachers. The full influence of these measures was felt in Berlin, with the added disturbance of removal to new quarters forced upon the board by the ever increasing numbers of pupils at the Central School. Not only had a common school class been opened in a room over the fire hall, but the hitherto roomy quarters of the grammar school had been cut down to make room for the persistent juniors. Mr. Connor's version of what happened at that time is this:—

"During the vacation it was agreed between our Board and the Town Council that we should give up our room in the Central (now Suddaby) School and in return have the former Swedenborgian Church on Church Street between St. Paul's Lutheran Church and Benton Street and north of the German Baptist Church. This arrangement, with some drawbacks, had the advantage of independence, the grammar school being no longer mistaken for a mere department of the Public School. It also infused into us an "Esprit de Corps". Such new pupils as we obtained were no longer like too many of our former number, sent till some employment should turn up, but, coming to fit themselves for active life, and

increasing the number of earnest students like Isaac Levan and Conrad Bitzer, the latter being now able to resume his course with advantage to himself and still more to the public."

The new High School did not remain long in these temporary quarters,—a matter of four and a half years—which brings us down to January, 1876. But before passing on, I may point out that it was during this period that the teaching staff was increased to three members, the third member being G. E. Shaw, M.A., who taught some modern language work as well as science and mathematics. Slowly and steadily the attendance increased in numbers, and slowly but surely it was becoming manifest that a church building was not well adapted for secondary school purposes. The board of that day decided that the school of the future would have to be provided for in an ample way. Accordingly, a permanent high school property on the hill near Greenbush was purchased upon which to erect a building which would satisfy present conditions, and, as far as possible those of the immediate future. This portion of real estate is the land on part of which the present new building now stands. It was purchased from George M. Bellinger, of the Township of Wellesley, for the princely sum of Six Hundred and Twenty-five Dollars, and "contained by admeasurement, two acres, three roods and nine perches, be the same more or less." Since that time about three acres have been added to the grounds.

A few statistics regarding our little high school gleaned from the report of Dr. Ryerson, chief superintendent of education, to the Hon. Peter Gow, Provincial Secretary, for the years 1871 and 1872, the first two years under the new regulations, may be of interest, and by way of intensifying that interest the corresponding statistics of the school for the year 1926, as furnished by the present minister of education, are added:

<i>Heading</i>	<i>1871</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>1926</i>
Legislative Grant	388.00	401.45	41394.26
Municipal Grant	550.00	585.00	127027.30
Fees	—	—	3257.40
Building Values	1000.00	1000.00	415321.76
Value of Equipment	200.00	290.00	87836.90
Maps and Books	16.00	46.95	1458.00
Fuel	198.10	243.85	4299.63
Total Number of Pupils.....	53	39	844
Grounds	½ acre	½ acre	5 1/5 acres
Value of Grounds	600.00	600.00	66107.71
Number of Teachers	2	2	35
Teachers' Salaries	721.50	858.50	95646.38

The first school building erected on the property on the hill was a handsome structure in its day, and was opened to the public

in January, 1876, the programme being provided largely by Miss Edith Wells, Isaac Levan and Sheldon Bingham. By April of that year adjustments were made in, and appointments to, the staff which resulted in the origin of what became known as "the triumvirate," the members of which were J. W. Connor, D. Forsyth and A. Mueller, Mr. Forsyth replacing Mr. Shaw and Mr. Mueller replacing Rev. Tuerk. This group of three men worked harmoniously together as teachers of the same students, as members of various civic bodies, and as active citizens in the community from 1876 until Jan. 8th, 1898, the date of the sudden death of Mr. Mueller. During this period the attendance increased to such an extent that G. A. Powell was added to the staff in the year 1885, as a teacher of Commercial subjects. He was succeeded in 1888 by W. F. Chapman for one month and then by F. W. Sheppard, now inspector of public schools for North Waterloo, whose ability as a teacher of English was recognized by his superior officers and his students alike, during the sixteen years of his work as instructor. The late Adolph Mueller's place on the staff, as teacher of Modern Languages, was taken by Miss D. M. Eby, who, in turn gave way to W. B. Weidenhammer in 1901. It was in this year that Mr. Forsyth assumed the principalship of the school, Mr. Connor having voluntarily resigned to take charge of the Classics department, which position he held for an additional year or two.

I cannot in fairness leave the Connor period of thirty years, concerning which books could be written, without making mention of an activity which was big in those days, and which was most closely connected and identified with this modest high school. I refer to association football (not rugby) which was born in Western Ontario in the Old Berlin High School in the late seventies, and Mr. David Forsyth is given unanimous credit for being its father, or, as he is familiarly known, the Daddy of Football. He produced a team which for four years swept all opponents to temporary oblivion. Play went on winter and summer alike. "Third Form with Forsyth and Mueller against the School", was the slogan. The outstanding players of those days were Dave Forsyth, Adolph Mueller, Fred Sheppard, Solly Brubacher, Jack Dolph, Jeremiah Scully, Eddie Huber, Charlie Kranz, Harry Bingham, Fred Killer, Charlie Wilson, George LaCourse, the Hughes boys, Addison and Walter Bowman, Mose Dippel, Bob Winn, Herbert Bowlby, the Kolb boys and the Gibson boys. These boys after leaving school, along with other local football enthusiasts, organized themselves as a club which assumed the name "Berlin Rangers", a name which became famous throughout Canada and the United States, and even in the British Isles, where eight of those already named played as members of the touring Canadian team.

While Mr. Forsyth and his colleagues were laying the foundation of association football in our high school, they were also in-

strumental in organizing on June 30th, 1880, in the Berlin Town Hall, the Western Football Association, the oldest football association in America, and still going strong. Mr. Connor was the first President, Mr. Mueller was Hon. President for a number of years and Mr. Forsyth the first Secretary-Treasurer, the second being elected twenty-six years later. He is still an officer of the W.F.A. and is an honorary officer of the D.F.A. Organized football gave the Berlin High School boys many opportunities to meet other clubs, and while it is true that they carried all before them for a while, it is equally true that on different occasions they met their match and more in Galt, Seaforth, Dundas and Toronto University.

At this point in my sketch a word of appreciation of that grand old man, James W. Connor, should be recorded, but one more able than I should perform that service. I hope the Historical Society will take early steps to secure an authentic and appreciative biography of this man of great heart and great mind who has done so much for this community, whose influence for good and manly things, apart from his great work as a teacher, is still alive and active among us, although he is personally unknown to thousands of our people, particularly to those under twenty-five years of age. His was a great good heart which prompted him to give service, in season and out of season, to one and all regardless of claims to that service. With him to request a favour or a good turn was to deserve it. He played no favorites, he raised no objections, he sought no ulterior motives. In spite of afflictions of which he has had his full share, he possesses and nurtures a wonderful sense of rich sparkling humour, which to-day in his eighty-fifth year you would find as active as ever, by calling on him at his home at 16 Glenside Avenue, Hamilton.

On his retirement from the principalship the pupils and ex-pupils from far and near, presented him with a testimonial of One Thousand Dollars. This was supplemented later with a second recognition, and on December 21st, 1925, the High School Old Boys' Association presented him with an oil painting of himself by Percy Ives, of Detroit, which he in turn presented to the school, in the collegiate auditorium in the presence of a large and sympathetic audience. On this last occasion, although unable to hear anything that was said, he made a speech which was remarkable not only as a feat of memory, but as an expression of real gratitude to his former pupils and to the members of the high school boards who have remembered him each month since he withdrew from service with a modest honorarium.

Before proceeding to estimate the events of the next period of the school's history a tribute must be paid to Dr. D. S. Bowlby, who was the board's efficient chairman from 1874 to 1901, succeeding Mr. McDougall; to Conrad Bitzer, B. A., chairman from 1901 to

1903, who in 1875 had been the school's first honor matriculant and to Hugo Kranz, ex-M.P., who was secretary-treasurer from 1871 to 1899—twenty-eight years—with one short intermission. These men with Principal Connor had quite a struggle from time to time to keep the old high school financially alive. In 1875 Reeve Moses Springer fought valiantly and successfully for county support for the two high schools in the county, the Berlin High School District and the Galt High School District being formed. The County later repented of its action, but could not repudiate what had been done until the final debenture payment on the new Berlin school had been retired. Eventually the County Council withdrew from active participation in high school matters as a district, but promised to make a grant not to exceed One Thousand Dollars, provided the students paid tuition fees. Relief came from this financial stress years later when the County was compelled to pay for county pupils and was given in return representation on the board.

As has already been stated the Forsyth regime began in 1901. With it was ushered in an extraordinary period of progress and expansion due in part to the general growth and prosperity of the community, in part to opportunities for expansion offered by the Department of Education, but largely to the industry, foresight and executive ability of Principal Forsyth, supported by the determination of an enthusiastic Board to place this school right up in the forefront of the secondary schools of the province. A remodelling of the old building and the building of a new wing was decided on in 1903, as the first step towards the inclusion in the curriculum for this high school, of the subjects of manual training and household science, and a modern business and commercial course. While building operations were still in progress instructors were secured to take care of the new departments, but during the year of their introduction quarters had to be rented in the old City Hall for the household science classes, and in the new public library basement for the manual training classes.

On November 30th, 1904, a Provincial-Order-in-Council was put through raising this school to the status of a Collegiate Institute and naming it officially the Berlin Collegiate and Technical Institute, and on December 21st of the same year an elaborate banquet was prepared and served by the household science department of the school, to over one hundred guests, the chief of whom was the Hon. Richard Harcourt, Minister of Education, who formally declared the new collegiate and technical school open, and incidentally announced that this was the second school in the Province to equip itself for the purpose of giving instruction in manual training and household science. On this occasion a bronze tablet to the memory of the late Adolf Mueller was unveiled.

The Board of Trustees in office at that time were: Edward Smyth, Chairman; Carl Kranz, Secretary; Peter Shirk, Bridgeport; A Werner, Elmira; W. A. Greene, Waterloo; D. B. Detweiler, Berlin; W. J. Motz, Berlin; and A. L. Breithaupt, Berlin.

The Staff of Teachers to whom was assigned the responsibility of carrying on the instructional part of the work in the new school in the year 1905 were: D. Forsyth, Principal and Mathematics; D. S. Jackman, Science; G. R. Dolan, Classics; L. Norman, Commercial; H. G. Martyn, English; Miss H. S. Albarus, Moderns; W. H. Williams, Moderns; H. W. Brown, Art and Mathematics; D. W. Houston, Manual Training; Miss K. A. Fisher, Household Science; Miss M. Zoellner, P. T. and Secretary; E. Detwiler, P. T. and English.

During the following fifteen years the school steadily increased in numbers, with a corresponding increase in the number of teachers and a corresponding increase in the acuteness of the accommodation situation. By 1919 the office and other rooms unsuited for class purposes had been pressed into service, the Assembly Hall being the refuge in all storms and stresses. As early as 1914 the Department had pointed out the need for additional space and particularly since it was in that year that special legislation was enacted, enlarging the High School district so as to include the municipality of the town of Waterloo and incidentally changing the name of the school to "Berlin and Waterloo Collegiate and Technical Institute." The Great War, however, ended all building discussions for the time.

In the meantime the Dominion and the Provincial governments had announced a policy for joint financial encouragement of technical education, to the effect that municipalities, which provided site, building and equipment for technical and vocational education in accordance with Departmental regulations, would be materially assisted in the cost of the building and of the equipment. The governments' decision to adopt this policy arose directly out of the exhaustive and voluminous report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, of which Mr. Forsyth was a valuable and an honored member. These new duties took Mr. Forsyth to the principal cities of America and Europe. He was relieved of his school duties for a period of eighteen months beginning in 1910 and ending in December, 1911. During his absence the duties of principal were well performed by Mr. W. H. Williams, M.A., the modern language master at that time and now on the staff of the University High School at Toronto.

The terms of the Government policy just mentioned appealed to the Collegiate Board at that time, and negotiations were at once entered into with the Department to demolish the old building, to remodel the new wing, and to erect a new building to complete the

scheme. Plans were drawn, prices obtained and such progress made that the whole matter was presented to the Municipal Councils for their approval. Unanimous approval was not obtained, at that time, because it was thought by some that building costs were too high. Two years later, however, revised plans and reduced prices appealed to both councils and the building program was endorsed. An agreement was entered into with the Department as to the financial support the latter would furnish, tenders were called for and the contracts were let, the first sod being turned on July 2nd, 1922.

Towards the close of the previous academic year, Principal Forsyth had decided to seek relief from the labour and responsibility attendant on building so extensively, and later organizing a large combined school along new and, in many cases, untried lines. In granting Mr. Forsyth's request the Board was pleased to honor him with the title "Principal Emeritus," allowing him to remain as head of the mathematics department, which position he retained for one year before resigning altogether from the staff. Thus closed an active service in education extending over a period of 46 years, forty-five of which had been spent in this school. Mr. Forsyth's contributions to education have been many and varied, not the least of which was his work as a member of the Royal Commission mentioned. As a teacher of science under Mr. Connor's principalship, he took a bold step, but one which was pedagogically correct. He practically originated and put into practice the method of teaching science by requiring each pupil to perform the experiment under consideration, and to deduce his own conclusions from recorded observations. This method is now compulsory in all secondary schools, and the high school inspectors insist on the purchase by boards of ample equipment and supplies with which to carry out such a programme in all branches of science.

A unique event involving Principal Forsyth took place on September 7th, 1920, when Miss Alice Hagey took her place as a student in the Collegiate. She was the third generation of Hageys to become in the regular way a pupil of Mr. Forsyth. Jacob B. Hagey, of 198 Mary Street, Waterloo, was a high school pupil in 1875-6-7; his son, Dr. J. W. Hagey, of 17 Otto Street, Kitchener, attended in 1890-1-2-3; and his granddaughter Alice began her high school course as above.

Another unique event was that which took place in the Collegiate Board Room on August 5th, 1925, during the Old Boys' Reunion, when Ora Walper, of Detroit, an ex-student of Mr. Forsyth's and his warm admirer, presented him in the presence of several High School old boys with an oil painting of himself which he in turn presented to the school. This splendid tribute to the school's second grand old man was enthusiastically endorsed by those who witnessed it. Mr. Forsyth has retired to a delightful little fruit farm

adjoining the town of Beamsville, where I understand his services are in demand as a counsellor on the High School Board in that town.

The retirement of Mr. Forsyth compelled the Board of 1921 to look about for a principal and organizer who would be able to launch successfully on a somewhat crowded sea of education a type of school quite new in the province, and quite capable of being misunderstood as to its mission in an educational system and as to its value to a community. The Board's call resulted in the appointment in June, 1921, of Principal R. N. Merritt, of the Owen Sound Collegiate, who immediately set himself to work to modify the plans for building, and later to secure additional teachers for the technical departments and to select technical equipment. In these duties he was ably assisted by the advisory Vocational Committee, as well as by the members of many voluntary sub-committees, who gave excellent advice as to the needs of the various local trades and industries. While these matters were getting under way, the school passed its transition year in the remodelled new wing of the old building, in which provision had been made, temporarily of course, for fourteen class rooms, two laboratories and the necessary store rooms and cloak rooms.

By dint of extraordinary management on the part of the contractors, The Anglin-Norcross Company, the new school was opened for regular class work on time, namely Sept. 4, 1923. Some interior construction work was not completed for a month or so, and some equipment was not delivered until an even later date, but the school was able to carry on very well, and the students gave a good account of themselves at the close of their first year in the new building. The combined school was formally opened and officially named "The Kitchener and Waterloo Collegiate and Vocational School" by the Hon. H. J. Cody, D.D., on the evening of Friday, April 4th, 1924, which was also the date of the closing exhibition of the work of the evening class students for the year. Mr. F. P. Gavin, M. A., Director of Technical Education, and Miss McKim, B.A., of the same department, and Mr. B. Coon, B. Sc., representing the architects, were present also.

The members of the Board and of its committees deserve great credit for bringing this large expansion project to a successful issue. All took part in this great work, but especial mention must be made of the splendid services rendered by Mr. E. O. Weber, Chairman of the Board, and the late Mr. John A. Lang, Chairman of the Building Committee. The new composite school opened with the following members in office:

E. O. Weber, chairman, C. W. Schiedel, vice-chairman, M. S. Hallman, J. F. Honsberger, J. A. Lang, C. Reitzel, W. T. Sass and N. C. Schneider as members of the Collegiate Board, and A. Foster,

Jr., O. H. Hughes, J. H. Baetz, H. F. Wilson, A. H. Welker and R. J. Wright as additional members of the Advisory Vocational Committee, with H. W. Brown as secretary-treasurer of both bodies.

The names of the members of the teaching staff, with their respective departments, are given herewith:—

R. N. Merritt, B.A. — Principal

1. Teaching in Collegiate only:

H. W. Brown, B.A. — Art
 J. F. Guenther, B.A. — Classics
 Edmund Pugsley, B.A. — Science
 G. W. Robb, B.A. — Mathematics
 M. E. Lynch, B.A. — Latin, French, English
 Irene K. Balfour, B.A. — Moderns

2. Teaching in both Collegiate and Technical School:

Maurice Erb, B.A. — English
 A. G. Croal, M.A. — Science
 Muriel Duncan, B.A. — English, French
 Jessie O'Neill, B.A. — Latin, Physical Training
 H. Stainton, B.A. — History
 Alex. Sinclair, B.A. — Mathematics
 Miss M. M. Laing, B.A. — English, French
 W. J. Unwin — Director of Athletics

3. Teaching in Technical School only:

Archibald Kerr, B.Sc. — Drafting, Arithmetic
 Miss M. L. Brill — Commercial
 Eva M. Ryan, B.A. — Commercial
 Mrs. P. McIntosh, B.A. — Typewriting
 Miss V. McDonald — Mathematics, Science
 Miss Alice Hamill, B.A. — Household Arts
 Miss L. Augustine, B.S. — Sewing
 A. H. Wright — Electric Shop
 F. H. Pugh — Wood Shop
 W. G. McIntosh, B.Sc. — Machine Shop

In addition to this staff of day teachers about thirty additional instructors were engaged on the Night School Staff.

The history of the school during the past four years is familiar to most of us and need not be set forth here at any length. Great results have been achieved both locally and provincially. Many deputations visit our school not only to inspect the building and the equipment, both of which will bear close and careful inspection, but to inquire into the problem involved in the administration of this combined type of school. The present principal has solved this problem admirably, and has, furthermore, introduced into the life of the school several new features, the influence of which makes

for good government and a good school spirit, most desirable and necessary conditions in a successful school. And yet we must not imagine that our school has reached the height of its fame or usefulness. We have just made another successful step—one of many—as this brief resume of the history of this school must suggest. This school has had an honourable and note-worthy past. The future is difficult to estimate. Departmental regulations, or conditions of which we do not now dream, may change the status of the school from time to time. Be that as it may, there is one condition concerning which there is no dream. Already, within four years of the completion of this large building we have had it brought home to us that there is a lack of accommodation for nine hundred day students, two hundred part-time students, and over one thousand evening class students, and neither Kitchener nor Waterloo has yet given notice of its intention to curb expansion. Many of the students of to-day will be called upon within a few years, as citizens of this community, if not to plan additional building and class accommodation, at least to support such plans. Let us hope that this will be so, for the community which boasts a long period of rest from school-building activities is after all a community not to be envied.

A history of a school could not be complete without some reference to the more or less outstanding graduates of the school,—men and women who, in spite of their later activity as citizens of this or some other community, retained throughout a kindly regard for the old school and its associations. The writer has occasion quite often to show graduates of other years through the old school as well as the new. Despite the fact that the school may have been the scene of more than one unpleasant experience for some of them, they are always glad to see once more the old familiar landmarks, not to mention desk marks, and recall some of the activities which the objects about them suggest.

On the other hand the school, whatever that term may mean or include at any given time, always takes an interest in its graduates and is particularly proud of those graduates who attain positions of honour and distinction as a result of their own efforts. It is quite a usual form of compliment to say that Mr. Blank has not only brought honor to himself but honour to his school.

The most distinguished graduate of our school to-day is the Right Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King, C.M.G., M.A., LL.B., LL.D., Ph.D., the Premier of Canada, who attended the old high school from 1887 to 1891. He had as his classmates quite a number who are still residents of Kitchener, and who refer with some degree of pride to the fact that when they attended high school "Billy" King was also one of those present. It is not particularly remembered of him that he "set the Grand River afire," as a student. Perhaps he indulged in some day-dreaming which may have

availed him not a little in later years. His father was also a graduate of this school, as he was later a classmate of Mr. Connor in Toronto University. Premier King received not only high school education here but his public school training as well. In fact Kitchener is his birthplace, and the house in which he was born was known as Number 43 Benton Street, until May, 1927, when it gave way to the new Pentecostal Tabernacle. The Premier's portrait done in oil by Stanley Moyer, and presented to this city by the Kitchener Old Boys' Association of Toronto, adorns the rotunda of the new city hall.

But the Premier is not the only parliamentarian who graduated from this high school. It is more than probable that we hold at the present moment a Canadian record, furnishing the sixteenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, as we do, with the Premier, another Minister of the Crown, and a private member, representing Prince Albert, North Waterloo and Humboldt, respectively.

Next to the Premier, the member for North Waterloo, the Honourable W. D. Euler, Minister of National Revenue, is, because of his recently acquired duties, the most prominent graduate of our school. He has been assigned and has accepted a very arduous task, and the school of to-day has ample proof at hand to show that he will succeed. Mr. Euler attended the old Berlin High School during the years 1891-3. He taught in the Suddaby School and later founded the Euler Business College. Before entering Parliament he occupied all the principal elective offices in the local council including the office of Mayor.

Other graduates who became legislators are A. F. Totzke, 1899, who is at present representing Humboldt at Ottawa; the late Dr. H. G. Lackner, 1865, ex-mayor and representative of North Waterloo at Toronto for many years, who latterly occupied the position of sheriff of the county; L. J. Breithaupt, 1869, also ex-mayor and M.L.A. for this constituency; C. M. Bowman, 1879, at present Chairman of the Board in the Mutual Life head office, and formerly M.L.A. for North Bruce; the late Lieut. Joseph E. Stauffer, 1899, who gave his life for his country at Vimy Ridge while occupying the position of Deputy Speaker in the Alberta legislature; and others including Hon. Ezra Burkholder, 1879, and Peter Janzen, 1875, who have filled government positions in the United States.

Among those graduates who have attained prominence in the field of education, journalism and professional life are Ezra E. Eby, 1877, author, teacher and publisher; Jas. G. Mowat, (Moses Oates), 1871, editor and journalist; Robert Jaffray, 1870, publisher, Montreal; Aug. Werner, 1869, Elmira, prominent in local and O.E.A. circles; I. M. Levan, M.A., 1877, Toronto high school inspector; J. B. Hagey, 1875, Waterloo, son of Bishop Hagey, teacher; Dr. Cyrus W. Ziegler, 1875, London, dentist; O. L. Schmidt,

B.A., 1878, High school teacher of classics; Peter Toews, B.A., Ph.D., 1876, professor in Toronto University; Clive T. Jaffray, 1879-1880, President of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Sault Ste Marie Railway and of the Wisconsin Central Railway; F. W. Sheppard, 1880, Inspector of Public Schools in North Waterloo; Abraham Kolb, 1881, and Aaron Kolb, 1888, publishers, Elkhart, Ind.; A. M. Bowman, 1882, D.L.S., C.E., engineer, Pittsburg, Pa.; Franklin M. Bowman, C.E., Pittsburgh, consulting engineer and inventor; B. B. Playford, 1887, late principal of Waterloo schools; Henry Ward, B.A., 1891, late inspector of public schools in Toronto; A. W. Connor, B.A., C. E., 1890, engineer, Toronto; James R. Bulmer, 1887, principal, Perth Avenue School, Toronto; Wm. Ward, B.A., D. Paed, 1893, principal High School of Commerce, Toronto; A. Shuttleworth, B.A., 1887, ex-professor O.A.C., Guelph; Finlay Weaver, 1893, editor and publisher, Toronto; A. F. Jeaneret, M.A., 1908, professor of French, Toronto University; Arthur Woods, M.A., 1909, professor of Mathematics, Western University; Carl Sweitzer, M.A., Ph.D., of Pittsburgh; Carl Pollock, B.A.Sc., of Oxford University; Gordon Grant, M.A., of Columbia University, artist, teacher and vocational guidance expert.

In the domain of theology mention must be made of

Rev. L. H. Wagner, 1873, Regina, Sask.; Rev. A. Stoltz, 1883, Missionary to Sierra Leone; Rev. Moses H. Clemens, 1885; Dr. Byron H. Stauffer, 1887, deceased, prominent teacher and lecturer; Rev. Albert Quirnbach, 1891, Trinity Church Missionary in West China; Rev. J. F. Bornhold, 1902, New Rochelle, N.Y.; Rev. S. S. Lautenschlager, 1912, missionary to China; Rev. E. K. Huehnergard, 1897, Detroit, Mich.; Rev. Harold W. Lang, 1915, pastor of Central Baptist Church, Toronto.

Not a few of our graduates have been known internationally in the realm of sports, some of whom are:

John Dolph, 1879, Solly Brubacher, 1880, Fred Sheppard, 1880, of the original Ranger Football Club; H. J. Sims, K.C., L.L.B., 1889, barrister, football player, bowler and curler; Dr. Jack Gibson, 1896, Calgary, who excelled in all sports; Dr. Rolly Young, 1902, London, of professional hockey fame; Alvin Schlegel, 1908, prominent in O.H.A. circles.

A few others worthy of special mention are:—

H. L. Staebler, 1893, one of the founders of the Music Club; the late Chas. M. Ruby, 1883, who rose to the highest office in the Mutual Life; C. Harry Boehmer, 1897, the well-known tenor; Herman Quirnbach, 1896, of St. Paul, our only volunteer to serve in the Boer War; Ora Walper, 1902, of Detroit, engineer, artist and architect; A. R. Kaufman, 1903, public spirited citizen, and patron beyond all others of the local Y.M.C.A.; the late Albert

Wright, 1914, who designed and equipped our electrical department; and Earl Lautenschlager, 1925, the immediate past premier of the Boys' Parliament of Ontario.

Very many of our girl graduates have come to occupy very prominent and important positions not the least of which is the natural one in the home. Some of those deserving of special mention are the late Augusta Mylius, (Mrs. D. Forsyth), 1878; Mary Cairns, (Mrs. Byron L. Stauffer), 1887; Mary B. Sherk, (Mrs. W. H. Becker), 1886; Sylvia Bingeman, (Mrs. R. D. Coutts), 1890; Minnie D. Eby, M.A., 1887, later a member of the staff; B. Mabel Dunham, Kitchener Librarian and author; the late Evelyn Lackner, missionary in Japan; Nellie Hodgins, (Mrs. W. H. Williams), of Toronto, school secretary for a number of years; Dora F. Forsyth, B.A., (Mrs. N. Suddaby), of Fernie; Era S. Betzner, a teacher and authority on physical culture in New York city; Alice Clarke, missionary to Bolivia.

Perhaps the greatest honour which has come to the school came because of the enlistment of over two hundred of her boys for service during the Great War. It is impossible to name all of them here, but those who gave up their lives in the struggle for freedom and justice, are entitled at least to the honour of being named with the worthy ex-students of this school. They are Wilfred Bauer, 1913; Frank Brown, 1912; George Beaumont, 1911; George Bricker, 1909; Dr. G. H. Bowlby, 1883; Ewart Clemens, 1915; Ward Clement, 1913; Fred. Colquhoun, 1904; Alex Eby, 1908; Henry Figuers, 1913; Lloyd Norman, 1913; Walter Philip, 1902; Stanley Reid, 1905; Ross Stewart, 1914; Stanley Schreiter, 1911; Joseph Stauffer, 1889; Marshall Taylor, 1911; Sheldon Uffelman, 1914; Ralph Weaver, 1902; and August Zaphe, 1897.

Of necessity many, very many, of the graduates of this school who have been successful in life thus far, and who have given and are giving splendid service as citizens here and elsewhere, must forego honourable mention in this brief paper except as a group. At the head of industries, stores and corporations, in offices, and in professional life, as well as among artisans and in the homes, we find those who spent one or more years in the old high school, the succeeding collegiate institute, or the present collegiate and vocational school. And the end is not yet; in fact, this is a mere beginning.

THE EARLY DAYS OF ELMIRA

BY GEORGE KLINCK

The town of Elmira of to-day, the youngest of the prospering towns of the industrial County of Waterloo, is perched high and dry on the southern and western banks of the river Canagagigue, which though once a stream of considerable size fed by many tributaries issuing from the crystal springs with which nature endowed the surrounding territory, has now dwindled down so that in the summer season it is smaller than formerly was its main tributary.

Once a year, in the spring-time, the narrowed but swiftly flowing rivulet dreams of its greatness, becomes possessed of its former ambition, shuns the confines of its banks, converts the low-lying lands of the town into lakelets, sluices and roaring channels, piles up blocks of ice, and, as if bent on showing the present generation what was its power in its prime, it carries on its billows a few stumps and rails and an occasional uprooted tree. True, years ago, in the early days of Elmira, there were hundreds of these specimens of flotsam. But the floods then lasted for days. The swamps were reservoirs which held the water for months.

The constant wear and tear of the flowing waters weakened the moorings of the trees that stood on the banks. It required only the rise of the water level to sever the anchorage and to send the giants of the forest as well as their younger and smaller kindred headlong into the stream. Timber then was comparatively valueless. It was, in fact, sometimes considered a nuisance, and those who cleared the land because they wished to cultivate it were glad to leave the refuse where the stream would grasp it and rid them of the necessity of destroying it.

The Canagagigue is no sluggard. Even now, in the summer season, it flows harmlessly enough, but it follows its serpentine course rapidly. In the olden days, once it had enticed its victims into its fangs, it gave them a lively chase down to the Grand River, which it joins a few miles south-east of Elmira. But not all the debris was destined to go there without a struggle. Some of it held to friendly trees and roots and formed the nucleus of more or less permanent dams which were responsible for the formation of deep swimming holes and fishing pools after the water had settled down to its usual level.

There have been changes in the landscape, but romance has not been entirely wiped out. The town of Elmira, standing on its eminence, against a background of rising lands and peaceful valleys,

presents a beautiful, substantial, compact, enterprising and home-like aspect. Tranquil yet vigorous, sedate yet full of life, modest yet unmistakably prosperous, clean and sanitary, possessed of all modern conveniences, attractive residences and lawns, modern business places, busy factories, adequate seats of learning and many churches, Elmira, as it always was, is the intellectual, social and commercial centre of the most northerly community of the County of Waterloo.

Erstwhile, a century and longer ago, the site of the town undoubtedly was a favorite hunting ground-mayhap, war-ground of the Red Man who left in his trail numerous trophies of the chase such as flint arrow heads and axes, and who, even in the first days of the squatter who essayed to hew for himself, out of the wilds as nature left them, a homestead, despairing of his power and forgetting his natural animosity, made friends with his white brother, and came from his wigwam in the woods to the log cabin in the clearing, bent on peaceful commercial enterprise. For a cupful of flour which the settler had probably carried on his shoulder or on horseback from Preston or Dundas, a few potatoes, a piece of smoked meat, a ball of yarn or a width of homespun, he might have offered a pair of moccasins, a pair of snowshoes, a chip basket or a splint broom of his own manufacture. Because he was respected or even feared, he generally succeeded in driving a bargain. Failing to do so he probably sent his emissary, the squaw, on a visit to her pale-face sister with her papoose strapped to her back. Gesticulating and pleading in her own language, she not infrequently succeeded in carrying away some of the coveted goods without leaving any of hers in return.

The settlers of the district grew in numbers. Just whence they had come, and when, I have not been able to ascertain. Most of these settlers were English or Scotch and had probably taken part in the great work of opening a road from Guelph to Goderich, undertaken and finished by John Galt, Commissioner of the Canada Company, in 1827.

Amongst these settlers were the Mackeys, the Halfpennys, James Gas, the Seatons, the Bristows, the Isenhours, George Streeter, Robert and James Kenning, John Thompson, Charles Thomas, the Johnsons, the Girlings, the Petersons, Ed Bayne, Thomas and David Walker.

Amongst the first settlers who had come from the Rhenish Palatinate, from Alsace and other parts of France and Germany, were the Oswalds, the Esches, the Stefflers, the Dreisingers, the Brauns, the Schedewitzes, and the Sauders.

The blazed pathways had already given way to a cleared highway which had been extended from Preston and Hespeler (New Hope), through Berlin and Waterloo, up towards Arthur. Crossing this, running east and west, was another road. This afterwards became the Guelph-Elmira gravel road. It was afterwards subsidized by the government and graded and gravelled so thoroughly that it held its reputation as one of the best roads in the province for many years.

In these early times, certainly, it was different. By aid of corduroy logging, brush heaps, improvised bridges and a wonderful amount of patience and endurance, it was possible to transport the products of the soil, scant as they were, southward to Preston, Hespeler, and even to Dundas and Hamilton or eastward to Guelph, whence they were transported farther by rail or boat.

Commensurately with the influx of settlers, traffic on these two roads increased. A decided demand for nearby commerce and tradesmen's service developed. What was more natural than that the intersection of these above mentioned roads should be chosen as a suitable site for the founding of a trading post?

It was a Mr. Bristow, who lived on the farm of which the present site of the Elmira Agriculture Grounds is a part, who first responded to the call and opened a store, a shoe-shop, a tavern, and a potashery on his property on Arthur Street near the southern limit of what is now the town of Elmira. He also became post-master, his office being known as Bristow's or West Woolwich.

A year or two later, the post-office was transferred to Christmann's Hotel, which had been built in the meantime, and which stood under the name of the "Anglo-American Hotel" on the site at present occupied by the Royal Bank at the intersection of Arthur and Church streets, until 29 years ago when it, together with the neighbouring Union Hotel, was destroyed by fire.

Mr. Henry Christmann, who had emigrated from the Rhenish Palatinate in Germany, was a blacksmith by trade and had previously erected a small shop on Arthur Street at the head of Mill Street. He was enterprising and energetic and did a good business.

In a long low frame building, where now stands Klinck's Jewelry Store and the Signet Printing Office—a portion of which building is still standing on the adjacent lot,—Mr. Bristow continued to keep store and Mr. Adam Zilliax kept a hotel.

The embryo village which then consisted of this building and a few others, received a new name. It was named Elmira on the twenty-second of February, 1853. On this day was born a child to

Mr. and Mrs. Henry Martin. The child was named Clara and later became the wife of Mr. Sebastian Schwalm of Guelph.

The first white child born in Elmira was Mr. Walter Bristow whose birth occurred in a small log house which stood on the site where now stands the Elmira Agricultural Building. Mr. Bristow later removed to Alberta where he died several years ago.

The first dwelling house built in Elmira was a small frame structure and stood near the corner of Arthur and Mill Streets. The first brick dwelling was erected in 1856. It now belongs to Mr. R. R. Ruppel whose grandfather, Mr. Caspar Ruppel, had built it. It is still well preserved and attractive in appearance.

At the beginning of the last half of the nineteenth century Elmira began to experience a decided improvement. The number of inhabitants increased. Then came the Ruppels, John, Caspar and Charles, George Baetz, Charles and Adam Klinck, Christian Wehners, John D. Reising, A. Jennings, Nicholas Weitzel, and many others, mostly German immigrants.

The opening country required a business centre and this Elmira soon commenced to be. The influx of residents was greater than the dwelling accommodation, and a series of brick and frame buildings were rapidly erected. Amongst these were St. Paul's Lutheran parsonage, erected by John Ott, Mrs. Koerber's and Mr. Conrad Hahn's residences, and the Ontario House whose first landlord was Valentine Voelker. The brick used in the building of these houses was manufactured by John Ruppel. Mechanics and tradesmen made their appearance and soon the young town grew and earned the name which we had the honor to give it in 1903 when the first Old Boys' Reunion was held: namely, "Enterprising Elmira."

Meanwhile, there had come into the township a number of German, English, Irish, and Scotch farmers and laborers who took up land in the Township of Woolwich, north, east, south, and west of the village. Amongst these were Charles Lorch, Peter Beisel Henry Ziegler, Samuel Fear (a Methodist local preacher), his sons, Edward, Samuel and Joseph, Louis Weber, William Howlett, John Stumpf, C. Gimper, Jacob Hollinger, Peter Miller, John Lein, Justus Schaefer, George Geisel, William Schmidt, Bernhardt Muth, Eckhardt Ries, Conrad Oppertshauser, Philip Schmidt, the Allemangs, Mr. Hellriegel, G. Schinbein, Henry Hahn, James Gray, Frederick Conrad, J. Nicholson, C. Lang, William Spiers, Fred Filsinger, John and Conrad Miller, Samuel Bird, John, Conrad and Jacob Umbach, John Wagner, Conrad Schwindt, George Maurer, Mr. Compass, Fred and Ulrich Bender, Christian Weidenhammer, L. Durst, Chas. Lorch, Messrs. Mattusch, Bauman, Nill, Dengis and Wild.

The younger generation of the Mennonites who had emigrated from Pennsylvania in the beginning of the nineteenth century and who had taken up land in Waterloo and Woolwich Township, came northward and threw their energies in with the other settlers. These were the Sniders, Baumans, Martins, Reists, Freys, Ebys, Webers, Gingrichs, Hoffmans, Brubachers, Shantzes, Sauders, Buehlers, Musselmans, etc.

The township of Wellesley and the neighboring townships of Wellington (Peel, Maryboro, and Pilkington) began to fill up with hardy English and Irish settlers. In the neighborhood of Floradale a colony of Roman Catholics, emigrants from Alsace, then a French province, settled on plots of a few acres each and offered their services in the clearing of the woods and the work on the farms.

A considerable number of negroes who had escaped slavery or had been set free after the war in the United States had found refuge under the British flag, settled in Wellington and Peel and Woolwich townships in small log cabins, and sought work among the farmers. A few of them secured farms and prospered while most of the others eked out a scanty livelihood as best they could, suffering untold hardships on account of the colder climate, the want of the necessities of life, and the lack of experience in providing for themselves. As a rule, they had large families. By their own exertions and through the liberality of their white neighbors, they were enabled to build themselves a church on a small clearing about four miles north-west of Elmira, where they held revival meetings and camp meetings galore. At all festivities and other occasions where crowds gathered in the neighborhood of the village the colored people of the settlement were the happiest.

The land in the neighborhood of Elmira, denuded of its forests, proved to be very productive. The forest yielded some income. While this motley conglomeration of New Canadians developed its resources, the need of a place wherein to trade and market its products became urgent. The citizens of Elmira rose to the occasion and supplied this need as rapidly as their restricted means and resources admitted.

Peter Winger and Samuel Weaver commenced business as general merchants and later became woollen manufacturers. Isaac Wenger, a tailor by trade, formed a partnership with John Ruppel. They erected the "Elmira House" now known as Dunke's Block, and did a large business there in all kinds of merchandise. Later they dissolved partnership and each carried on business for himself, Wenger in the old stand and Ruppel in a frame building on the corner of Mill and Arthur Streets. Tired horses brought goods from Hamilton and Dundas for the merchants, and a stage-coach which also carried the mails provided means of passenger traffic.

Winger and Weaver's factory did a large business and the proprietors added a "Mulley" saw to their machinery, which, for lack of developed water-power, was run by steam. A sash and door factory was started by Hiram Martin, and two or three asheries were in operation. Saddlers, shoemakers, coopers, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, tailors, tinsmiths, dressmakers and milliners offered their services. A small foundry was started by Messrs. Detwiler and Shantz. William Wachsmuth, James Nicol, Joshua Bowman, Peter Levan and others opened stores in the village, and soon Elmira became the centre of trade, not only for Woolwich township but also for large tracts in the neighboring townships.

The Elmira Monthly Fair, was inaugurated. It proved to be very popular and became the means of drawing together immense crowds of people. It was not only a commercial success but also a social factor. Through it many acquaintances were made and many business deals were consummated.

Four hotels offered meals, drinks, and lodging to the public. The landlords of these, at various times, were William Ellis, Henry Voelker, Matthias Kieffer, Brock Markle, Philip Christmann, Conrad Rau and George Vogt.

Whiskey was plentiful and cheap. It could be secured in any general store at eighteen cents per gallon. In a five cent drink over the bar the size of the glass was only a secondary consideration. The men who came to deal in Elmira were not all Knights Templar. There was amongst them a hardy, outspoken, self-reliant and defiant element. As might be expected in a gathering so mixed in race, language, customs, and ideals as was the early population of this district, there were differences of opinion. These differences, especially when those who held them were under the influence of liquor, were adjusted in a primitive manner. Fair Day was a tame affair indeed if it lacked three or four fights in which relatives and sympathizers of the combatants generally took a hand. Many a winner of the fistic struggles carried over his head a threat that was to be carried out by the loser on the Fair Day of the following month.

Cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs were brought by the farmers to the fair, sometimes from long distances. Buyers were always on hand. Prices depended on supply and demand, but were almost incredibly low. Frequently exchanges of animals were made. "Elmira Fair" was a red-letter day which afforded the necessary diversion for the hardworking people.

While the farms were being settled, Isaac Wenger built a grist-mill, to which later a shingle and stave factory was added. This was a welcome venture which attracted patrons from all directions.

Business with its ups and downs continued. Merchandise, such as the modest needs of the early settlers demanded, was comparatively cheap. Cash was scarce. There was much barter of produce for goods, a great deal of credit with long accounts which were to be settled at the end of the year. Taxes, interest, and running expenses consumed most of the cash that could be procured for wheat. Merchants and mechanics and laborers were obliged to take produce in exchange or to wait a long time for their money, with the result that many found themselves in straitened circumstances and could make ends meet only at the expense of their comfort.

Meanwhile the population increased. New streets were opened. Local improvements had to be made. Education had to be provided. Elmira was still part of Woolwich Township and as such received only its percentage of the levied taxes. Improvements, such as the building of sidewalks, etc., were paid by private subscriptions. A fire-hall, engine, and equipment were secured in this manner.

In the year 1836, after it had become painfully evident that Elmira needed improvements which it was impossible to obtain as part of Woolwich Township, an effort was made to incorporate the village. This was successfully accomplished. The limits were defined, the charter was obtained in December, 1836, and the first municipal officers were elected. These were: Reeve—John Ratz; Councillors—August Blatz, John Ruppel, Henry Dunke and Henry Winger. John H. Ruppel was appointed clerk, which office he holds to this day. The first assessor was D. Levan. The Board of Health consisted of Charles Klinck, J. B. Winger, R. Jackson, and the Reeve and Clerk, while Dr. Walmsley was Medical Health Officer, and Reuben Winger, Constable.

At this time the population consisted of seven hundred and sixty souls, and the total assessment amounted to \$87,000.

Perhaps I may designate this period the end of the "Early Days of Elmira". The events that followed are well within the memory of the people of this county. Rather than advance beyond this date let us revert to statistics of other accomplishments and to the means by which these were accomplished.

SCHOOLS

Five years prior to the incorporation of Elmira as a village, in 1833, a new Public School was erected by S. S. No. 4, Woolwich, at a cost of \$8,000.

Ever since the old log school house which, early in the forties, stood, in utter disregard of the compass or the plans and designs of the surveyor, on the principal thoroughfare of Elmira, directly on the spot where Arthur Street and Church Street cross, between the Zilliax House and Dunke's Block, educational matters

have received considerable attention at the hands of the leading citizens, and this not without reward. The splendid eight-roomed, brick school house, of the present day, with its spacious grounds and well kept lawn, is a standing tribute to the deep and earnest interest with which educational matters have been regarded by the people of Elmira and vicinity. Several years ago an addition was built to this school to accommodate the High School with its staff of teachers, who are successfully continuing the work of the Public School with advanced subjects up to and including first year university work.

The first teacher in Elmira was Mr. Metzger who, in the primitive manner then in vogue, did his part towards "preventing ignorance." Many of his pupils came long distances, along the roads and paths leading to the primitive homes of the early settlers, attended school only a short portion of the year and "graduated" at a stage of intellectual development which at the present time would not be considered at all sufficient.

Keeping pace with the onward march of civilization, school matters soon assumed more modern methods. The log school house was supplemented by a brick cottage, which stood on the grounds at present occupied by the Elmira Machinery and Transmission Company, and which was the alma mater of many of the business men and farmers of Elmira and vicinity. Later this school house was used only as the first division of a more elaborate system in which the building now in use as a machine shop, served for the highest and medium classes. Later still, the old Methodist Church, built in 1855, having been discarded by the growing congregation who then erected the present edifice on Arthur Street, was acquired and used as a fourth division.

From the advent of George W. Woodward, an energetic, high-minded and well qualified young man, who had enjoyed the advantages of a thorough education at the Toronto Normal School, under the able principalship of Dr. Sangster, dates the prestige of the Elmira Schools. Under Mr. Woodward's guidance the pupils of the school rose to a prominent place amongst those in the County of Waterloo. Mr. Woodward's influence was decidedly elevating, his enthusiasm inspired the best elements of the young characters, which to mould had been his destined work. He was passionately fond of music and the whole community reaped the benefit of his decided talent in this respect. Of an exceedingly volatile and nervous temperament, his interest in the school and his pupils became so intense that he found the work preying on his nervous system to an extent which, in the year 1876, after a term of nearly fifteen years during which period he transformed the standing of the school from one of the lowest in the County to one of the highest, induced him to resign his position and to seek other employment.

This he found as excise officer at Waterloo, a position which he held for many years. His pupils, who, as a rule, have done well in their various chosen spheres, many having distinguished themselves far beyond the ordinary, look back upon their school days with a sense of gratitude towards the noble efforts of their teacher.

Following Mr. Woodward, in August, 1876, came David Bean, later editor of the Waterloo Chronicle-Telegraph, a worthy successor to a successful master, with similar intellectual tastes and aspirations, and with a record of efficiency and usefulness of which any teacher might be proud. He maintained the enviable record of the school, regulated the now increased sub-divisions, with marked success, and found time and opportunity for the employment of his talents in the general welfare of the village. He was a leader in musical and literary circles and did much towards maintaining an interest in elevating and ennobling pastimes. In the year 1888 he saw fit to resign his position to take charge of the Waterloo Chronicle newspaper office.

CHURCHES

Elmira now has eight different church organizations, the foundations of which were laid in the early days. The Methodists (now United Church) commenced to labor in the field as early as 1848, when the Wesleyan pioneer preacher, Charles Fish, preached here. For a number of years the first log school-house above referred to, served as a meeting place. In the year 1885, a small brick church was erected on Church Street. This did duty for twenty years when the present brick church on Arthur street was erected.

St. James' Lutheran Church.—During the transition of Elmira and vicinity from a wilderness to one of the most fertile and most progressive rural communities, Lutherans were served by transient preachers who had left Germany with the emigrants. These worked among the settlers on their own initiative, subject to no organization, in many cases not authenticated. The results left much to be wished for. In 1851, however, St. James Lutheran Church was organized. Rev. Wiegman, Rev. Kaesmann, Rev. Rau, and Rev. Salinger were the first regularly called ministers who laid the foundation of the flourishing congregation of to-day.

St. Paul's Lutheran Church branched off from St. James' under Rev. Wiegman in 1862. After a short stay during which his health gave way he was followed by Rev. A. Ernst, one of the pioneer preachers who organized the Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States, and who served the congregation for nineteen years. The sound basis on which he founded this congregation is responsible for the steady growth and solidity of the present large congregation.

The Elmira branch of the Evangelical Church composed entirely of German members was formed in 1854, but did not build a church until 1869. During this interval of fifteen years, preachers of this denomination, most of them local preachers, conducted services in Upper Woolwich and in Elmira. The revival meetings and camp meetings at that time created much interest. Among the early pastors were Rev. Brandt and Rev. Dippel.

The Presbyterians erected a brick church in 1868, after having been served intermittently by travelling missionaries and neighboring pastors. Rev. A. M. Hamilton, M.A., of Winterbourne, served the congregation for many years.

The old Mennonite Church, an unostentatious frame building, was erected by the Old Mennonites whose forefathers came from Pennsylvania, about seventy-five years ago. In the cemetery adjoining this church are the graves of a large number of the first settlers who came to the Elmira district.

The Roman Catholics worshipped in a small frame church some distance north of Elmira until the year 1838 when they built a neat brick church in town. They now have a resident priest and a growing congregation.

The Public Library with its thousands of volumes reflects credit to the young men who in the days of the Germania Literary Society solved the problem of obtaining reading matter by lending each other books they had in their possession. They gradually acquired more books and finally donated their stock as a nucleus towards the establishment of a Mechanics Institute, as popular libraries were then called.

Thomas Hilliard of Waterloo published the first newspaper, "The Maple Leaf", in Elmira. This was followed by the Elmira Advertiser, owned and operated by the Delion brothers, and the "Signet", of which George Klinck and A. K. Jansen were the first editor and the first proprietor.

Elmira is known as one of the best shipping stations for its size in Ontario. This reputation is due to the enterprise and energy of the farmers of the neighborhood, as well as to the diligence of the management and the workers in the thriving factories of which the town boasts.

It is quite within my memory when the majority of the houses in Elmira stood far apart; when the large lots surrounding them were fenced, worked by hand and productive of a large part of the necessities of the table; when almost every family had a cow and fed a few pigs; when a considerable tract of the north-eastern part of the village was commons on which grew fine specimens of Can-

ada thistle from between which the village cows and the farmer's sheep picked the grass, and where it required courage to take a short cut to school in bare feet.

I remember when the stores had wooden shutters which were closed and bolted inside every night; when there were only a few stretches of wooden sidewalks in the centre of the town while in the suburbs there was no occasion for levying frontage taxes for local improvements; when men wore heavy cow-hide top-boots on week days and finer calfskin ones on Sunday; when all children went barefooted from early spring to late fall, and the children who sat near the stove in school in winter were overheated while those who sat near the wall suffered from cold; when farmers came to town with ox-teams, walking before their animals, whip in hand; when women carried their butter and eggs to market in baskets or small wooden tubs on their heads; when mechanics, including weavers, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters and blacksmiths, left their shops and did a day's work on the farms, taking their wages which amounted to fifty or seventy-five cents a day in grain with which to feed their cows or pigs, or in farm produce or firewood; when coal-oil lamps were a novelty to be regarded with wonder and to be handled with care for fear of explosion; when the lone tallow candle on the kitchen table provided the light, early in the morning and also late at night, for the mothers in their work of cooking, sewing, knitting and spinning, for the children to play and for the men to tell stories or play a game of cards; when children were hustled to bed in cold dark rooms without a light in fear and trembling over the superstitions and the ghost stories or the adventures which had been related in their hearing by indiscreet parents or by their playmates; when men wore gold earrings for sore eyes acquired in many cases from the smoke of swamp and logging fires which did not abate until winter set in; when the women wore homespun, checkered or striped garments in cold weather and calico and homespun linen in the summer; when the few who could afford or felt inclined to follow the fashions of the outside world were looked upon with wonder and awe; when the few letters people then received had, in many cases, to be taken to a neighbor or teacher to be read; when a man who harbored prohibition sentiments had to abandon his principles long enough for his neighbors to help him raise his barn or to build a house; when men of a certain kind sat around the store stoves till the proprietor turned the key, or in the bar and side rooms of the hotel till all hours of the night; when people believed in witchcraft and steered clear of the ghosts and hobgoblins which were believed to haunt the places where murder or suicide had taken place; when the "Will-o'-the-wisps" of the swamps were regarded as fatal omens of death and disaster.

I also remember when any person in trouble or in need or sickness could count on the help and hospitality of his friends or

neighbors; when people suspended operations in their own households or on their farm for days in order to help their neighbors who were incapacitated or had met with disaster; when the first question asked was not, as is often the case to-day, "What is there in it for me?"; when under rough garments beat warm hearts, and when good-will beamed from the countenances of most people one met.

There was little hypocrisy and double-dealing. Men were fearless and outspoken, and women were kind and considerate. Determination and fortitude were necessary traits of character in the early days. It required determination to undertake the first operations of clearing the land, force to fell the trees, to uproot the stumps, to keep at bay the beasts and pests that were ever ready to rob the settlers of the fruits of their labor, and to cope with the ravages of the elements. Strength of will, strength of character and loyalty to the task were necessary attributes of the men and women who prepared for us the splendid county which we are now privileged to occupy.

Many of the young people who were reared under pioneer conditions were necessarily lacking in education and polish, but they had the strength of manhood and the virtues of womanhood. When they came off the farms to live, as many did, in Elmira or other towns of the county, they were not afraid of the labor and responsibility and hardships that fell to their lot. They constituted a class of citizens that might well be emulated by a certain pampered, weak-kneed pleasure-seeking, physically decrepit, restless element of the youth of the country to-day. They built slowly, but well, the institutions on which is founded the welfare of this noble, solid County of Waterloo.

HESPELER PUBLIC SCHOOL

BY MR. R. H. KNOWLES, Toronto

My personal knowledge of the Hespeler Public School dates back to 1866 and the records of the Board, which through the kindness of Mr. M. E. Jardine, the present secretary, have been made available to me, go back to 1857.

From them we learn that the following named Principals, together with one to three assistants, had charge of Hespeler School from 1857 until 1864 inclusive, viz—Robert Bannock, Robert Brydon, John Mickleborough, S. P. Ford and D. J. McDonald. The Misses Bell, Chaloner and White were the assistants.

Of these principals I personally knew Robert Brydon and John Mickleborough. They were estimable and cultured gentlemen. Mr. Mickleborough is at the present time an honored citizen of the U.S.A., living in Brooklyn, N.Y., having spent almost a lifetime as Principal of High Schools, the first in Cincinnati, and later in his present city of Brooklyn.

Back in the years to which I have referred there were no such congested programs as are in vogue at the present day, the three "R's" being the main requisite. It became my privilege to meet with many who had been tutored by the teachers of the period referred to in the Hespeler School and must conclude that their labors were not in vain.

Succeeding this period the late Mr. A. J. Brewster became the principal in 1865 retiring in 1875 after twelve years of faithful teaching. It was my privilege to frequently visit the school and attend its examinations while Mr. Brewster was principal. We found a school well organized and the pupils very thorough in their grasp of the various subjects taught. Entrance examinations had not been established during his term of teaching. Some of his pupils, however, attended higher educational institutions and many of them became splendid citizens and filled responsible positions in this country and the United States.

Following Mr. Brewster's retirement R. H. Knowles assumed the duties of principal in 1877 and continued till 1900 inclusive—24 years. The old L shaped stone school of three rooms was still in use up to the year 1882. It was heated in the winter season with box stoves and hardwood fuel.

About 1882 a new school of four rooms was built and conditions were improved. Other new additions were built from time to time as the school population of the town increased. The present structure contains fourteen rooms.

For a few years in the winter season of the seventies and eighties the pupils, mainly of the senior division, treated the citizens to monthly entertainments consisting of readings, recitations, dialogues and music. These entertainments were held in the evening in the largest public hall in the town which was usually filled, as the people seemed to enjoy the rendering of the programs very much. At five cents admission enough was realized by about a dozen entertainments to place a new bell on the school and to decorate the principal's room.

Some time before 1880 examinations for entrance to high schools and collegiate institutes were established and for a number of years a scholarship was awarded to the pupil taking the highest marks in the county at this examination. This scholarship entitled the pupil to one year's free tuition at the collegiate institute.

Within a few years seven of these scholarships were won by pupils of the Hespeler School, six by girls and one by a boy. Some of those passing entrance examinations came back to the Hespeler School and took continuation work for a year or more. On entering the collegiate this gave them a second year's standing except in the languages. Of those who attended Galt Collegiate Institute several entered Toronto University and subsequently became professional men.

Mr. J. D. Ramsay became principal of the Hespeler Public School in January, 1901, and is principal still, completing his 27th year. He has had a happy career of success for the 27 years. His entrance class of from 20 to 25 usually passed without an exception. He, too, has had continuation classes.

It is doubtful if another Public School in this Province of the same dimensions has passed more pupils successfully through the entrance examinations than the Hespeler Public School has during those 27 years. Many of Mr. Ramsay's pupils have gone on to the University and are now in many parts of this Dominion filling responsible positions, as professional men, high school teachers, etc.

It will be observed that these three principals, Messrs. Brewster, Knowles and Ramsay, have held the position for 63 consecutive years, teaching evening classes as well, during part of the winter season.

Many of the students of those 63 years have passed to their reward. Many of the survivors may be found in all parts of this continent, especially in Canada and the United States, holding responsible and honorable positions.

Lack of space prevents giving the names of all the assistant teachers of that period of 63 years. They were a capable, conscientious lot of teachers, and therefore deservedly share to the fullest extent with the three principals in any honour that may come to the Hespeler school. Many of the assistants held their positions from 3 to 25 years.

A word for the School Boards of that period of 63 years. I had the pleasure of knowing all the members. They were, on the whole, a competent and self-sacrificing lot of men, and deeply interested in educational matters. The different board meetings were usually characterized by sociability and good cheer, with always a capable chairman and secretary.

These gentlemen spent many an hour in connection with school extensions and discussion of the best interests of the school and town. A large number of them remained members of the Board from 7 to 25 years, one or two indeed for 30 years.

THE HESPELER MECHANICS' INSTITUTE AND PUBLIC LIBRARY

BY PRINCIPAL J. D. RAMSAY, Hespeler

The history of the Hespeler Mechanics' Institute and Public Library dates back to June 12th, 1871, when a public meeting was held in the village hall for the purpose of taking steps for the formation of a Mechanics' Institute and Library Association.

Mr. James P. Phin was Chairman of the meeting with A. J. Brewster as secretary. The Constitution drafted at former meetings with amendments was adopted.

The following constituted the first officers of the Association, viz—

President—James P. Phin
1st Vice-President—C. F. Cliff
2nd Vice-President—Dr. Swan
Treasurer—Andrew B. Jardine
Secretary—George W. Rife

Board of Directors—Messrs. A. J. Brewster, G. S. Laycock, James McMorran, Geo. Hespeler, H. M. Farr, J. A. Shaw, Geo. Guenther, A. Lamb, James Jardine, John Zryd, J. Pickup, A. Wray, A. Brydon, E. Musgrave, Dr. McIntyre, J. Woffenden.

Others who took part in the founding of the institution and whose names should be preserved were—Isaac Huber, E. Statham, Geo. Booth, Geo. Martin, James Anderson, Mr. Dixon and R. H. Knowles, of whom only James Jardine, R. H. Knowles, Geo. Martin and A. Brydon now survive.

A perusal of the well-kept minutes of the period from 1871 to 1901 when the Institute was changed to a Public Library is of great interest, revealing as it does the struggles and whole-hearted service of the founders and of those who in later years were associated with them or took their places.

Funds for the upkeep of the Institute were obtained by public subscriptions, from proceeds of lectures, balls and picnics, aided by Government grants. The expenses were light, the caretaker and librarian getting 25c a night and later \$50.00 a year for his services.

One of the outstanding services rendered by the officers was the establishment of Evening Classes in writing, arithmetic, mensuration, composition and spelling. These were begun in 1872 and were carried on successfully until 1901. Among those who taught

during those years were—A. J. Brewster, Ventry Conway, R. H. Knowles, Walter Renwick, Geo. A. Kribs, Jean Dow, Joseph Charlesworth, R. A. J. Little, Miss Claxton and J. D. Ramsay.

In later years the term consisted of 27 nights, each pupil paying 50c fees and having access to the reading room and the use of books for the three months. Each year examinations were held and prizes awarded the successful students.

Debating and Literary Societies were carried on at different times and with varying success. One entry in the minutes expressed regret at the discontinuance of the Society's activities but expressed the hope "that its ashes would rest in peace."

As an indication of the enterprise of the officers of the institution, it might be noted that on August 27th, 1873, it was decided to secure a lecturer from Toronto, the board paying \$125.00 for the one lecture.

In addition to the names already mentioned the following are among those who served in the later years of the Institute—viz—William, Peter, Andrew and John Jardine, J. P. Johnston, James Sault, Wm. A. Kribs, John E. Warren, Wellington Keffer, Adam Argo, Rev. D. Strachan, James Pringle, Geo. E. Chapman, Wm. H. Weaver, Walter Renwick and J. D. Ramsay.

The records of those years were well kept by Geo. W. Rife, Wm. Jardine, V. Conway and James Jardine and the purpose of the institute—"to educate, to inspire and uplift, to amuse and entertain" was well carried out.

But a new era dawned and with the beginning of the new century the Hespeler Free Public Library was brought into being, preparation for the change being made by the last Council of the village in 1900.

In the intervening 27 years the work of the library has been carried on with the energy, efficiency and enthusiasm of the men who "carried on" during the years preceding the change.

The library was housed at different places in the village and town, among them—Sault's Hall, Och's Hall and in a room owned by the town in the Dominion Bank Block. The need of better quarters was felt by all and at last successful application was made to the Carnegie Trust for a grant. Before the plans were satisfactorily arranged the Great War intervened and matters were at a standstill until 1921, when the Library Board took steps to meet the requirements of the grant. The late A. H. Cober, architect, prepared plans which met with the approval of the Carnegie Trust, and their grant of \$14,500 supplemented by \$4,500 from the town was used in the erection and fitting out of the new structure at the junction of Tannery with Adam Streets.

The building, which is rectangular in shape, is of brick construction, the basement containing furnaces, laboratories and a large room for Board and other meetings. The library has shelving for ten thousand books and contains reading rooms for juveniles and adults.

The cornerstone of the building was well and truly laid by His Honor Lieut.-Governor Henry Cockshutt on June 8th, 1922; who also gave a congratulatory address. Others taking part in the ceremony were—Mayor D. N. Panabaker, Rev J. L. Small, William Elliott, M.P., Z. A. Hall, L. E. Weaver, J. D. Ramsay, Chairman of the Board and James Jardine. The last named had been continuously a member of the Institute and library for over fifty years, and at the laying of the corner stone placed a copper box containing the local and other papers, the usual coins and lists of the names of the members of the various local and other governing bodies in a prepared space beneath the stone.

The chief contractors were—Geo. H. Thomas & Son, Galt, brickwork; and E. C. Hammil of Galt, carpenter work. The painting, plastering, etc., was done by local contractors.

The formal opening took place soon after the completion of the building and was largely attended. For this occasion Mr. James Jardine was the appointee of the board to formally unlock the door with a golden key, presented to him in recognition of his long public service in connection with the institution. Owing to his illness, his daughter, Miss Isabella Jardine, librarian, performed this office. Miss Mabel Dunham, Librarian at Kitchener, gave the chief address at the opening exercises. This was followed with a musical programme and the presentation by Mr. John Limpert of a very valuable and interesting case of Indian relics and curios.

Last year (1926) the circulation of books reached 19,000. The number of volumes in the library being 6,270 and the total amount spent for all purposes, \$2,103, while the estimated value of the building and contents is \$25,325.00.

The present Board consists of the following members: —

Chairman—J. D. Ramsay, Miss V. J. Brewster and Messrs. William A. Kribs, John E. Warren, Robert Logan, J. Riley Brethour and James Drayton.

THE RESERVE OF THE SIX NATIONS ON THE GRAND RIVER AND THE MENNONITE PURCHASE OF BLOCK NO. 2.

BY BRIG. GENERAL E. A. CRUIKSHANK

The title of the Six Nations to their lands on the Grand River* originated in a promise made by Governor Haldimand to Joseph Brant early in March, 1784. Brant had proposed the purchase "From the Mississagas or Proprietors" of "a tract of land consisting of about Six Miles on each side of the Grand River called Oswego Running from the River La Tranche into Lake Erie, for the use of the Mohocks and such of the Six Nations as are inclined to join them in that settlement." In reply Haldimand assured him in writing that "Sir John Johnson will be instructed to purchase the Tract of Country between the three lakes, Ontario, Erie, and Huron, out of which, the Tract required by the Mohawks for the Six Nations will be granted to them by a Deed. The rest will be reserved for Loyalists, or any future purpose." Johnson delegated his deputy, Lieut. Colonel John Butler, to make the purchase and a meeting was held at Niagara on 22 May, 1784, with the Mississagas, who were accompanied by chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations and Delawares. The speaker for the Mississagas stated that they were not the owners of all the land between the three lakes, but that they were willing "to transfer our right of soil and property to the King our Father, for the use of His People, and our Brethren the Six Nations from the Head of the Lake Ontario or the Creek Waghguata to the River La Tranche, then down that River until a South Course will strike the Mouth of Catfish Creek on Lake Erie." Butler accepted this offer and a deed was at once drawn up and signed by chiefs of the Mississagas and Chippewas in the presence of Major Hoyes and Captain Forbes, of the 34th Regiment, and Joseph Brant and David Hill representing the Mohawks. Some of the Six Nations removed to their reservation very soon after, and before leaving Quebec for England in November of that year, Haldimand gave orders "to send the Engineer from Niagara to Mark out their Towns, &c. and to assist them in building a Church and School-House, for which they expressed great anxiety." When they were visited in June 1783, by their former missionary, the Reverend John Stuart, he found the Mohawks comfortably settled in a village named New Oswego, pleasantly situated on the bank of the river, and preached to them in a large church, built of hewn logs, clap-

*For map showing Six Nations Reserve see Seventh Annual Report, 1919, Waterloo Historical Society.

boarded, and painted, and provided with handsome steeple and belfry, a pulpit, reading desk, communion table, and convenient pews. They had also a grist and saw mill.

A land board for the district of Nassau was organized in October, 1789, which at once ordered that plans of each township should be prepared on a large scale. At a meeting held on 20 December, 1790, this board stated their opinion that it was necessary to ascertain the boundaries of the Indian lands extending six miles on each side of the Grand River and decided to ask the approval of Lieut. Colonel Gordon, the commandant of Fort Niagara. On 3 January, 1791, a letter was read approving this proposal, and the acting surveyor was ordered to proceed with the survey and instructions were given for the preparation of a speech, explaining to the Indians its object. On February 1, a plan of the Grand River was laid before the board and Joseph Brant and several of the principal chiefs were called upon to assist the members "with their advice and counsel," when "it was unanimously agreed upon and determined That the bend of the river easterly, nearly two miles from its mouth or issue into Lake Erie, and the Mohawk Village shall be the two fixed points and that a line drawn straight from one of these points to the other shall form the center line of the Indian Settlements or Lands on the Grand River, and that two parallel lines to this, six miles distant on each side of the river shall form the bounds between them and the Settlement of Nassau."

This written agreement was endorsed on the plan and signed by Joseph Brant and five other Indians and by John Butler, Peter Ten Broeck, and Robert Hamilton on behalf of the board.

On April 4, the surveyor, Augustus Jones, presented a plan of a survey of the Grand River "from its mouth to about thirty miles above the Mohawk village, together with his accounts for that survey and "in ascertaining where a North West line from the mouth of the Little Lake at the head of Lake Ontario would intersect the Grand River, "which were approved."

On January 4, 1791, Lord Dorchester had appointed a committee of five members of the Executive Council of the Province of Quebec to inquire into the claims of the Indians settled at the Grand River and Bay of Quinte for lands assigned them and "pointed out the expediency of ascertaining the nature and extent of these claims, to give full effect to any Promises, and to gratify any reasonable expectations, in which the faith of Government might be concerned, in such a way as would best answer the end of making a permanent provision for the persons interested and their descendants and securing their comfort and tranquility."

This committee met from time to time when letters and extracts from the minutes of the land board of Nassau were read

and considered, and on 24 December, 1791, the plan of the survey made by Mr. Jones of the tract on the Grand River promised to the Six Nations and a sketch of the tract assigned to Captain John and others at the Bay of Quinte, were presented. The committee then adopted a report stating their opinion "that the faith of Government is pledged to the Mohawk Chiefs for the two tracts mentioned above, every precaution ought to be taken to preserve them in the quiet possession and property of them and the Committee submit, that an Act of the provincial Legislature, or a grant under the great seal of the province be made in favor of the principal Chiefs, on behalf of their Nations, or persons in trust for them, for ever."

Meanwhile Lord Dorchester had returned to England on long leave of absence and had been succeeded in the administration of the government by Major General Alured Clarke. The Canada Act, dividing the province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada had been passed, and Colonel J. G. Simcoe had arrived to assume the office of lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, while Clarke had been appointed lieutenant governor of the lower province. On December 26, General Clarke published a proclamation bringing the Canada Act into effect.

The plan prepared by Augustus Jones of the tract granted to the Six Nations, extending from Lake Erie at the mouth of the Grand River to the northern limit of the lands purchased from the Mississauga Indians on 22 May, 1784, is stated to contain about 674,910 acres, and has an extract from the deed of feoffment, dated 7 December, 1792, endorsed on it.

On 22 July, 1792, General Clarke wrote to Colonel Simcoe, stating that from a paper presented to Sir John Johnson, at a meeting held shortly before his departure for England on leave of absence in June, it appeared that the Indians at the Bay of Quinte "were extremely anxious to have the deeds to put them in the unequivocal possession of their lands. This matter now rests with the Government of Upper Canada, and I am persuaded from the knowledge you already have of this business, and in order to set these people's minds at ease, as well as those settled at the Grand River, You will take the earliest opportunity to do in their behalf, what you think proper."

Simcoe had been sworn in as lieutenant governor of Upper Canada on 8 July, 1792, and at a meeting of the Executive Council of that province, held at Navy Hall on the first day of January, 1793, he "submitted the report of the committee on the claims of certain Indians on the Grand River and the Council concurred with the report and directed that a grant be made agreeably to the survey reported by Mr. Jones and that the Attorney General be instructed to prepare a conveyance." A deed of perpetual enfeoff-

ment was accordingly prepared and presented to the Six Nations at a general council, when it was rejected through the influence of Brant who wished to obtain a deed in fee simple enabling them to lease or sell these lands, and a prolonged and obstinate wrangle over the matter began which continued for years. On 20 March 1793, Simcoe wrote to Clarke:

“My greatest embarrassment at present is with Joseph Brant, respecting a Deed which he and the 6 Nations Indians have applied to me for, empowering them to lease out part of the lands granted to them on the Grand River Ouse, formerly the Grand River.”

In a letter to Henry Dundas, Secretary of State, dated on 20 September following, he wrote more fully.

“In this great Country agreeably to the promise of General Haldimand the Six Nations have the grant of six miles on each side of the Ouse or Grand River from Lake Erie to its Sources.

“The extent of this grant was unknown to me until at a public Council Captain Brant produced the promise under the hand of General Haldimand. A deed for the grant of this Land conformably to the General’s Promise was then made out, but, by which the Indian Nations were precluded from the sale or *letting* of their Lands, agreeable to the Original tenor of the Promise and to Lord Dorchester’s construction of it. It being obvious that letting of them would equally as selling of them annul the intent of his Majesty’s Government in making a permanent provision for the maintenance of the Indians and leave them at the mercy of the Land Jobbers.

“Captain Brant had influence sufficient with the Indians to make them peremptorily reject this deed, and with circumstances in his behaviour that were highly offensive and improper.

“In Conversation with him, He said “That the Indian Hunts being worn out and their People fallen into disuse of that method of subsistence, and yet, not being sufficiently advanced in agricultural Arts to maintain themselves, the *Letting* of the Lands appeared to him the most reasonable mode of making provision for their Women, Old Men, and Children.” It being my duty to conciliate and unite the Indians as much as possible to give efficacy to their General Council that was shortly to meet the Commissioners of the United States, and in no case it being advisable to irritate or provoke a quarrel with any of the Indian Nations, I waved all further discussion on this Subject, having previously in the public Council offered to state to his Majesty the Wishes of the Indians when such should be intimated by the Six Nations to whom the Land was

granted, and not by the *Mohawks* alone; but I suggested whether the permission to sell a Township on Lake Erie, and another through which the Road must pass that communicates between Burlington Bay and Oxford, to such persons as the King's Government should approve and to place the Money in the British Funds, giving the annual Interest to the Indian Proprietors would not be the best expedient? He seemed to acquiesce in this Idea; which remains for further Consideration."

On December, 1793, having learned that Lord Dorchester had returned to Quebec and resumed the dual situations of Governor in Chief and Commander in Chief, Simcoe wrote to him at considerable length.

"I do myself the honor of enclosing to Your Lordship Speeches and Papers that have passed between me and Joseph Brant since my arrival in this Country relative to the Grants of Lands promised to the Six Nations upon the Grand River by the late Sir Frederick Haldimand. I felt it my duty to give to the Six Nations thro' Brant the earliest assurance that the change of Government would make no alteration in the King's benevolence towards them, and that the granting to them thus Title Deeds would be among the first Objects of my attention when I should arrive in Upper Canada. Before I left Quebec, I received from Captain Brant the enclosed Answer to my letter. In consequence at a Council held for the purpose of publicly ratifying the Grant of the Lands conceded such a Deed was offered to the Six Nations, as the Laws of England admitted of, and as fully embraced the benevolent Instructions of Sir Frederick Haldimand and Your Lordship. This Deed was peremptorily refused by Captain Brant, as it did not contain within it a power for the Indians to lease their lands, a power which it appeared to me would be highly injurious to their Interests, and as I was advised illegal in respect to the Customs and Laws of Great Britain. Previous to their Council, in conversation with Brant, he had intimated his expectations of having the Lands granted to the Indians as fully as to the Loyalists, and on my observing that if they had the power of leasing them, the Object of the King's benevolence would be ineffectual, for the Indians would lease them to the Land Jobbers. He said Your Lordship had told him as much, but that the Indians were not always to be fools because they had once been such.

"The Letter enclosed (No. 2) was also written to me by Brant soon after this conversation, and I was informed that there was a great tumult at the Grand River, and that the Chief Women had met in Council, and given it in charge to their Warriors to defend their Lands.....

“In conversation with Captain Brant, he had stated the unpracticability of the Indians supporting themselves by their hunting, of the Indians themselves they could not provide for their old men and children by their farms, and that he conceived the leasing of them to be the only mode by which they could maintain themselves and their families. Brant, thro’ the medium of some of his friends made an overture to me to sell part of these Lands. In the Council I had promised to refer the Question to His Majesty, providing the whole of the Six Nations united in the request. It appeared to me that this matter should not undergo a discussion while the great matter of Peace transacted by the Indian Confederacy was in agitation, but I took care from time to time, to impress upon the Six Nations, and particularly in conversation to O’Beal, that these Lands were granted to the Six Nations and their Allies generally and by no means to Captain Brant, as seemed to be their prevalent opinion. In a recent conversation which I held with him, I promised to refer the matter to Your Lordship. I stated to him that if it should be thought proper to permit the Indians to sell any part of their Lands, it is obvious to me that it should be a small part of them at present, that the Township on the Banks of the Lake, and one that communicated between the Thames and Burlington (The La Tranche and the Head of the Lake), would be the most useful to us, and the most profitable to them. That the sale ought to be made in London, and the produce vested in the British Funds, the annual Interest of which should be paid to the uses of their old People and Children.....

“Captain John of the Mohawks and his Village settled in the Bay of Quinte, received their Title Deed with great expressions of thankfulness, and not without observations on the improper Conduct of Brant.

.....

“When in my Speech I mention the liberal construction of the Government of Sir Frederick Haldimand’s promise I refer to the extension of the Grant of Six Miles on each side of the Grand River, as far as it ran, and arranging with the Missasaguas the limits of our purchase. Until I saw this promise of Sir Frederick Haldimand in Brant’s possession, from the proceedings of the Land Board of the District, and the Plans I had received at Quebec, I had of course supposed that the Boundary of the Six Nations had not extended so far to the Northwards.”

Dorchester replied promptly enough in a letter, dated 27 January, approving Simcoe’s conduct and advising further delay.

“With respect to the Lands upon the Grand River, promised to the Six Nations by Sir Frederick Haldimand, it was judicious not to say anything to which an improper turn might be given, for it is of consequence to keep the different Tribes in good humor, as many are on the watch to pervert the King’s benevolent intentions towards them. The intention of Government in giving lands was to make them as beneficial to the Indians as possible, and to do that it was necessary that the Grant should contain Restrictions that will put them out of the way of Imposition. It would be very improper to suffer this Tract to get into the hands of Land Jobbers. If it must be re-sold, the Crown should repurchase it. It were much to be wished that Government possessed all the Lands along the Lake, the want of which will prevent the Communication of Settlements. It is true that Brant did say we might have them, but as it was not with that cordiality and good will that were to be wished for at the moment, and I think it would not be advisable to press it at any time, if disagreeable to them. In all negotiations of consequence with the Indians, the Superintendent General, if possible, should be present, and as Sir John Johnson is expected upon the opening of Navigation, if the whole of this business can be put off till he comes, it will be best.”

Relations with the United States were then very much strained and Dorchester himself believed that war was almost inevitable. Simcoe anxiously wished to avoid giving any offence to Brant, whose influence among the Indians was supposed to be much more powerful than it actually proved to be. He replied March 3:

“In respect to the Lands on the Grand River, I shall still do my utmost to procrastinate any decision on them. I understand that Brant has lately held another Meeting on the Subject.”

Brant was not slow to take advantage of Simcoe’s obvious desire to conciliate him and he attempted to force his hand by persuading the sachems and chief warriors of several nations to execute a deed of sale of a tract of land¹ to Philip Stedman of Fort Erie township, on March 3, 1795, described as follows:

“Beginning at the Second Forks of said river, above the Mohawk village thereon, which forks are formed somewhat above the new road leading from the head of Lake Ontario to the river Le Tranche, alias Thames, and thence extending up the said river, (and to be parallel to the river road aforesaid) about a north northwest point, full twelve miles, carrying and containing the full breadth of twelve

¹ This deed is printed in full in the Second Annual Report of the Waterloo Historical Society, with a facsimile of the signatures, pp. 6-8.

miles across said river, or six miles on each side of the same and continuing one hundred and forty-four square miles, or ninety-two thousand one hundred and sixty acres, being part of the Tract of land granted to the said Indian Nations by his Excellency Frederick Haldimand, late Gov'r of Quebec and its dependencies, as by His Grant thereof reference thereto being had, as also to the survey of said lands made by order of his Excellency, John Graves Simcoe, Lieutenant Governor of the said Province of Upper Canada may appear; Reserving nevertheless, out of and from said Tract of land, full one thousand acres, and no more, to be pitched and laid out for the use, and at the election and choice of Captain Joseph Brant of the said Grand River, five hundred acres of which to be a pinery."

The consideration named in the deed was £10,250 .10/ in New York currency or \$25,626.25, and the names of Dr. Robert Kerr, a medical officer of the Indian department, whose wife was a niece of Brant, and four other white men, appeared on it as witnesses. On March 5, Brant wrote in the postscript of a letter to Joseph Chew, the secretary of the Indian department in Montreal:

"The time spent at the different councils and Treaties at the westward and elsewhere, and the depreciation of our hunting Grounds, &c., have so far reduced our people that we think it necessary to dispose of about twenty miles of our land upon the Grand River. We are not insensible of the goodness and Bounties of our Father the King, but unless we adopt this measure many of our people will unavoidably draw off and reside within the United States, where much larger provision is made for the Six Nations than here. If we succeed in this plan their residence may be secured here, otherwise not."

Simcoe, who had spent the winter in Kingston and the eastern district of the province, replied to an inquiry from Lord Dorchester on the subject, writing from Kingston on March 15:

"In respect to Brant's intimation of their intention to sell the Lands on the Grand River, I beg leave to refer your Lordship to my former Communications—both his proceedings on this subject, and the imputations on Colonel McKee to which he alludes, can be fully explained to your lordship, if requisite, by Mr. Chief Justice Osgoode."

When he wrote this letter, Brant's latest move in the matter was unknown to him, but on March 29, an extract was forwarded by his direction from a letter from Brant dated on March 17 from Grand River.

"As Major Smith has the Speeches or Accounts of what passed at the Council held here the 9th and 10th instant, copies of which I presume will be forwarded to His Excellency

Governor Simcoe, in which we represented the distressed situation of some of our people settled at the Grand River, and our inability to relieve them unless we disposed of some part of our land, His Excellency therefore will not be surprised when he hears that we are actually disposing of some of it for their relief. Besides the stipulations made by the Commissioners of Congress with the Six Nations within the limits of the United States and the conditional provision made for those without those limits, are such that many of our people may shortly remove from the Grand River in order to share with those residing within the jurisdiction of Congress, in the monies annually paid them, and in this way the number of our people may be greatly diminished and of course divided.

"This I wish may be prevented. It is an object very near my heart, and I am therefore fully of opinion that the measure of disposing of some of our land above the new road must be considered not only a prudent and reasonable, but a necessary one. I may say necessary because there is no prospect of anything exclusive of this, which will be sufficient to keep our people together here; I have wished to delay this business longer, but our situation and circumstances are such and so pressing that we cannot but adopt it."

About a week later, (April 5), Peter Russell, the Receiver General, wrote to Simcoe in considerable perturbation from Niagara:

"I am afraid upon your Excellency's arrival here, you may not be very well pleased with some occurrences that have passed in the Course of the Winter. Captain Brandt has (I understand) sold to Mr. Stedman and others twelve miles square of the Lands on the Grand River, and Mr. Jarvis, as Register, has recorded the Deed. It is also whispered that he has purchased a considerable Tract from the Mississagues upon a speculation (I presume) of disposing of it to Government on his own Terms."

Simcoe had then been very ill for several weeks and totally disabled from transacting any business and it does not appear that he made any reply to these letters. When he returned to Niagara, Brant had gone to Detroit to attend a council of the western Indians, but at the end of June he sent a party of chiefs to Niagara with a letter to John Butler in which he said:

"I now send my people to know of the Governor whether he approves of our selling part of our land, as we certainly think the land to be our own."

Simcoe met these messengers in a council at Niagara on July 13 in the presence of Butler and other officers. Their spokesman said:

"We are desired by our Chief Captn. Brant to Ask you a Question upon this Belt, respecting the lands pointed out to us by the King our Father after the conclusion of the war for our people to live on. It is a matter that lays very heavy on our minds.

"The question we have to ask and which we request your answer to is, whether we may consider the Land then pointed out to us, at our own disposal or not?"

Simcoe then instructed Colonel Butler to inform them that "what they had now said should be reported to His Excellency Lord Dorchester, whose reply (when received) would be communicated to them."

Brant was of course much dissatisfied and wrote again to the Governor's secretary, who replied, inviting him to attend a council at Fort Erie to receive a public notification of the treaty of commerce lately concluded between Great Britain and the United States and assure them of the continuance of the usual allotment of presents.

"In regard to the Grand River Lands," he said, "you have long known His Excellency's public and private Sentiments, and he has nothing further to say in addition to what he has told you from the Commander in Chief that 'It would be very improper to suffer this Tract to get into the hands of the Land Jobbers; if it must be sold the Crown should purchase it.'

"In all negotiations with the Indians, the Superintendent General should be present, and Sir John Johnson is soon expected."

At the council held at Fort Erie on August 29, Brant attempted to reopen the discussion by saying:

"Since the War between the British and Americans was concluded we found ourselves getting poorer than ever, many of our Young Men and Warriors were killed in that War, whose widows and children were left destitute of any support, except our Father's bounty, which of late has been less sufficient for their support than formerly, the reason is that from the number of Whites settling round us the game has decreased and our situation become more distressed. We are fearful that we should be under the necessity of disposing of some part of our land unless it was possible that the King's Bounty could be increased to us."

Simcoe ignored this statement but seems to have informed Brant that he could bring the matter up at another meeting. He soon after visited the settlements on the shore of Lake Erie as far west as Long Point and held a council with the Indians at the Grand River where he was again harangued by Brant. He returned to

Niagara in very ill health and was disabled from the transaction of much business for several weeks. He reported the proceedings of this council to Lord Dorchester on October 9.

"I privately understand that Brant, who had renewed his claims to sell the lands at Grand River, had declared that he would in public Council enforce them and no longer wait for the arrival of Sir John Johnson. I thought it therefore expedient to prevent any discordancy happening from the interposition of such a Source of disagreement in a Council held for a different Purpose to promise Capt. Brant to hear what he had to say on the subject of the Lands of the Grand River at the Council fire at the Grand River.

.....
"In regard to the Speech of Brant's at the Grand River where he states that he was told if he wished to raise an annuity one method would be to dispose of part of their Country, Your Lordship is acquainted with the private conversation on this Head that this artful Chieftain has chosen to speak of as a public Transaction, but which he long knew was not approved of by your Lordship, the Crown being to re-purchase if necessary those Lands."

Sir John Johnson had not returned but Lord Dorchester was stimulated to act by Brant's importunity.

"The papers relative to the Indian lands on the Grand River have been put into the hands of the Attorney General for his opinion and advice relative to such mode of grant as will secure to the Indians and their posterity the advantages originally intended them, and as soon as a plan is digested it shall be forwarded for your consideration," he wrote to Simcoe on November 5.

On December 22 Simcoe brought the subject forward again in a letter to Lord Dorchester.

"I hope that your Lordship will lose no time in forming some propositions or arrangements relative to the lands of the Grand River Indians. I have just received a Message from their Chieftains requesting an Answer to their Speech on that Point. The Reply I gave to them was the repeating verbally the sentence in your Lordship's No. 40, where you express yourself on that Subject.

"I have already informed your Lordship in No. 70 of the only motive that induced me to go to the Grand River, as particularly upon the refusal of the Grant which this Government offered to the Indians settled there of their Lands, I acquainted Brant that I should not interfere in any of their Affairs, and that all such Transactions must pass through Colonel Butler."

Brant became impatient and wrote again to Joseph Chew, with whom he was on terms of considerable intimacy, on 19 January, 1796, from Grand River.

"I take the Liberty of acquainting you of the uneasiness of the Indians inhabiting the Grand River (the cause of which you know) on that subject we made a Speech last October at this Place to Lieut. Governor Simcoe containing a full explanation of the whole affair in return to which His Excellency assured us that he would immediately forward it to His Lordship, and that we might expect an answer as soon as might be possible.

"Since the communication has been stopped we have enquired of His Excellency concerning the answer we expected from His Lordship, to which he gave us no satisfactory return, this is the reason that induces me now to send to you, that you may acquaint His Lordship with our uneasiness at not having an answer to our speech as we expected—the copy of which I suppose your son sent you, we therefore sincerely wish that it may please His Lordship to give us a full and explicit answer on the affairs, as it has long been hanging too heavy on our minds."

On January 25, Dorchester transmitted to Simcoe a draft of a patent accompanied by a letter from Jonathan Sewell, Attorney General of Lower Canada.

"This purchase once made," Dorchester wrote, "the formalities of the grant depend on the Civil Government, the Administration of that of Upper Canada being at present in separate hands, the Commander in Chief has no concern therewith. I must, however, observe that all the Lands and advantages given to these Indians by General Haldimand, tho' without the formalities that the Law requires, ought in equity to be made good, they may be enlarged but not contracted. It was for this reason that I would not, when I had the Civil Administration in my own hands, accept of a surrender of 6 miles from the Lake though assented to by them, because it appeared to me to be given up grudgingly and not with a cheerful consent; tho' I should have made ample compensation for this tract; I think it still may be done by giving them an annual rent for those lands, to be paid by the Provincial Receiver General, to such amount as you find they may again be leased, so that the Government may be at no expense; but for this purpose it is necessary first, that you are also convinced that the Measure will be beneficial to the province, and in the next place that the Indians are no less convinced that it will be of great advantage to them. My thinking so is not sufficient. Before I finish this subject, I must say that I see no reason why the Indians being patentees

of those lands, may not lease them, as those of the Sault St. Louis have done theirs. Brant observed very properly that the Tract on the Grand River was too extensive for their own cultivation and too confined for their hunt; besides it appears to me, that so much land lying in a state of in-culture, must be a great provincial detriment. I am further to add, I know not by what authority, Surveyors went to mark out their lands and narrow their limits, but I must say that such proceedings were very indiscreet."

Mr. Sewell's letter served to explain the purpose of the special form of the patent.

"The object is to accomplish the promise of Sir Frederick Haldimand," he said, "but at the same time to prevent the Indians from making any disposition of the property which would be injurious to themselves and the King's interests. It will be difficult to effect this purpose. A Grant of the Tract with a limit for the use in fee to the Indians of the Six Nations and their Descendants only, determinable of course upon the extinction of the Six Nations, will probably be the best Deed, and most likely to be accepted by the Indians.

"The Six Nations contend that they ought to have a right to lease the Tract and it does not appear practicable to refuse them.

"The ill effects which the exercise of such a Right might occasion may be counteracted by a clause requiring them to give notice to the Governor and reserving to His Majesty the preference and privilege of becoming their Lessee, in all instances where they may be disposed to lease. And to secure the object as far as possible it might be prudent to insert a special proviso to effect the escheat of the property or certain parts of it if it should be leased by them to any person not being a member of the Six Nations without notice to the Governor of Upper Canada; or if any attempt should be made to convey their interest in the soil."

These letters were received by Simcoe at York about a month later and were promptly acknowledged.

"It cannot admit of a doubt," he wrote, "that every promise made to the Six Nations ought in equity to be performed, and in policy rather enlarged than diminished.

"Brant's observation that the tract on the Grand River is too extensive for the cultivation of the Indians and too confined for their hunt seems to be true, and Your Lordship's opinion that so much land being in a state of inculture must be a great Provincial detriment is incontrovertible. Upon these considerations, to which the general aspect of Indian affairs must be added, I think it expedient to lose no time

in transmitting to Brant the copy of the Title Deed which has met your Lordship's approbation as drawn up by the Attorney General of Lower Canada, and should the Indians be perfectly satisfied with the Deed, I shall proceed to carry the same into execution without any further delay, provided that it be approved of by the Law Officers of the Crown in this Province, but should it in their opinion be contrary to the Laws of Great Britain, I shall as the case may admit, endeavour to obtain an Act of the Legislature of this Province, or refer the subject to His Majesty's Ministers and pray for an especial Act of the British Parliament, such may very possibly be necessary and may reconcile the difference between the leases which I understand from your Lordship the Indians of the Sault St. Louis have made, evidently originating from Canadian Laws or Customs, and that grant which may be necessary to give validity to the claims and pretensions of the Indians of the Grand River, and which cannot legally be carried into effect in opposition to the fundamental Laws and Customs of Great Britain.

"I am to observe to Your Lordship that it has always appeared to me that the survey of the lands at the Grand River during Colonel (Major General) Gordon's Command was at that time made with the perfect acquiescence of Brant and the Chiefs of the Grand River, and at the desire of the Magistrates and people of the settlement to define their own boundaries not to limit those of the Six Nations."

Simcoe's doubts as to the validity of this special form of patent were so serious that he brought the matter at once to the attention of the Duke of Portland, who had succeeded Mr. Dundas as Colonial Secretary.

"The Commander in Chief has, at length, transmitted a Deed which he thinks proper to be offered to Brant and the Six Nations, entitling them to Lease their Lands on the Ouse or Grand River—As under my limited means I acquiesce in the expediency of the measure, I have informed His Lordship that I shall lose no time in carrying it into execution, Applying to the Legislature of this Country, or thro' Your Grace, for an Act of the British Parliament, as the case, in the Opinion of the Law Officers in this Province may require to give validity to the Measure.

"I am to observe to your Grace, that the late Chief Justice Osgoode thought such a power of leasing incompatible with the laws of England."

Brant was no better pleased with the amended form of patent than he had been with that formerly offered for acceptance. He took no pains to conceal his discontent. William Johnson Chew,

who was then storekeeper of the Indian department at Niagara, wrote on May 14 to his father, the secretary at Montreal:

"He (Brant) is now here with a party of Chiefs from the Grand River, his Business, I believe, is principally to confer with His Excellency the Lt. Governor about the Deed for their Land. . . . Capt. Brant hints as much, that if something is not done more satisfactory than has been hitherto, he will not mention the matter again, but take it wholly into their own hands, and do what they think best with the Land."

This was followed by a letter from Brant to Joseph Chew, dated at Niagara on May 17, which was no doubt intended for Lord Dorchester's information.

"I arrived here a few days ago accompanied by some of the principal men from the Grand River to settle some business respecting those Lands we wish to Lease, we are happy to find that Lord Dorchester is favourable to our wishes. His Excellency Governor Simcoe does not seem to oppose us since that, but there appears to be a party working underhand with the Senecas living on the other side to oppose our Leasing any Lands, my opinion is that the annual income of those Leased Lands should go only to those living on the Grand River or such of the Six Nations as may come there to settle, for the Senecas on the other side never allow us any share of what they receive from the Americans. Last Spring I met the Six Nations in Council at Buffaloe Creek, when the Senecas declared that as long as they remained on the American side, that they would not interfere in the Lands at the Grand River and left the Leasing or management of it for the interest of those living there entirely to us, and that they would manage those Lands on the American side themselves. If any Obstruction happens to the Leasing our Lands at this time it must Proceed entirely from a Party of the Governor's working with the Senecas.

"If I find that we cannot compleat this agreeable to our wishes, I mean to go down to see His Lordship before he goes Home, as I mean to persevere in this business."

After his return to the Grand River, Brant indiscreetly wrote a letter to John Macdonell, the speaker of the House of Assembly, soliciting his advice and enclosing papers in his possession relating to this controversy.

"From our former acquaintance and good understanding, and your important station and influence in Government, I am desirous of your council and opinion respecting the objections made by some to the right of those of the Five Nations, who reside on the lands of the Grand River to dispose of or lease the same, and for this purpose I take the liberty of inclosing

extracts of Lord Dorchester's writings on the subject, and our speech, hoping you may have leisure to communicate to me your sentiments thereto by the bearer. I very sincerely hope that neither the Senecas or any others will have the rashness to assert claims to our lands, while residing in a different country, a right any of the Five Nations will undoubtedly have whenever they become residents among us."

Copies of this letter and its enclosures were at once sent to Simcoe, whose anger was excited by what he deemed as an act of great impertinence and a breach of confidence on the part of some official. A copy of Brant's letter was sent to Lord Dorchester with a strong complaint.

"Among other papers which this letter contains," he said, "I think proper to transmit to your Lordship one of an extraordinary nature: it appears to have been written to Brant by some person in a public station, I presume in the Indian Department, probably Mr. Chew. I need not point out to your Lordship the fallacious statement of the principal assertion respecting the grant, and the mischievous tendency that this communication in general may have in frustrating the arrangement which I did hope, would have been satisfactorily completed."

A letter from Major Littlehales requesting Brant to state from whom he received this document elicited an unsatisfactory answer although he seemed disposed to recede from his former recalcitrant position.

"I cannot answer otherwise than by acquainting you," he said, "that it came to me in the *shape* of an extract, but from what source I cannot with propriety inform you.

"It was in consequence of Major McDonell's having been heard to speak interestedly and warmly on the subject of the affairs of the Five Nations and his observing at the same time, (tho' I could hope not with satisfaction) *that the Senecas would interfere* in the business, that I wrote the letter and inclosed him the extract you speak of, hoping thereby to acquaint him more fully with the true state of our affairs and the justice of our cause, and that he might thereby be enabled to judge and speak with more candour and moderation respecting the interests of the Five Nations.

"I expect in a short time to be at Niagara, when I shall have opportunity to peruse the deed to be left with the Attorney General."

On learning that Brant was dissatisfied with the form of patent tendered to him, Lord Dorchester gave his final decision in a letter, dated 26 May, 1796.

“With regard to the Tract on the Grand River, if the Five Nations choose to hold it under the Title given by General Haldimand, in preference to any that has since been offered no other should be forced upon them, for it certainly would be very impolitic to enter into a serious dispute as to the mode of conveying Lands which have been given to them as a Reward for services.”

No further action was taken while Simcoe remained in the province but Brant resumed his agitation soon after his departure and quickly succeeded in browbeating the administrator, Peter Russell. On September 23, Russell wrote to the Duke of Portland in much perplexity, stating that Brant had made application to the Attorney General for deeds to subjects of the United States, some of whom were officers in their army, but he had declined to sign any that would convey lands to aliens. He did not know what were the terms of Haldimand's promise but he could not think that his duty would permit him to sanction the introduction of considerable bodies of aliens as owners of property in the very heart of the province, who could bring in any number of their countrymen in case they should attempt its conquest. But if Brant persisted in his application, he saw no means of resisting it. Writing on the same day to Simcoe he pitifully declared that he did not know what course to take in the matter as he had no information as to what promises had been made to Brant. He intended to evade signing the deeds until he received an answer from the Secretary of State but he could not prevent him from settling these people in his own way, except at the risk of an Indian or perhaps an American war. Information had reached him that the Creeks had sent a message to the Western Indians inviting them to make war on the United States, which gave him great alarm. He called a meeting of the Executive Council to advise on the situation but owing to the sickness of some members and the absence of others was unable to secure a quorum and was obliged to adjourn it until the following spring. In a letter dated November 14, he informed the Duke of Portland that the persons, then named in Brant's amended application for deeds, were all British subjects and consequently less objectionable than those mentioned before. He was very anxious for the advice of Chief Justice Elmsley, who had been expected for some months, but had not arrived. Russell had given Brant an assurance that deeds would be granted to the persons named by the Indians but as this promise must be confirmed by the Executive Council he asked him to make their proposals in writing. This was done, stating that they wished to sell four townships or blocks of land lying to the northward of Dundas street, of which a description was furnished by the Surveyor General and Brant had filed a power of attorney, purporting to be signed by the principal chiefs of the Five Nations, authorising him to sell these lands. On 28 January,

1797, Russell was much vexed by receiving from Colonel Claus, who had succeeded Butler as Superintendent of Indian affairs at Niagara a belated report of a council held by him with the Grand River Indians as long before as November 24, at which Brant had stated their impatience at the delay in confirming the sale of their lands, and accused the Administrator of a breach of faith. He called together the members of the Executive Council living at Niagara and summoned Brant to attend. Brant made an evasive explanation qualifying the insolent terms of his speech but did not succeed in placating Russell, whose anger had been increased by a statement from Justice Powell alleging that Brant had boasted of his dominating influence over the militia and insulted the government. He reported that he wished to carry out the promises given by Simcoe but doubted the wisdom of complying with the demands of the Indians as he said that the deed given by Haldimand "clearly permits them only to live on this land, they and their posterity for ever; consequently the property as well as the sovereignty of it still remains in the King, and I humbly conceive it would be no less than breach of my oath to confirm the power which the Five Nations claim of transferring this right to others, until I shall receive His Majesty's permission to do so."

Late in the following June, however, Russell received letters from Portland which were construed to give authority for the sale of the lands to form a fund for the payment of an annuity to the Indians and a meeting of all the members of the Executive Council was held on June 29, at which an order was made for that purpose, on the condition that the lands should be first surrendered to the Crown, when deeds would be granted to the persons named by Brant, who were required to take the oath of allegiance and pay the fees.

Seven months elapsed before the agreement again came before the Council for ratification. The quantity of land surrendered by the Indians amounted to 352,710 acres, or more than half of their whole reservation divided into six blocks. At a meeting of the Council held on 5 February, 1798, deeds were signed for the conveyance of five of these blocks to purchasers named by Brant, all of them being British subjects residing within the province. Three trustees, D. W. Smith, acting Surveyor General, a member of the Executive Council, and Speaker of the Assembly, Captain William Claus, superintendent of Indian affairs at Niagara, and Alexander Stewart, legal adviser of the Indians, whose wife was a niece of Joseph Brant, were appointed to receive mortgages and other securities for payment and the interest thereon. No deed was to be issued until an order was received from the trustees by the secretary of the province who was given written instructions enjoining extreme caution. Russell reported that he expected that £5,000 per annum would accrue

as interest from this transaction but he was sadly mistaken. The deeds stated that "the blocks had been sold to the respective Grantees, and that such Grantees had secured or given security for the payment of different sums of Money (mentioned as the consideration of such several Grants) to David William Smith, Captain William Claus, and Alexander Stewart, Esquires, in trust for the Chiefs, Warriors, and People of the Mohawk or Five Nations, as an equivalent for those lands which they had surrendered or relinquished to His Majesty, preparatory to and in contemplation of the before mentioned Grants for the purpose of obtaining by way of Annuity a certain and permanent means of support by sale of these Lands which the Grants state had become useless to the said Indians as Hunting-grounds."

Only one mortgage was actually executed, being made by Richard Beasley, James Willson, and John Baptiste Rousseau to the trustees, on 10 May, 1798, upon Block No. 2, said to contain 94,012 acres, to secure the payment of £8,887 provincial currency, being the whole of the purchase money for that block, by the terms of which the principal was made payable on the first day of April, 1898, with interest at the rate of six per cent per annum to be paid annually to the trustees on the first day of April at Newark (or Niagara) as stipulated in a bond of the same date attached to the mortgage. The purchasers were persons of good repute, but Rousseau and Willson soon transferred their interest to Beasley who endeavoured to induce settlers to come in from the United States, offering portions of the tract for sale on easy terms. Several families of Mennonites from Lancaster county in Pennsylvania seem to have arrived in the course of the next four years and contracted with him for the purchase of lands on which they built houses and commenced cultivation.

Beasley was energetic and influential, and had been engaged in various commercial enterprises since his arrival at Fort Niagara as a refugee loyalist some time in 1777. It is stated that he acted for a short time as an assistant commissary and his name appears in a return of loyalists resident at Niagara in December 1783, as a member of the family of his cousin, Richard Cartwright. He was then twenty-two years of age. In August, 1789, he and Peter Smith of Kingston, were each granted two hundred acres of land at Toronto and Permiscutiank,¹ described "as a place on the north of Lake Ontario," apparently for the purpose of establishing trading posts. A letter from Simcoe, dated 14 April, 1793, states that he then had a flour mill at the head of the lake. He was appointed

¹ Now Port Hope, at first known as Smith's Creek, from the same grantee, Peter Smith, a fur trader, who had settled here as early as 1778.

a justice of the peace and in 1795, an order in council was passed granting him twelve hundred acres of land, the maximum fixed by the royal instructions. He seems to have located this land partly in the township of Barton and built a dwelling house in a commanding situation on the crest of Burlington Heights, where Simcoe and his wife dined with him in the month of June, 1796. He represented the counties of Durham, York, and the first riding of Lincoln in the Legislative Assembly from 1796 to 1800 and at the following general election was elected for the new electoral district composed of West York, the first riding of Lincoln and the new county of Haldimand, which included the greater part of the Indian reserve on the Grand River. On 27 January, 1803, the Lieutenant Governor informed the Assembly that it was improbable that Mr. D. W. Smith, the Speaker of that House, who was absent in England, would return in time to discharge his duties, and advised the members to elect another speaker. After three motions for the election of others had been lost Beasley was proposed and elected and held that office until the end of that parliament. He had also been appointed Lieutenant Colonel commanding the Second Regiment of York Militia. He was therefore a person of considerable importance in public life but his speculation in land had burdened him with a heavy debt on which he had been unable to pay the annual interest.

Lieutenant Governor Hunter, from his knowledge of Brant, when he was commandant of Fort Niagara a dozen years before, had formed such an unfavourable opinion of his character, that he positively refused to have any personal intercourse with him, and laid down the rule that all correspondence with the government must be conducted through the local superintendent of Indian affairs. But the wily Mohawk took advantage of the meeting of the provincial parliament to address petitions to both houses on the unsatisfactory state of affairs with respect to the sale of the reserve.

“To the Honorable the Legislative Council and the Commons of Upper Canada in Parliament assembled.

“The petition of the Six Nation Indians, settled upon and along the River Ouse or Grand River.

“Humbly sheweth,

“That Your Petitioners are proprietors in common of an extensive tract of land in this Province, and hold a mortgage interest also in and out of certain extensive parcels of land which they have heretofore aliened therein.

“That Your Petitioners find His Majesty’s bounty unavailing to them under existing circumstances, because,

"I. They are restrained from granting leasehold estates by the nature of their tenure.

"II. They are under the like inability from the same cause to effect partitions.

"III. They cannot compel the payment of monies accruing to their use, nor direct the application thereof to the relief of their wants.

"IV. They cannot enable persons who are in arrear to them for principal or interest reserved to them by mortgage to answer their engagements by putting them in a capacity to subdivide their several acquisitions, and extinguish partially the mortgage liens thereon.

"All of which is submitted to the tender consideration of Your Honorable Body, and relief implored.

(Signed) JOS. BRANT, Agt.

"Grand River, 1st January, 1803."

This petition was introduced in the Legislative Council by Hon. Robert Hamilton on February 18 and ordered to lie on the table. It was brought into the Legislative Assembly by Alexander Macdonell on February 4 and read on February 18 when it was considered in committee of the whole. On February 21 consideration of the petition was postponed for three months.

On 15 June, 1803, complaints made by the Indians at a recent council respecting the sales of their lands were referred by the Lieutenant Governor to the Executive Council with instructions "to point out what measures they would under all the circumstances of the Case, now advise to be pursued, as best calculated to rescue the Executive Government, under whose Authority this Business was transacted, and the Trustees who have been interposed for the security and protection of these Indian Nations, from that Imputation of gross neglect of Duty, with which they at present are charged."

On June 24, the Council reported with reference to the mortgage on Block No. 2, "that a sum of six hundred pounds and a fraction, and that sum only, has been paid on account of the interest upon this Mortgage and Bond, and that the remainder of such Interest is now in arrear, and due from the said Richard Beasley, James Willson, and John Baptiste Rousseau to the before-mentioned Trustees," and they un-animously stated "their opinion that it is the duty of the Trustees forthwith to put the Bond entered into by Beasley, Willson, and Rousseau, in Suit against them, and by all legal ways and means in their power to enforce Payment of the very large arrear of Interest due thereon—And if they can

recover it, to apply it to the use of the Five Nations, in performance of the conditions specified in the before stated Bond and Mortgage."

The facts were, as it afterwards appeared, that although Beasley had made only one payment on account of interest to the trustees, he had indiscreetly paid considerable sums to Joseph Brant, as duly accredited agent of the Five Nations, and the balance due was considerably less than the report stated. When he found himself threatened with a suit he applied to the Indians to stop legal proceedings, with the result that the following letter was addressed to Alexander Stewart, one of the trustees.

"Grand River, July 3rd, 1803

"I am desired by the Chiefs to acquaint you that they are surprised to have heard that (you) were about to sue Mr. Beasley & Co. respecting the Township, particularly as they had understood you had refused to act as Trustee when your aid was wanted to forward the business. They cannot consent to have Mr. Beasley distressed wantonly as they are convinced he has done his endeavour to pay them, and had the separate Mortgages taken place, they have every reason to believe he would not have been the least behind hand in the performance of his Contract, they therefore request that time may be given him.

I am, Sir, &c.

MR. ALEXR. STEWART.

ARON HILL JUNR.

For the Chiefs."

Probably in consequence of this letter, the "Chiefs, Chief Warriors, and Warriors of the Five Nations," assembled at Fort George on August 15, and a council was formally held with them by Captain Claus in the presence of Lieut. Colonel R. H. Sheaffe, the commandant of the garrison, and other officers, as well as Alexander Stewart, the other resident trustee. In his opening speech, Claus explained the position of the trustees.

"The appointment of Trustees to transact all your business relating to these lands is so well known to you all," he said, "that it would be wasting time to repeat it. And it is also well known to you that the purchasers of the Five Blocks of Land were recommended by your Agent Capt. Brant as appears on the face of the surrender, neither can you have forgotten that your Trustees were nominated by Captain Brant, who was fully authorized by you so to do; and if these purchasers have not fulfilled their Engagements in not having made the payments, for your benefit, which they ought to have done, it is only to be imputed to your Agent's unfortunate Choice of Characters, who were either not of ability to perform their Contracts, or from Motives dishonor-

able to themselves, have shewn very little disposition to render you Justice.—In either way, however, in accounting for your disappointment, you have only to regret that these purchasers were not of a different description. But you must be fully sensible, that the misfortune has neither originated in the Executive Government, or in your Trustees, and is solely to be ascribed to the cause before alluded to.

“With respect to the Mortgage given by Mr. Beasley, and upon which a very considerable Annual sum ought to have been yielded to you ever since the year 1798: I have only to observe that the steps pointed out to the Trustees by the Executive Council, have left them no choice of the measures to be carried into execution for the recovery of the Interest due to the Five Nations. The Executive have found that a large Balance of Interest is due to the Five Nations from Mr. Beasley, and that the proper steps ought to be taken to recover it. The Trustees cannot therefore accede to the desire of the Five Nations, as expressed in Aron Hill’s Letter in the Names of the Chiefs.

“These steps must therefore be taken by Your Trustees and every exertion will be made by them to recover that arrear as speedily as possible.”

The council adjourned and met again on August 17 when Joseph Brant replied on behalf of the Indians. He began with a complaint that Claus had refused to give them a written copy of his speech.

“We consider a written Instrument with you the same as Belts or strings of Wampum are with us,” he said, “as being to convey our sentiments, and refreshen our minds long after the transaction of a business, and it must be well known that there are few memories capable of retaining an address of any length with exactness, unless it should be handed them in writing, and of course not in the power of any body of People to answer with that particularity that a subject of importance might require and generally demands, between either Individuals or Nations. It has generally been customary to receive your Speeches in writing, as well as Wampum. We are therefore much astonished at your refusing to let us have a Copy, had our superintendant indulged us in this, our answer would have more concise and connected with the subject.”

After referring to the sales of lands to other persons, he came to the principal question at issue.

“As to Mr. Beasley he has used every endeavour to pay us, and we have received considerable sums of Money from him, my receipt for which as Agent was thought sufficient security for what he paid us, if he has acted wrong by not

making payments to the Trustees instead of me, this surely the Trustees should have made both him and me acquainted with. In respect to what he yet remains in arrears, We wish to give him one year more to endeavour to extricate himself from the difficulty as it would be with regret on our parts that he should be ruined on our accounts, especially as we are confident he has done every thing in his power to fulfill his Contract, and more than probable could he have obtained separate Mortgages as prayed for, in that case by his Manly and strenuous exertions, We rather think he would then have been enabled to have done us every justice. And separate Mortgages were faithfully promised him by our Trustees, and we again repeat, had this promise been complied with on the part of the Trustees, that we cannot think otherwise, but that Mr. Beasley would have paid us to the uttermost fraction. We therefore think it but reasonable that he be allowed some time to pursue other means to comply with his former agreement. The sums he has already paid are too great for an Individual to lose, and too great for us to gain from that unfortunate Individual."

In his reply Claus avoided giving any assurance of an extension of the time for making payment of arrears.

"I did refuse to give you a copy of the speech conceiving that you must have comprehended what was said, and I left it with one of the Interpreters that it might be repeated to you, that it might be stronger impressed upon your minds, but not to give it out of his hands, my reason for refusing a Copy was that the Speech referred entirely to a Report of the Executive Council, consequently I did not think myself at liberty to give it without permission. Mr. Beasley cannot pretend to say that if he has acted wrong by paying Money to Capt. Brant, that it is the fault of the Trustees. I hold the Bond of him and his associates wherein they bind themselves to pay the Interest to the Trustees at Niagara, A Copy of which Bond I sent to one of them three years ago, and told him not long before that Mr. Beasley would probably repent his paying others than the Trustees. I rather doubt that Mr. Beasley ever got a certain or faithfull promise to have separate Mortgages given him, altho' often, very often, urged on the part of your Agent. The only time Mr. Beasley ever spoke to me on the subject of his Purchase, was last Summer at my House. I then told him what were my objections, which was, that by subdividing the Land the good and bad might be separated, the good kept by the Purchaser, and the bad thrown back on the Indians."

On October 6 copies of these speeches were sent by order of the Lieutenant Governor to the Executive Council to be read and

filed. There is no record of any further action being taken at that time. Beasley was certainly spurred to greater efforts to raise money and late in November he entered into an agreement for the sale of a large part of his lands to representatives of the Mennonite immigrants with whom he seems to have been negotiating for some time. This agreement, a copy of which was filed with the Executive Council, reads as follows:

Articles of Agreement indented, had, made, concluded, and agreed upon this Twenty Eighth day of November in the Forty Fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Third, and in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three between Richard Beasley of the Township of Barton, in the District of Niagara and Province of Upper Canada, Esquire, of the one part, and Daniel Erb, late of the County of Lancaster in the State of Pennsylvania, yeoman, and Samuel Bricker of the County of Haldimand in the Home District of the Province aforesaid, yeoman, of the other part, as follows. First The said Richard Beasley for and in Consideration of the Sum of Ten Thousand Pounds good and lawful money of the Province of Upper Canada to be paid to him by the said Daniel Erbb and Samuel Bricker pursuant to the Covenant and agreement of the said Daniel Erbb and Samuel Bricker hereinafter in that behalf obtained both hereby for himself and for his heirs covenants and agrees to and with the said Daniel Erbb and Samuel Bricker, their heirs and assigns and every of them, that he, the said Richard Beasley his heirs and assigns and all and every other person or persons having or lawfully claiming, or that lawfully shall can or may have or claim any estate, right, title, or interests under him or any other person or persons whomsoever of in or to the Tract or parcel of land or premises hereinafter mentioned shall and will on or before the first day of June next ensuing the date hereof by such Conveyances, assurances, ways and means in the Law as they the said Daniel Erbb and Samuel Bricker their heirs or assigns or their Counsel learned in the law shall reasonably devise advise or require well and sufficiently grant, bargain, Sell, Release, Convey, and assure to, and to the use of the said Daniel Erbb and Samuel Bricker their heirs and assigns forever, or to whom they shall appoint and direct, a certain Tract or parcel of land containing Sixty Thousand acres lying and being and being situate on the Grand River, being part or parcel of a certain Tract of land of Ninety four Thousand and Twelve acres being known and described as Block number Two Granted under His Majesty's letters Patent to Richard Beasley Esquire, James Wilson and St. John B. Rousseau and dated the fifth day of

February One Thousand Seven hundred and ninety Eight and Registered the fourteenth day of March One Thousand Seven hundred and ninety Eight in Liber II, Folio I, which Tract of Sixty Thousand acres it is hereby agreed shall comprise all the land lying on the west side of the said Grand River, as contained in His Majesty's Deed except a certain subdivision Block known as number One in a certain survey of the whole made by Richard Cockrell, and that only Two Thousand Six hundred and fifty eight acres shall be considered as comprised in the said Sixty Thousand acres, and Further another certain tract beginning on the north side of the said Grand River between Blocks number Two and Three and comprising all such Lands to the south East of the said Block number Two and following the Course of the River as have not been heretofore sold and Conveyed by the said Richard Beasley, James Wilson and St. John B. Rousseau to certain Individuals so that the whole shall make up and Constitute Sixty Thousand acres in the whole.—And that the said Conveyances and assurances shall contain Covenants that the said Tracts or parcels of land and premises at the time of such Conveyance are free from all incumbrances or demands of what kind or nature whatsoever and such warranty and other fit and reasonable Covenants as by the said Daniel Erbb and Samuel Bricker their Heirs or assigns or their Counsel shall be reasonably devised and required as aforesaid—And it is agreed that if Thomas Scott His Majesty's Attorney General, or His Majesty's Attorney General for the time being, and William Dickson of Niagara Esquire, Counsel for the said Daniel Erbb and Samuel Bricker shall not approve of the Title of the said Richard Beasley to the said Premises this agreement is to be void—IN CONSIDERATION whereof the said Daniel Erbb and Samuel Bricker for themselves their Heirs, Executors administrators and assigns DO hereby Covenant, promise & agree to and with the said Richard Beasley his heirs executors, administrators and assigns that they the said Daniel Erbb and Samuel Bricker their Heirs Executors administrators and assigns or some of them shall and will well and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said Richard Beasley his Heirs Executors administrators or assigns the aforesaid Sum of Ten Thousand Pounds with the Interest that will accrue and arise thereon at the rate of Six per centum per annum from the first day of March now next ensuing the date hereof at the time of executing the said Conveyances and assurances as aforesaid which said Sum and Interest thereon when paid is hereby agreed and declared between the said Parties to be in full for the above purchase of the said Tract of

Sixty Thousand acres and Premises so to be conveyed as aforesaid.—And for the true performance of all and every the Covenants and agreements aforesaid, each of the parties to these presents do hereby bind themselves their heirs executors administrators and assigns to the other of them in the penal Sum of Twenty Thousand Pounds.—In Witness whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals at Niagara in the District of Niagara & the Province aforesaid the day and year first above written—

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the presence of	(Signed) RICHARD BEASLEY, L.S.
(Signed)	(Signed) DANIEL ERB, L.S.
ROBT. ADDISON	(Signed) SAMUEL BRICKER, L.S.
ISAAC SWAYZE	

I certify the above to be a True Copy of the Original.

WILLIAM DICKSON.

York 19th May 1804.

On 15 May, 1804, this agreement was brought before the Executive Council by an order of reference from the Lieutenant Governor in the following terms.

“B. 12. The Lieut. Governor is pleased to refer to the Consideration of the Executive Council the within Computation of the Principal and Interest remaining due on the Mortgage made by Mr. Beasley to the Trustees for the Six Nations —And the Board will at the same time hear and consider the proposals to be made by Mr. Beasley and the Parties with whom he has entered into Contracts for the Sale of the Lands so in Mortgage to the Trustees and report what under all the Circumstances will be advisable now to be done for the purpose of securing an ultimate arrangement of the business.

“By order of the Lieut. Governor

“JAMES GREEN, Sec’y.”

“Richard Beasley, James Wilson, and John Baptiste Rousseau were Granted on the fifth day of February 1798, under His Majesty’s Letters Patent, Ninety-four thousand and twelve Acres of Land on the Grand River subject to a Debt of £8,887, secured by Mortgage to Trustees.

Principal is	£8,887. —. —.
Richard Beasley.	
Interest on this Sum for 6 years and three Months 6 Pr.Ct.	3,332. 12. 1.
The following sums have been paid by	
This sum endorsed on Bond in possession of Captain Claus about four years ago	£823. —. —.
Interest supd.	197. 10. 4.
This sum being the aggregate of various Receipts and ad- vances made to the Indians as per Captain Brant's receipt 1st November 1801	1,817. 2. 6.
This Sum as per Captain Brant's Receipt 1st June 1802	326. —. —.
	<u>£3,162. 12. 10.</u>
Balance due on the fifth May 1804.	£9,036. 19. 3.

To Extinguish this Debt and release the Security, Mr. Beasley proposes to pay immediately after such being done—the Sum of Five Thousand Pounds, lawful Money, and to secure to the Trustees the residue, by a Mortgage on Sixty thousand Acres redeemable in May 1805.

(Signed) RICHARD BEASLEY.

York 15th May 1804.

“To the Trustees for the five Nations.”

After reading and considering these papers the Council adjourned to meet again on May 18, when a report was adopted part of which is here quoted.

“The Committee heard the propositions made by Mr. Beasley and Mr. Erb, one of the purchasers from him, which Propositions were made in the presence of Colonel Claus and Mr. Stewart, two of the Trustees for the Five Nations, who attended the Council, and Mr. Erb, on behalf of himself and the other purchasers, stated that they were now prepared to pay the sum of Five thousand Pounds Province Currency in part payment of ten thousand Pounds which they had contracted to give for sixty thousand Acres of the Block Granted to Mr. Beasley and others subject to a Mortgage for eight thousand, eight hundred, and eighty seven Pounds Province Currency and Interest, as stated in the Report of the Committee of the Executive Council to your Excellency, dated 24th June, 1803, relative to the Block and other Lands on the Grand River, which had been Granted by the Executive Government before Your Excellency arrived in this Province, to different purchasers from the said Trustees of the Five Nations.

“And Mr. Erb also stated that he and another of the Purchasers were to give their Bond for the remaining Five thousand Pounds, Payable with Interest at six per Cent on the fifteenth of May 1805, out of which the Trustees should take the residue of the Principal and Interest which should be due on the said sum of Eight thousand, eight hundred, and eighty seven Pounds, on the Bond and Mortgage from Mr. Beasley and others, as mentioned in the said Report of 24th June 1803—Upon which several Payments being so made, Mr. Erb and the other Persons concerned with him, were to obtain from the Trustees a Conveyance of Sixty thousand Acres discharged of the Mortgage and all other Incumbrances so far as such Trustees could discharge the same. Mr. Beasley also stated to the Board, that he had purchased the Right of James Wilson and John Baptiste Rousseau from them—Wilson and Rousseau were, as appears from the said Report of the 24th June 1803, joint Purchasers from the Trustees of the Block of which the sixty thousand Acres are part.

“With respect to the Interest now remaining due to the Trustees for the Indians on the said Eight thousand, eight hundred and eighty seven Pounds, The Board found it impossible to ascertain the amount of it, from any Representations they heard, either from the Trustees or Mr. Beasley. In the said Report dated 24th June 1803, the Committee stated to Your Excellency that they found that a sum of six hundred Pounds and a fraction had been paid on account of the Interest of this Mortgage, and that the remainder was then in arrear and due from Richard Beasley, James Wilson, and John Baptiste Rousseau, but on hearing all Parties on the present occasion, Mr. Beasley claimed Credit for several considerable sums as paid and discharged by him to the Five Nations on account of Interest, which further payment Colonel Claus did not then recognize, though he admitted Beasley might have made some payments beyond the six hundred Pounds mentioned in the former Report.

“The only mode that has occurred to the Board of arranging the state of the account between Mr. Beasley and the Trustees for the Five Nations is, that a full Council of the Five Nations should be forthwith called at Niagara, which should be attended by their Chiefs and as many of the Five Nations as could be collected, and Colonel Claus, Deputy Superintendant General of the Indian Department, and such Military officers at Fort George as Your Excellency shall please to direct, and by Mr. Beasley. That at such Council an accurate account of these payments for which Mr. Beasley claims Credit should be explicitly stated to the Five

Nations, in a speech to be made to them by Colonel Claus with the aid of the Interpreter, and that after the Five Nations have been made clearly to understand the payments which Mr. Beasley claims Credit for, they should be heard in Answer with great patience and Indulgence, and Mr. Beasley in the settlement of the Account should have credit for what they will clearly and plainly admit they have received and no more—That their admissions should be specified by the signatures of their Chief Warriors, as upon particular Occasions they have done with respect to certain Documents in possession of the Executive Government, and should be further sanctioned by all the most solemn forms in usage among them.

“That upon the Five thousand Pounds being now paid, and the balance so ascertained to remain due with all Interest being paid in May 1805 to the Trustees, they should discharge the Lands of the Mortgage made to them by Mr. Beasley and his Companions, and deliver up all the securities and Writings relating thereto. But the Trust Money is not to be loaded with any Expence whatever, all Deeds, Writings, and other Charges are to be paid by Mr. Beasley, and those who have purchased from him, in such manner as they may arrange among themselves.

“The Board also found that there was standing out upon Securities to the Trustees in Upper Canada, a further sum of seven hundred and seventy five Pounds, which had proceeded from payments made by Mr. Beasley on account of this purchase, with respect to which the Board recommends that the Trustees should procure payment of this sum as soon as they can, in order that it may be invested with the other Money for the benefit of the Five Nations.

“As to the steps which the Trustees are to take with respect to the Five thousand Pounds now to be paid, and the further arrangement of the whole Concern, The Board recommends that they should upon payment of the Five thousand Pounds to them give an acquittance upon the Bond of Mr. Beasley, Wilson, and Rousseau for as much on account of the Principal and Interest due thereon, and the Board sees no objection to the Two Trustees who are here (Mr. Smith, the other, being in England) entering into an Engagement to release the Lands in question from all Incumbrances, on payment of the residue of all Principal and Interest on the fifteenth of May 1805. This was requested by Mr. Erb, the purchaser when he appeared before the Board, and seems reasonable.

“As to the said Five thousand Pounds now to be paid, The Board recommends that the Trustees should procure

Bills according to the Rate of Exchange prevailing when they obtain them, and to be drawn on England by some Person or Persons duly authorized by Government to give Bills for Money. That these Bills should be remitted, and the Proceeds deposited for the present in the Bank of England, or if the Trustees should find it difficult to open an Account with the Bank of England, then with some Banker in London of known and acknowledged Eminence and Responsibility, That after these Bills have come into course of payment and the proceeds actually lodged as before stated, the Board recommends that such proceeds should be invested in the purchase of three per cent Consolidated Bank Annuities in the Names of the Trustees for the benefit of the Five Nations, And that when payment is obtained of the Residue of the Principal and Interest due from Mr. Beasley, Wilson, and Rousseau, and also of the seven hundred and seventy five Pounds, such Residue of the Principal and Interest, with the seven hundred and seventy five Pounds, and Interest should be in like manner remitted and invested in such three per Cent Annuities—But before such Investment in Stock shall actually take place, the Board recommends that His Majesty's Ministers should be consulted, and that the Measure should receive their Approbation and Sanction.

“If such Sanction should be given, The Board recommends that the Deputy Superintendant General for the Indian Department for the time being, should in the presence of such Military officer, or Officers as Your Excellency should be pleased to direct, annually distribute the Dividends among the Five Nations in such manner as shall be found equitable, and shall be directed by Your Excellency, or the Person Administering the Government for the time being, due Regard being had to any Promises or Engagements which have been made to the Indians on that subject, provided such Engagements and promises have been entered into under due authority.

“The Board was very anxious to have recommended to Your Excellency, additional Trustees, in whose Names the Money should be invested in the Funds. Upon this part of the Case it had however to encounter serious Difficulties, but it has occurred, that the Board might safely recommend Sir John Johnson, Baronet, Superintendant General of the Indian Department, to be in the Trust, and that would much facilitate the receipt of the Dividends as well as the remittance of them to this Province, and would in all other respects be very desirable, that one or two Partners in an eminent Banking House in London should be further added, yet it is conceived that it would be necessary, that the sanc-

tion of His Majesty's Ministers should be procured, as to the Parties in whose Names this Money should be invested, at the same time that they are consulted on the other question before submitted.

"And the Committee has only further to recommend that as often as the Trustees shall by Deaths or otherwise be reduced to two in number, others shall from time to time be added to them."

Chief Justice Allcock, who presided at this meeting of the Council, immediately informed Colonel Claus of the terms of the report and instructed him to receive the sum proposed and take a bond from Mr. Erb for the payment of the balance with interest. A few days later Claus reported that this business had been concluded:

"The payment made by the Pensilvanians did not amount to the Sum expected," he wrote to Allcock, "they having paid only £4,692.10 Pro. Curr'y, for which I gave them my receipt drew up agreeable to the form you Sent me, taking their Bond for £10,795 Pro. Curr'y for the Securing whatever Principal & Interest may be found due on the 23rd May 1805, on the Mortgage of Messrs. Beasley & others to the Trustees for Block No. 2 on the Grand River—on finishing the business which took us three days, they asked me to whom they should pay the balance. I told them to me, they appeared to be perfectly satisfied with all that was done. I had two officers of the 49th with me & I am inclined to believe that our presence there was the cause of several disappointments, my determination was known consequently none presumed to make any proposals, but I have heard (sideways) of Several that were intended."

The responsibility of handling so large a sum of money in hard cash seems to have caused considerable embarrassment. Claus sent it to York by the master of a government ship but both the Chief Justice and the governor's secretary refused to take charge of it and he was instructed to follow and make the remittance to England himself.

In June Lieut. Colonel Isaac Brock relieved Lieut. Colonel R. H. Sheaffe in command at Niagara and he concurred with Colonel Claus in the opinion that the council with the Indians ought preferably to be held at the council house in the Mohawk village on the Grand River instead of Fort George as proposed by the Executive Council. Benjamin Fairchild, an interpreter, was sent to the reserve to invite all the Indians to attend, by calling upon each of the Nations in succession, and he was instructed to keep a journal of his proceedings and deliver it to Claus at the Mohawk village. This journal has been preserved and is remarkable for its eccentricity of spelling.

"21st June 1804.

"I left niagara at 7 O'clock in the morning and arrived at Mr. Davis the same Evening.

"22nd. arrived at Big Foots 10 O'clock in the morning Big Foot being absent I Delivered my message to the Young Chief Dickandow and proseded Up the River to the Late Capt. Dockstaders Upper farm where I met with some Onondogas Going to Bufelow Creek I tole them my arrant they promist to Return by the Day appointed. I then proseded on and Cawld at the House of Every Chief Betwixt Dockstaders & youngs whare I Lodged the 22nd.

"23rd. I Continued on to acquaint Every Chief till I arrived at the Mohawk Village whare I found a Number of Chiefs Collected at Capt. Brants who was present him self he Demanded my message which I Explained in the preasence of the whole and gave the Strings of Wampum to Capt. Brant and he Gave it to the young Cayouga Chief the 23d in the Evening—the Indians Unanimously aGreed to meet at the place appointed on the 28th Instant.

"BENJ. FAIRCHILD Interpreter. I. D."

At this council, which began on June 29 and was attended by representatives of all the Six Nations and the Tutilies, Delawares and Nanticokes, Lieut. Colonel Brock and two other officers of the 49th Regiment, William Dickson, Richard Beasley, and Alexander Stewart were present, besides Colonel Claus, James Givins, Deputy Agent, W. J. Chew, Storekeeper and Clerk, and Benjamin Fairchild and Jean Baptiste Rousseau, Interpreters of the Indian Department. Claus opened the council with the usual formalities and then said:

"Last year about the time your Corn was getting hard, I had the pleasure of seeing you at the King your Great Father's Council Fire at Niagara; I then addressed you on the business of your Land transactions.

"I informed you then that General Hunter had taken your Affairs into his most deliberate consideration, and what the result of those considerations were.

"Since that time some people have come forward to pay for the Township which was sold to Mr. Beasley and his Associates, and the only thing which now remains on the minds of your Trustees, and which they cannot answer for, (unless you in the most public manner express your satisfaction), is the Statement made by Mr. Beasley of Monies said to have been paid on your Account to your Agent Capt. Brant.

"I will here explain to you the sums said to have been paid, and if you are satisfied, the necessary discharges will be given, and your business, I hope, carried on in future more to your satisfaction, and also of the others concerned.

"The following Sums is stated by Mr. Beasley to have been paid by him, and Boards delivered by his order.

"An Account of Monies paid by Richard Beasley to Capt. Joseph Brant at different times as Agent for the Five Nations of Indians, inhabiting the Grand River, being so much on extinguishing a Mortgage on Block No. 2.

1798									Halx Currency
June 21st.	Paid as per Receipt.								£415. 0. 0.
1799.									
Decr. 31st.	do.	do.	do.	do.	£ 63.	1.	0.		
" 17th.	do.	do.	do.	do.	162.	10.	0.		
1800.									
Sept. 11th.	do.	do.	do.	do.	66.	15.	5.		
1801.									
June 20th.	do.	do.	do.	do.	100.	0.	0.		
Augt. 1st.	do.	do.	do.	do.	400.	0.	0.		
An order on Messrs. Smith & Douglas to be paid in Lumber				1000.	0.	0.			
N. Yk. Currency				£1,792.	6.	9.	1120.	4.	2.
Feb. 10th.	Paid as per Receipt.								124. 15. 11.
Account rendered for orders at different times									250. 0. 0.
Paid Captain Brant									231. 10. 11.
Halx Curr'y.									£2,142. 0. 0.

Grand River

28th June, 1804.

(Signed) RICH'D BEASLEY.

"For the above Captain Brant accounts to me as follows.
 "Abstract of the Disbursements of Captain Joseph Brant, Agent for the Six Nations on their Account.

Paid Wm. Kennedy Smith..£1,400. 0. 0. Previous to the 2d May 1st, only £937. 6. 11. of this was rec'd; there was then due by W. K. Smith & Wheeler Douglas by their Note £462. 13. 1. Since that time Boards to the Am't of £106. 8. 0 have been rec'd as pr. Memorandum Book.

Paid Mr. Alexr. Stewart.....	400.	0.	0.	This is to be accounted for Mr. Stewart having had the Money either as Trustee or Council.
ditto to Indians, 9th Novr. 1798	780.	0.	0.	This Sum paid at the Beach 9th Novr. 1798 and Certified by Capt. Claus, Lt. Forbes, R.A., Ens. Bordwine, R. C. Vrs. W. J. Chew, Ind. Dept. and Robert Kerr.
ditto to Robert Nellis.....	55.	0.	0.	For Provisions.
ditto to Mr. Horning.....	182.	10.	0.	For do.
ditto to the Schoolmaster....	32.	0.	0.	For Schooling.
ditto to Mr. Thomas	46.	10.	0.	Expenses of Festival of 1st day of May.
ditto to Ebenezer Allan.....	100.	0.	0.	A Bond for this sum sent to York, and now in the hands of Mr. A. McDonell who will deliver it to the Trustees.
ditto to Mr. Cockrell.....	85.	15.	0.	This Sum expended for Survey at diff't times.
ditto to Dr. Tiffany	12.	0.	0.	For Medicine and Attendance.
ditto to an Indian	6.	0.	0.	For Beef to the Public.
ditto to Allan McDougall	42.	0.	0.	For Spirits &c., expended at Festival.
ditto to Mr. James Clark.....	20.	0.	0.	Paid this Sum as Council Fees.
Expended at Council, (Buffaloe Creek)	16.	0.	0.	
Paid for two fat Cattle at the Beach at two different times	24.	0.	0.	
Provisions from Mr. Beasley at different times	25.	0.	0.	
Paid for a Stallion for Public use	40.	0.	0.	
Paid Mr. Norton and Chiefs for travelling to Albany and twice to Montreal..	80.	0.	0.	
Paid Wm. Dickson, Esqr. on Acc't of Wm. K. Smith	129.	6.	0.	Boards for the same to be delivered by said Smith to the
N. Yk. Curr'y.	£3,400.	1.	0.	Six Nations. Equal Halk Curr'y to £2,105. 0. 7½.

(Signed) JOSEPH BRANT,
Agent."

"If you wish to consult among yourselves before you give your answer, as I wish you to do, I shall wait until you are ready, as it is necessary that this business should come to a close; But do not let us hurry—take time—and weigh the Matter well. If you are satisfied that the Statement of the Account is just, I will lay before you a Paper to sign, and which shall be explained to you, that you may perfectly comprehend & understand it.

"I must further inform you that I hope that every Man that attends for the purpose of executing the above Paper, may keep from Liquor; as I am determined no Name shall appear there, unless the whole Council are perfectly sober."

Next day the Indians stated that they perfectly approved of the payments made by Mr. Beasley to Captain Brant as their agent and agreed that the statement was a just and true one and that full credit should be given for those payments to Mr. Beasley. A written acknowledgement to that effect was then explained to them and signed in triplicate by twenty-four persons as sachems, principal war chiefs, warriors, and principal women of the Six Nations and a certificate was appended, signed by Lieut. Colonel Brock, and Lieuts. William Carey and S. Stretton of the 49th Regiment as witnesses, stating "that they seemed perfectly to understand and comprehend the same, and acknowledged that they did so, and were perfectly satisfied therewith. We do also Certify that those whose Names, marks, and Seals are hereunto affixed, as well as the whole Council, were perfectly sober when they executed the within."

On his return to Fort George Brock reported that he had attended the Council and added: "I shall leave (it) to Colonel Claus to state what passed there, with only observing that every thing was conducted with the utmost decorum and good humour."

An attack upon John Erb by an Indian was reported to Colonel Claus by the governor's secretary in a letter dated 29 October, 1804, with instructions for him to demand that the accused man should be surrendered by the chiefs.

"The Attorney General has stated to the Lieut. Governor, that on the 22nd of this month, about a quarter of a mile East side of Moss's Mill in the County of Haldimand one John Erb, late of the County of Lancaster in the State of Pennsylvania, a purchaser of part of the Lands sold by Mr. Beasley, was with a Malicious intention, Shot at & wounded by a Mississague Indian, known by the name of Jack.—The wound will most probably not prove mortal, but Mr. Erb's Arm is much shattered, and he has received Hurt on other parts of the Body.—The Indian fired with Ball.

"After the accident, the Indian was committed to the Custody of a Constable and another person by John Green,

Esqr., a Magistrate for the Home District, for the purpose of being conveyed to the Gaol of York—he has escaped however from the Constable by the way, nor is it known to what place he has fled.”

The result of this assault has not been ascertained. Brant continued to worry Claus with questions to which he did not consider himself obliged to reply and he reported the matter to the Lieutenant Governor and received the following instructions from his secretary.

“With respect to the conversation which lately passed between you and Captain Brandt, as stated in your above-mentioned Letter, I am directed by the Lieut. General to acquaint you that Captain Brandt has no Right to call on you to answer any Questions he may think proper to ask you. The principles frequently repeated to you by the General himself, with regard to the mode of conduct you ought invariably to pursue in your communications with Brandt, I am directed upon this occasion to call to your recollection, and to add that all your transactions with Brandt must be perfectly Official, and upon record to refer to when necessary.”

Early in the year John Norton had arrived in England armed with letters of introduction from Brandt to the Earl of Moira and other persons of influence and he began to bombard the Colonial Secretary with letters and memorials containing complaints of the conduct of the government towards the Six Nations. A copy of his statement was finally forwarded to Lieut. General Hunter in a letter instructing him “to examine into the nature of the difficulties and inconveniences they may experience and afford such redress as they shall appear entitled to. You will transmit to me the fullest information upon this subject and take care to prevent any encroachment upon the Lands and Privileges assigned to these People.”

Hunter directed Claus to make a full report. Brant, on being interrogated in the presence of several military officers, asserted that Norton “went home to see his Friends, and that he wrote by him to his Friends, the Duke of Northumberland and the Earl of Moira, introducing him to them; and added, that he told Norton, in case those Noblemen asked him any Questions respecting the Indians in this Country, that he would tell them what he knew: but again said that he neither sent Norton himself, nor did he take any paper with him, but the two letters of Introduction.”

Claus reviewed the whole history of the transactions respecting the sale of the lands, which he declared had been “sold by Captain Brant to persons who had not the means of paying the Purchase Money, nor even a prospect of doing so.” He added

that the block purchased by Beasley was the only one likely to turn to any advantage of the Indians. Several of the other purchasers alleged that they had paid considerable sums to Brant but had not paid anything to the Trustees. Commenting on Norton's memorial he said in conclusion:

"The manner in which all Indian Land is held, is in common, the idea of subdividing their property and giving to each individual a share, is a thing not possible—The Grant is to the six Nations and their posterity forever, the exact number or Families of them, is not to be ascertained by any means, as they are spread all over the Continent, and may come in at any time to claim their right in the Soil: the numbers of the Six Nations (Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras) as near as I can ascertain, who live at the following places, viz. Grand River, Buffaloe Creek, Genesee, Ohio, Cadaragaras, Kayenajadeigh, Loyal Village, and the Bay of Quinte, do not exceed 4,000 Men, Women, and Children, out of which I am correct when I say, that they do not exceed 800 fighting men.

"The proceedings of the Council at which it is pretended this request was made to John Norton, was held at the Grand River on the 8th, 9th, & 10th February, 1804, the purport of which was transmitted to me by Jean Baptiste Rousseau, Indian interpreter; this with the letter to me on the 3d February and the Extracts from my letter to him of the 6th, with his answer of the 11th of the same month, I beg leave to lay before you, Sir, in that Council your Excellency will observe, they say they know of nothing to disturb their minds, which I believe to be the case, and I am confident the six Nations will say that they are perfectly ignorant of the Memorial except Captain Brant, Norton, and a few others, not exceeding a dozen, who by reason of constant drunkenness have become his followers; I therefore cannot help believing that the whole has originated with Captain Brant and Norton.

"I may assert with truth that Capt. Brant has, for these few years back, left nothing untried to keep the minds of the young Indians on the Grand River uneasy, as the enclosed Copy of a letter to me from two Chiefs, dated 24th September 1801, will show: which I found to be in consequence of his being almost always in constant state of intoxication, and finding that his endeavours to form parties and stir up mischief among the young Indians was counteracted, and I believe I may venture to add, that the warriors, as well as the Indians in general, are decidedly opposed to Capt. Brant.

"John Norton was formerly an Interpreter in the Indian Dept., neglected his duty in a variety of instances, and when

ordered to be more attentive, thought proper to resign, which was in the year 1800, since which he has been constantly employed as an emissary and partizan of Capt. Brandt. He was made a Chief by the Mohawks, but as I had many strong reasons for disapproving of Norton's conduct, I never acknowledged him as such. His connection is with the Bearsfoot Family, Onondagas of no weight or influence among the six Nations—Norton is a person capable of doing anything however infamous, which he thinks calculated to promote his own Interest: his conduct in the year 1794 was very suspicious when the Western Indians and the United States were at war: he was then strongly suspected of giving information to the Americans, altho' the Indians could not bring it home to him: but their aversion to him and Captain Brant is evident upon all occasions."

He intended to assemble the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations as soon as they returned from their hunting, when he would lay the memorial presented by Norton before them and report what they said about it.

General Hunter transmitted Claus's report with its enclosures to the Colonial Secretary and referred to the former reports of the Executive Council which had already been forwarded, and had, he said, been "drawn up with great care and industry by the Chief Justice, who being now in England, your Lordship will have an opportunity of putting such questions to him upon that subject, as you may deem necessary.

"The transaction relative to the Indian Lands on the Grand River had taken place long before I arrived in this Province:" he remarked, "the whole of that business has always appeared to me to be highly disgraceful to the Executive Government of the Province as well as to the Trustees."

"I have every reason to believe that not only the Six Nations (Joseph Brant and ten or twelve of his drunken followers excepted) but the whole of the Indians of every description, who have ever been in the habit of visiting any part of Upper Canada, never were at any period better satisfied or more attached to His Majesty and his Government than they are at present.

"The consequences likely to result from Emissaries or Ambassadors from Joseph Brant being countenanced in England, must be self evident to your Lordship."

Messengers were sent by the chiefs of the Senecas residing at Buffalo Creek to all the villages of the Six Nations inviting them to assemble there at the end of March, 1805, for a general council of the entire confederacy. Joseph Brant refused this invitation but the council was well attended. Colonel Claus was

notified by strings of wampum delivered by a Mohawk chief on April 4, that a deputation of chiefs and warriors would come to Niagara to inform him of its result. He received them on April 8 in the presence of Lieut. Colonel John Vincent and the officers of the garrison of Fort George, when Red Jacket, a principal Seneca chief presented a written statement in their own language with many signatures appended, which was dated at Buffalo Creek on March 30. This was translated into English and read in part as follows:

"The old Chiefs have desired us to inform them wherein they have done wrong, and we have laid every thing open at the Council Fire that we know and have seen.

"We have seen the conduct of those old Chiefs, and find that they have cheated us a great deal.

"We have taken a great deal of time and consulted each other and we the six Nations have come to a determination that we break Capt. Brant, and that nobody hereafter shall hear what he says."

Red Jacket then addressed Claus in the name of the Six Nations, stating the decision of their recent council.

"When our Father the King gave us the Land on the Grand River," he said, "he did not intend that it should be settled with white People, but, through his regard for us, allowed a part to be disposed of for the benefit of those living there: But Brother there are many more white People settled there than ought to be, particularly on the Road going to Long Point, and should we move over there, we would find it difficult to get a Spot that is good, as the white People have taken care to pick out the best ground. We understand that Captain Brant and some of the Chiefs gave or sold those lands, without the knowledge of those who should be consulted: and as the six Nations cannot consent to have what the King gave to us in common, disposed of in the way it is. we have too much regard for our Posterity to whom we wish it to be preserved.

"We have consulted and took time to examine all the Complaints between the Chiefs and Warriors, which has for these several years existed and find that some of the Chiefs have been in the wrong and much to blame—We have therefore now come to a Resolution to put Captain Brant down, and that to this Resolution one hundred and one Chiefs have put their Marks, and hereafter nobody must hear what he says. There is one thing more Brother, that has caused us to be uneasy, the little News Bird that flies about, has informed some of our People that the Plover (Norton) went across the Great Water to England with a Paper or Com-

plaint from the Six Nations to the King. You know that no business of any consequence can be done, but at Buffalo Creek, the general Council Fire of the six Nations.—If it is true that the Plover went across the Water with a Paper or Message from the six Nations, it was done under ground, and we know nothing about it. We have had a Council at Buffalo Creek, at which were collected the six Nations—there were those who live as far as the Ohio, Alleghany Mountains, and Oneida and not one of them know any thing about it.

“That our great Father the King may not think us such a poor Race as to do a thing in so underhanded a manner, we desire that you will send him the proceedings of this day held at his Council Fire at Niagara.”

Claus assured them that their message and Red Jacket's speech would be transmitted to General Hunter, who, he had no doubt, would forward them to England. With respect to their main complaint as to trespassing on their lands, he spoke very frankly.

“I can only say to you, what I have before, respecting your Lands, that you are at liberty to remove any Settlers from your grounds that have taken upon themselves to settle there, except those who will be put in possession of the Townships which were sold at your particular request, and care will be taken that those places will not be settled until you are perfectly secured in the payment for the same.”

On July 24 Claus informed the governor's secretary that the last payment on Mr. Beasley's township had been made and that he was obtaining bills to forward the money to Sir John Johnson for investment, except some interest which he would pay to the Indians when he distributed their annual presents. By his fortunate sale to Erb and Bricker Beasley had been enabled to pay for the whole and have 34,012 acres left in his possession. He had bought the tract at the rate of one shilling and eleven pence per acre and sold sixty thousand acres at the rate of three shillings and four pence per acre.

Finding that he had lost his influence at the same time with the greater part of the Indians and with the officials of the Indian department, Brant attempted to bring pressure upon the government by an appeal to the legislature. On 22 February, 1807, the following petition from him was read in the Legislative Assembly:

“The Petition of Captain Joseph Brant Respectfully Sheweth,

“That in the year 1775, when the war between Great Britain and her Colonies had commenced, the Mohawk Nation, always faithful to the cause of the King, took a decided and active part, and leaving their families to the mercy of the enemy brought off the Indian Department through a hostile

country into Canada; where their conduct was highly approved by Sir Guy Carleton, who, in a public council with the Indians, desired them to take up the hatchet and defend their rights; he then solemnly engaged that we should be remunerated for any losses we might sustain during the war.

"Some years after, when it was foreseen that the contest was likely to take an unfavourable turn, we stated our situation to the late Sir Frederick Haldimand, then Governor and Commander in Chief, and requested a confirmation of General Carleton's promise, by which it was understood that the Indians who had lost their lands should receive an equivalent in this country, and at all events have them as fully confirmed to them as those they were possessed of before the war; and the grant which was afterwards obtained is now before your Honorable House.

"The lands thus granted, although from the quantity and situation by no means an equivalent for our losses, we cheerfully accepted, in full confidence that they should be our own property, at least as much so as those we had sacrificed by joining the British Standard at the commencement of the war.

"After thus obtaining those lands, which are delineated on the map, which is also before Your Honorable House, we, with the approbation of General Haldimand, settled some white families on the tract (many of whom had served with us) for the purpose of making roads and teaching our people the benefit of agriculture, &c. I am sorry to say that our grievances commenced upon the establishment of the present Government of Upper Canada, by whom it was contemplated to curtail us of a great part of this tract.

"Considering ourselves under the protection of His Majesty, it becomes a duty we owe to ourselves and our posterity candidly to state the difficulties we labour under. Divisions have been fomented amongst the Indians by Mr. Claus, the Deputy Superintendent, which may lead to serious consequences. He has taken the most unjustifiable means to destroy our former transactions, for which purpose he brought a party of Senecas from Buffaloe Creek, to whom he dictated a paper purporting to make void all we had done respecting the lands in question; although he must have known that those Indians who live within the limits of the United States, have, in their present situation, no right to interfere in the disposal of our lands. This will appear by referring to General Haldimand's grant.

"We cannot see what interest it can be to the Government to tie our hands in regard to the disposal of our own property, or that Mr. Claus, through the means he has in his power, should disunite us.

"That a small spot of ground of so little consequence to the British Nation should become a matter of contention we cannot suppose to be their intention, but if, unfortunately for us, this should be the case, and if ever this small tract is considered as too large for the former services and losses of the Indians, in God's name let them confirm the one half.

"We are aware that all representations of this nature should come through the Indian Department, but as they have long since ceased from paying attention to our complaints, we are under the necessity of appealing to your Honorable House in hopes of obtaining relief through such means as you in your wisdom shall see fit.

In behalf of the Indians.

JOSEPH BRANT,
Agent."

"York, 14th February, 1806.

Benajah Mallory, already a somewhat notorious person, who had been elected to succeed D. W. Smith as member for the counties of Norfolk, Oxford, and Middlesex, gave notice of a motion to consider this petition in the committee of the whole on the following Wednesday. It was so considered on that and the following day when a report was adopted that "the prayer of the said Petition was entitled to further consideration and that it be taken into consideration early in the next ensuing session of the Provincial Parliament." No record appears in the Journals that the question was brought up again and Brant died in November, 1807.

The materials for the history of the progress of the early settlement of the tract purchased by the Mennonite association are scanty but a few documents are available which tend to show the obstacles it had to overcome in the shape of petitions to the legislature.

On 18 February, 1808, the following naive petition was read in the Legislative Assembly:

"To the Honorable the Legislature of the Province of Upper Canada.

"The Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of the Township of Brand, commonly called Beasley's Township, or Block No. 2.

"Humbly Sheweth,—

"That several of our Township inhabitants takes kegs and barrels full of spirits from the Distillers and trades with the Indians, which causes them to get drunk and lie about and not follow their hunting, and their young ones starving for hunger, going about begging and halloing for victuals before our doors like beasts, and at the same time often the old ones

coming along and being drunk, scaring ourselves and our families by their bad behaviour.

“And whereas it is known by us that a certain Abraham Stouffer, of our Township, was shot by a drunken Indian through his arm and other places, and was then in danger of his life; such suffering causes us to petition to Your Honorable Assembly to take into consideration what is said, and prevent such trading by an Act.

And Your Petitioners, as in duty bound will every pray.
Beasley's Township, 2nd Jan. 1808.

JOHN SHOOP,
JOSEPH BARRINGER,
and Twenty-five others.”

It does not appear that any action was taken by the legislature on this petition.

On 3 February, 1810, Messrs. Mallory and Sovereign introduced a petition from “the inhabitants of Block Number Two on the Grand River in the West Riding of the County of York,” which was not entered in the Journal, but which apparently prayed for assistance in opening and repairing roads, as on February 5, Messrs. Mallory and Willcocks introduced a bill for granting a certain sum of money to the inhabitants of Block Number Two for that purpose. This bill was given a three months' hoist on February 9.

Next day an interesting petition was introduced by Mr. T. B. Gough, the member for the east riding of York and Simcoe, which was probably signed by many inhabitants of Block No. 2.

“To the Honorable the Speaker and Members of the House of Commons of Upper Canada, in Parliament assembled.

“The Petition of the Society of people called Mennonists and Tunkers,

“Humbly Sheweth,

“That by an Act of the Province, passed in the thirty-third year of his Majesty's reign, Your Petitioners, after producing a certificate from three or four respectable people, one of whom must be a preacher in the Society to which they belong, shall pay in time of peace Four Dollars a year, and in time of invasion or insurrection Twenty Dollars a year, for which favorable law and liberty of conscience we are thankful to God and the Government under which we live. And whereas many of our Sons now under age and incapable of judging in matters of conscience, are not as yet actually considered as Church members, and cannot of course secure the necessary certificates, we therefore humbly pray the same indulgence may be extended to them that is granted to ourselves,

their parents, that is that they may be exempted from serving in the Militia by paying the commutation money until they arrive at the age of twenty-one, or until they be admitted as Church Members.

"And your Petitioners further pray that your Honorable Body will take into your consideration the many difficulties which poor people, with large families, have to labour under in new settlements, and if you in your wisdom should deem meet to lessen the burden of our commutation money Your Petitioners as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

"Signed by two Preachers, two Elders, and thirty-five members of the Society of Mennonists and Tunkers.

"The other Petition is of the same tenor as the above, with thirty-four signatures to it."

Mr. Gough introduced a bill for the relief of minors of the Religious Societies of Mennonists and Tunkers which was passed, but amended in some inconsiderable respects by the Legislative Council. The amendments were accepted by the Assembly and the Act was assented to on March 12.

On 5 February, 1811, the settlers in Block Number 2, again appealed for assistance to the Legislature.

"To the Honorable House of Assembly in their Legislative capacities assembled.

The Petition of the inhabitants of Block Number Two, Grand River in the West Riding of the County of York,

"Humbly Sheweth,

"That your Petitioners are settled at the western extremity of the said County, unconnected with any settlement within a distance of seventeen miles.

"That your Petitioners have expended considerable sums of money in improving their lands, and have suffered many hardships and inconveniences inseparable from the situation that attends the improvement of new countries.

"And that Your Petitioners have expended the sum of One Thousand Dollars, exclusive of their voluntary labour in opening a road from the Block aforesaid to the inhabited part of the County in the neighborhood of the head of Lake Ontario.

"Notwithstanding these exertions, the road is barely passable to travel, and Your Petitioners find that their funds are exhausted, and pray your honorable body will grant them the sum of one hundred pounds to enable them to complete the said road.

"And your Petitioners as in duty bound, will ever pray.

"Benjamin Bamberger, Jacob Stromer, Jacob Sipes, David Skome, J. F. Lesser, Samuel Stouffer, and eighty-seven other subscribers."

On February 9, Messrs. John Wilson and Mallory moved for leave to introduce a bill "for granting a sum of money to the Petitioners of Block No. 2 on the Grand River, for the purpose of repairing the road from thence to Dundas Mills, which was passed in the negative."

Mr. Beasley continued to interest himself in public affairs. At the general election of 1808, he was elected to represent the West Riding of York in the Legislative Assembly but was unseated on petition and succeeded by John Wilson. Next year a powerful agitation was begun for the formation of a new district to be composed of a part of the district of Niagara, the West Riding of the County of York, and the County of Haldimand, to be named the district of Nelson. The persons chiefly interested in this movement differed widely on the choice of a situation for the court house and county town. One party favoured a site at Burlington Beach on land originally granted to Joseph Brant, but subdivided and sold by him in small parcels. Another party, headed by Richard Hatt of Ancaster, championed the selection of the village of Coot's Paradise, where they stated "that Governor Simcoe, seeing so advantageous and proper a situation, with the advice and concurrence of the Executive Council, reserved at the head of water communication, from which Dundas Street proceeds to the westward, a Town plot, in which are reserves for the purpose of erecting all the various public buildings, place of worship, &c., necessary in a County Town; which we conceive to be in the heart of a good settlement, from which every supply may be drawn to make persons settled in a Town comfortable, and that the river down which all the produce from this part of the country, as well as further westward, must necessarily pass, has been cleared out last Summer at the expense of private individuals; that boats of a very considerable magnitude may now commodiously be brought up to the town reserve, and that access by land to and from it is easy and good by the various roads which pass through and to it."

Their petition was supported by a subscription list offering \$2,760 for the purchase of materials for building a gaol and court house. A third party, of whom Richard Beasley was one, opposed both the former sites, and proposed a site on Lot number 14 in the second concession of the township of Barton, on the "south side of Burlington Bay, and nigh the head, on the main Road leading to the Grand River, Dundas Street, &c. . . . having immediately adjacent a sufficiency of building timber, a redundancy of excellent stone and water that may be commanded at the pleasure and to the convenience of every individual at a trifling expense," which they stated was "distant only one mile and a quarter to the best harbour on Burlington Bay." This petition purported to bear the signatures of inhabitants of "Blocks Nos. 1, 2, and 3 on the River Ouse (more

commonly known as the Grand River)" as well as other parts of the projected district. A bill was passed for the creation of the new district by the Assembly at that session and again in February, 1812, but on each occasion failed to pass the Legislative Council. The new district was eventually formed in 1816 and given the surname of Lieutenant Governor Gore instead of the victor of Trafalgar.

Richard Beasley was promoted to the rank of colonel on 2 January, 1809, and commanded the 2nd Regiment of York Militia during the war of 1812-14, without discredit, although at no time actively engaged. A letter from him to the Adjutant General of Militia, dated at Barton on 11 September, 1814, has been preserved, which shows that his regiment had become disorganized from the loss of officers, several being prisoners of war, while others had resigned or removed from the district; two had received commissions in the Incorporated Militia and two were serving in the commissariat.

"I at the same time inform you that for want of officers it is with difficulty I can have the necessary duties of the regiment performed. . . . Many of them are removed out of the beat of the Regt., others in government employ by which means there is some companies that have no officers remaining amongst the men. . . . Capt. Bates is of no use to the Regt. He has done no duty in the Regt. for more than 3 years. When ordered for duty he is unwell. His indisposition does not prevent him performing his daily avocations. Ensign James Mills was tried before a magistrates' court for disobedience of orders and found guilty of the offence. He eluded the sentence of the court by deserting to the enemy in May, 1813, returned with the enemy at the taking of Fort George, was apprehended by myself. I delivered him to General Vincent then at the 40 Mile Creek. I offered to substantiate all the charges I preferred against him whenever the General thought proper to (have) him brought to trial. He was kept in confinement some time at Burlington. General Vincent thought proper to liberate him. I considered him from the time I delivered him to General Vincent from the nature of his offence a state prisoner, completely out of my reach as Col. of the Regt. Whether the desertion of his (post?) renders his appointment in the Regt. vacant without further proceedings I must leave to your decision. This much I must assure you that no officer of the Regt. will consent to do duty with a man that is disgraced in so glaring a manner."

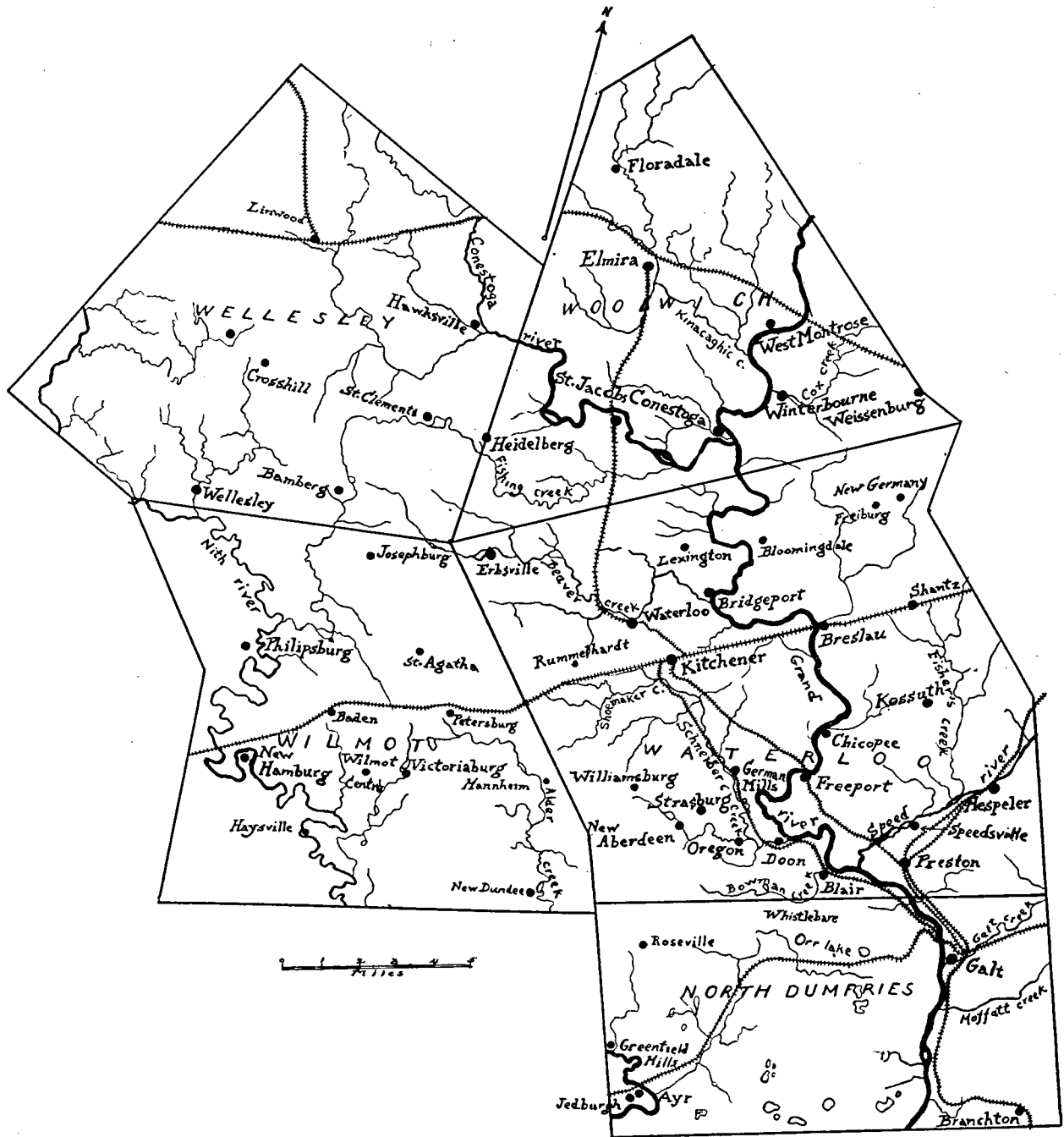
In 1813, Colonel Beasley was appointed a commissioner to take charge of abandoned farms and property of persons who had fled from the province, and in 1814, a commissioner for the detention of persons suspected of giving aid or information to the

enemy. Two of his sons held commissions in his regiment. When the Gore District was formed the 2nd Regiment of York Militia became the 1st Gore Regiment and Colonel Beasley was appointed president of the permanent board on militia pensions for that district.

In February, 1817, his name heads the list of petitioners against the return of James Durand as a member of the Assembly for the newly created County of Wentworth, and on 11th February, 1818, he was examined as a witness by the House.

His private interests as an owner of a large tract of wild lands induced him to take part in the agitation started by Robert Gourlay for reform in the public administration of provincial affairs. He was accredited as a representative of the Gore District in the convention of "Friends of Free Enquiry," which met at York in July, 1818, and was elected chairman. He signed the address¹ adopted for presentation to the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, which the latter refused to receive and denounced the convention as being unconstitutional. As a punishment for his indiscreet activity, Beasley was deprived of his commissions as an officer of the militia and as a magistrate. At the general election in 1824, he was elected as one of the members of the Legislative Assembly for the County of Halton and held the seat until 1828. His long and busy life ended on 16 February, 1841. The inscription on his gravestone at Christ Church, Barton, states as his chief title to remembrance that he was "The first settler at the head of the lake."

¹ See Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society, Vol. XXIII, pp. 88-9, 158-60.



WATERLOO COUNTY

ORIGIN OF THE PLACE AND STREAM NAMES OF WATERLOO COUNTY, ONTARIO

By W. J. WINTEMBERG.

And when these toils rewarding,
Broad lands at length they'll claim,
They'll call the new possession
By some familiar name.

—Agnes Strickland.

The places and streams in this county have been named after early pioneers and places in far-off lands from whence they came, prominent men of our country and other lands, Indian names, local features, an old hostelry, the battle of Waterloo, and a brother of the hero of the famous battle. Some of the names give us a clue to the national origin of the early settlers of the county—Scottish names occurring in those parts where people of Scottish origin settled, German names where the people were mainly of Teutonic origin, and English where they were English. A deplorable lack of a name sense is suggested by such names as Petersburg, Josephsburg, and Branchton. With all due respect to the memory of Lord Kitchener, I think it is unfortunate that when the name of Berlin was changed it was not replaced by a more suitable name than the one chosen. The name Berlin also was unsuitable and should not have been chosen in the first place, because, as everyone knows, the duplication of the names of national capitals such as Berlin, London and Paris, in other parts of the world, leads to endless confusion. Compared with other parts of Canada there are few duplicate names in the county, but such duplications as do exist could easily have been avoided, considering that there were so many suitable names, including Indian names, from which to make a choice. A few of the names are known locally only, especially since the establishment of rural mail delivery. Even a few of the larger places are no longer indicated on topographical maps.

In dealing with the place-names I am following the same plan as in my article on "The Place and Stream Names of Oxford County, Ontario," published in 1925.

A list of books and articles consulted in the preparation of this article is given at the end. My thanks are here gratefully tendered to all those who kindly contributed information.

The origin of the names will be discussed in the following order:— I, the name of the county; II, the names of the townships; III, the names of the cities, towns and villages; and IV, the names of the streams and lakes.

I.

WATERLOO COUNTY (1849)

The grave of France, the deadly Waterloo.

—Byron: *Childe Harold*.

The name of the county commemorates the famous battle near the village of Waterloo in Belgium, in which the French were defeated by the English and their allies, June 18, 1815.

The county originally formed a part of the Wellington district, which was named in honor of the Duke of Wellington, the hero of the great battle.

According to Taylor the probable derivation of the name Waterloo is "watery wood" or "wet pasture."¹

II.

NORTH DUMFRIES TOWNSHIP (1816)

Till Dumfries with his curt he past.

—*Wintownis Cronykill*.

Frae Atrick Forest forward to Domfreise.

—*The Flying of Dunbar and Kennedie*.

This township was named by the Hon. William Dickson after his native town in Scotland, when he purchased the ninety thousand acres of land which now constitute the townships of North and South Dumfries.

Dumfries is said to be derived from *dun Fris*, "the Frisian's fortress."

WATERLOO TOWNSHIP (1817)

Although, as a rule, townships in Ontario are named after the counties of which they form a part, this township gave its name to the county. It received its name soon after the great battle.

WELLESLEY TOWNSHIP (1840)

There may you read with spectacles on eyes,

How many Wellesleys did embark for Spain,

As if they meant to colonize,

How many troops y-crossed the laughing main.

—Byron: *Childe Harold*.

¹Taylor (b), p. 292.

This township was named after "Richard Wellesley, Marquis of Wellesley, of Norragh, second Earl of Mornington, Viscount Wellesley of Dangan Castle, and Baron Wellesley, of Wellesley, Somersetshire, the eldest brother of the Duke of Wellington; born 1760, died 1842. He was a Lord of the Treasury, 1787; Governor-General of India 1798-1805. . . ; Ambassador to the central junta of Spain in 1809; Secretary for Foreign Affairs 1809-'12, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1821."¹ The original name of the family was Wellington, which was exchanged for Wellesley about 1797.

Harrison regards Wellesley as equivalent to "Well's Lea (O.E., *wiell*, genit. *wielles*, spring and *leah* (M.E. *legh*, *ley*, etc.), a meadow)." The name appears as Welleslegh in 1310 and in the *Chester Rolls* (1331) as Welleslege.

WILMOT TOWNSHIP (1825)

With doubtful strife Humanity and Art
For conquest vie in Wilmot's head and heart.

—William Duncombe.

According to Gardiner this township was named either after Major Samuel Street Wilmot, a deputy surveyor of Upper Canada in 1811, or Sir Robert John Wilmot-Horton. Major Wilmot, who was born in 1774, was the son of Captain Samuel Wilmot, a U. E. Loyalist settler in New Brunswick. His "name is frequently mentioned in connection with the surveys of townships and villages."² The other Wilmot, after whom the township may also have been named, was born December 21, 1784, and died May 31, 1841. He was Under Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in Lord Liverpool's administration when he "introduced the Bill into the Commons to carry out the sale of the Clergy Reserve lands to the Canada Company," and "was in office when this township was named."³ Having married Anna Beatrix Horton he assumed the additional name of Horton by royal license, May 8, 1823.

There are various origins given for the name Wilmot. Bardsley thinks it is a baptismal name, "the son of William," from diminutive William-ot, used for both sexes." He says further: "It existed in Cornwall as a girl's name till the close of the last century."

¹ Gardiner, p. 260.

² *Ibid.*, p. 258.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

WOOLWICH TOWNSHIP

(1822)

The shrinking bard adown an alley skulks,
And dreads a meeting worse than Woolwich hulks.

—Burns: *Epistle from Esopus to Maria*.

According to Gardiner this township was named after Woolwich, in Kent, England.¹ The fact that a vessel called the *Woolwich* carried naval stores to Canada in 1813, may have had something to do with the selection of the name.

The name Woolwich, according to Taylor, "appears in *Domesday* as *Hulviz*. Hence the name has usually been explained as *hyl-vik*, 'hill bay' or 'hill village.' But in earlier charters the name is written *Uuluwich*, *Wulewic*, or *Wulewich*, forms which point to the A. S. *wull* or *wulle*, 'wool,' or possibly to the proper name *Wulf*."² In another work he gives the probable meaning as "hill reach."³ Wagner says "Woolwich was originally *Hylwich*, i.e., 'hill town'."⁴

III.

AYR

(1838).

Town of Ayr, town of Ayr.

—Burns: *The Kirk's Alarm*.

Twixt Wigton and the town of Air.

—Old Rhyme.

This place was first known as Mudge's Mills, which name it owed to the fact that grist and saw mills were erected there by Abel Mudge in 1824. The present name was given by Robert Wylie, an Ayrshire man, who opened one of the first stores in the place, and became the second post-master, succeeding James Jackson.

The name Ayr, according to one authority, is derived from the Norse *eyrr*, the "beach."⁵ Johnston thinks it is derived from "*abh-reidh*, 'smooth river,' same as Aray."⁶ The name has been spelt in various ways—Are, in 1197; Air, as in the line from an old rhyme above, about 1230; and Aare, about 1400.

¹ P. 260.

² Taylor (b), page 297.

³ Idem. (a), page 131.

⁴ Wagner, p. 161.

⁵ Taylor (b), p. 56.

⁶ Johnston, p. 23.

BADEN
(1855)

The king was riding down from Stein to Baden
Upon his way to join the court at Rheinfeld.

—Schiller: *William Tell*.

This place was founded and named by Jacob Beck, who was born in the Grand Duchy of Baden in 1816.

According to Taylor, "Baden, 'at the baths,' is the dative plural of the Old High German, *bad*, a 'bath.' The name is borne by a watering-place near Vienna, by another in the Swiss canton of Aargau, and by a third in the Breisgau. The last, which was the *Aurelia Aquensis* of the Romans, has given a name to the Grand Duchy of Baden, of which it was formerly the capital; hence the town itself is now distinguished by the name of Baden-Baden; *i.e.*, 'Baden town in Baden Duchy,' to distinguish it from the other towns called Baden."¹

BAMBERG
(1861)

This place was first called Weimar. Its present name, which was suggested by Ferdinand Walter, the post-master, was given in 1861. It was named after the German city of Bamberg.

"Bamberg, in Franconia," says Taylor, "is shown by the ninth century form Babinberg to be a patronymic from the personal name Bab. Bobenheim, near Worms, and Babenhausen, near Bielefeld are from the same source."²

BLACK HORSE

About 1843 this cross-roads settlement consisted of a few houses, a tannery, and the Black Horse inn. The tavern, which was so called because the sign bore the painted figure of a black horse, stood on the southeast corner of lot 37, concession XI, and disappeared many years ago. The corner is still known as Black Horse.

BLAIR
(1858)

Blair in Athol 's mine Jeanie.

—Song: *When ye Gang Awa' Jamie*.

The earliest names of this place were New Carlisle and Durhamville, on account of the mills there being known as the Carlisle

¹ Taylor (b), p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

and Durham Mills respectively. Another early name, by which it was generally known, was "Covered Bridge," from the covered bridge which spanned the river.¹ According to information received from Miss K. L. Wilks, of Galt, the present name is said to have been given in honor of Adam Johnston Fergusson Blair, who was born in Perthshire, Scotland, November 4, 1815, and settled with his parents near Hamilton in 1833. He was called to the bar of Upper Canada in 1839; and was made a Queen's Counsel in 1867. From 1849 to 1854 he was a member of the Assembly of Canada for Waterloo, and from 1854 to 1857 for Wellington south. From 1860 to 1867 he was a member of the Legislative Council of Canada for the "Brock" division, and was made a senator in 1867. In 1863 he was appointed receiver-general in the Macdonald-Sicotte administration and later became President of the Council in the Belleau coalition government and in the first Dominion government of Sir John A. Macdonald. In 1862, on coming into possession of a Scottish estate, he assumed the name of Blair.

Blair is said to be derived from the Gaelic *blar*, "a plain" or "field."

BLOOMINGDALE
(1861)

It is not known who is responsible for the name of this place or after what place it was named, but it may have been called after Bloomingdale, a post-hamlet in Luzerne county, Pennsylvania, by a Pennsylvania German settler. There are other Bloomingdales in Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Wisconsin.

BRANCHTON
(1856)

This place was probably so named because it was on a branch of the then Great Western railway between Galt and Harrisburg, which was opened for traffic August 21, 1854.

BRESLAU
(1856)

No one now living in this place seems to know why Breslau was chosen as its name. It was probably named after Breslau, the capital of Silesia, Germany.

¹ Evans, p. liii.

Taylor says the city was "called Wrozlawa in 1018." He says further: "The city arms are those of Wratlslaw, King of Bohemia, by whom, according to local legend or tradition, the town was founded."¹

BRIDGEPORT
(1842)

This place was probably named after Bridgeport, a post-borough in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania. John Tyson, an early settler from Frederick township, Montgomery county,² laid out that part of the village on the east side of the Grand River,³ and probably gave it the name, as it was known as Bridgeport from the first. The part of the village on the west side of the river was founded by Jacob S. Shoemaker and it was long known as Shoemaker's Mills. It bore the additional names of Glasgow and Lancaster at different periods.⁴

There are thirty-five places called Bridgeport in the United States, four of them being in Pennsylvania.

The origin of the name is obviously "the bridge at the port."

CENTREVILLE

This name needs no explanation. It is the seat of government of Waterloo township and the township hall is located here.

CHICOPEE

This is one of the local names. The Chicopee Woollen Mills were located here, hence the name.

Chicopee is the name of a river, city and falls in Massachusetts. According to Gannet⁵ it is "an Indian word meaning 'cedar tree,' or 'birch-park place'."⁶ Douglas-Lithgow says it means "violent water."⁷

¹Taylor (b), p. 75.

²Eby, Vol. II., p. 544.

³Evans, p. lv.

⁴Belden's Atlas, p. vi.

⁵P. 72.

⁶Also Von Engeln and Urquhart, p. 59.

⁷P. 104.

CONESTOGA
(1852)

Was either named after the river (*q.v.*), or the town of Conestoga, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania.

CROSSHILL
(1852)

This place was named after Crosshill in Ayrshire, Scotland, by John Campbell and Hugh Hutchinson, natives of the Scottish village, who settled here in 1843.

The name was originally probably "cross on the hill."

DOON
(1851)

Ye banks and braes o' bonnie Doon.

—Burns: *The Banks of Doon.*

This name was given by Adam Ferrie, Jr., who built grist and saw mills, a distillery, store, tavern and dwelling houses in the place.

Doon is the name of a river and lake in Ayrshire, Scotland. The name appears as Logh Done about 1300. Johnston suggests its derivation from Gaelic, Irish and Old English "*dun*, a hill, then a hill fort."¹ Another derivation, which I have seen somewhere, is from Gaelic *dubh amhuin* (pronounced doo awn), *i.e.*, "black river."

ELMIRA
(1866)

According to information received from George Klinck this place, at first known as West Woolwich, was probably called after Elmira, New York, which is said to have been named after Elmira, the daughter of Nathan Teall, a tavern keeper.² According to a local legend, when the first English settler, whose wife's name was Mira, arrived where the village now stands, his ox-cart became stuck in the mire and he called to his wife, "Ell, Mira, let's go 'ome," and so, by dropping the apostrophe and one l, and joining the two words, we have the Elmira of to-day.

¹ Johnston, p. 89.

² Von Engeln and Urquhart, p. 71.

The name Elmira is not given in any books on feminine Christian names to which the writer has access. It is probably a compound of two names.

ERBSVILLE
(1863)

This place is said to have been named after V. Erb, one of the early settlers. The fact that John Erb was the first post-master may have had something to do with the selection of the name. Nicholas Erb, the ancestor of the Erb family in America, came from Switzerland to Pennsylvania with his family in 1722.¹

Heintze derives the name from "*das Erbe*," i.e., the heritage, or inheritance.²

FLORADALE
(1876)

Hail May, Hail Flora, Hail Aurora Schene.

—William Dunbar: *The Thistle and the Rose*.

According to information received from A. J. Ruggle this place was first called Musselman after Joseph Musselman, a Pennsylvania German, who was one of the first settlers in the vicinity of the present village. The name was changed to Flora when the place became a post village in 1863. Owing to the similarity between the two names, many letters went to Elora, instead of their proper destination, so the *dale* was added by the Post Office Department in 1876.

FREEPORT
(1863)

This place was for many years known as the "Toll Bridge." The toll was abolished when the postoffice was established, and so it was called Freeport at the suggestion of Henry Lutz and his brother, who were early settlers in the village.³

¹Eby, Vol. II., pp. 614-615.

²Pp. 100 and 131.

³Information from records of the Geographic Board of Canada.

FREIBURG
(1852)

And Freyburg is a stronghold of the free.

Schiller: *William Tell*.

No one seems to know who named this place or after what place it was named. There are places called Freiburg in Baden, Prussian Silesia, Hanover, Saxony, Switzerland and Uechtlund.

Taylor says: "Freiburg, a city which gives its name to a Swiss canton, was a 'free town' built in 1177, on his own estates by Berchtold IV, count of Zæhringen, to which he granted a charter giving the same liberties as had been granted in 1120 by his uncle Berchtold III to the sister city of Freiburg im Breisgau."¹

GALT
(1827)

Ah, No! from Morier's pages down to Galt's,
Each tourist pens a paragraph for "Waltz."

—Byron: *The Waltz*.

This place was first called Shade's Mills, after Absalom Shade, born in Wyoming county, Pennsylvania, in 1793, who founded the place in 1816. The post office seems to have been established under this name as early as that year but the name was changed to Galt about 1827. The name was given by the Hon. William Dickson in honor of his friend, John Galt, the Scottish novelist, who, when Commissioner of the Canada Company, visited Dickson and the little settlement. Galt was born in Irvine, Ayrshire, May 2, 1779, and died at Greenock, Scotland, April 11, 1839.

GERMAN MILLS
(1878)

This place is said to have been so named "because the principal customers were German settlers."² The original local name among Germans was Judaburg, on account of the mill being owned by a German Jew named Samuel Liebschuetz. He bought the mill from Philip Bliehm November 14, 1835.³

¹ Taylor (b), p. 129.

² Report of the Geographic Board of Canada (b), p. 98.

³ See Snider, p. 25.

GREENFIELD MILLS

John Goldie, who settled near Ayr, called his property Greenfield Mills after a place near his home in the old land.

HAWKESVILLE (1852)

When Hawke came swooping from the west.

—H. Newbolt: *Hawke*.

The writer of the "Historical Sketch" in Belden's Atlas of the county, says: "Hawkesville was settled by the Hawke family about 1846.¹ The brothers of that name, John, Gabriel, Percival, and William, came in from England, accompanied by their father, who was then past the prime of life. They built a grist mill where the village now is as soon as they came in, and some time after a saw mill was built by Percival about four miles farther west; Gabriel opened the first store in the place soon after."² The fact that Gabriel was the first post-master may have had something to do with the selection of the name. He was Deputy Reeve and his brother John was Reeve in the Provisional Council of Waterloo county in 1852.

Hawke, according to Harrison, is "an ancient personal name, nickname and sign name from the hawk."

HAYSVILLE (1854)

But right so as these holtes and these hayes,
That have in winter dead been and dry.

—Chaucer: *Troilus and Creseyde*.

This place was first called Jonesboro', then Wilmot,³ and the present name was given in honor of Robert Hayes, the first post-master, who was appointed in 1837. Mr. Hayes, a miller by trade, was a native of the north of Ireland, and came to this place from the vicinity of Ingersoll in 1835. Here he erected a saw mill and was proprietor of a store. He died in McKillop township, Huron county, in 1874.

According to Bardsley the name means "'at the hay,' i.e., the haw or hedge, an enclosure."

¹ Evans says it was in 1847.

² P. vii.

According to Snider, p. 32, John Hawke built a dam across the Conestoga river and a flour mill in 1846. He received the Crown title to his property on July 1, 1851.

³ Smith (b), Vol. II, p. 122.

HEIDELBERG (1854)

All goes here
As gaily as i' the Keep at Heidelberg.

—Schiller: *Wallenstein*.

We'll drink up a whole vessel . . . so big that the Tun of Heydelburg shall seem but a barrel of pickled oysters to it.—Cowley: *Cutter*, ii, 5.

This place was named after Heidelberg, Germany, either by John Meyer or John Kressler, "The first named of whom platted the south-east portion of the village named, and the latter of whom held the commission of Post-master on the establishment of Heidelberg post office."¹

Taylor says: "Heidelberg, in Baden, is a name of uncertain etymology. It has been conjectured to mean 'bilberry hill.' (German *heidebeere* = 'bilberries')."²

HESPELER (1858)

This place was first called Bergytown after Michael Bergy, who built the first foundry and saw mill there in 1830.³ In 1835 the name was for some reason changed to New Hope, which was retained until 1858, when the place was incorporated as a village and named in honor of Jacob Hespeler, who was born in Ehningen, Wurtemberg, in 1809.⁴ After following several different occupations, including fur-trading, for a number of years in the United States, he came to Preston in 1835, where he went into the general store business and later built a grist mill, distillery, and vinegar factory. He was also post-master and magistrate of the village. In 1845 he removed to New Hope where he established grist and saw mills and a cooperage. He represented the village in the Provisional Council of Waterloo county in 1852 and in 1861 he unsuccessfully contested the riding of South Waterloo as a Conservative. He died March 5, 1881.

The etymology of the name Hespeler is uncertain. It may be of the same origin as Hesepe, which, Heintze says, means "one from Hesepe or Hesepe,"⁵ a place in Hanover.

The name Hespeler has been given to a fossil shell found in the neighborhood—*Lophospira hespelerensis*.

¹Belden, p. viii.

²Taylor (b), p. 144.

³Panabaker, p. 215.

⁴Breithaupt, p. 12.

⁵"Hesepe, einer aus Hesepe oder Hesepe."—P. 159.

JEDBURGH

The Rutherfuirds, with grit Renoun,
Convoyit the toun of Jedbruch out.

—*The Ballad of the Reid-Squair.*

About the year 1837 John Hall built a distillery and a flour mill and laid out a village around it, which, as he was from the Borders, he called Jedburgh. As he neglected to have the post office established, however, the place became a suburb of the village of Ayr. It was still known by this name about twenty-five years ago. The place is mentioned in Smith's Gazetteer.¹

The name seems to mean "castle on the river Jed." Taylor says: "Jedburgh, the county town of Roxburghshire, is an assimilated name, being a corruption of *Jedworth* or *Gedworth*, the *worth* or estate on the River Jed, a tributary of the Tweed."² According to Johnston, "The name of the river Jed is probably from Welsh *gwd*, a turn or twist."³

JOSEPHSBURG

(1880)

This place was named after Joseph Schwartz, who kept a hotel there about the time when the place was named. He was born in 1841, settled here in 1865, and died in 1905. This is the place called Stadt-spitz by German residents of this part of the county.

Joseph is a Hebrew name and means "he who shall increase, or be augmented."⁴

KITCHENER

(1916)

Which, duly concocted with science and care,
Doctor Kitchener says, is beyond all compare.

R. Barham: *The Witches' Frolic.*

The earliest name of the place appears to have been "the Sand Hills and later . . . Mount Pleasant"⁵ "Ben Eby" and "Ebytown," the latter because five of the first settlers in the village were Ebys.⁶ The name Berlin, which it bore until 1916, is said to have been given to the place in May, 1826. According to Eby, a number of laboring men, who had come together in a carpenter shop, were discussing the need of a new name for the village, when Joseph Schneider and Benjamin Eby appeared among them and the latter

¹Smith (a), p. 88.

²Taylor (b), p. 156.

³P. 141.

⁴Nichols, p. 61.

⁵Douglas, p. 44.

⁶Eby, Vol. II., p. 54.

asked what the discussion had been about. One of the men, Conrad Becker, asked, "What is to be the name of our new village?" to which Eby, knowing that most of the men were either from Berlin or from places not far from that city, replied, "Call it Berlin," and the name was unanimously adopted.¹ During the war the name of the city was changed to Kitchener, this name being given in honor of Lord Kitchener. Horatio Herbert Kitchener was born in 1850, entered the army in 1871, took part in the Nile expedition in 1884-1885, was commander of a brigade in the Suakim in 1888, governor of Suakim in 1886-1888, Adjutant-General of the Egyptian army in 1888-1892, and Sirdar in 1890. His successful command of the Khartoum expedition won for him the title of Baron Kitchener of Khartoum. He took a prominent part in the South African war of 1899-1900, and in the last great war in which he lost his life by the torpedoing of H.M.S. *Hampshire*.

While the name Kitchener, which originally meant "a scullion" or "a cook,"² is of lowly origin, Lord Kitchener certainly made the name illustrious. It is unsuitable, however, as a place-name.

KOSSUTH (1869)

Therefore, among the men, Kossuth we class,
Who fairly, truly, fought for liberty.

—Punch: *Kossuth for Ever*.

This place was named after Louis Kossuth, Hungarian statesman, orator, and patriot, born at Monok, Hungary, in 1802. He was long opposed to the despotic rule of Austria. Was first elected member of the Diet in 1847 and was chosen governor and dictator in 1849, when the Hungarians renounced allegiance to the Hapsburgs. He resigned his office a few months later and went into exile, retiring to Turkey and was imprisoned at Kutaich. Through the intervention of the English and United States governments he was released in August, 1851. He visited those countries the same year and for several years resided in England. Died at Turin, Italy, March 20, 1894.

LEXINGTON

To him who, when a younger son,
Fought for King George at Lexington,
A major of dragoons.

—Fitz-Greene Halleck: *Alnwick*.

This place may have been named after Lexington, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, by some early settler.

¹Eby, *loc. cit.*

²See Bardsley.

Lexington says Taylor,¹ "has become a favorite name in the United States, being given to more than twenty places." The Battle of Lexington was fought at Lexington, Mass., April 19, 1775.

LINWOOD
(1858)

It is not known who named this place.

Johnston derives Linwood from Welsh *llyn*, a pool, and wood, Old English *Wudu*.²

MANNHEIM
(1863)

But Juan posted on through Mannheim, Bonn,
Which Drachenfels frowns over like a spectre.

—Byron: *Don Juan*.

This place was named after the German Mannheim on the Rhine by a native of that city, who was one of the early settlers on the site of the present village.³

In 764 the name of the city was Manninheim, which, Taylor thinks, is "evidently from a personal name."⁴

NEW ABERDEEN
(1847)

Death has tane Rowll of Abirdene.

—Dunbar: *Lament of the Death of Makkaris*.

And thair I had nae Tyme to tairy,
For buisness in Aberdene.

—*The Battle of Harlaw*:

This place was founded and named by the late Sheriff George Davidson, who called it after his birthplace in Scotland.

Taylor says: "Aberdeen is at the confluence of the Dee and Don."⁵ "*Aber*" means the mouth or confluence of a river. Besides the spellings in the lines quoted above the name has been spelt in various other ways, being Apardion in 1153 (Snorro), Aberdoen

¹Taylor (b), p. 172.

²P. 169.

³Information from H. B. Hauck, Petersburg, Ontario.

⁴Taylor (b), p. 187.

⁵Taylor (b), p. 37.

in 1178, Abberden in 1297, Aberdonia in Latin charters, and in the *Wardrobe Rolls* (Edward I, September 23, 1293) it is Haberdene.¹

NEW DUNDEE
(1852)

The Constabill of gude Dundee.

—*The Battle of Harlaw.*

This place was settled and laid out by John and Frederick Miller, who were natives of Dundee, Scotland, hence the name.

Johnston thinks the name is derived from Gaelic "*dun dhu*, 'dark, black hill.'"² He gives the following old spellings of the name: Dundo, Dundho, and Dundee.

NEW GERMANY
(1879)

This place was so named because many of the residents were natives of Germany.

Taylor says: "Germany is the English form of the Latin *Germania*, the land of the *Germani*, a name by which the Gauls designated their eastern neighbors. The word has been supposed to mean either 'the neighbors' or the 'shouters' from their fierce war cry."³

NEW HAMBURG
(1851)

Have they got to Grand Cairo or reached Aberdeen?
Or Jerusalem—Hamburg—or Ballyporeen?

R. H. Barham: *The Monstre Baloon.*

The first settlers in this place were Germans and called it Hamburg. The name was later changed to New Hamburg.⁴

"Hamburg," says Taylor, "anciently called *Hammaburg*, and *Hammanburch*, the 'forest fortress,' took its name from a block-house built by Charlemagne in 808 or 811 on the Slavonic march in a woodland which long went by the name of *Hamme*, between the Bil, the Elbe, and the Alster."⁵

¹ Johnston, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 255.

³ Taylor (b), p. 133.

⁴ Information from E. M. Steinberg, post-master, New Hamburg.

⁵ Taylor (b), p. 141.

OREGON

A little settlement west of Doon was early called Oregon. The name occurs on the map of the county and of Waterloo township in the Belden *Atlas*.

"Oregon, also, is a tribal name, but seems to be one made up by the Spaniards, who called the natives living there Orejones, that is, 'big-eared men.' The Oregon Indians cut and pulled their ears so that these organs became monstrously large."¹

PETERSBURG

(1842)

You were called by Him, Peter, a rock. . . .

—E. L. Masters: *Simon Surnamed Peter*.

This place was named after Peter Wilker,² a native of Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, who settled there either in 1835 or 1838.

The name Peter is from the Greek and means "a rock, a stone—he who has strength, a firmness; a defence, or protection."³

PHILIPSBURG

(1851)

Philipsburg was named by David Doering in honor of Philip Leinhard, the first settler in the vicinity of the village about 1825, who was born in Bucholz, Germany, in 1818, and died near Listowel, Ontario, July 24, 1889.⁴

Philip is a Greek name meaning "a lover of horses"; or "he who is warlike, martial, brave."⁵

PRESTON

(1837)

To Preston the great Town
Wherewith my banks are blest.

—M. Drayton: *Polyolbion*.

In 1818 this place was known as Cambridge.⁶ William Scollick, an early resident, later called it Preston after his former home in England, there being a resemblance between the long main street of the village and that of the English Preston—the "long, thin town of Lancashire."⁷

¹ Von Engeln and Urquhart, p. 102.

² Information from H. B. Hauck, post-master.

³ Nichols, p. 71.

⁴ Information from E. D. Eidt, a former post-master.

⁵ Nichols, p. 71.

⁶ Belden Atlas, q. v.

⁷ Ibid.

Preston signifies "Priest's abode"¹ or "Priest's town"²—Anglo-Saxon *preost*, a "priest", and *ton*. There are no less than forty-nine Prestons in England.³

ROSEVILLE
(1852)

The 'Knight of the Rose,' and the 'Knight of the Dragon.'

—R. H. Barham: *The Cynotaph*.

According to information received from Louis M. Kaiser, J.P., "There was a man living here in the early days whose name was Rose. He was very fond of liquor and was always 'looking for drinks' so he was nicknamed 'Rose will'" (*i.e.*, Pennsylvania Dutch *will* = wants), and this was adopted as the name of the village. This man is said to have sold his wife at auction for fifty cents.

Bardsley says Rose means either "'of the rose,' *i.e.* at the rose-tree, or at the sign of the Rose."

RUMMELHARDT

This is the name of a small settlement about two miles west of Waterloo, which owes its name to a family named Rummel and another named Hardt, who lived in the place many years ago.⁴

Heintze derives Rummel from the old pagan name *Hrom*—"Ruhm," that is, "honor, fame, renown."⁵

ST. AGATHA
(1852)

St. Agatha defends the house from fire and flame.

—*Sixteenth Century Satire*.

Saint Agatha, we bring,

By Salomon begot, that great Hungarian king.

—M. Drayton: *Polyolbion*.

According to Rev. J. Fehrenbach, church records of the thirties and forties refer to what is now St. Agatha as "Wilmot." "St. Agatha Church at Wilmot" occurs in the records of 1847, and in 1848 the records mention a burial "at St. Agatha." Evans says the place "took its name from the church."⁶

¹ Johnston, p. 205

² Taylor (b), p. 228.

³ Idem. (a), pp. 219 and 236.

⁴ Information from Jacob G. Stroh, Waterloo, Ontario.

⁵ Heintze, p. 167.

⁶ Evans, p. xxxv.

St. Agatha was a virgin martyred at Catana, Sicily. She rejected the love of Quintianus, Proconsul of Sicily, who put her to death in 251 A.D. St. Agatha presides over nurses and is patroness of Malta. February 5 is her day. Agatha is from a Greek word meaning "She who is good, cheerful, elegant, or correct in conduct."¹

ST. CLEMENTS

(1853)

. . . With Clement also, and with other my fellow laborers, whose names are in the book of life.

—*Philipplaus*, iv, 3.

This place was named after St. Clement, bishop of Rome, who is generally thought to have suffered martyrdom about the year 100. The name was suggested by a Catholic missionary who was asked to give a name to the place when the post office was established.²

Clement is a Latin name meaning "he who is mild in temper and disposition; gentle, kind, tender, modest."³

ST. JACOBS

(1852)

This place is said to have been so named because the Snyders, father and son, who were the first mill proprietors in the settlement, both bore the christian name of Jacob. An interesting coincidence is that the mill was later purchased by Jacob Eby.⁴ The "Saint," as in many other place-names in Canada, was added for the sake of euphony.

Jacob is a Hebrew name and means "a supplanter, subduer, or beguiler."⁵

SHANTZ

(1859)

This place-name which appeared on the county and township maps in Belden's *Atlas* is not shown on recent maps, although it is still known locally. The post office was closed in 1863. It was

¹ Nichols, p. 96

² Belden's *Atlas*, p. vii.

³ Nichols, p. 42.

⁴ Belden, pp. vii-viii.

⁵ Nichols, p. 59.

named after Samuel Y. Shantz, born January 15, 1825,¹ who was a descendant of one of the original settlers from Pennsylvania. The Shantz family originally came from Switzerland. The name was formerly spelt Tschantzen, then Schantzen, now Schantz, Shantz, Shants and Shons.²

SPEEDSVILLE

A small settlement near the woollen mill, about a mile east of Preston, was early known as Speedsville. It was named after the river Speed.

STRASBURG (1877)

O Strasburg, O Strasburg,
Du wunder schoene Stadt.

—*Old Song.*

This place was probably named after the city of Strasbourg in Alsace.

Taylor says: "Strasburg. The 'burg on the street' or Roman paved road, was the Roman *Argentoratum*. It is called *Stratiburgum* in 728, *Stratisburgum* by the Ravenna Geographer, and *Strasburg* in 859. A Vatican codex, quoted by Foerstemann, makes the German name translate the Celtic name, *Argentoratum*, i.e. *Stratiburgo*, *teutonice namque strati argentum, burgo civitatem significat.*"³

VICTORIASBURG

This small cross-roads settlement was probably named after Queen Victoria. It was more generally known as Schindelsteddle, because shingles were made there. In the early days shingles were not sawn but were split with a frow from large blocks of pine.

WEISSENBERG (1875)

It is not known who named this place or after what place it was called. There are several Weissenbergs in Germany and one in the canton of Bern, Switzerland.

Weissenberg means "white hill."

¹Eby, Vol. II, p. 409.

²Ibid., Vol. II, p. 373.

³Taylor (b), p. 266.

WELLESLEY
(1852)

This place was named after the township in which it is located. It was known as Schmidtsville until 1852, and is still known by this name locally. John Schmidt was a squatter on the site of the village, who came in before Wellesley township was surveyed and afterwards built the first saw mill in the place.

WEST MONTROSE
(1865)

Then thundered forth a roll of names:
The first was thine, unhappy James!
Then all thy nobles came:
Crawford, Glencairn, Montrose, Argyle,
Ross, Bothwell, Forbes, Lennox, Lyle.

—Sir W. Scott: *Marmion*.

This village was named by A. L. Anderson, a native of Montrose, Scotland, who settled here some time between 1855 and 1860. As there was another Montrose in Welland county, this place had to be called West Montrose.¹

Taylor says: "Montrose, in Forfarshire, appears in 1200 as *Munros*, which points to the Gaelic *moine t'ross*, the 'moor on the peninsula.'" ²

WHISTLEBARE

Whistlebare was a little hamlet about a mile south of Blair. It is indicated on the map of the county in the Belden *Atlas*. The name was descriptive of its situation on a bare hill, over which the winds whistled in the winter time.³ It was still known by this name about twenty years ago.

WILLIAMSBURG

I have not succeeded in ascertaining after whom this place was named, which was indicated on county and township maps in Belden's *Atlas*, but it possibly was named after William Moyer who settled on a farm near the place in 1837 and built a saw mill on the little creek nearby in 1845.

¹Information from A. E. Richutt, West Montrose.

²Taylor (b), p. 197.

³Information from James E. Kerr, Galt, Ontario.

William is a Saxon name and means "The shield or defence of many; a universal protector: *otherwise*, he who guards or vindicates in a brilliant, noble manner."¹

WILMOT CENTRE

This small hamlet, which is situated at the intersection of Bleam's road and the road dividing lots 14 and 15, is, or was formerly, the seat of government of the township.

WINTERBOURNE (1857)

This place was first called Cox's creek (*q.v.*), but about the year 1854 Captain William H. Lamphier, who bought the farms on which the village is built, renamed the place Winterbourne, after his ancestral home in England.² It was, however, officially known as Woolwich until 1859 when the post office received the present name.

According to Harrison, the name Winterbourne, means "Dweller by a Winter-Brook, *i.e.*, a stream which flows only in winter (the wet season) [O. E. *Winterburne*]."

IV.

ALDER CREEK

What alders shaded every brook.

—Sir W. Scott: *Marmion*.

This creek was so named on account of the abundance of alders along its banks.

BEAVER CREEK³

The name of this creek reminds us of the days when beaver were plentiful in the county.

BECHTEL CREEK⁴

This creek, which is a tributary of the Grand River at Blair, was probably named after Henry Bechtel, who had a flour mill on

¹Nichols, p. 81.

²See Hamilton, pp. 73 and 83.

³Snider, p. 20.

⁴See Snider, p. 22.

its banks in 1840. His father, Jacob Bechtel, came from Pennsylvania and settled near Blair in 1800. The Bechtel family originally came from Switzerland.¹

Heintze seems to derive the name Bechtel from Beraht, an old native, originally pagan, personal name meaning "brilliant" or "splendid."²

BOWMAN CREEK ³

Bowman creek is a tributary of the Grand at Blair. It was named either after Joseph Bauman, who had a saw mill on its banks in 1830, or after his son Samuel who operated a flour mill in 1846. Joseph Bauman was born in Berks county, Pennsylvania, July 9, 1766, settled near Blair in May, 1816, and died in 1842. Samuel B. Bauman was born February 6, 1802, and died at Blair, November 15, 1883. The progenitor of the Bauman family in Pennsylvania and Waterloo county was Wendell Bauman, who was born in Switzerland about 1681 and emigrated to Pennsylvania early in the eighteenth century.⁴ The name Bauman means a "builder." It is now mostly spelt Bowman.

CEDAR CREEK

This creek was so named on account of the cedars on its banks.

CONESTOGA RIVER (1806)

The name was given to this river by Benjamin and George Eby owing to its resemblance to the Conestoga river in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania,⁵ which gets its name from the Conestoga, an Iroquoian tribe. This tribe formerly lived on the banks of the Susquehanna river. The name is from *Kanastoge*, "at the place of the immersed pole."⁶ The name has also been interpreted as "people of the cabin poles."⁷

¹ Eby, Vol. I, p. 194.

² Heintze, p. 110.

³ Snider, p. 22.

⁴ Eby, Vol. I, p. 62.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 38.

⁶ Handbook of American Indians, s.v., "Conestoga."

⁷ Beauchamp, p. 260.

COX CREEK

This creek was called after a blacksmith named Cox, who was an early resident of what is now the village of Winterbourne.¹ Another name—Hurst creek—is given on the Guelph sheet of the Standard Topographical Maps of the Department of the Interior, but it is not known by this name in Woolwich.

Bardsley thinks that Cox and the cognate names Cocks, Cockson, Coxe, Coxen, and Coxon, are derived from the personal name "Cock", a term of familiarity."²

FISHER'S CREEK³

This creek, which is a tributary of the Speed at Fisher's Mills, was called after Jacob Fisher (Fischer) who, in 1843, built a flour mill on its banks. According to information received from Mr. Herbert Groh, of the Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, the name is given as Chillago creek in a deed of property in the possession of Joseph S. Shantz of Hespeler. It has also been called Bretz creek.

FISHING CREEK

This creek was probably named after Fishing creek, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, which flows into the Susquehanna river.

The name of the Pennsylvania stream is probably a translation of the Delaware Indian name *Namæshanne*, "fish creek."⁴

GALT CREEK

'Boot things roon Galt an' up Mill Creek.

—Allan Ross: *Galt in 1835*.

This creek, until 1912 known as Mill creek, was called after John Galt.⁵ It is unfortunate that, when the change was made, instead of duplicating the name of Galt, it had not been called Shade creek, after Absalom Shade, the Pennsylvanian who erected the first building on its banks.

¹ Hamilton, p. 73.

² Bardsley, p. 191.

³ Snider, p. 20.

⁴ Heckewelder, p. 363.

⁵ Report of the Geographic Board of Canada, (a), p. 63.

GRAND RIVER

The earliest name of this river appears to have been Tinaatoua,¹ an Indian name recorded by Galinée in 1669, who gave it the name of Rivière Rapide, "because of the violence of its current."² It was next called Urfe river,³ this name having possibly been given in honor of L'Abbe d'Urfé, a Sulpitian missionary, who arrived in Canada in 1668,⁴ but who is not known to have been in this part of Canada. I have also seen the name given as Durzé,⁵ which may be a misspelling of d'Urfé. Later, from the size of its embouchure, it was called Le Grand Rivière, which Governor Simcoe vainly attempted to change to Ouse.⁶

KINACAGHIG CREEK (1806)

In fact he would rather saw timber or dig,
Than see them remove to Conococheague.

—Anon.

This creek was so named by George and Benjamin Eby⁷ after Conococheague creek, a little creek which drains Franklin county, Pennsylvania, and flows through Washington county, Maryland, to the Potomac. Heckewelder says the name Conococheague is from "Guneukitschik, signifying, *long indeed, very long indeed*," and he says further "This word appears to refer to some cause which gave rise to the Indians becoming impatient."⁸ Donehoo gives the same origin for the name but adds "*Gu-ne-u*, 'long,' *Hi-tschí-wi*, 'indeed,' having reference to the winding course of the stream."⁹ Eby spells the name Kinacachic;¹⁰ Snider, Canagaguige;¹¹ and Evans gives two different spellings, Kanakijige¹² and Cinacaghic.¹³ The name appears as Kinacaghig on the map of Woolwich township in Belden's *Atlas*. Donehoo gives about a dozen different spellings of the name.

MOFFATT CREEK

For gif he lose feir Ettricke Foreste,
He'll tak feir Moffatdale frae me.

—*The Sang of the Outlaw Murray.*

¹ Dr. Coyne gives two other spellings of the name occurring on copies of the Galinée map—Tinatoue and Tina Toua.—P. 82, note.

² Coyne, p. 49.

³ Scadding, p. 665.

⁴ Jesuit Relations, Vol. LII, p. 261, note.

⁵ Roy, p. 339.

⁶ Hunter, p. 453.

⁷ Eby, Vol. I, p. 38.

⁸ Heckewelder, p. 373.

⁹ Donehoo, p. 40.

¹⁰ Op. cit.

¹¹ P. 30.

¹² P. xxxviii.

¹³ Map.

This creek gets its name from Stephen Moffatt, whose farm it crosses.¹ Moffatt came here from Scotland about 1820 and settled on lot 8, concession X, North Dumfries township.

Bardsley says the surname Moffatt comes from the name of the parish, which is "partly in Lanarkshire and partly in Dumfriesshire." Johnston thinks it is probably from Gaelic "*magh fada*, 'long plain,' its very site."² Taylor says "The name of Robert de Montealt [an Anglo-Norman noble] has been corrupted into Mowatt and Moffat."³

NITH RIVER

I love thee Nith, thy banks and braes.

—Burns: *To Thee, Loved Nith*.

This river, which is more generally known as Smith's creek, is said to have been named after the Nith in Dumfriesshire, Scotland, by James Jackson, one of the founders of the village of Ayr.

ORR LAKE

The snaky Dun, the Ore with rushy hair.

—W. Drummond: *Forth Feasting*.

This lake is on the farm of Andrew Orr, born in Scotland in 1823 and settled on lot 16, concession XI, in 1843.

Bardsley says the surname Orr is "Local, 'of Orr,' a parish in Kirkcudbright."⁴ Johnston thinks it is "Perhaps Ptolemy's town, Orrea. G. *odhar* (pron. ovr), grey, or *oir*, a corner, edge."⁵

SCHNEIDER'S CREEK⁶

This creek was probably so named because Joseph Schneider had a saw mill on its banks in 1825. Schneider was born in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, January 12, 1796, came to Canada in 1806, settling near what is now the village of Doon, and died February 21, 1874.⁷ The progenitor of the Schneiders of Pennsylvania and their descendants in Waterloo county came from various parts of Germany.

Schneider means "tailor." The name is now most frequently spelt Snider and Snyder.

¹ Information from James E. Kerr, Galt, Ontario.

² Johnston, p. 182.

³ Taylor (a), p. 150.

⁴ Bardsley, p. 573.

⁵ Johnston, p. 194.

⁶ See Snider, p. 21.

⁷ Eby, Vol. II, pp. 289-290.

SHOEMAKER'S CREEK ¹

This creek, which is a tributary of Schneider creek, was probably named after Abraham D. Shoemaker (originally spelt Schumacher), who built a saw mill on its banks in 1843. Shoemaker was born February 16, 1809, and died September 11, 1874.² He was a descendant of Jacob Schumacher, who was born in the Canton of Bern, Switzerland, and later settled in Pennsylvania.³

SPEED RIVER

This river was named by John Galt,⁴ but it is not known after what other river, place or person he named it. The name, however, may have been suggested by the "speed" of its current. Speed was extensively used in the early days to denote success, fortune, and prosperity, and it even occurs as a surname—Harrison cites the name of Roger Sped in the *Hundred Rolls*. This is the name of the clownish servant to Valentine, in Shakespeare's "*Two Gentlemen of Verona*."

¹ See Snider, p. 21.

² Eby, Vol. II, pp. 472-473.

³ Ibid., p. 445.

⁴ Galt, Autobiography, p. 60.

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MUSEUM REPORT

By Wm. H. BREITHAAPT

With the present meeting the Waterloo Historical Society completes its fifteenth year. The object of the Society, the publication of historical records and the collection of exhibits pertaining to county history has, we may say, been fairly lived up to.

The feature about our collection is the fact that it is growing too large for the premises we occupy. The Kitchener Public Library has, from the beginning, given the Society place for its Museum. For twelve years we have occupied this room which was considered ample, but which has become too small. It is becoming more urgent with every year that the County authorities provide new quarters for the County Historical Society's Museum collection. We strongly hope that such a place will be available in a new Court House building in the near future.

We have again had a number of interesting donations during the year. Among photographs may be mentioned Sheriff Springer, Dr. Otto Klotz, Jacob E. Klotz, Dr. John Mickleborough, Hugh McCulloch and the Honorable Adam Ferguson (after whom the village of Fergus was named). This latter is contributed by Mr. J. R. Cannon of Elora who has given us a number of interesting items.

An early general storekeeper and trader in Bridgeport, before the days of the Grand Trunk Railway in Berlin, was Peter N. Tagge, spoken of in our first Annual Report. His name appears in Bridgeport maps and surveys in the county Registry Office. He came to Bridgeport in the forties and remained there until toward the end of the fifties. Later he moved to Ann Arbor, Mich., where he died. A son of pioneer Tagge, born in Ann Arbor, is Arthur C. Tagge, now President of the Canada Cement Company, with head office in Montreal.*

Mr. Fred W. Snider of Waterloo, President of the Wm. Snider Milling Co., has donated the date stone, a window lintel in the foundation wall, of the old grist mill in Waterloo built by Abraham Erb in 1816. This is a very interesting exhibit. A brief historical sketch of the mill, taken from the Toronto "Saturday Night" is appended.

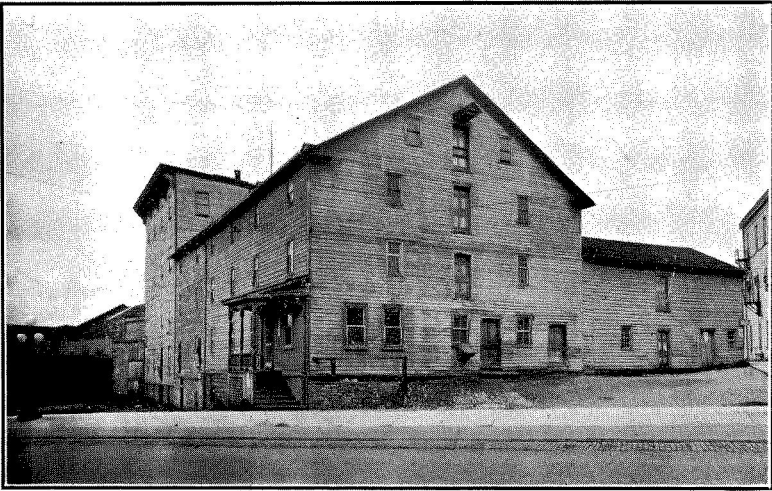
Mr. Joseph Hallman, now of Haven, Alta., a native of Wilmot Township, where he was formerly a member of the Township Council, has donated a Mennonite buggy, "leicht plesir waeggli,"

long in use in the Hallman family. The Kitchener Library Board kindly consented to give an additional basement room for this exhibit. The vehicle was for years on exhibition at the Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph. It made several trips to Pennsylvania.

A principal part in the Society's Museum is the collection of county newspapers, extending from 1835 to date. Mr. D. A. Bean, of Kitchener, recently gave almost complete files of the Berlin Daily Telegraph, 1898 to 1908, bound in half-yearly volumes. With files from 1908 to 1922 already on its shelves, the Society now has a fairly complete sequence of Daily Telegraph volumes. We are much indebted to Mr. Bean for this addition to the County collection.

Mr. George Turnbull has turned over to the Society's archives fairly complete lists he has made of the names on headstones in the old cemetery at the First Mennonite Church in Kitchener, the first church in the County and one of the oldest in Ontario. The earliest head stone date is 1809; there are approximately 3500 burials in this cemetery.

*Photographs of his father and mother, and of himself, were later contributed by Mr. A. C. Tagge.



THE OLD MILL, WATERLOO.

THE SNIDER FLOUR MILLS, WATERLOO

ROSS MUNRO IN TORONTO "SATURDAY NIGHT"—Sept. 10th, 1927.

Another of Western Ontario's oldest landmarks disappeared recently when the Snider flour mill on King street, Waterloo, was torn down and moved to a new location directly west of the old site. It is doubtful if the business record of this mill can be duplicated by that of many buildings in the Province. From 1816 until a few months ago the Snider mill was in practically continuous operation. Situated in the business section on the main highway, the rambling old structure possessed a history linking it with most of the pioneer efforts of a now prosperous community.

In 1806 Abraham Erb, who came from Pennsylvania, bought 900 acres of virgin land where Waterloo now stands. Ten years later he erected a sawmill, and then added a grist mill, the power being supplied by water. From this first rude building developed the mill which was to serve a wide area for a century. The mill race used by Erb was the one filled in when the building was moved a couple of months ago. Erb did not remain long in the milling industry, selling his business and considerable surrounding land to Jacob C. Snider, also an adventuring spirit, newly arrived from Pennsylvania. Snider apparently was a man of great determination and no little ambition. Being the father of a large family, he refused to sell any of the land for development purposes, preferring to hold it as an inheritance for his children. It is asserted that his action in retaining so much idle land held up settlement for about thirty years.

However, Jacob C. Snider took pride in the mill. From far and near pioneer settlers followed lonely trails through the woods or traversed the paths called roads, carrying their grain, left their toll, and returned with their flour or oatmeal. One day a patron made some disparaging remark about how slowly the great stones revolved. The aspersion wounded the Snider pride, for he installed one of the first steam plants to aid the overshot waterwheel. Finding that the two would not work together, Snider put in a still to take up the surplus steam. While the distillery was a source of additional revenue, it did not meet with the approval of Elias Snider, a son, who was taking a young man's interest in the milling enterprise. Later Elias rented the mill from his father on the condition that the still be removed. The still went to the old man's farm and the mill continued its original purpose in accordance with the morals of Elias. Down through the years the mill continued to work, sometimes by steam,

sometimes by waterpower. It has remained in the Snider family and there was always a Snider controlling operations. The period of greatest popularity came when William Snider, a son of Elias, was in command. He was known and favorably regarded for miles around. There was hardly a pioneer family in half a dozen townships who did not do business at the Snider mill.

It was a hospitable place to visit, too. It boasted what modern big business would call a "reception room." In this room was a great fireplace and something resembling a bar. Patrons of the mill, who had to remain over night, could sleep on the floor if they so desired. At least fuel was plentiful; the place was warm and comfortable. No person was in much of a hurry. Neither was the mill. In this "reception room" was settled many an affair of state, and many a personal difficulty. In fact in those far off days, when there was more bush land than tilled fields, the visit to the Snider mill was looked forward to as a sort of vacation—a huge reward for a weary journey with the grist.

Apparently no general architectural plan was followed in developing the mill from the first log structure with its overshot waterwheel. Years before demolition it was a big rectangular affair. Additions had been made as occasion demanded, all in the familiar clapboard on stone foundations. The efficiency experts played no part in making these extensions. To one side eventually arose a big brick smoke stack, because the dwindling water-power no longer could turn the grinding stones or machinery. No serious fire ever occurred in the Snider mill and it escaped the fate of so many similar structures in Ontario. Its builders builded well. The wreckers and movers were amazed at the strength of the stone foundations, which were like the walls of a fortress and as sound as the first day timbers were placed upon them. As a matter of fact, much of the foundation still remains. It was deemed economical to leave some of these under walls intact and cover them up rather than dig them apart.

Today the old mill property is a beautiful park space garnished with flowers. The site is owned by the Ontario Equitable Life and Accident Insurance Company. Some day the officials of this Company plan to erect a fine head office building upon the spot where the Snider mill turned grain into foodstuffs for more than a hundred years.

CURRENT HISTORY

BY JAS. E. KERR

The house on Benton Street, Kitchener, built by W. K. Moore, an early merchant of Berlin, and later the birthplace of Hon. W. L. McKenzie King, was taken down and replaced by the Church of the Pentecostal Brethren.

The Waterloo flour mill built by Abraham Erb in 1816 and continuously in operation since that time was taken down to give place for the Ontario Equitable Insurance Co.

Mr. Oscar Vogt of Elmira died April 28th. For a number of years he was Vice-President of the Waterloo Historical Society, and took a keen interest in its work.

In Galt the chief event of the year was the Old Boys' Reunion which was held from June 29th to July 4th. A large number of the Old Galt Boys, estimated at about four thousand, came from all parts of Canada and from many places in the United States to take part in the celebration which also commemorated the re-naming one hundred years ago of the little village of Shade's Mills by Hon. William Dickson who gave it the name of "Galt" in honor of his friend John Galt, the Scottish novelist, commissioner for the Canada Company.

A number of the descendants of the novelist were among the visitors at the Reunion and one of them, Mr. Thos. P. Galt of Toronto, on behalf of the Galt connections presented the city with a portrait of their ancestor.

This year a Galt athlete, Cliff Bricker, has been winner of the Marathon races in Buffalo, Toronto and Hamilton and will be a competitor for world wide fame in the big Olympic Marathon to be held next year at Amsterdam, Holland.

The Seventy-second anniversary of the erection of the Presbyterian Church in Doon was held on Sunday, July 10th. The Church was opened for worship by Rev. John Bayne, D.D. 31st December 1854. The land for both the building and the cemetery was donated by Hon. Adam Ferrie. The building cost £1211 15s 5½d, Canadian currency.

ADDENDUM—Brigadier-General Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg and Sir James Woods, both natives of Galt, visited their birthplace on November 18th. A civic reception and luncheon was given them at the Iroquois Hotel at noon.

Sir Gordon Guggisberg, who left Galt 50 years ago, has been in Africa for twenty-five years and has for a number of years been Governor of the Gold Coast, British Colony, where he has had much success in fostering development and general progress. Recently he has been engaged in extensive harbor works for the Colony.

Sir James Woods is a wholesale dry goods merchant and vice-president of the Imperial Bank, in Toronto. His father for many years had a dry goods business in Galt (Woods & Taylor) as had also the father of Sir Gordon Guggisberg.

BIOGRAPHY

HUGH McCULLOCH

Hugh McCulloch was born in the Parish of Sorn, Ayrshire, Scotland, on the 19th day of September, 1826, his parents being Hugh McCulloch and Jane Osborne. He was educated in the parochial schools of Ayrshire and served a short apprenticeship in the machinist and millwright trades. In 1850 he came to Canada, arriving in Galt on the 24th day of August of that year, and spent the first winter in Canada at Ayr working at his trade. He came to Galt on May 28th, 1851, and took a position with James Crombie & Co., where he remained until 1859, when he formed a partnership with the late John Goldie, who had been a fellow employee with him in the services of Mr. Crombie. They purchased their employer's business, which they conducted under the firm style of Goldie and McCulloch until 1891, when a limited company was formed of which Mr. McCulloch became the first president, which position he occupied until his death on September 3rd, 1910. He was married in 1855 to Janet, daughter of Hugh McCartney of Ayrshire, Scotland.

Mr. McCulloch occupied various positions in the Municipality. He was a member of the Galt Collegiate Institute Board for 26 years, representing the County of Waterloo, and was a member of the Town Council. He was also President of the Gore Mutual Fire Insurance Co., director of the Galt, Preston and Hespeler Railway Co., The Millers & Manufacturing Insurance Co., and owner with the late Mr. David Spiers of the Galt Gas & Electric Light Co., which was subsequently taken over by the town.

CONTRIBUTED BY R. O. McCULLOCH

THE LIFE WORK OF JOHN MICKLEBOROUGH, B.A., L.L.B.,
Ph.D.

John Mickleborough was born November 5th, 1840 in the County of Wentworth, near Hamilton. The family moved to the County of Waterloo and his boyhood was spent on a farm adjoining Preston.

After a few years in the country school he attended the village school at Preston then in charge of a most excellent principal, James Baikie, and in his fifteenth year he became a student in the now historic Dr. William Tassie Grammar School at Galt, which later became known as the Collegiate Institute.

While a student at the Preston school he was a contestant in two County examinations held in Berlin (now Kitchener) December 27th, 1854, and February 20th, 1856. These examinations were open to pupils in the public schools of the County and the prizes were valuable books provided by the County Council.

One of the books which was awarded to him is now gratefully donated to the County Historical Society by Dr. Mickleborough.

In addition to the County examinations mentioned the trustees of the Preston school held a competitive examination on July 20th, 1855, at which many book prizes were awarded.

In the three contests within a period of fourteen months the prizes won by young Mickleborough totalled sixteen choice books, quite a library for those days in the possession of a boy in his teens.

With a second class County Certificate Mr. Mickleborough began his first teaching in the Mill Creek school just north of Galt, and within a year he obtained a first class county certificate. Resigning from that position after serving less than two years he pursued his studies in the Provincial Normal School at Toronto and in 1859 received a first class Diploma Grade B and resumed teaching in the following places—

Hespeler Public School.

North Dumfries School adjoining Galt.

Cobourg Ward School.

He then entered the school system of Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1865, first as a class teacher, next as Principal of the Fifth District

and finally as Principal of the Normal school, totalling eighteen years in Cincinnati school work.

Resigning in Cincinnati, he transferred his activities to Brooklyn, N.Y., where he was elected Principal of Grammar School No. 9 and ten years later his election to the principalship of the Boys' High School followed. He resigned from this position after twelve years which completed forty years constant teaching service in the U.S.A. from which he retired with honourable recognition.

Since his retirement in 1907 Dr. Mickleborough's time was fully occupied in lecturing, writing and scientific investigation.

He was engaged by the Forestry Department of Pennsylvania in 1909 to investigate the ravages of the Chestnut Tree Blight on the Atlantic border from Maine to Maryland.

He was a charter member of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. He was the first President of the Department of Zoology and after twelve years was transferred to the presidency of the Department of Geology which position he retained for sixteen years. In connection with this Institute he has delivered many lectures before the Science Departments.

Dr. Mickleborough's chosen partner for life was Nancy Panabaker, daughter of the late Abram and Sara (Clemens) Panabaker, of Hespeler. Their family consisted of three children, two of whom are honored citizens of Brooklyn. One devoted daughter, an accomplished young woman, passed away some years ago.

CONTRIBUTED BY D. N. PANABAKER.

DONATIONS, 1927

Photograph of Moses Springer, Sheriff of the County of Waterloo, 1881-1896—donated by Mrs. J. B. Dennis, Toronto, March 6th.

Photograph of the old mill at Winterbourne—donated by John R. Cannon, Elora, March 8th.

Photograph of the I. E. Bowman Tannery, St. Jacobs, 1876—donated by I. E. Berges.

Deed, Sheriff of Waterloo to Cyrus Bowers, 1861—donated by C. Kranz, Kitchener.

Martyrer Spiegel, S. J. W. Braght, 1814—donated by Samuel S. Moyer (Wife, grand-daughter of Peter Erb).

Date Stone, Window Lintel from foundation wall, Old Waterloo Mill built by Abraham Erb, 1816—donated by Fred W. Snyder, Waterloo.

Old flat-iron, hollow, with soapstone heater—donated by Miss Watson, Ayr.

List of persons buried in Kitchener east-end Mennonite Cemetery—donated by Geo. Turnbull, Kitchener, July 11th.

Two publications of The Dominion Observatory, Ottawa, by Otto Klotz, LL.D., F.R.A.S.—donated by Miss Klotz, Kitchener, July 7th.

Files, Berlin Daily Telegraph, 1898-1908, bound in half-yearly Vols.—donated by D. A. Bean, Kitchener.

Pewter soup tureen, said to be in the Hallman family 300 years—donated by A. C. Hallman.

Parchment deed, Block 2, Home District, 1815—donated by Mrs. M. S. Hallman, Waterloo.

Old Hallman buggy—donated by Josiah Hallman, Alberta.

Photograph of John Goldie of Galt—donated by A. R. Goldie, Galt.

Photographs of P. N. Tagge, Mrs. Tagge, and Arthur C. Tagge—donated by A. C. Tagge, Montreal.

Hon. Adam Ferguson—donated by John R. Cannon, Elora.

John Mickleborough, B.A., LL.B., Ph.D.—donated by D. N. Panabaker.

EXCHANGE LIST

Brant Historical Society.
Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.
Canadian Historical Association.
Commission of Conservation (Reports), Ottawa.
Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute.
Essex Historical Society.
Huron Institute (Collingwood).
Library of Congress (Reports), Washington, D.C.
London and Middlesex Historical Society.
Minnesota Historical Society.
Niagara Historical Society.
Ontario Historical Society.
Ontario Land Surveyors' Association.
Thunder Bay Historical Society.
United Empire Loyalists' Association.
Welland County Historical Society.
Wentworth Historical Society.
Women's Canadian Historical Society, (Ottawa).
York Pioneer and Historical Society.
Wisconsin Historical Society.

CATALOGUE OF MUSEUM

Additions 1923-1927

ARTICLES

- Breech loading musket, original model.
- Cannon ball from St. Roch, Quebec.
- Clemens heirloom looking glass.
- Cornerstone box, old town hall, Kitchener, 1869.
- Date stone, window lintel, old Waterloo mill, 1816.
- Flat iron, old, hollow, with soapstone heater.
- Flint arrow heads, Indian artefacts, Conestoga River, St. Jacobs.
- Hallman buggy.
- Harness hames, old style, once owned by Jefferson Davis.
- Keys taken from prisoners, from Sheriff's vault, County buildings.
- Muzzle loader, shot gun, powder horn, shot bag.
- Painter's maul for grinding pigments.
- Pewter soup tureen, heirloom of Hallman family.
- Ready Reckoner, 1854.
- Reeve and Mayor's Chair, Old City Hall, Kitchener, 1870.
- Switch used at inauguration of Hydro Electric Power Commission, October 11th, 1910.
- Sword of Capt. John Gonder, ensign in war of 1812.
- Threshing flail used in Bridgeport about 1840.

BOOKS

- Directories of Kitchener and Waterloo, 1922-23, 1924-25.
Dominion Observatory, Ottawa, two publications.
Hymn Book, 1795, Christian Eby.
Martyrer Spiegel, 1814.
Ontario Land Surveyors Association Reports, 1916-1923.
Sherk, Rev. A. B., papers and records.
The Trail of the Conestoga, the story of Waterloo Township settlers.
Wellington Fire Insurance Company, Historical Review, 1840.

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- Deed, Block 2, 1815, Parchment.
Deed, Brubacher to Shoemaker, 1822-1834.
Deed, Crown Grant of Wellesley, 1801.
Deed, Gabriel W. Bowman to William Jaffray, 1856.
Deed, Joseph Scholler and wife to Paul Schmidt and Conrad Schneuker, 1858.
Deed, Sheriff of Waterloo to Cyrus Bowers, 1861.
Galt Building Society. First Annual Report, 1849.
Galt-Guelph Railway papers.
Garfield's last letter, Aug. 11th, 1881, facsimile.
Jaffray, William, commission as lieutenant First Battalion Waterloo, 1856.
Klotz, Otto, business ledger, 1850-1892.
List of burials in east-end Cemetery, Kitchener.
Preston, public meeting handbill, 1838.
Preston Hill, road improvement, 1844, subscription list.
Simon and Abraham DeForest, U.E.L. land grants in Halton, 1824.
Shoemaker, Jacob S., letter of 1834.

MAPS

German Company Tract about 1814.
Preston, 1866.
Winterbourne, Plan of, 1855.

NEWSPAPERS

Berlin Chronicle, first vol. 1856.
Berlin Daily Telegraph, complete files from 1898-1908.
Gore Gazette, June 6th, 1827.

PICTURES

Berlin High School Football Club, 1879-80.
Bowman & Zinkann Tannery, St. Jacobs, 1876.
City Hall, old and new, Kitchener.
First Dominion Parliament Buildings.
Friedensfest der Deutschen in Canada, 1871.
Grand River Canoeing Club, 1880.
Log School House, Concession Road, Wellington County.
Old Mill at Winterbourne.
Rangers Football Club, badges and medals.
Rangers Football Club, nine group photographs, 1880-1904.
Personal Photographs:—
Allan, Sheriff A. S.
Betzner, David, Noah, Moses & Elizabeth.
Ferguson, Hon. Adam.
Goldie, John.
Jaffray, Clive T.
King, Right Honorable W. L. Mackenzie, C.M.G., M.A., LL.B.,
LL.D., Prime Minister of Canada.
Mackie, John A., and others.
Mickleborough, John, B.A., LL.B., Ph.D.
Schade, Absalom.
Springer, Sheriff Moses.
Snyder, Daniel.
Shantz, Jacob Y.
Tagge, P. N., Mrs. Tagge, Arthur C. Tagge.
Vogt, Augustus S., Mus. Doc.

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