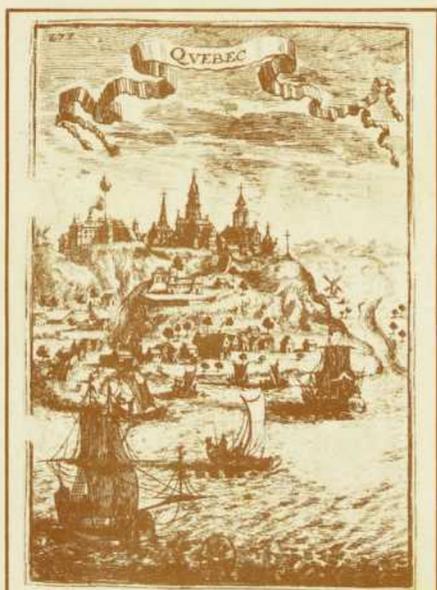


Missisquoi Bay
(Phillipsburg, Que.)

By
GEORGE H. MONTGOMERY
M.C., D.C.L., LL.D.

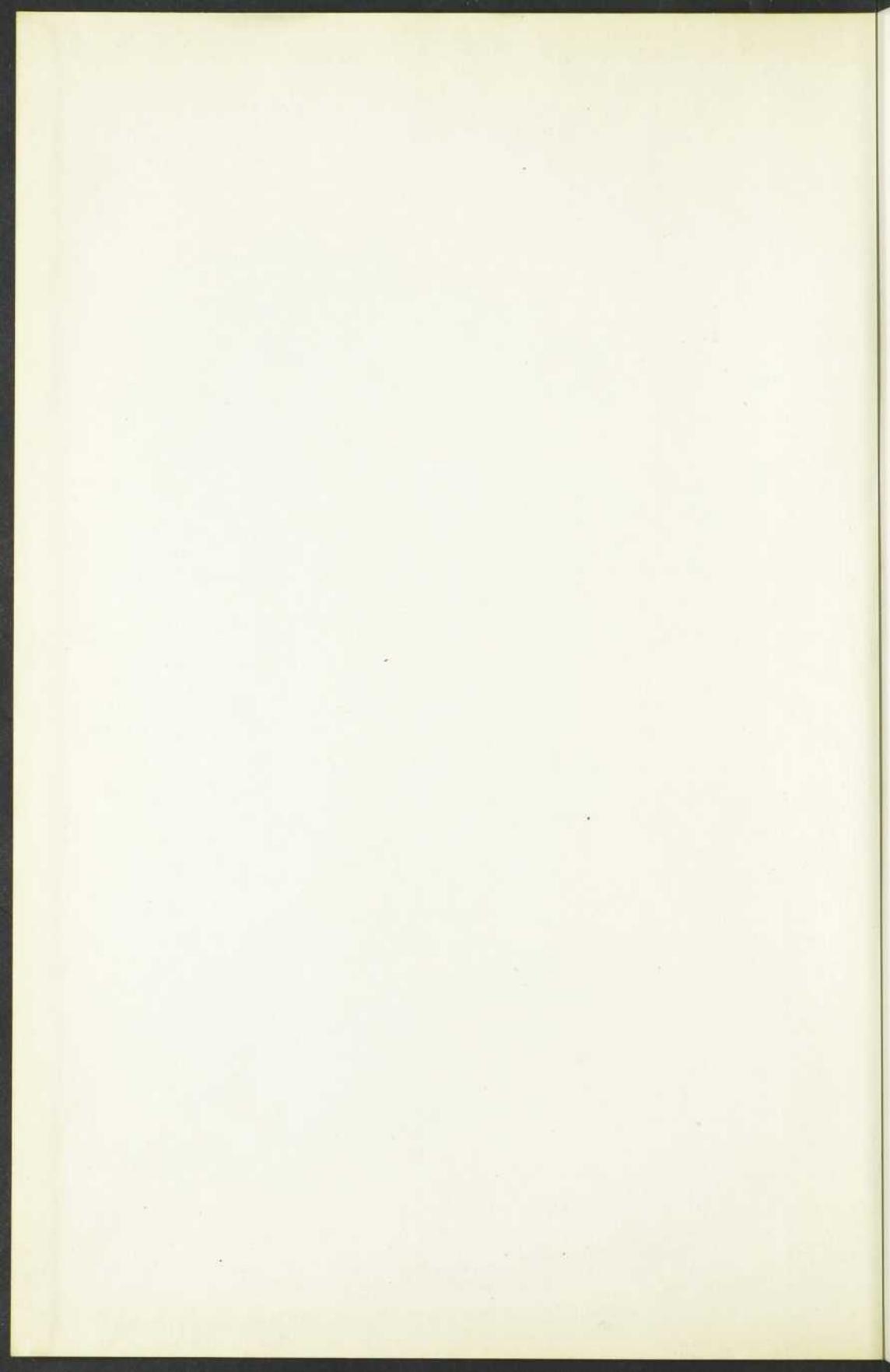
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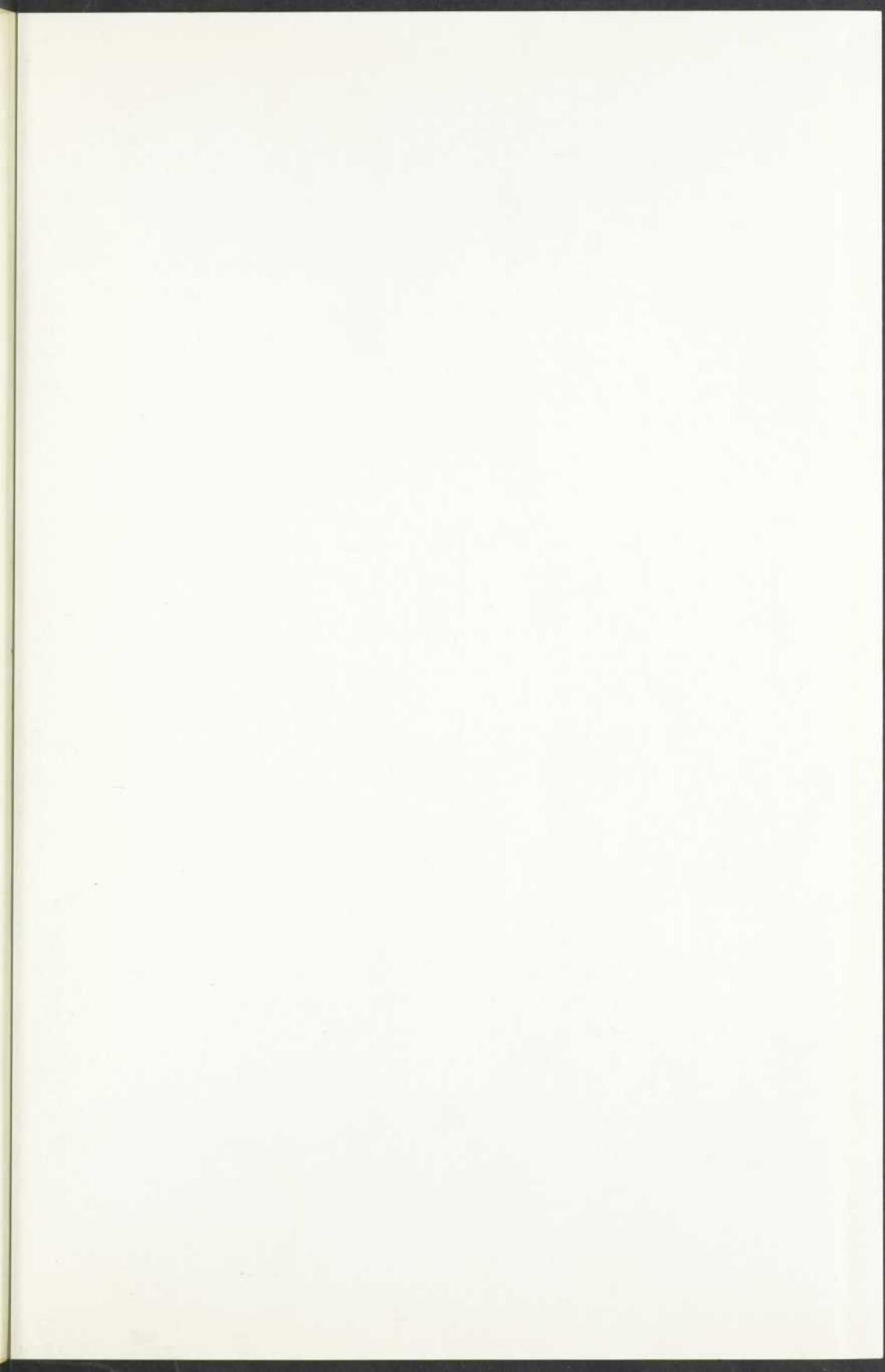
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MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
DIVISION OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Preface



I have been led to write this history of my old birthplace solely by the realization that no one else will and it seemed regrettable that no record should be made of the leading part which Philipsburg played in the settlement of the whole Eastern Townships.

It has been said that "The Pyramids themselves doting with age have forgotten the names of their founders."

How many of the present generation know that the Settlement at Missisquoi Bay was the first to be made in the Townships; that it was made in downright defiance of the orders of the Governing powers; that the original settlers obstinately refused to move or be moved notwithstanding all orders, notwithstanding the threat to burn down their houses, and notwithstanding the cutting off of the provisional allowances made to the Loyalists?

How many today realize that the first churches of any kind to be built in what is today known as the Eastern Townships were built in Frelighsburg and Philipsburg?

It is perhaps better known that the first Methodist Church to be built East of the Richelieu is still in service at Philipsburg but few are aware of the fact that the original stage coach connecting New York with Montreal ran from Albany to Philipsburg. From there the mails were ferried to Peelhead Bay and carried to the South River, from there taken by boat to the Richelieu and on to St. Johns.

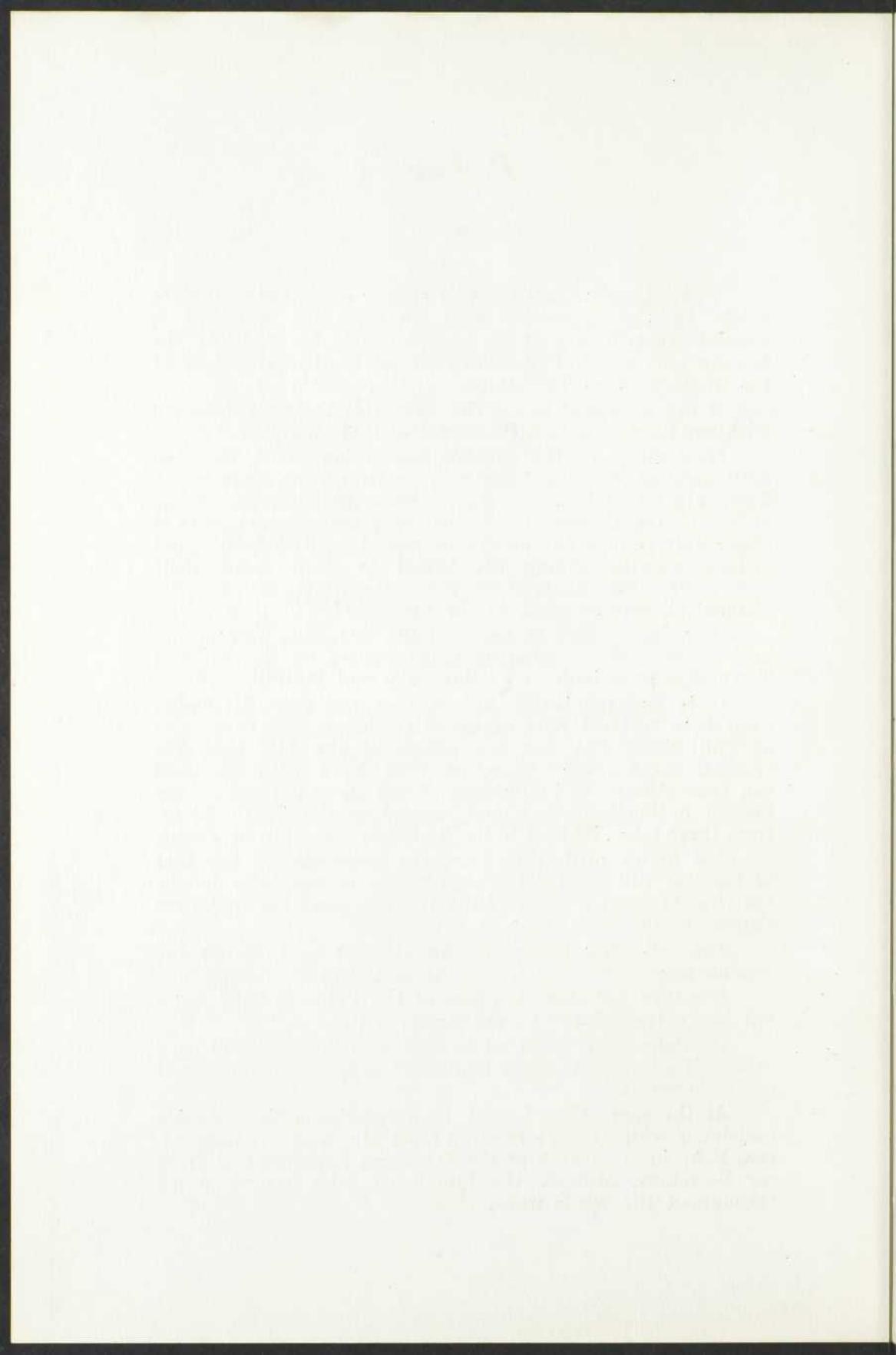
The arrow projecting from the large elm at the foot of the Kay hill carried the sign of one of the early hotels, the first to greet the eye of the traveller arriving in Lower Canada by the stage coach.

The following represents an attempt to preserve for coming generations the fragments of the early history.

A rather full story is given of the Princess Salm Salm but her extraordinary career deserves it.

Dr. Johnson is reported to have said "A man will turn over half a library to make one book" and I can humbly add my endorsement.

At the same time I wish to acknowledge the valuable assistance which I have received from Mr. A. J. H. Richardson, B.A., in my search of the Dominion Archives and from my Secretary, Mrs. A. G. Hutchinson, who has aided me throughout the whole work.



PHILIPSBURG

CHAPTER I

Preamble

French Regime — Abenakis — Jesuit Mission — Forays against English — Rogers Raid

The Settlement of Philipsburg, originally known as Missiskoui Bay, took place in 1784. It was the first settlement to be made in the Eastern Townships and far from being pursuant to any settlement scheme it was in actual defiance of Government orders.

Before discussing the events which led up to this little rebellion a brief history of the region may be in order.

French Regime

An excellent summary of the early history of Missisquoi Bay is to be found in a study made by Thomas C. Lampee which was published by the Vermont Historical Society in 1938 under the title "The Missisquoi Loyalists." It is supported by a valuable store of documentary references. The first historical period is the period of Indian occupation; the territory around Missisquoi Bay was occupied about the end of the seventeenth century by the Abenakis Indians, driven into that previously uninhabited country by the northward advance of settlement in New England. At an early date they fell under the religious and political influence of the French who saw in them useful allies against the New Englanders who had dispossessed the Indians of their old hunting grounds, and the story of the settlement is bound up with the great struggle between the French and English for possession of the continent. An Indian Village had been established on the banks of the Missisquoi River near what is now known as Swanton Falls. A Jesuit Mission was established there and on the occasion of the Tercentenary celebration of the Discovery of Lake Champlain a monument was erected by the people of Swanton which bears the inscription:

Near this spot stood the first Church erected in Vermont about 1700 by the Jesuit Fathers to the Glory of God Almighty for the Mission of St. Francis.

The principal settlement of the Abenakis was at the mouth of the St. Francis River. It will be remembered as the objective of the expedition made by Major Rogers in 1759 when he virtually exterminated the Settlement.

Occasional references are made to the Mission of Michiscouy in the correspondence between the King of France and Messrs. Beauharnois and Hocquart, the Governor and Intendant respectively of New France. A close co-operation between Church and State is indicated. In the King's instructions from Versailles of the 24th March, 1744, he refers to the Mission of Michiscouy and to the contribution by spiritual assistance which the new inhabitants will find in this Mission. He goes on to enjoin the Governor and Intendant to neglect nothing to further the efforts of Father Laverjat to detach the Loups (Mohegans) and the Abenakis dwelling in that region from the English.

On the 12th October, 1744, they report a visit to the Mission to "charter la guerre" and to present the inhabitants (about 60 warriors all young) with the collar and hatchet. In April, 1745, His Majesty expressed his pleasure in learning of the progress made by the Village of Missiskouy and Beauharnois was directed to take advantage of the friendly disposition of the Indians to get them to make raids upon the English. He was also reminded that a principal object in the establishment of the Mission was the alienating of the Abenakis from their English contacts. As Lampee relates "How well Beauharnois succeeded in carrying out the King's instructions is shown by the following laconic items taken from the record of French military operations for the year 1746:

April 26, 1746 — Party of 20 Abenakis of Missiskouy set out towards Boston and brought in some prisoners and scalps.

May 28, 1746 — A party of Abenakis of Missiskouy struck a blow near Orange (Albany) and Corlard and brought in some prisoners and scalps."

The village of Missiskouy also served as an advance base for the more serious forays made by the warriors from the principal settlement of the Abenakis at St. Francis, and its final destruction was part of the wiping-out of the whole Abenaki menace when the struggle climaxed in the Seven Years' War.

Angered by the atrocities which had been committed in the course of these raids and determined to put a stop to them General Amherst issued an order to the daring and resourceful Major Robert Rogers of Rogers Rangers to conduct an expedition against the St. Francis Indians proceeding by water from Crown Point to Missisquoi Bay and marching overland from there to St. Francis.

"You are this night to set out with the detachment as ordered yesterday, viz. of 200 men, which you will take under your command, and proceed to Missisquoy bay, from whence you will march and attack the enemy's settlements on the South side of the River St. Lawrence in such a manner as you shall judge most effectual to disgrace the enemy and for the success and honour of His Majesty's arms.

Remember the barbarities that have been committed by the enemy's Indian scoundrels on every occasion, where they had an opportunity of showing their infamous cruelties on the King's subjects, which they have done without mercy; take your revenge, but don't forget that tho' those villains have dastardly and promiscuously murdered the women and children of all ages, it is my orders that no women or children are killed or hurt.

When you have executed your intended service you will return with your detachment to camp, or to join me wherever the army may be."

The Bay was evidently to be a sort of advanced base for the expedition, and we shall see that what happened there was to effect its whole course.

On September 13th 1759, — the very day on which was fought the battle of the Plains of Abraham — Rogers and his party left Crown Point in whale boats for the headwaters of Missisquoi Bay. On the fifth day and, while encamped on the Eastern shore of the Lake, a keg of gunpowder accidentally was ignited, the explosion which followed wounding a captain and several men. The injured with an escort were sent back to Crown Point. The party, reduced to 142 men, proceeded and reached Missisquoi Bay after a trip of ten days. In an amplification of his report to General Amherst Rogers says:

"I cannot forbear here making some remarks on the difficulties and distresses which attended us, in effecting this enterprise upon St. Francis, which is situated within three miles of the River St. Lawrence, in the middle of Canada, about half way between Montreal and Quebec. It hath already been mentioned, how our party was reduced by the accident which befell Capt. Williams, the fifth day after our departure, and still farther by numbers tiring and falling sick afterwards. It was extremely difficult while we kept the water which retarded our progress very much in order to pass undiscovered by the enemy, who were then cruising in great numbers upon the lake; and had prepared certain vessels on purpose to decoy any party of ours, that might come that

way, armed with all manner of machines and implements for their destruction; but we happily escaped their snares of this kind, and landed (as hath been mentioned) the tenth day at Mississquey Bay. Here, that I might with more certainty know whether my boats (with which I left provisions sufficient to carry us back to Crown Point) were discovered by the enemy, I left two trusty Indians to lie at a distance in sight of the boats, and there to stay till I came back, except the enemy find them; in which latter case they were with all possible speed to follow on my track, and give me intelligence. It happened the second day after I left them, that these two Indians came up to me in the evening, and informed me that about 400 French had discovered and taken my boats, and that about one-half of them were hotly pursuing on my track. This unlucky circumstance (it may well be supposed) put us into some consternation. Should the enemy overtake us, and we get the better of them in an encounter; yet being so far advanced into their country where no reinforcement could possibly relieve us, and where they could be supported by any numbers they pleased, afforded us little hopes of escaping their hands. Our boats being taken, cut off all hope of a retreat by them; besides the loss of our provisions left with them, of which we knew we should have great need at any rate, in case we survived, was a melancholy consideration. It was, however, resolved to prosecute our design at all adventures, and when we had accomplished it to attempt a retreat (the only possible way we could think of) by way of No. 4;* and that we might not be destroyed by famine in our return, I dispatched Lieut. McMullen by land to Crown Point to desire of the General to relieve me with provision at Amonfook River at the end of Cohase Intervales on the Connecticut River, that being the way I should return, if at all, and the place being about 60 miles from No. 4, then the main Northerly English settlement. This being done, we determined if possible to outmarch our pursuers and effect our design upon St. Francis before they could overtake us. We marched nine days through wet sunken ground; the water most of the way near a foot deep, it being a spruce bog. When we encamped at night, we had no way to secure ourselves from the water but by cutting the bows of trees and with them erecting a kind of hammocks. We commonly began our march a little before day, and continued it till after dark at night.

The tenth day after leaving Mississquey Bay, we came to a river about fifteen miles above the Town of St. Francis to the South of it, and the town being on the opposite or East side of it, we were obliged to ford it, which was attended with no small difficulty, the water being five feet deep and the current swift. I put the tallest men up stream, and then holding by each other, we got over with the loss of several of our guns, some of which were recovered by diving to the bottom for them. We had now good dry ground to march upon, and discovered and destroyed the town as before related, which in all probability would have been effected with the loss of no men but the Indian who was killed in action, had not my boats been discovered and our retreat that way cut off."

*No. 4 is now Charleston, New Hampshire.

In amplification of the last paragraph Crocket, in his History of Lake Champlain (p. 82) says:

"Arriving on the evening of October 4 at the outskirts of the Village of the St. Francis Indians, situated at the head of the river of the same name, Rogers and two of his men who understood the native language, dressed themselves in Indian garb and reconnoitred the settlement. The members of the tribe were engaged in a dance and festivities which continued until four o'clock the morning of October 5. Waiting until the savages were asleep, at break of day, Rogers made a general assault. Men, women and children were slain and a great number of scalps were taken as trophies. In a village of three hundred persons two hundred were killed and twenty taken prisoners. Rogers' casualties were one killed and six slightly wounded. The village was burned and after resting an hour Rogers started at eight o'clock in the morning on the return trip taking with him five English captives whom he had released."

The detailed story of the assault and of Rogers' hazardous and almost disastrous return journey form no part of the history of Philipsburg but accounts may be found in Parkman's "Wolfe and Montcalm" in Thompson's "History of Vermont" as well as in Crockett's "History of Lake Champlain".

Two interesting narratives of the expedition are given in Mrs. Day's "History of the Eastern Townships" (p. 132). Readers of "The Northwest Passage" will not require to be reminded of the very full and naturally somewhat embellished account of the expedition.

The French references to the expedition will be found in the Letters of Bourlemaque to Levis in the Dominion Archives.

Sept. 27, 1759: I learned three days ago Sir by my scouts that there were seventeen barges in Missisquoi Bay. I was of opinion that this detachment had the intention of going towards Quebec by St. Francis and I notified the different authorities.

Sept. 29, 1759: The seventeen English barges were found by scouts in Missisquoi Bay. This detachment which is from 200 to 250 men at the most, seemed to be directing steps towards Yamaska, Chambly or St. Francis towards Quebec. I have 400 men in ambush at the place where these barges lay.

Rogers' expeditionary force had broken up at Lake Memphremagog and some of them evidently decided to return to Missisquoi Bay since Bourlemaque writes to Levis on November 3, 1759:

"The English which we saw in the Missisquoi Bay turned out to be five men from Rogers detachment who had lost their way. Three Abenakis less cowardly than the others had taken them without trouble. They said Mr. Rogers had made his way to the Connecticut River where he must have arrived some time back."



CHAPTER II

**The Seignorial Grants — Daine — de Lusignan —
de Beauvais — St. Armand — Seigneur Levasseur —
Purchase of St. Armand by Hon. Thos. Dunn — His
Acte de Foi et Hommage — Biographical Notes.**

The Seignorial Grants

As an incident of the long outstanding dispute between the French and the English over Lake Champlain and the lands surrounding it the French, in 1731, by way of fortifying their claims built a Fort at Crown Point — Fort St. Frederick. Shortly after this they made a series of grants covering most of the land abutting the Lake with the intention of encouraging settlement there. Among these grants were three on the East side of Missisquoi Bay.

On April 5, 1733, the Sieur Daine, Chief Clerk of the Supreme Council of New France, received a tract of land of one league in front on the bay of Missisquoy by three leagues in depth bounded on one side by the mouth of Pike River (Riviere du Brochet) running towards the line of the Noyan Seignory.

The next day a grant was made to the Sieur d'Lusignan, at one time commander of Fort St. Frederick, of two leagues in front by three leagues in depth bounded on the North side by the Daine Seignory and on the South by a line drawn East and West at one quarter of a league from the mouth of the Riviere du Rocher (Rock River). This grant would have taken in the Philipsburg territory.

On July 20, 1734, the Sieur de Beauvais Jr. received a grant of two leagues in front by three in depth measured South from the property of M. de Lusignan and including a peninsula running into the lake (the marsh).

These three grants together with all the others on Lake Champlain were forfeited for non-settlement and the land re-annexed to the Crown Domaine by an Act passed on May 10, 1741. The proprietors were given the right of reestablishing their titles by improving their lands within one year and one of them, Sieur Foucault, who had been granted a

Seignory running from the Richelieu to Missisquoi Bay did regain his title by establishing a small village near Alburg. The title afterwards passed to Col. Caldwell and the territory became known as "Caldwell's Manor."

The Seignory of St. Armand

Some seven years later, the grantees of the de Lusignan and de Beauvais Seignories not having taken any steps to reestablish their titles a new grant was made to Sieur Nicolas Rene Levasseur of the Seignory of St. Armand which embraced the territory formerly included in the Seignories of de Lusignan and de Beauvais and went further around the Bay to the West of the Missisquoi River. The grant was issued on the 23rd September, 1748, by La Gallisoniere and Bigot, Governor and Intendant respectively; it was ratified by the King of France on April 30, 1749, and registered by the Superior Council at Quebec on September 29, of the same year. As this Grant became the basis on which all the titles in the Village of Philipsburg and the Parish of St. Armand West were founded a translation of the document is given:

"On the petition presented to us by the Sieur Nicolas Rene Levasseur, builder of the King's ships in this colony, praying that he would be pleased to grant him a tract of land of six leagues in front along the Missiskouy, in Lake Champlain, by three leagues in depth on both sides of the same, the said six leagues in front to be taken at a distance of eight arpents below the first fall situate three leagues up the said river, ascending the said river Missiskouy; the whole in fief and seignory, with the right of superior, mean, and inferior jurisdiction, and that of fishing, hunting and trading with the Indians, as well opposite as within the said tract of land; having regard to the same petition,

We, in virtue of the power jointly entrusted to us by His Majesty have given, granted, and conceded, and do give, grant, and concede to the said Sieur Levasseur the said tract of land of six leagues in front by three leagues in depth, as herein above described; to have and to hold the same unto the said Sieur Levasseur, his heirs and assigns, for ever, under the title of fief and seignory, with the right of haut, moyenne, et basse justice, and that of hunting, fishing, and trading with the Indians throughout the whole extent of the said concession; subject to the performance of fealty and homage at the castle of St. Louis de Quebec, to which he shall be held under the customary rights and dues, agreeable to the Custom of Paris followed in this country; and on condition that he shall preserve and cause to be preserved by his tenants, the oak timber fit for the building of His Majesty's ships; that he shall give notice to the King of the mines, ores, and minerals which may be found within the extent of the said concession; that the appeals from the judge who may be established there shall lie before the royal juris-

diction of Montreal; that he shall keep thereon house and home (feu et lieu), and cause the same to be kept by his tenants; that he shall immediately clear and cause to be cleared the said tract of land, and satisfy us of the works which he shall have caused to be performed from this day till next fall, in default whereof the said concession shall be and remain null and of no avail; that he shall leave the King's highways and other roadways necessary to the public, and cause the condition to be inserted in the concessions which he may grant to his tenants subject to the customary cens et rentes and dues for each arpent of land in front by forty in depth; that he shall allow the beaches to be free to fishermen, with the exception of those which he may require for his own fishery; and should His Majesty hereafter require any portion of the said tract of land to erect thereon forts, batteries, military places, stores and public works, His Majesty shall have the right of taking it, as well as the timber necessary for the said works, and the firewood for the garrisons of the said forts without being held to pay any indemnity; the whole under the pleasure of His Majesty by whom he shall be held to have these presents confirmed within one year."

The Canadian Archives contain a quantity of information in respect to Mr. Levasseur which is summarized by Mr. Lampee at pages 102 and following of his work.

As stated in the Grant, Sieur Nicolas Rene Levasseur was a naval constructor who had been sent to New France in May 1739 to direct the building of a fleet.

In the Spring of 1744 and again in the winter following Levasseur had visited the shores of Lake Champlain in search of further sources of ship timber, and particularly of pine trees suitable for use as masts and spars. He was successful in locating extensive pineries in the vicinity of the Saranac and Au Sable Rivers, and, in addition, brought back to Intendant Hocquart a sample of a new confection—Spruce gum! On both these occasions Levasseur stayed for some days at the settlement of Missisquoi, where he probably became interested in the possibilities of the millsite at the falls of the river.

A saw mill was erected and the Abenaki village soon developed into a busy French and Indian settlement with a church that boasted a bell, but in the course of one of the incursions by the British Levasseur's saw mill was destroyed, thus putting an end to the lumbering at Missisquoi.

The fall of Quebec soon precluded the possibility of further shipbuilding in Canada, and when the colony was evacuated by the French forces in 1760, the name of M. de Levasseur, maitre constructeur, was listed as returning to France on the staff of Governor General Vaudreuil. In November, 1763, Levasseur finally liquidated his American adventure by selling the title to his Seigniorship of St. Armand,

which had not been impaired by the change of regime in Canada, to Henry Guynand, a merchant of London.

Whether or not Guynand attempted to assert any rights in and to the territory comprised in the St. Armand Seigniory is not clear but the Museum at Knowlton contains the copy of a document headed: "The speech of the Missisquoi Indians to The Governor of Quebec in the North end of Lake Champlain, 8th September, 1766." It reads:

"Brothers—

We the Missisquoi Indians of the St. Francis or Abenaki tribe, have inhabited that part of Lake Champlain known by the name of MisisKoui Time unknown to any of here present, without being molested or any one's claiming Right to it, to our knowledge, except about 18 years ago, the French Governor Mr. Vaudreuil and Intendant came there and viewed a spot, convenient for a saw-mill, to facilitate the building of vessels or batteaux at St. Johns, as well as for the use of a Navy at Quebec, and on the occasion convened our people to ask this approbation when they consented and marked out a spot large enough for that purpose, as well as for the cutting of the saw timber, about half a league square, with the conditions to have what boards they wanted for their use gratis. But at the commencement of the last war, said mill was deserted, and the iron works buried, after which we expected everything of the kind would subside, but soon after peace was made, some English people came there to rebuild the mill, and now claims 3 leagues in breadth & six in depth which takes in our villages and plantation by far.

We therefore request of you, Brother, to enquire into this affair, that we obtain justice as it is of great concern to us. We also beg you will not allow any traders to come and bring spirituous liquors among us, being near enough to bring peltries and skins to Montreal market.

A. Belt & Stringe."

The title to the Seigniory subsequently devolved by a series of purchases to the Hon. Thomas Dunn, who performed his *Acte de Foi et Hommage* on the 12th May, 1789.

The Acte, which is not without interest, recites that there had appeared at the Chateau St. Louis in the town of Quebec before Guy, Lord Dorchester, Governor of the Colonies of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and Commander of the troops of His Majesty in the said Provinces and in the Island of Newfoundland, the Honorable Thomas Dunn Esquire, Member of His Majesty's Council and one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, Seigneur and proprietor by acquisition of a part of the Seigniory of St. Armand situate according to his titles within the Domain of His Majesty in the Province of Quebec, the said fief and seigneurie situate at Missiskous in Lake Champlain. Then follows a recital of his titles:

- Primo:— The Grant of the Seignory to Levasseur with a synopsis of the conditions.
- Secundo:— The Sale by Levasseur and his wife to Henry Guynand, trader of London, the 17th November, 1763, for the equivalent of £416.13s.4d.
- Tertio:— The Sale for £450 by Guynand to Wm. McKenzie, B. Price, Jas. Moore and Geo. Fulton, 23rd May, 1766.
- Quarto:— The sale for thirty pounds by the Estate of Wm. McKenzie to James Moore of his quarter interest, 4th April, 1786.
- Quinto:— The Sale for thirty pounds by the Syndics of the property of Benjamin Price to James Moore of his quarter interest, 4th April, 1786.
- Sexto:— The Sale by James Moore to Dunn for three hundred pounds of his undivided three-quarters of the St. Armand Seignory except such parts as are no longer in the Domain of His Majesty, 5th July, 1786, and are in the United States of America.
- Septimo:— The Sale by the heirs of George Fulton to Dunn for one hundred pounds of Fulton's undivided one-quarter of the St. Armand Seignory except such parts as are no longer in the Domain of His Majesty and which may have been ceded by His Majesty in the United States of America, 12th February, 1787.

The style of conveyancing in each of the last five deeds is peculiar. They take the form of a lease for five shillings and an annual rent of one grain of pepper. The real conveyance follows:

The Acte concludes with a recital of the supplication of the Hon. Thomas Dunn — (Translation).

"That we be pleased to receive the 'Foi et Hommage liege' of the part of the Fief and Seignory of St. Armand which is situate in the Domaine of His Majesty in this Province of Quebec — and at this moment (the suppliant) placing himself in the posture of a Vassal, head bare, without sword or spurs and with one knee on the ground said in a loud and intelligible voice that he rendered and bore to our lands the Foi et Hommage which he was held to render and bear to the King at the Chateau St. Louis of Quebec by reason of the said Fief and Seignory of St. Armand, which faith and homage we have received and do receive by these presents under reserve of all rights of the King and the appearer took and subscribed in our presence the oath to well and faithfully serve His Majesty, and to notify us and our successors if he learns of anything being done against our service; and the appearer obliged himself to furnish his avowal and enumeration in the terms prescribed by the laws, customs and usages of this Province — of all of which he requests acte which we have granted to him and he has signed with us.

Thomas Dunn — Dorchester."

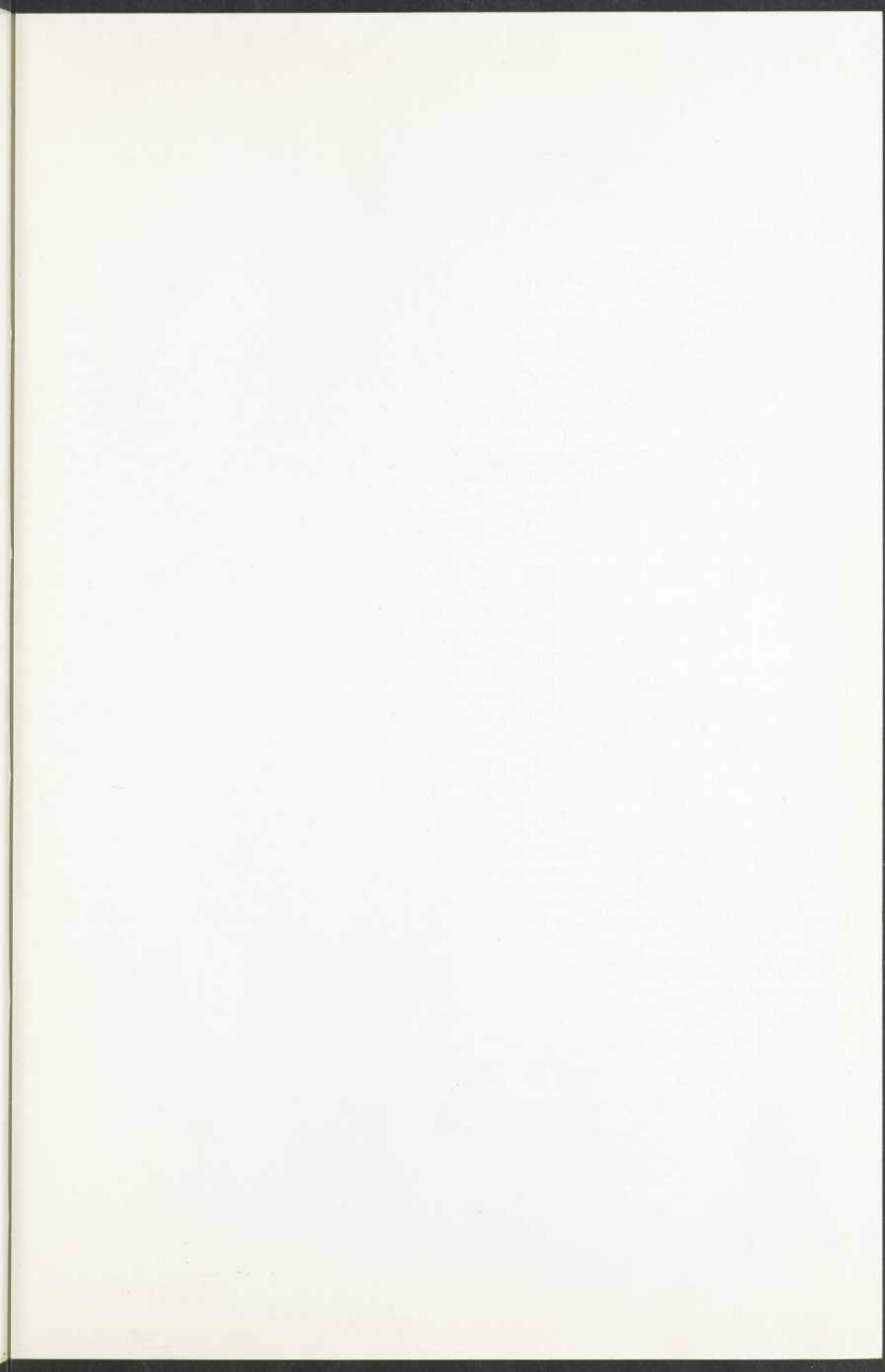
It will be seen from the above that not only were the Seignorial titles continued after the Conquest but the old actes of Fealty and Homage as well.

Dunn Biography

The Hon. Mr. Dunn played a notable part not only in the history of St. Armand but in the early history of Lower Canada under the British Regime. He was born in England in 1731 and arrived in Canada shortly after the Conquest, engaged in trade and came into early prominence. In 1764 he was appointed a member of the first Legislative Council in Quebec. In 1775 he was appointed a Judge of the Court of King's Bench by Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester. He was a member of the New Council formed under the Quebec Act in 1774 and one of the five selected by Carleton for the Special Privy Council. On the passing of the Constitutional Act in 1791 he was appointed one of the first executive and legislative Councillors of the Lower Province and during five different periods acted as President of the Legislative Council. On the departure of Sir Robert Milnes in 1805 he assumed the administration of the Province adopting the title of "President" and continued to act until the arrival of Sir James Craig in October 1807. Again in 1811, during the interval between the departure of Craig and the arrival of Sir George Prevost, he was entrusted with the administration. Although an Englishman by birth he had all the adaptability of a Scot and was immensely popular with the French Canadians. He married a Miss Henriette Guichaud. Christie's History of Lower Canada, Vol. I, p. 253, gives a summary of his remarks on opening the Legislature in 1807, at a time when war with the Americans appeared to be imminent and at p. 254 the history goes on to say:

"The Assembly heartily responded to the venerable and respected President. 'It is highly flattering to us' said they 'that this Meeting of the Legislature, enjoined by our invaluable Constitution, and in the absence of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, should take place during your Honour's Presidency, since another opportunity is thereby afforded of rendering to your Honour that tribute of gratitude which your conduct, during so long residence amongst us, so justly merits'. A more gratifying and disinterested encomium could not be offered, bespeaking alike the worth of Mr. Dunn, an English gentleman who had come to the country, shortly after the Conquest, in mercantile pursuits, and resided in it from that to the present time, and the just appreciation of character and friendly disposition on the part of those with whom he had thus lived on the best of terms, equally creditable to him and to them."

He died at Quebec in 1818 at the ripe age of 87 years and left three sons, Thomas, William and Robert. The second became Major General William Dunn, a distinguished military officer.



BE it remembered that it is agreed upon *this eight Day of June*
One thousand seven hundred and Ninety two in the house
of John Ruiter Esq. on Missickoui Bay in Lake Cham-
plain between the Honorable Thomas Dunn of the
City of Quebec in the Province of lower Canada, Esq; Proprietor of the
Fief and Seignory of Saint Armand near Missickoui-Bay in Lake Champlan
of the one part, and John Ruiter Esquire residing on the
Said Seignory of Saint Armand

of the other part as follows.

that is to say

First. the said Thomas Dunn for and in consideration of the sum of *forty Pounds*
of the now
lawful monies of the said Province of Lower Canada herein after covenanted
to be paid by him the said *John Ruiter*
as well as of the Rents and covenants herein after mentioned and contained
on the part and behalf of the said *John Ruiter*
to be paid and performed, hath given granted and conceded, and by these
presents doth give, grant and concede, to the said *John Ruiter*
his Heirs and Assigns, all that Lot or parcel of Land lying
within the said Seignory of Saint Armand, and Northward to the line
of forty-five degrees, of north Latitude, *N. 5 and N. 6, on a Plan*
drawn by Caleb Henderson Surveyor containing,
four hundred and twenty acres more or less to hold to
him the said *John Ruiter* his Heirs and
Assigns to the only proper use and behoof of him the said *John*
Ruiter his Heirs and Assigns for ever,
subject only to the payment of the rent and monies, and performance of the
covenants herein after stipulated.

Secondly. The said, *John Ruiter* for himself, his Heirs
Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, doth hereby covenant, promise, grant,
and agree, to and with the said Thomas Dunn his Heirs, Executors, and
Administrators, that he the said *John Ruiter*
his Heirs, Executors Administrators and Assigns in consideration of the Grant
above mentioned, shall and will well and truly pay or cause to be paid to
the said Thomas Dunn his Executors Administrators or Assigns, the aforesaid
sum of *forty Pounds on the first Day of May*
1797, with lawful Interest thereon at the
expiration of each year from the first
Day of May last.

and the said *John*
Ruiter for himself his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and
Assigns doth hereby further covenant, promise, grant and agree to and with the
said Thomas Dunn his Heirs and Assigns that he the said *John Ruiter*
his Heirs and Assigns shall and will yearly and every year well
and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said Thomas Dunn his Heirs or Assigns
the sum of two shillings lawful money of the said Province for quit Rent,
for the whole of the said granted Lot or parcel of Land, the first payment
thereof to be made on the *first Day of May 1793.*
on the said Seignory

and so to continue annually for ever,

And moreover the said *John Ruiter* doth, for himself his Heirs and assigns, hereby covenant and agree to and with the said Thomas Dunn his Heirs and Assigns that he the said *John Ruiter* his Heirs and Assigns shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter, when thereunto lawfully required, furnish and give up such parts of the said Lot or parcel of Land as shall be deemed necessary for High Roads for the public utility, and for the due performance of all and singular the covenants herein before contained which on the part of the said *John Ruiter* his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns are above stipulated to be performed, he the said *John Ruiter* doth hereby specially hypothecate and charge the said Lot or parcel of Land, together with all the buildings and improvements to be made thereon at any time hereafter.

Thirdly. The said Thomas Dunn for himself his Heirs and Assigns, in consideration of the covenants above stipulated on the part of the said *John Ruiter* doth hereby resign, give up, quit and release to the said *John Ruiter* his Heirs and Assigns for ever, all the right and pretention which he may have, as Seigneur of the said Fief and Seignory of Saint Armand, to any mutation or alienation sine under the description of LODS & VENTS, or otherwise; and also to the Toll commonly termed BANALITE; and in general every other right and pretention, as Seigneur over his Terre Tenant, except the said Quit Rent of two shillings per annum.

And further the said Thomas Dunn for himself his Heirs, Executors, and Administrators for the considerations aforesaid doth hereby covenant promise and agree to and with the said *John Ruiter* his Heirs and Assigns that he the said *John Ruiter* his Heirs and Assigns paying the said Rent annually and performing the covenants herein before contained shall and may quietly and peaceably have, hold, occupy, possess and enjoy, the premises herein before granted and every part and parcel thereof with their appurtenances--- unto the said *John Ruiter* his Heirs and Assigns forever, free and clear of all incumbrances whatsoever, and that he the said Thomas Dunn his Heirs, Executors, and Administrators the said Premises to the said *John Ruiter* his Heirs and Assigns shall and will for ever warrant and defend.

In testimony whereof the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the Day and Year first above written.

Sealed and delivered
in the Presence of

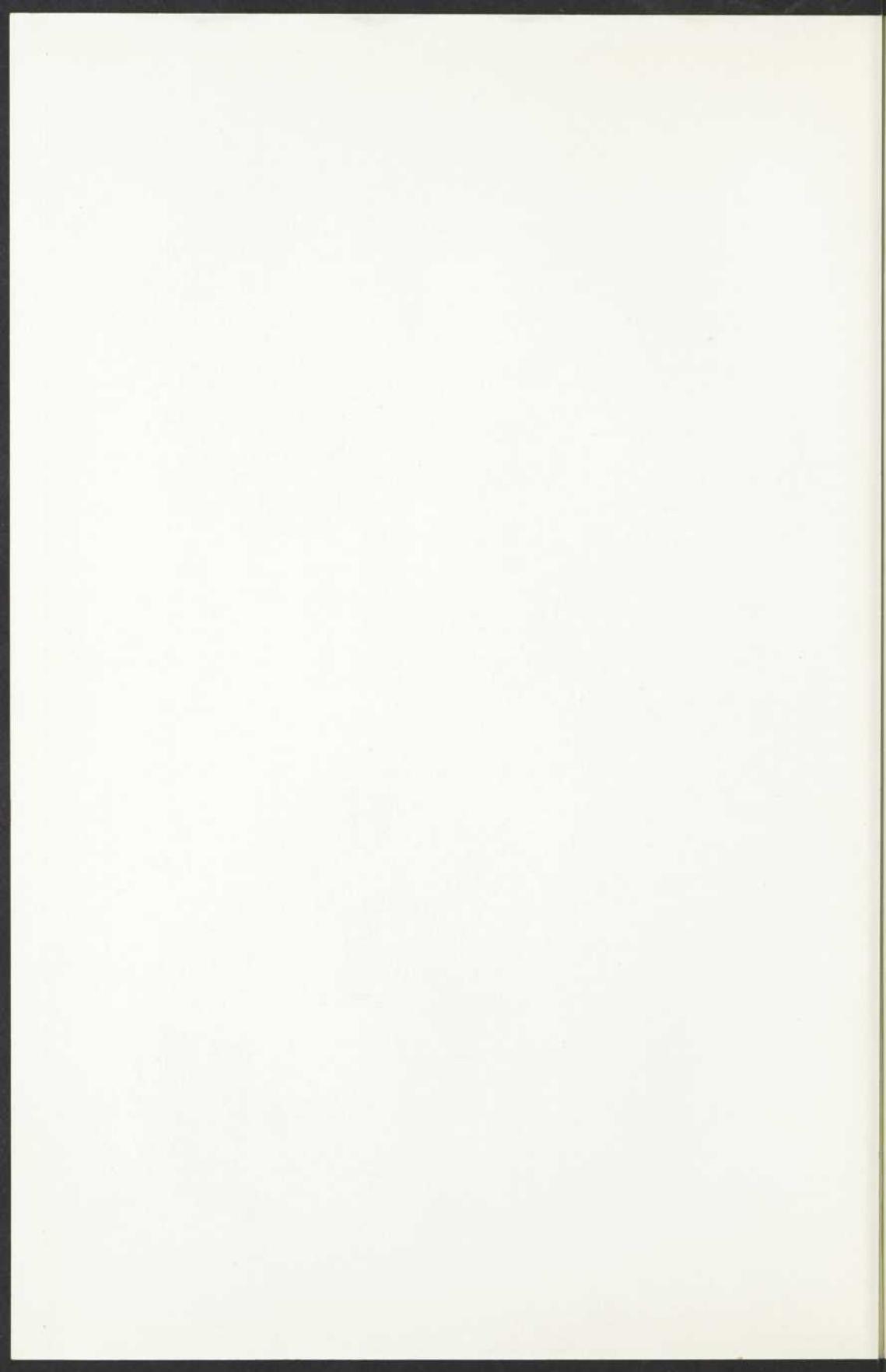
Thom^s Dunn

Patrick Corroy

Henry Ruiter

John Ruiter

Received from the above named *John Ruiter* Esquire
The sum of thirty five Pounds Eleven Shillings and six Pence
for the full ~~and~~ consideration Money of the within two
Lots of Land as appears by our accounts current settled
the 1st June 1793 and this Day the said two lots containing
only three hundred and seventy five Acres and three quarters
so that I have now no other claim thereon except the
Quit Rent of four shillings per annum Given under
my hand at Mississipi Bay the 4th September 1794
Thom^s Dunn



CHAPTER III

The Loyalists — They prefer Missisquoi Bay to Cataraqui — Petitions for land grants by Meyers, Wehr and others — Purchase of old Indian Title — The Ruiters and others become squatters — Personalia — Troubles follow with the Governor and settlers ordered to vacate — Provisional allowances stopped — Governor Haldimand recalled — Petition made for restoration of allowances — Successful conclusion.

The Loyalists

The definitive treaty of Peace following the American Revolution was signed on September 3, 1783, and so far as St. Armand was concerned all the territory South of the forty-fifth parallel of latitude was ceded to the United States. The St. Armand Seignory thus lost about two-thirds of its territory. As was seen above the Hon. Thomas Dunn had perfected his title to the remaining one-third, but events had got ahead of him in the Seignory itself.

Long before the conclusion of hostilities a movement of the Loyalist families from the American territory had commenced. In many cases it was not entirely voluntary. Lampee makes mention of laws enacted by the New York Legislature in 1780 and in 1781 for the "Removal of the families of Persons who have joined the enemy." They were to be given twenty days' notice to depart and the authorities were empowered to take and sell their goods and chattels and apply the money to the expense of their removal. Lampee cites returns made under these laws as to wives who had been ordered to depart within twenty days. Among them are names which appear later in the early history of Missisquoi Bay — Rebecca Ruyter, Catherina Best, Elizabeth Ruyter, Elizabeth Hogle, Jane Hogle.

Concentration points were named where these parties designated for removal were to report with two weeks' provisions. From these places the refugees were forwarded under a flag of truce to Crown Point where they boarded British vessels that brought them to Pointe au Fer and thence to St. Johns. To the end of the war there was a constant succession of these "flags" over the Lake bringing

refugee families from New York and New England. As the Loyalists for the most part entered the Province in a distressed or destitute condition the Government was placed under the necessity of providing for their maintenance and comfort. Many of the heads of families were in active service with one or other of the Loyalist Corps and on the conclusion of hostilities joined their families. In a petition now in the Dominion Archives many of them are listed as having resided in Canada since 1776 and 1777.

The problem as to what to do with these Loyalist refugees soon became a very embarrassing one. Having lost their homes and possessions in the United States, due to their having remained loyal, it was not unnatural that they should have felt that they were entitled to special consideration and the insistence of their demands became a source of irritation to the Government. Lord North had suggested to Sir Frederick Haldimand, then the Governor, that the Loyalist refugees at St. Johns and Montreal should be settled between the St. Lawrence and the United States boundary but this was opposed by Haldimand who was strongly of opinion that their settlement near the United States boundary would lead to trouble. It was eventually decided to settle them at Catarauqui, now Kingston.

In the meantime certain of the Loyalists at St. Johns had been busy making their own plans. They were not at all enamoured with the idea of going to Catarauqui — as Captain Sherwood¹ said in his report to Major Matthews, Secretary to Governor Haldimand:

"It is not in my power to describe to you the many artful measures taken to dissuade the people from settling at Catarauqui. It is industriously reported that the Indians have protested against that settlement and have already killed and sculp'd several Loyalists — that the Mohawks are to have all the land worth settling in that country, that the people will have no security for their lands or provisions but will be liable to be deprived of both at any time."

Their minds on the contrary turned strongly towards Missisquoi Bay. Many of the Loyalists at St. Johns had joined the British at Crown Point and a great deal of the fighting had been done up and down Lake Champlain. Missisquoi Bay, which was practically the only portion of the Lake remaining in Canada, was well known to them.

¹Captain Sherwood was Commander of the "Loyal Block House," the British post at Dutchman's Point on North Hero and also a Secret Service agent of the Government. The British continued for about thirteen years to maintain a fort at Dutchman's Point, although on the American side of the new boundary line.

As Lampee puts it:

"As General Haldimand's preparations for a settlement on the upper St. Lawrence were in progress, it was only natural that the attention of the Loyalists at St. Johns should be directed to the advantages of the unoccupied region at nearby Missisquoi Bay. During the war the region had been continually traversed by the Provincial scouting and foraging parties, and hence was well known to these Loyalists at St. Johns. The land was reasonably fertile and partially cleared, and it enjoyed the advantage of a water transportation. Most important to the minds of prospective settlers, there would be a ready market for their produce at St. Johns, only twenty miles by land and sixty by water. Finally, it was easily accessible and not too far removed from previous connections at the other end of the Lake. These were advantages that contrasted strongly with the remote isolation of Cataragui."

The records at the Archives show some twenty petitions for land on Missisquoi Bay by Loyalist and American groups or individuals between 1783 and 1792.

Space will not permit us to deal individually with these applications but an interesting review of them will be found in Lampee's work.

The first and perhaps the most insistent came from Captain John Walter Meyers, popularly known as "John Waltermire," and Ensign Thomas Sherwood and their associates who petitioned for a grant of land along the forty-fifth parallel to the Eastward of Missisquoi Bay. Their first petition was made August 30, 1783.

Meyers had served in the Burgoyne Campaign and was later posted as a captain in Jessups "Loyal Rangers." Sherwood was also of the Loyal Rangers. Not having received a reply from Quebec they renewed their application in October, on behalf of themselves and some two hundred and fifty enumerated rank and file of the Loyal Rangers "who were indeed very anxious in full hopes and great expectations that His Excellency's answer would be favorable, they having had great fears that they would be compelled to go to some distant counties."

Lampee points out that this memorial while signed by Meyers and Sherwood is easily recognized from the flamboyant literary style as the work of Christian Wehr, Lieutenant in the Royal Yorkers. Wehr, a native of Germany, from Claverack, Albany County, N.Y. had joined the British forces in 1777. He afterwards played a prominent part in the settlement of Philipsburg and his remains lie in the old cemetery. The parish register contains the following entry:

"Christian Wehr Senr. of this Seignory, Lieut. of the King's Royal Regt. of New York, on half pay, died on the 31st day of December, 1824, in the ninety-third year of his

age and was buried on the 3rd day of January, 1825, in the presence of his son.

Christian Wehr — Hannah Strite."

Meyer's October letter brought a reply from Major Matthews, Secretary to the Governor, dated 15th January, 1784, to the effect that His Excellency had declined settling the King's lands in the district in question on account "of the inconveniences that would infallibly arise to settlers in that quarter from their proximity to the Americans who cannot be expected, at least for some years, to become good neighbors."

Not discouraged, Meyers renewed his application and this time received a sharp reply from Matthews, dated February 16, 1784, to the effect that His Excellency, while desirous of gratifying the wishes of the Loyalists in all things consistent with propriety "does not think fit, merely to gratify a few individuals whose views point to a paltry traffic with the colonies rather than a spirit of cultivation, to risk the consequences mentioned in my former letter."

As Meyer was absent when this reply was received Christian Wehr took up the correspondence in his own name. His letter although published by Lampee, is worth reproducing, not only as a summation of the position of the Loyalists but as an example of Wehr's somewhat extravagant literary style:

"St. Johns, March 2nd, 1784.

May it Please Your Excellency

We humbly beg to inform your Excellency That we received a letter from Major Mathews dated Feby 16th in answer to a letter to your Excellency, concerning the Kings lands East of Missisque Bay, and we are very sorry to hear, that your Excellency has so bad an opinion of us, as to our views of settling them lands we Petition for, as if it were only for the sake of Trafficing with the Colonies, we humbly beg to inform your Excellency, that it is nowise our intention, nor never was, to settle East of Missisque Bay with a view to Traffic with the Colonies, no, it is quite otherwise, for we do assure Your Excellency, that our only aim is, the cultivation of the lands and not Traffic — We can not but think that the spirit of cultivation will fail, if we consider that we shall or must go, to a place, where our labor will be in vain, because we must almost expend the value of our produce before we can bring it to a market, and moreover it borders very nigh upon exile, if a man that possesses any spirit of Freedom, must Go to a place where he does not wish to go, and if Your Excellency is of opinion that there is but a few of us, and them few has no spirit of cultivation, we humbly beg your Excellency will Please to order, or permit, two or more men, to go round to the Loyalists, and let them signefy, by signing their names to what Place they

would wish to go, and then your Excellency will find, that it is not a few individuals only who now so earnestly, and humbly Petition your Excellency for their lands, East of Missisque Bay but that there are more than three hundred, of whom the most General Part have been well liveing Farmers, and sons of able farmers, before the Rebellion in America, and those People who were brought up to cultivate the ground, have no other way, nithere do they desire any other ways to maintain themselves and Families, than by cultivation, therefore we humbly beg since we all have been such Great sufferers by being driven from our homes and connections, that we might have our land Granted in the Parts we have Petitioned for, which would afford us some satisfaction.

And as for quarrelling with our nighbors we have not the least apprehension, of being in any more danger from the United States by being settled in the Place we Petition for, as in the upper countrys or on Caldwell's Manor.

We most humbly beg Pardon of Your Excellency for troubling you so much concerning the aforesaid lands, but since it is of so much consequence to mankind to live in the Place, where they can make the most of their labour, and where they are most inclined to settle, that it constitutes the Greater half of their Happiness in this world. Therefore, we can not find it in our hearts to leave off begging and Praying, until Your Excellency in your Clemency, are most Graciously Pleased to Grant us our lands in the Parts we Petition for, I humbly beg to subscribe myselve, with due respect,

Your Excellencys

Most obedient, and very humble serv.,
Christian Wehr.

N.B. Since Captain Waldemeyer is from home, and we do not know when he will return again, the rest of the Officers and men which are at this place Desired that I might write the foregoing letter in my name, and humbly beg, that if Your Excellency will Please to condescend, to send us an answer, do direct it to Chn. Wehr Lieut."

During the course of this correspondence between Meyers and Wehr with Quebec, other Loyalists had been bombarding Quebec with applications for grants of land in the Missisquoi area; among them were Col. John Peters who figured prominently in Burgoyne's campaign and Alexander Taylor and other Loyalists at St. Johns. All were refused. Peters' application contained the usual representation as to "certain Loyalists objecting to going to so remote a place as Cataraqui" but he does not appear to have taken any further part in the Missisquoi Settlement. Alexander Taylor, on the other hand, was one of the leading figures in the later settlement.

In the meantime Messrs. Meyers, Wehr and their associates had made up their minds that if they could not get their lands on Missisquoi Bay in one way they would

in another. On February 24, 1784, Captain Justus Sherwood, of the Secret Service, reported to headquarters that the Missisquoi Bay party had given up the project except a few headed by Pritchard¹ and Ruitter who had purchased what they called an old Indian title from which they were selling lots and had actually begun a settlement.

This reference to an old Indian title requires explanation. In 1765 James Robertson, a trader of St. Johns, became attracted by the possibilities of the old mill site on the Missisquoi River at Swanton and on June 13, 1765, negotiated a ninety-one year lease with a number of the Abenakis for a quantity of land adjoining their settlement. A copy will be found at p. 105 of Lampee's book. Robertson reestablished the Levasseur saw mill and embarked on lumbering on an extensive scale. The timber was rafted to St. Johns where there was now an active market following the cession of Canada by the French to the British in 1763. Robertson's territory however became involved in the somewhat acrimonious squabble between the Governors of New Hampshire and New York in which the Allen brothers, Ethan and Ira, figured so prominently.

In 1763 New Hampshire granted the Townships of Highgate and Swanton to Samuel Hunt and Isaac Goodrich and their associates. In an effort to straighten out the difficulties between New Hampshire and New York the King had forbidden New York to make any more grants in the Hampshire territory. Regardless of this prohibition Governor Dunmore of New York in 1771 granted as the Patent of Prattsburg the same lands as those granted by New Hampshire as the Township of Swanton. The grantees under Dunmore's patent were Simon Metcalfe and his wife. Robertson was either dispossessed by or sold out to Metcalfe who continued to operate the property until the American Revolution when he got out or was captured. When he came back after the War he found that the property had been purchased by Ira Allen from the Government and he was subsequently awarded compensation. It will be seen that Robertson had neither had title to or possession of the property for many years and in any event his so called lease from the Indians never purported to cover ground as far around Missisquoi Bay as the Canadian border. However, little difficulties of this sort did not seem to bother Mr. Robertson — by then an old man — nor prevent him from representing to Meyers and his associates that he had a good lease of the property. Robertson referred them to a Mr. Dobie in Montreal who

¹Vide p. 23.

confirmed his statement and apparently added that the lease was founded on the old seignorial grant to Levasseur, a statement that was obviously incorrect. Not only did Meyers and Ruiter go to Montreal but Ruiter and Best—Ruiter's brother-in-law—went to Missisquoi and ran a line as the result of which they convinced themselves that some 20,000 acres of the Robertson territory fell within the Province of Quebec. Thereupon, as Lampee reports, a bargain was struck between Robertson and Pritchard on behalf of himself and the others and the lease purchased for the sum of sixty pounds.

Captain Azariah Pritchard who had become associated with the group had attained considerable notoriety in the contraband trade between the British and the Americans during the Revolution. He apparently played with both sides and was trusted by neither. He would seem to have double-crossed the Missisquoi group as well. Having satisfied himself that none of the Robertson lands extended into Canada he got rid of his share. He was, however, summoned to Quebec when the others were later summoned. Finding himself again in trouble with the Government—as Lampee relates—he addressed a memorial to headquarters couched in the most extravagant terms piously disclaiming any intention of opposing the wishes of the Government. He claimed that having satisfied himself that none of the land lay within the Province he had strongly urged his associates to desist from the project. He would “rather risk himself in the field of battle than to incur a frown from His Excellency.” However, we are running ahead of our story.

It will be recalled that on February 24, 1784, Sherwood had advised headquarters of the projected settlement. On March 1 he wrote Major Matthews, Secretary to the Governor, advising him that settlement had actually begun.

“Sir,

I inclose a letter from Mr. Cass in behalf of the unincorporated Loyalists at Machiche, and shall not give him any answer 'till I hear from you on the subject.—The people at this place seem well inclin'd for Cataraqi except a number who are dictated by Captain Myers & Pritchard, Lt. Ruyter, Lt. Wehr & Ens'n Coonrod Best. These have begun a settlement at Missisquoi Bay and (I shudder to inform you) declare that nothing but superior force shall drive them off that land. My informer is Doctor Smyth who I suppose will write you on the subject.”

Matthews wrote Sherwood on March 8 that the refusal to settle the locality had been arrived at after mature deliberation, but His Excellency desired to have a full account of any Loyalists who might be there: he did not believe that

any of them would venture to settle them contrary to express commands. Sherwood replied on March 12:

"In answer to your letter of the 8th I have sent Mr. Cass an extract of that part of it respecting his letter to me, with such observations of my own, as I conceiv'd most proper to make with respect to the Missisque party. I can only inform you at present that Capt. W. Myers, Capt. Henry Ruyter, Lieuts. Wehr, Ruyter & Best with a number of men I believe mostly from Rogers Core, are at work & have erected some houses about three miles South of the mouth of Pike River and on that part of rock River which runs in this Province. Capt. Ruyter has taken up a yoke of oxen of his own and Capt. W. Myers told Ens'n Sherwood that he had already got a sufficient quantity of land clear'd to raise 1000 bushels of corn.—I am surpriz'd that Doctor Smyth has not wrote you on the subject, he was the man who informed me that those people were determined 'not to move off from that land for the generals order or any other nor to be drove off except by a superior force, for by Ld. Norths declaration they had a right to settle on any of the King's land they should choose in this Province.'

I think those were the Doctor's words precisely to me and he told me he should write to you at large on the subject which I advised him by all means not to fail of doing.

I shall, as you direct, send a confidential person to the spot, and when I get certain information of the particulars, shall acquaint you with it as soon as possible, but must request not to appear as an informer, as those people are already very jealous tho' on the ground that I have prevented them from obtaining the Missisque Land. I apprehend there will be some difficulty in ascertaining wheather they are on Crown lands or private property; you shall, however, have the story in short as I have heard it from the partys concerned—Capt. Pritchard purchased an Indian title or claim from old Mr. Robertson of St. Johns for 60 guineas or thereabouts; this he sold out in parcels to the people above mentioned not reserving any for himself, as he found by mensuration, that the Indian title fell mostly or all in Vermont, but I am informed that the purchasers by a stretch of measuring lately performed by themselves, brought the Indian title as far into this Province as the mouth of Pike River—Doctor Harris, son-in-law of Mr. Robertson, is at present endeavouring to render Pritchard's bargain invalid by proving Robertson insane. Capt. Ross and Dr. Moseley, who you saw at Quebec, are in persuit of the same land under a french grant to one Mr. Le versere and I believe are on the point of concluding a bargain for 1000£ with an agent in Montreal whose name I have not heard. They have proffer'd me a share of one/sixteenth part, but I want advice wheather Le versere's title will be good or not before I can give them an answer."

As instructed, Sherwood sent Sergeants Closson and Sweet to investigate the new settlements. Their report gave the names of the settlers with lots attached:

had excellent war records and were esteemed highly by their superior officers. Captain Henry Ruiter afterwards settled at Caldwell's Manor and acted as intermediary between the Hon. Thos. Dunn and the Missisquoi Bay settlers. Lieutenant John Ruiter settled in Missisquoi Bay, afterwards Philipsburg, and later acted as Dunn's agent until his death, when he was replaced by his son Philip. He built the first house of any consequence. It remained standing until a few years ago next to Gallagher's Hotel, which was built as an annex to the South of it. Incidentally while John Ruiter is listed as a Lieutenant he had apparently had the rank of Captain and had acted as paymaster both at St. Johns and Sorel. His account books with receipts for subsistence are still in Philipsburg. Among them are receipts for subsistence from Captain Azariah Pritchard dated at St. Johns in February 1782 and from Captain Henry Ruiter dated at Sorel July 31, 1779. Incidentally the latter signed himself "Handrick Ruiter Capt." indicating his Teutonic origin. Other receipts are signed at Vercheres.

The two Bests, Conrad and Hermanus, were also brothers and from Hoosick, Albany County. They were both Loyal Rangers. Hermanus later took up two of the lakeshore farms now owned by the writer. Conrad died at Missisquoi Bay in 1785.

Messrs. Martin and Taylor were, as indicated, from "The Rookery" at St. Johns. During the war there had been continuous complaints from the military authorities at St. Johns in respect to the illicit sale of liquor to the troops from a building near the fort known as "The Rookery." No record of what became of John Martin is to be found but Alexander Taylor became one of the leading citizens of Missisquoi Bay and his remains lie buried in the cemetery. The headstone is marked:

Alexander Taylor — born at Perthshire, Scotland
died at Philipsburg Jan. 22, 1826.

One of his sons, James Taylor, took up a part of the Kay property and built the front portion of the present Kay house. Another of his sons, Ralph Taylor, was one of the two first members elected for Missisquoi after it had been carved out of the old County of Bedford at the election of the 4th December, 1829. For a biographical sketch see the fifth report of the Missisquoi County Historical Society. Ralph Taylor's house stood on the site of the present Bibaud & Roy store and Post Office.

George Feller is listed in a later petition as a Loyalist in New York in 1779 and as having been in Canada since

1783. In the same petition John Mock is listed as Johannes Mock, a private in Jessups Corps of Loyal Rangers and as having been in Canada since 1777. James Loveless was a young man, the son of Thomas Loveless who had been executed as a spy by General Stark at Saratoga in the fall of 1781. He was evidently associated in business with or had acted as bookkeeper for John Martin of the Rookery as a number of receipts for goods, principally wet, given to John Ruitter bear his very ornate signature "for John Martin." Abraham Hyatt is listed in the same old petition as a Loyalist of the Loyal Rangers in 1777 and as having been in Canada since 1780. He was the father of Gilbert Hyatt who later moved to the site of what is now the City of Sherbrooke and built mills at the large waterfall on the Magog River near its junction with the St. Francis. Sherbrooke was for many years known as "Hyatt's Mills." At the time of the petition above referred to Gilbert was listed as having been a corporal in Jessups Corps and as having settled on the Missisquoi River.

What followed on Captain Sherwood's reports is best described by Lampee as follows:

"The next development was a letter on March 22nd from Mathews to Major Campbell at St. Johns, desiring him to send an officer to the new settlements. This officer was to have orders, if the settlements were within the province line, to notify the people that His Excellency required that they desist from settling in that quarter; the principal men were to report without loss of time at Quebec; all others were to go to St. Johns. Should the settlements prove to be within the American lines, he was to acquaint the settlers of His Excellency's command with the fact and notify them that they were no longer to expect provisions or any indulgence experienced by His Majesty's loyal subjects within the province. The officer was to be very particular in his remarks and specify in his report the names and descriptions of all persons that he might find there."

Lieutenant William Buckley of the 29th Regiment was chosen for this mission and his report which follows is of particular interest as it gives an account of the first settlement of Missisquoi Bay:

"St. Johns, 31st March, 1784.

Sir,

In consequence of your orders and instructions to inquire into the situation of the new Settlers on the Rivers Pike and Rock on the Messisqui Bay I proceeded from the East side the River (& by the direction of the guide Serjt. Campbell) march'd along the Province line till I came to the said Bay—distance about seven miles, finding a boundry Post mark'd I took an Observation from the opposite side the Bay remarking a house North of the line supposed a mile and an

half — Crossing the Bay about five Miles Eastward Came on the Boundry Post and going North I came to the house I observ'd belonging to Lieut. Ruiter and within the line about two miles tho' in a direct course not more than a mile and an half — he has with him his Wife two Sons (one small) and a Son of Capt. Ruiters.

A short distance North Capt. Ruiter has built the frame of a house — distance from the line about a Mile and three quarters — Lieut. Best has begun to cutt some wood for the purpose of building — distance from the line about two Miles — Abram Hyatt late Private Soldier in Major Jessop's Corps has begun to build — distance from the line about two miles and a quarter — he has two Sons one has been a Corporal in the said Corps and a Servant who has been Private.

John Mock late Private Soldier in Major Jessops has built a hutt — distance from the Bay about a Mile and the same distance within the line he has a Wife five Daughters And two Small Sons.

Capt. Myers has built a hutt a short distance from the River Rock and near three miles from the Bay and about a mile within the line—has in family his Wifes Brother a small Son and a Servant late private in Major Jessopps.

Several others are concern'd I understand in the Purchase of an Indian lease with the above mention'd but have not pitch'd on lands (except Ensign Ormond* Best Lieut Wise* and one Fellows who came lately from N York — the three last mention'd are not on the spot nor have they cutt any timber for building — No Settlers have begun on Pike River nor do I hear will be any — such of the Heads I mett with on the spott I order'd Away to Quebec and their Familys to St. Johns, but I beg leave to Pass My opinion the Women and Children will not be able to quit until a Warter Communication takes place.

I am
Sir

your most obedient humble Servant
Wm. Buckley,
Lieut. 29th Regmt.

Major Campbell
(endorsed) Report
Lieut. Buckley."

Lampee goes on to say:

"Buckley's report was forwarded to headquarters on April 2nd by Major Campbell. Although informed that Pritchard had disposed of his share in the land, the Major had thought it proper, in view of the fact that Pritchard had been a leading figure in the whole transaction, to order him to Quebec also. Lieutenant Ruiter was ill of the rheumatism and unable to travel with the others; Campbell regretted that Ruiter and his brother were concerned in the affair, as they had always been looked upon as honest, inoffensive men of approved loyalty and ever forward in the service of

*sic; probably Buckley's corruption of "Herman" or "Hermanus."

*sic; probably reads "Wire" (Wehr) in the original in the British Museum.

the government. He added that, as Mr. Buckley had observed, the condition of the swamps and rivers was such that it would be impossible to move the families until the spring was farther advanced.

Campbell's letter enclosing Lieutenant Buckley's report was acknowledged on April 8th, with permission for the families to remain where they were until the season would admit of their being removed with convenience. A few days later Captain Meyers wrote to Mathews from St. Johns, reciting the hardship it would entail for him to be obliged to proceed to Quebec."

However to Quebec they went, but their reception would not seem to have daunted the redoubtable Lieutenant Christian Wehr for on April 22 Sherwood wrote to Mathews from St. Johns:

"Lieut. Wehr has returned from Quebec and gives great encouragement of obtaining the Missisque land for which purpose he is promoting a subscription for a new Petition to His Excellency."

Now the battle began in earnest and became part of a general struggle between the Richelieu Valley Loyalists and the Government, for Sherwood added:

"Dr. Mosely and Capt. Ross are likewise endeavouring to draw the Loyalists from their Seigniory at Yamaska. In short if we are not soon removed from this cursed place, every intention for the good and union of the Loyalists will be counteracted by underhand designing fellows."

Sherwood's information proved to be correct as on April 27 Wehr wrote a letter to headquarters indignantly denying that Pritchard had told any of them that the Indians had no lands in the Province. He went on in his letter to ask leave again

"to proceed in settling them Indian lands, as we have begun, for it is to be considered that the season is at hand, for to make gardens and have some little spots of land cleared for Indian corn, potatoes, etc., without which, it is hard to make a liveing, and money we have none to buy them, and since I think, and am persuaded, that we are not on the King's lands, and His Excellency knowes, or at least might know better (if he pleases to take that trouble) as I do, how that Indian land lays, wherefore we humbly hope and beg, His Excellency will be most Graciously pleased to acquaint Major Campbell, that we, only the concerned may proceed in settling our Indian lands, which I can assure you would be the greatest happiness we the concerned have met with, since the beginning of this late unhappy Rebellion in North America'."

He followed this up two days later with another letter enclosing the names of some three hundred Loyalists desirous of settling at Missisquoi Bay. Mathews' reply was such as

to leave no doubt as to the Government's decision. He wrote:

"I have laid your letter before His Excellency, and am commanded to repeat to you, what you were with much pains, and by every official Authority here informed of, that no part of the Indian lands are within the Boundary line of this province, and that His Excellency will not, upon any account whatever, grant a single acre of the Crown Land in that quarter, nor permit any person whosoever to settle there. All persons who shall think fit to withdraw themselves from this province and retire within the American line, have His Excellency's permission to depart whenever they shall think fit, but as they cannot in that event be any longer considered subjects of the King, they will of course forfeit all pretensions to the protection of His Government. In regard to the general request for the lands east of the Missisqui Bay, His Excellency was in hopes that the strong terms, in which his pleasure upon that subject was (from the necessity of repeated applications) conveyed to you in my letter of 8th. March, would have been sufficient to convince the parties concerned of His Excellency's determination and to have prevented another application from them, to that letter I am directed to refer you, for His Excellency's ultimate resolution."

Lampee adds that:

"The preceding letter was enclosed in another under a flying seal to Major Campbell, in which Matthews acquainted him of His Excellency's determination and referred to the 'indecent perseverance of the parties concerned, which was beyond conception.' Campbell was directed to send for Mr. Wehr and to inform him that he (Major Campbell) had orders to make enquiries from time to time if any person should presume to settle at Missisquoi Bay, and that if they did *he was to destroy their houses!*"

No doubt Major Campbell carried out his instructions and advised Christian Wehr of the orders which he had received but this does not seem to have softened the determination of the doughty settlers at Missisquoi who had already intimated that they would only be moved by superior force. It was apparently decided to starve them out. Up to this time all the Loyalists had received provisions and other allowances. A general rendezvous of the Loyalists had been arranged for Sorel from which point they were to be removed to Catarauqui on May 24, 1784. Matthews instructed Major Campbell, Major Jessup and Captain Sherwood that from that date, May 24, those who persisted and refused to settle with the rest were to have their allowances stopped. Captain Sherwood wrote to Major Matthews from St. Johns on May 1, as follows:

"Sir,

I have received your favour of 26th Ulto, and shall give Major Campbell every assistance in my power in Collecting

the sentiments of the Loyalists which I fear will be very difficult as they are much divided by the intrigues of a few designing men. I am informed that a subscription for Missisquoi Bay is handing about at Sorel, Mountreal and this place privately, and that the people who Choose to settle there, or on private seignorys are promised their provision by contribution by private Gentlemen, as long as the other Loyalists get it from Gov't if His Excellency shall refuse to grant it to them.

It is not in my power to describe to you the many artful measures taken to dissuade the people from settling at Cataracqui. It is industriously reported that the Indians have protected against that settlement and have already killed & sculp'd several Loyalists—that the Mohawks are to have all the land worth settling in that country, that the people will have no security for their lands, or provisions but will be liable to be deprived of both at any time.

I have made every possible effort in publick & private to counteract those false insinuations, & to promote harmony in which I was successfull untill Lieut. Wehr's arrival from Quebec with such encouragement for the Missisquoi Settlement as put all in Confusion again.

Monday 3d. I was too ill to compleat this letter by the last post & have now an opportunity of acknowledging your favour of the 29th inclosing Mr. Pritchard's narrative and a draught on Capt. Maurer for 24*l*. Pritchard's assertions contradict his former conduct and conversation, but I believe he heartily repents, and is fully determined not to oppose measures recommended by Govt. I wish all the other malcontents were as pliable but some of them seem implacable.

I hope & pray that the removal of the Loyalists may soon take place, and I heartily wish His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief may be at Sorel at the time of the general rendezvous, as I think His presence would strike a damp on these turbulent spirits who, I know are determined to make disturbance.

I am exceedingly unhealthy at present which I believe is not a little owing to perplexity of mind."

Major Jessup also wrote from Sorel under date May 9:

"Sir,
I have received your letter of the 29th of last month and have as far as I have had opportunity communicated to the Loyalists His Excellency's concern on account of the Discontents of many of them and is determined not to grant the lands in the Neighborhood of Missisquoi Bay and to His Inclination to fulfill His Majesty's Gracious Intentions for the advantageous Settlements (of) those people in which I hope he may succeed notwithstanding the pains taken by some persons to prevent it."

The rendezvous at Sorel and the removal to Cataracqui took place as per plan on May 24, but as the Missisquoi Bay settlers had stuck to their guns all provisions and allowances were automatically cut off. This brought a further letter of protest from Christian Wehr dated June 30th.

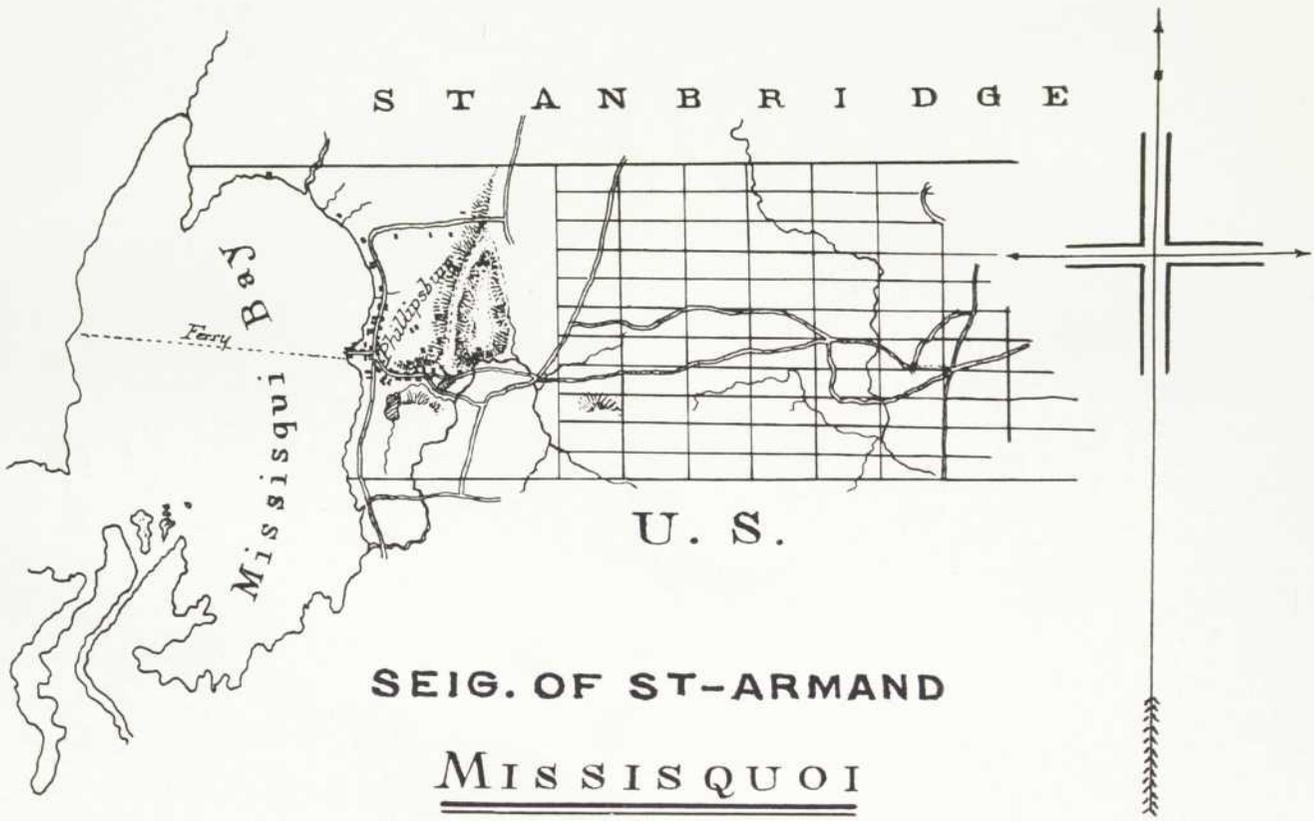
In the meantime numerous complaints had been made as to General Haldimand's severity in other directions. He was a Swiss by birth and had been trained in the Prussian Army before joining the British Army. He had distinguished himself in the Revolutionary War which led to his appointment as Governor. He was undoubtedly a strict disciplinarian and must have been intensely irritated by the persistence of the Missisquoi Loyalists in questioning his orders. As a result of the continuous complaints he was recalled and replaced Governor by Henry Hamilton who held office for only a year when he was replaced by Brigadier General Hope. Sir Guy Carleton eventually came back for a second term as Lord Dorchester.

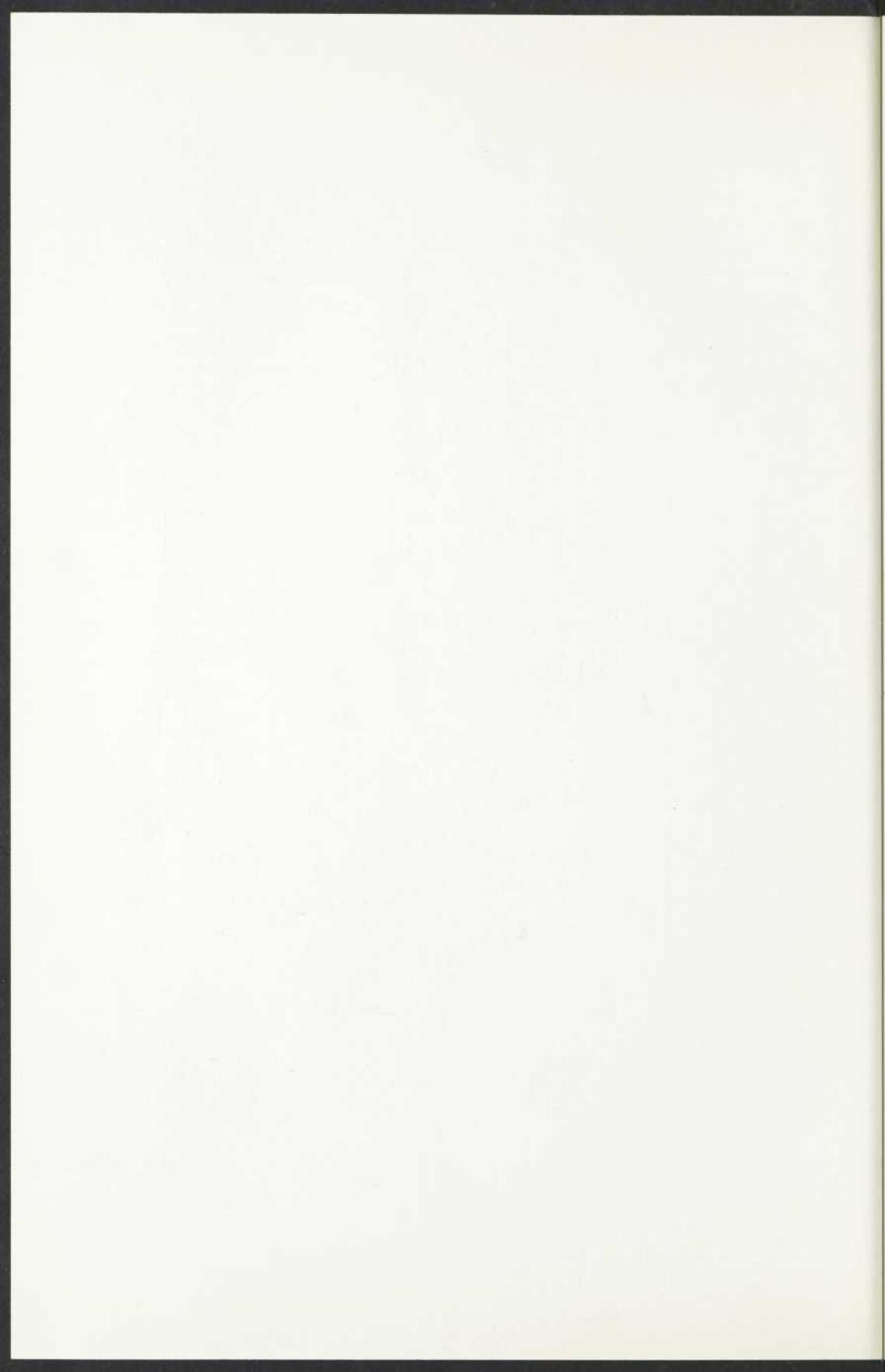
The Missisquoi Loyalists who had been getting along as best they could without assistance were apparently encouraged by the change to renew their application. On February 7, 1785, they addressed a formal petition to the new Governor which Lampee describes as "typically Wehresque" and which read as follows:

"To His Excellence Henry Hammelton, Esq., Governor in and over the Province of Quebec and Territorys thereunto belonging.

The Petition of the Subscribers humbly sheweth That the fift day of Octr. in the Year of our Lord, 1783, we, with many otheres Petitioned His Excellence, Fridrick Haldemand, Esqr., the then Governor, and Commander in Chief, for a tract of land East of Missisquie Bay, for Each of us there to receive his Portion of land, allowed by Government for services but not Receiving an Answer to our Petition untill late in the Winter Fallowing, and we being Desireous, to Git in some way of Liveing again, and to retrieve a little our Losses (by Cultivation) which we suffered during the unhappy troubles in North America which losses were very considerable with some of us, and very sorely Feel'd by Every One of us and Your humble Petitioners would not be under necessity of troubleing you, had they at present what they have lost, and were obliged to leave in the hands of the Enemy, since they from the beginning of the late troubles in America, adheared to British Government, and joined the British forces in the Year 1777, but since, as above mentioned, were desireous to git into some way of liveing, we bought a tract of land of Mr. Robertson of St. Johns, and some of us settled thereon before Ever his Excellence Fridrick Haldemand, Esqr., the late Commander in Chief had Given Orders or Pointed out Places for the settling of Loyalists, but so it was, that since some of us setled at the Bay of Missisquie, and Otheres could not move when the orderes came out for to setle at the apointed Places by Reasson of Sickness, and Othere Hindrance in their Families, and all of us hoping that we should Yit Git the land in the Parts we Petitioned for, but so it was, since we did not Go, to the Place or Places pointed at, we were struck off the Provisions list, part of us since the 24th of

Extract from Jos. Bouchette's Map 1815







Extract from Jos. Bouchette's Map 1831



May last, the Others at Different times After, but all of us since the 24th. Octr. last. Wherefore we most Humbly beg of your Excellence in your Clemency, and love to Your Fellow Men, who have sorely suffered During the late Rebellion both in body and Estate and Ordere that the Provision and Othere Donations Allowed to Loyalists, by Government, Should be given to us from the time that Every one of us, and Families were struck off the Provision list. And we humbly beg your Excellence will Please to Condescend, to favor us with an Answer, Withere we Shall have Provision, Or no, for it is our Opinion that all Loyalists, Settling in the Province of Quebec, are Allowed Provision wether on Kings Land or not, if within the Province line, Moreover, we humbly beg to inform your Excellence, that We little Expected, Nithere do we think, that it is Governments intention, or any Order, from our Most Gracious King, and his Perliment, that all such of his true and faithful Subjects as your Petitioners, Should be struc off of all bennefits from Government, as Donations of Provs, and Othere Things, alowed by Government. Except such and only such, who setle in them Peticular Places, which Perhaps through the Indication of Selfe interested Gentlemen, has been put into the head of the late Commander in Chief, to Pointe out for Settling of the Loyalists in the Province of Quebec, Furthere more, we doubt, Yea we are most sure, that there is some underhand Dealings with the kings Provs, by them who have the posts for Giveing orders for the Loyalists Provs. as for instance at St. Johns &c., For we sent a Petition to Your Excellence Decr. last and Never hear'd thereof, Wherefore we beg Your Excellence will Please to Condescend to Derect Your Answer to Chn. Wehr Lieut. Royl Yorkers at Missisquie Bay, and to the care of Mr. Alexr. Taylor at St. Johns, and if Your Excellence will most Graciously Please to Grant us our Petition, Your Petitioners as in duty bound Shall Ever Pray,

sd. Christian Wehr
 Conrade Best
 Christian Haver
 John Ruitter
 Adam Deal
 John Cole
 Ludwig Streit
 George Feller
 Josamind Drow
 Lodwik Strit, Junr.
 Jacob Thomas
 Philip Ruitter
 John Van Vorst
 James Henderson
 Alexr. Taylor "

As Loyalists they had undoubtedly lost their all in the United States and the attitude of the Administrator was difficult for them to understand. Their only explanation was "self interest" and "underhand dealing."

It will be noted that several new names appear. Christian Haver was the father-in-law of Christian Wehr.

Adam Deal came from Pownal, Vermont, and took up land on the South road, now the site of the Lafayette Hotel. Old residents will remember both John and Elwin Deal. They both died bachelors and their property passed to nephews in the United States before being sold to the promoters of the hotel. The Streits were Loyalists from New York State but are listed as having been in Canada since 1773. The one took up the farm which is still in the family, while the other erected or became the proprietor of the large brick hotel which was destroyed by fire early in the present century while the property of George Hogle. Philip Ruiter must have been the son of John Ruiter. He succeeded his father as agent for Thos. Dunn and it was after him that Philipsburg was named. There was another Philip Ruiter, the son of Captain Henry Ruiter, who resided with his father at Caldwell's Manor.

This was by no means a complete list of the settlers at Missisquoi Bay but they were no doubt the leading spirits at the time.

The petition was transmitted to the Ministry by Governor Hamilton and finally on August 22, 1785, Hope, who had succeeded Hamilton as Governor, was advised that Loyalists on private lands were to have an equal share of the royal bounty with those on Crown lands.



CHAPTER IV

Loyalist settlers attempt to obtain title to lands — Petition of Alex. Taylor and 380 other Loyalists praying for land — Biographical notes on some of the signers of this Petition — Derivation of name "Missisquoi" — Negotiations opened with Hon. Thos. Dunn — Mr. Dunn visits Missisquoi Bay and appoints John Ruiter as his agent — Later succeeded by his son Philip.

The Loyalists also seem to have been encouraged by the change in Government to attempt once more to get a good title to lands in the area. In 1786, after Carleton came back as Governor, the great body of the settlers around the Bay renewed a petition they had made to Haldimand in 1783 for the lands between St. Armand and Memphremagog; they got Colonel Henry Caldwell of Quebec (the seigneur of Caldwell's Manor) to present it to the Governor in December. In the minutes of the Council at Quebec this is described as the petition of Henry Ruiter and others, and he was probably the leader of the group, though Alexander Taylor's name appears first on an accompanying list of the petitioners, which with the original petition (Dominion Archives, S Series, Land, Sutton, 1792-7) is endorsed "Alexr. Taylor & many others praying for Land." Since so many of the settlers were represented in this petition (381 in all) the list of names almost forms a census of the region at this time, and it is also valuable because of the details it gives on the war service of each individual and the date of his migration to Canada. Among the names the following are of local interest:

"Claimants Names	Present place of Abode	In What Corps Servd	Time of Residence In Canada
Alexr. Taylor Alexr. Taylor junr.	at Missisque Bay at Do.	No Corps (a son to the Above Taylor)	1775 Since in Canada
John Ruitter Lieut. Loyl R: Christ. Wehr Lieu: in ye R:Y:	Missisque Bay North (of ye Prov. Line) Missisque N:P:L:	Jessops Corps L:R:	Since the yr 1777 & was in Bourg: Camp
Philip Luke Ensign	Missisque	(Sr. Jnos Johnstone Corps of the 2nd (B. R. Yorkers (Ensign in Butler's (Rangers (private in R:R: (New Y.	(1777 & was in (Bourgoyne's Camp 1777 & is 2 years in Canada since peace 1777 in Canada since
Adam Deal	at Missisque	(in Major Jesop's (Corps a Serjeant & (Commissary in Jesop's Corps	1777 Since Canada & Now in ye States
Caleb Henderson	in the States		1777 Since in Canada
Joseph Smith	at Missisque River		
Gilbert Hyatt Chas. Miller John Sax	Do. at Missisque at Missisque Bay N; of P:L: & has 8 Sons at Missisque River	Do. Corporal a Loyalist (a Sefler in hans- pect Yagers in 1779 (a Volunteer Loyl. (Rangr. in Jesops Loyalist in N:York (in 1779	1778 &c 1776 Since ye year 1783
Philip Ruitter Senr.	at Missisque Bay	(A Volunteer L. (Rengrs.	1780 Since in Canada
George Feller	at Missisque Bay	Loyalist in N:York (in 1779 (A Loyalist L. (Rengrs. in Butler's Rangers K:R: Rangers Gesopps No Corps	In Canada Since 1783
Abram Hyatt Senr.	at Missisque River		1777 In Canada Since 1780
Garrat Sixby Peter Miller Ludovic Striet junr.	at Missisque Bay at Missisque River		1777 Now in Canada 1776 since in Canada 1773 from N. York Still in Canada
Lud. Striet Francis Hogell	Do. in Surrelle	Do. Command'd by Ma: Jesop pension'r.	Do. 1777 Since Canada
Abija Cheesman	at Caldwell's M:Sth of YeL.		
Richd Cheesman Jacob Best Senr. Jacob Best junr.	Do. in the States Do.		

For some reason the name of Hermanus Best does not appear on the list although he came up with his brother Conrad from Hoosick, New York, and his nephew, Jacob Best Jr. lived with him. John Ruiter was married to a sister. From the Report on Ontario Archives, 1904, Part I, p.386, we learn that a claim for compensation for losses as a Loyalist was made by Hermanus Best for the widow and children of the late Jacob Best Sr. The synopsis of the evidence on this claim shows that "Jacob Best Sr. died at Carlton Island in 1783. He was then a soldier in Sir John Johnston's Regt. His wife and children were then in the States. He was a native of America. In 1775 he lived at Hoosick and was always steadily loyal. He joined Gen. Burgoyne and after the Convention came to Canada and enlisted in Sir John Johnston's Regt. He served until his death in 1783. Jacob Best Jr. sworn, says that when his father came to Canada in 1777 the rebels took his stock, viz. 4 horses, some cattle, and sheep but he cannot remember all that was taken. He now resides with his uncle Hermanus Best at Missisquoi Bay. Hermanus Best lives on Indian lands in Missisquoi Bay. He thinks it is within British lines."

The "Indian lands" now are a part of the writer's farms on the shore of the Bay.

Old residents will remember the last of the Best family. Poor old Ed. Best drove the stage from Philipsburg to St. Armand. He was a bit of a rural philosopher. His philosophy of life was "what's the good of staying poor when you can get rich for a quarter." Beer was then five cents a glass. His brother Charles lived with his blind sister, Hannah, on the shore of the Bay opposite the old farms in a cottage owned by the late Mr. Horsey. His only beverage was Radway's Ready Relief, a bottle of which he always carried in his hip pocket.

A few of the families founded by these first settlers still remain. Philip Luke, great grandson of the same name, still works the Luke farm. The original Philip, after taking up the land, opened a store and also built an ashery. The greater proportion of the income of the early settlers was procured by making ashes — many of them sold the ashes to those engaged in the manufacture of potash and pearl ash while others manufactured the potash themselves. The making of ashes was a natural incident of clearing the land and burning the trees. The books of John and Philip Ruiter indicate that the business was of no mean proportions.

The Museum at Knowlton has among its files a copy

of "Memorial of Philip Luke appointed 2nd Lieut. in Butler's Rangers" dated 11th October, 1782, and addressed to Governor Haldimand. It sets out: "That your Memorialist was an inhabitant of the County of Albany, of good circumstances at the commencement of the rebellion, but for his loyal attachment to his King and Government refused to pay obedience to the Rebel usurpation for which he was imprisoned and otherwise persecuted." It goes on to recite his trials and tribulations and his services in the Loyalist cause as Captain in Colonel Cuyler's refugee volunteers and his having been made prisoner. The granting of independence "caused him to remove for safety to Canada, where he is now arrived; a stranger, destitute of money, cloths and support." The Memorial concludes with a prayer for "some temporary subsistence towards his support as by his Majesty's bounty has been granted to others in the like predicament."

Philip Luke became Colonel in command of the 4th or Philipsburg battalion of the Eastern Townships Regiment. The Regiment was commanded by Sir John Johnston with a Captain Glen as his Adjutant. The latter was apparently a very popular officer. The older inhabitants will remember Glen Luke who probably derived his Christian name from the Captain. Colonel Philip Luke was evidently a man of some force of character and no doubt he needed it as they had great trouble in raising the drafts for the batallions. From some notes in the handwriting of Leon Lalanne, the first Notary Public in the Townships, we read "Ex-Captain Jonathan Knap says, he and several others asked Col. Luke (on the day he proceeded to draft men in Dunham) to read them the law respecting the drafting of militia men that sd. Luke ansd. 'I am the Law G-d. d-n. you, obey my orders and if I do wrong prosecute me afterwards'."

Caleb Henderson made the first survey of at least a portion of the Seignory of St. Armand and the earlier deeds from the Hon. Thos Dunn all refer to a plan drawn by Caleb Henderson. For further details See Chapter V. The later surveys were made by Jesse Pennoyer, while surveys of the village lots for Philip Ruiter were made by Amos Lay and Joel Ackely.

Joseph Smith took up land at St. Armand and in fact a portion of the village of St. Armand, including the residence of the late Mr. W. A. Smith, is built on the Smith farm. His son John Smith left the property to his two sons, Peter and Charles. "Honest Peter," as he was commonly known, was an important figure in St. Armand. He con-

ducted a store and the post office and was also a collector of customs. His son, W. A. Smith succeeded him in all three positions. The Charles Smith portion of Joseph Smith's holdings is now occupied by the family of Frank Solomon.

Gilbert Hyatt, as has been mentioned, later moved Eastward and established the settlement known as Hyatt's Mills, which became the City of Sherbrooke.

Peter Miller came originally from Limerick County in Ireland and was one of the descendants of refugee Germans from the Palatinate who had been colonized in Ireland during the reign of Queen Anne. He had settled in Charlotte County, New York. He had been apprehended as a Loyalist and later joined Sir John Johnston's "King's Royal Regiment of New York" known as the Loyal Yorkers. He settled in St. Armand on the banks of Rock River on the farm still occupied by his descendants, Miss Agnes Bradley and Mr. George Bradley. Peter Miller's son, Captain Charles Miller, accompanied him.

Garrett Sixby married a daughter of Peter Miller and took up an adjoining farm. The family was always actively connected with the local militia and Miss Lettie Sixby, a daughter of Horatio N. Sixby, a direct descendant of Garrett, still occupies the old home.

John Sax or Saxe took up land immediately South of Peter Miller but when the boundary line was run his farm was found to be on the American side. The family founded Saxe's Mills and also conducted a general store. A grandson, John Godfrey Saxe, became a distinguished American poet. Another descendant, John Saxe, is a leading lawyer and Senator in New York. An article on "Saxe's Mills" by Mrs. H. S. Drury, another descendant, is to be found in the fourth report of the Missisquoi County Historical Society.

It will be noted that the "present place of abode" of a number of the settlers is given as "Missisque River" when in reality they had settled on the banks of Rock River, a name which does not appear on the list. It was a curious error, as both rivers bore their present names even during the French regime — Riviere au Rocher and Riviere Missisque, spelt in a variety of ways. Noyes says that it was only in 1853 that the present spelling was adopted by the Legislature. As a matter of fact the former use of "kuoi" instead of "quoi" would have been less incorrect.

While we are on the subject it may be said that exhaustive studies have been made of the meaning of the word "Missisquoi" by Noyes, Judge Girouard and Dr. George McAleer of Worcester, Mass. Two articles appear in the

first and second reports of the Missisquoi County Historical Society while Dr. McAleer's research fills a book of 102 pages. Dr. McAleer gives a variety of names suggested by over twenty authorities consulted. One of two meanings appear to be the most likely:

- (i) Pebble or Flint Point (Pointe de Cailloux)
- (ii) Much Water Fowl.

Noyes argued strongly in favour of the second but would seem to have come around to Judge Girouard's view in favour of Flint Point.

The names of a number of the old families do not appear on the list referred to and it is probable that they settled around the Bay subsequent to the compilation of the list. In the account books of John and Philip Ruitter the following names appear:

- 1788 — John Schoolcraft
- 1791 — John and George Titemore, Elisha and Edward Martindale.
- 1792 — John Bockus — Peter McCutcheon
- 1793 — Peter Rosenbergh
- 1794 — Wm. Manson — Joseph Reichard or Reychart — John Solomon
- 1795 — Frederick Primerman — Mathias Cammel
- 1796 — David Saker — Isaac Lagrange
- 1797 — Christopher Katzebock — John Katzebock

(The spelling is as it appears in the books. The last two names have now evolved into "Catchpaugh.")

1798 — The Ruitter books under date June 27, 1798, show an entry reading:

"Borrowed from Captain Ephraim Duel 1516 Brick which I promised him to return on demand or pay him the worth in money."

The exact date of Captain Duel's (now Deuel) entry into Canada does not appear but he took up the land immediately North of the Hermanus Best tract and the farm continued in the possession of the family until a few years ago when it was sold to the writer.

To return once again to our history, it will be recalled that the petition of Henry Ruitter, to which the list of 381 names was attached, was forwarded by Colonel Caldwell to the Governor in December, 1786; it was considered by the Executive Council Land Committee in their Third Report, Feb. 28, 1788, but no action was taken, as there were several conflicting petitions for the territory. In the meantime the Hon. Thos. Dunn had been busy completing his titles to the St. Armand Seignory: as he was himself a member of the Executive Council he would have been aware of Henry Ruitter's petition and seeing the settlers'

anxiety to get legal titles doubtless decided to offer them his own land on easy terms. In any event negotiations were opened between the Hon. Mr. Dunn and Colonel Caldwell, the final result of which is set out in a letter from Capt. Henry Ruiter to Messrs. John Ruiter, Christian Wehr, Alexr. Taylor and their associates. The letter reads as follows:

"Caldwell's Manor, 2d. Octr. 1787.

Gentlemen,

I am to inform you that I received a letter from Col. Caldwell of which the following is an abstract:

I shall endeavour to get from Mr. Dun the boundary line by which his seignery is bounded & by which grant I understand there is some land reserved for the Indians, when you know his boundary's you may form a judgement if the lands you have settled are included in his grant, you may have the firmest reliance on his justice if the lands you have settled do not make part of his grant he will not claim them and if they do make part of his grant I think you may be assured to have the preference of them, and at the same rate of the uncleared land of equal goodness. I have mentioned the matter to Mr. Dun & those are his sentiments nor need you or those concerned be anyways apprehensive of Mr. Mosely or Mr. Adam's threats as they have no power just now over those lands, no agreement having yet been made with Mr. Dun. I shall be obliged to you to let Mr. Weher, your brother and the others concerned know this, that I shall have a pleasure in being useful to honest men, and good subjects & that I shall watch over their interests and inform them how matters are going on with respect to their, whether they are in the disposal of Government or of Mr. Dun.

The boundary of Mr. Dun's seignery as mentioned in his letter is six leagues in front of the River Missisquoi by three leagues to commence eight acres or about 490 yds. below the first falls. The grant makes no mention of the lands from eight acres before the falls and to the Bay but I suppose that is what was reserved for the Indians, and these if you have settled you may still continue, perhaps to support your title.

Thus you perceive there is great hopes we still may enjoy our possessions undisturbed, yet I would recommend one of you to go to Mr. Robeson and demand the lease or to refund the money, the latter I am sure he cannot do & the other he will readily comply with as he finds there is some difficulty respecting the title. I wish this to be done with as prudent and as cautiously as possible. Should he offer the money it may be put of. I think you may negotiate this part of the business without putting me to the trouble as I think I have done my part if in nothing else by paying postage, &c. I have desired Col. Caldwell to tell Mr. Dun that we would purchase his lands if his prices were moderate and his mode of payment easy, which I expect will meet with your approbation. If any on Missisquoi should decline there are great numbers of others would gladly join.

I am in hopes you will not delay any business to be done at Quebec. Let me know and I shall see that is done. Delays are dangerous, therefore the expedition. The lands

upon Pike River I am informed are granted, but to who I cannot learn, but it is said to General McLean. I have wrote every post to Quebec respecting your business and took all the pains possible to make our claimed settled. I beg you to do what I now request and to let me know what more you all would wish to have done and if you approve of what I done respecting Mr. Dun's lands."

The Mr. Robeson referred to is evidently old Mr. Robertson who had leased them the "Indian lands" which lease they had previously relied upon as their title. Mr. Mosely, with Mr. Ross, had petitioned for a grant of land on Missisque Bay in April 1784. Mr. Dunn was evidently willing to give a fair hearing to the owners of the lease, but decided to take immediate possession of the remainder of St. Armand and to make a personal visit, as will be seen from the following letter which is dated at Misiskoui Bay, 9th October, 1788:

"Henry Ruiter)
and Capt. John Ruiter)
Gentlemen,

In consequence of my letter to you of this date I have to request you will as soon as possible set a Provincial surveyor to work to lay out into lots of two hundred and ten acres each, that part of my seignorie of Saint Armand that falls to the North of the Province line as surveyed by Mr. Holland in June & July last, except such part as is now possessed in consequence of a supposed Indian lease, which I have consented shall remain as it is at present until I have time to search for & consider the same at Quebec and in consequence I would have the surveyor to begin his operation at the upper end of the sixth lot on the Province line, and from thence run a line perpendicular to the Province line until it strikes my North line, fixing a boundary at the end of every thirty gunter chains, & also on the Province line and my North line, and then measure seventy gunter chains East on my North line and there fix a boundary & run a South line perpendicular to my North line, planning a boundary as before at the end of every thirty chains until he strikes the Province line, and continue in the same manner to the East line of my seignorie so that each lot will contain two hundred and ten acres and any person purchasing a lot will have only to pay for 200 acres and have ten acres allowed for a road. Perhaps when the surveyor comes to measure the last row of lots that will end at my East line it may be necessary to make the lots more or perhaps less than 210 acres so that I must leave the laying out to your discretion or likewise the laying out of the land to the Westward of the first cross line herein directed to be drawn.

I am Gentlemen,
Your most obedt. Servt.

Thoms. Dunn.

I trust you will engage the surveyor and his party on the lowest terms and avoiding unnecessary expense."

Presumably on this same visit Mr. Dunn appointed Captain John Ruiter as his land agent which position John Ruiter continued to occupy until his death on the 5th May, 1797. His monument in the Philipsburg cemetery shows that he died at the comparatively young age of fifty-seven. His son, Philip, succeeded him and in turn held the position until his death on the 6th November, 1820. He was only fifty-four years old but was certainly a man of many parts. Besides establishing the village of Philipsburg and giving it his name his various activities are summarised as follows at the beginning of the first fyle of the "Ruiter Papers" in the Dominion Archives:

"with few exceptions these papers seem to have been the property of Philip Ruiter, acquired by him through the many and various positions he held; besides being Land Agent for the Hon. Thos. Dunn, Hon. James McGill and others, he was a 'Leader among the Associates', an officer in the Militia, a Justice of the Peace, Montreal District, Commissioner for the Trial of Small Causes, Warden of the Church, Schoolmaster, Innkeeper and Postmaster."



CHAPTER V

Hon. Thos. Dunn takes possession and orders surveys made — Visits Seigniorie and executes titles — Form of Deed — Establishment of Village of Philipsburg — Origin of street names — Original lot holders.

It will be noted that Mr. Dunn's letter opened with a request to the Ruiters to "as soon as possible set a Provincial Surveyor to work to lay out into lots of two hundred and ten acres each that part of my seigniorie of Saint Armand that falls to the North of the Province line — except such part as is now possessed in consequence of the supposed Indian Lease." That they lost no time in carrying out these instructions is shown by the opening entry in an account found among the Ruiter Papers at Philipsburg:

1788 — Nov. 12th. Mr. Pennoyer and party had of Mrs. Pell,
To 6 meals victuals when coming on the survey business."

The Pell Farm was on Dutch Street near Bedford. Pell had been a Regimental tailor.

The account is headed: "The expenses of surveying the Seigniorie of St. Armand by Mr. Jesse Pennoyer being the property of The Honourable Thomas Dunn Esqr."

In the following year the account opens: "Mr. Pennoyer began the second time to survey the 19th June, 1789." In 1790 the entry is "Mr. Pennoyer began the third time to survey March 26th, 1790."

These surveys of Pennoyer's, as the letter of 1788 shows, left untouched the part of the seigniorie claimed by the settlers under the Indian lease. But apparently they had already had it surveyed on their own account. In June 1792 Dunn visited his seigniorie again and executed deeds in favour of a number of landholders, one and all of which refer for descriptions of the properties to "a Plan drawn by Caleb Henderson, Surveyor."

Henderson's name we have seen in the list attached to the Ruiter petition of 1786; he was evidently at Missisquoi before Dunn bought the seigniorie, and as he was a member

of Jessup's corps like the Ruiters and several other of the early settlers, it is quite likely they might have engaged him to survey their lease. Certainly, nowhere does he appear in Ruiter's accounts for Dunn, except in the designation of the tracts sold when the number is followed by the words "Henderson's survey."

Henderson's survey is probably the series of smaller lots at the western end of the seigneurie shown on Bouchette's maps. Dunn's letters to Ruiter in the Archives show that he was very dissatisfied with its quality. As early as 1789 he wished to have Pennoyer "finish laying the whole into Concessions to the Westward . . . down to the Lake and that it would be a useful Work for You and all the Settlers for I have but a very poor opinion of the Surveyor that laid out the Lands You now possess." As a matter of fact, when Pennoyer finally resurveyed it in 1793 the result was to show that in many cases Henderson was out as much as fifty acres in some of the lots.

One of Dunn's reasons for wishing to make this resurvey (he wrote Ruiter on January 3, 1791) was "to prevent any further misunderstanding" with "the old Settlers", who had apparently been delaying a final settlement over the lease, though by now they had admitted Dunn's ownership.

"I wish much to have finished with the old Settlers and am sorry to say that I am convinced many of them contributed much to discourage settlers from coming on my land, which is a conduct so highly blamable as might induce many persons in my situation to prevent and make them feel the consequence; however, I am above taking the advantage that all the world would justify me in doing considering their conduct. The only promise I made to any of them was in your presence when they seemed convinced of their mistake in settling on my land and they then requested I would not take advantage of their situation and improvements, which I promised I would not, but on the contrary I told them I would be more moderate with them than with others that should come to settle, but they seem to interpret this promise to entitle them to claim as much of my estate as they please."

The terms of the leases of June 1792 show they finally gave in to him.

Printed forms of deeds were used and John Ruiter's, which is typical of all the others, and are reproduced opposite page 32.

It will be noted that Dunn abandoned all seigniorial rights and granted the lands for a cash consideration, usually ten pounds per one hundred acres plus the obligation to pay a perpetual quit rent or ground rent of a shilling

for one hundred acres. The validity of this form of deed was challenged in a suit brought by the Estate of Thomas Dunn against one of the grantees decided on 18th February, 1831; *Henriette Guichaud et al v. John Jones* 1 L.C.R. 123 *Seignorial Tenure*. The validity of the deed was maintained but only upon the ground that the stipulated price represented the consideration for the abandonment of the Seignorial Rights.

However, when a statute was passed in 1854 providing for the abolition of the Seignorial Tenure, St. Armand was treated on the same basis as other Seignories and the Commissioner, in this case Henry Judah, drew up a role fixing the capitalised value of the annual rents and the lands were thereafter treated as held in "free and common socage" (fee simple).

Judah's role also shows the lot numbers and proprietors in the Village of Philipsburg but does not indicate any values of the ground rents as the village lots had been granted not by the Seigneur but by Philip Ruiter who had succeeded to the title to Lot number five which had been granted to his father, John Ruiter, and on which lot the greater part of the Village of Philipsburg was laid out.

This was at a much later date than the laying out of the Seigniory.

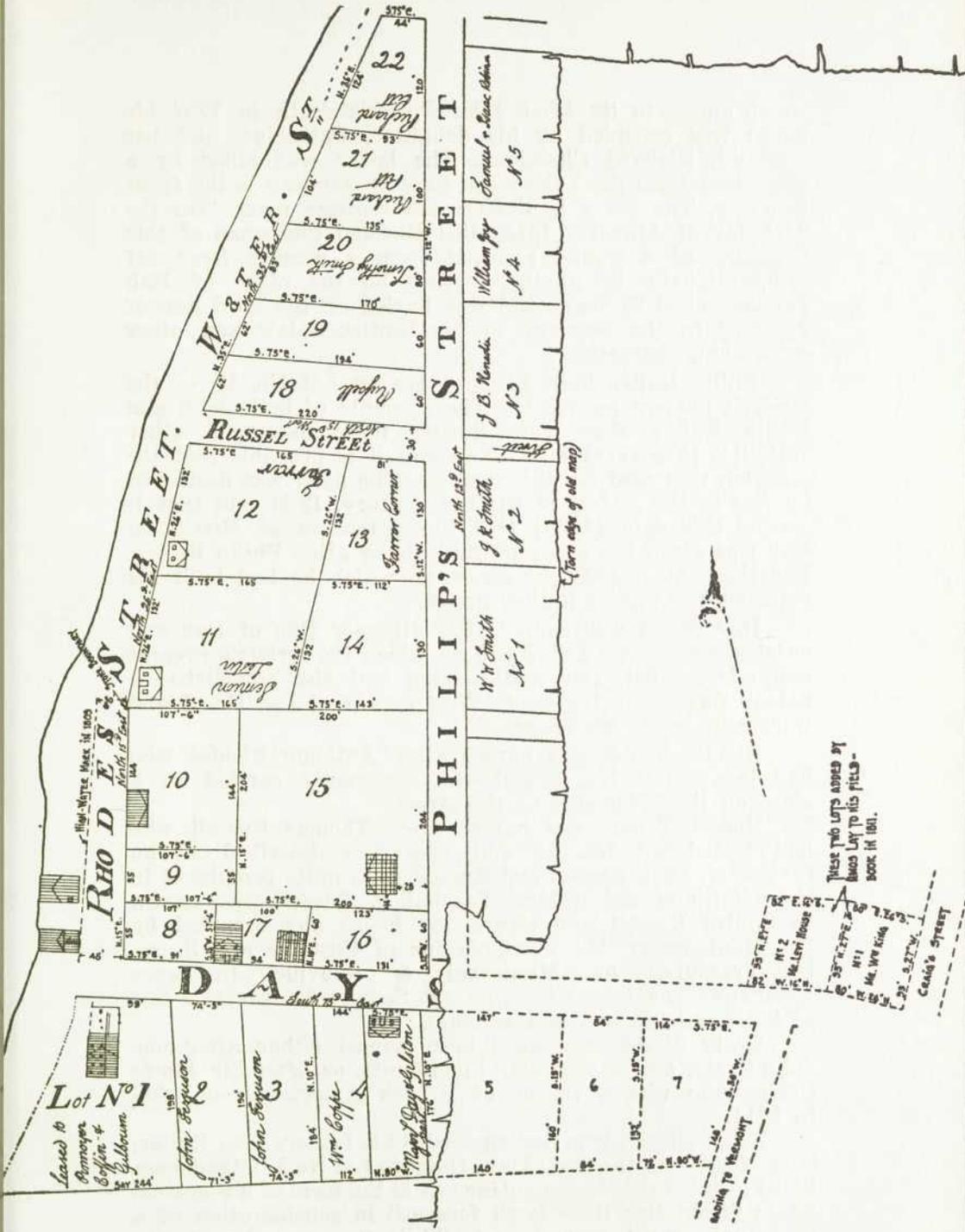
It was apparently not until 1809 that Philip Ruiter decided to establish a regular village and to divide the territory into building lots. The Field Book of Amos Lay, a surveyor, showing the plans and descriptions of the lots then laid out was found among the papers of Sherman Whitwell, P.L.S. in Philipsburg and deposited in the Archives at Ottawa. Mr. Paul Beique, Q.L.S., kindly undertook to plot the various lots on a general plan with remarkable success, since at a later date, the original plan, badly torn, was found among the Whitwell papers. Mr. Beique pieced together this original and made a tracing which is reproduced on the following page.

The opening entry of the Field Book opposite Lots Nos. 1, 2 and 3 reads:

"Having been surveyed and leased previous to this date, it is therefore unnecessary to give any further description of their boundaries.

April 13, 1809, commenced the survey of the Village of Philipsburg."

It will be noted that John Ruiter's house, the first erected on the territory before it became a Village was built on the lot given the number 10. This house remained standing until a few years ago. Gallagher's Hotel was built



Plan of Village of Philipsburg—Amos Lay 1809.

as an annex to it. After John Ruiter's death in 1797 his house was occupied by his daughter, Catherine, and her husband, Richard Cheesman. The latter was killed by a shot fired from the Lake when he was standing in the front doorway. The entry in the Church register reads "On the 21st day of January, 1814, died Richard Cheesman of this Seignory of a wound received from a musket fired off unintentionally by another person on the night of 18th January aged 25 years and was buried on the 23rd day of January in the presence of his brother-in-law and other subscribing witnesses."

Philip Ruiter built his mansion on Lot No. 15 — the writer's present garage lot. The accounts of both John and Philip Ruiter show that during their numerous other activities they carried on hotels and it is probable that the mansion was used for this purpose. The hotel was destroyed by fire in the middle of the last century. It is said that it was at this date (1809) that the settlement at Missiskoui Bay was given the name of Philipsburg after Philip Ruiter. For the same reason the street on which he had built his mansion was named Philips Street.

Day Street was named after Ithamer Day of Day and Gelston who leased Lot. No. 5 on which the writer's present house is erected. Day and Gelston had also established a potash factory on the South West corner of Lot No. 1 and were apparently merchants.

Rhodes Street was named after Anthony Rhodes who had leased Lot No. 9 and who apparently carried on a store on the West side of the street.

Russell Street was named after Thomas Russell who had leased Lot No. 18 and who was described as an innkeeper. Both Rhodes and Russell were quite prominent in the affairs of the Village. Paschal P. Russell was known as Squire Russell and owned the house now occupied by Dr. Montgomery. He was Collector of Customs and Secretary-Treasurer of Missisquoi & Rouville Insurance Company. The late Mrs. Andrew Somerville was the last of the family to live in the house.

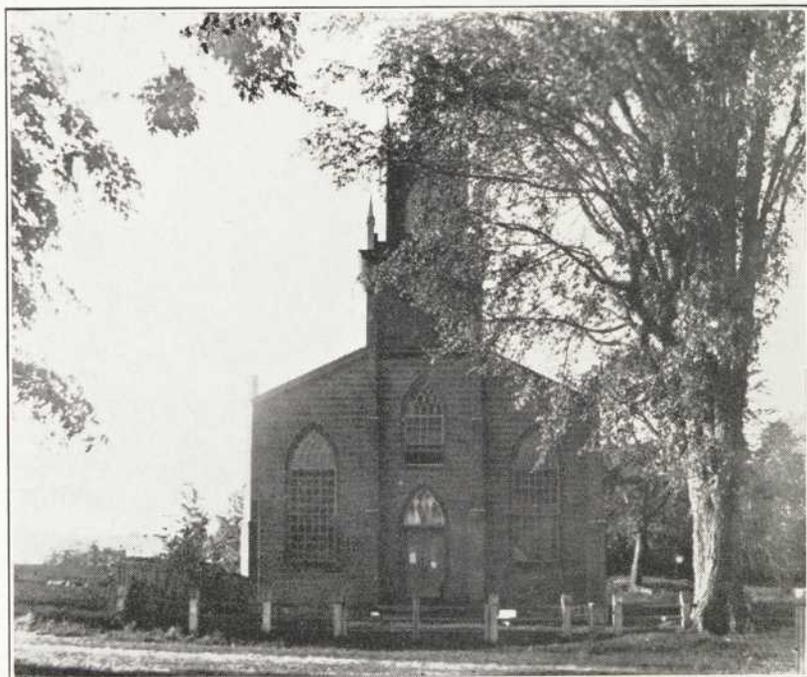
Craig Street may have been named either after one John Craig, one of the early inhabitants, or after Sir James Craig, who was Governor of British America from 1807 to 1811.

Philip Ruiter, who had succeeded his father, John Ruiter, in the title from the Hon. Thos. Dunn to Lot No 5, (Henderson Plan) granted title to the village lots in the form of a perpetual Lease "from this time forth forever" in consideration of a perpetual annual ground rent. While the ground rent was



TRINITY CHURCH, FRELIGHTSBURG

First church to be erected in the Eastern Townships.

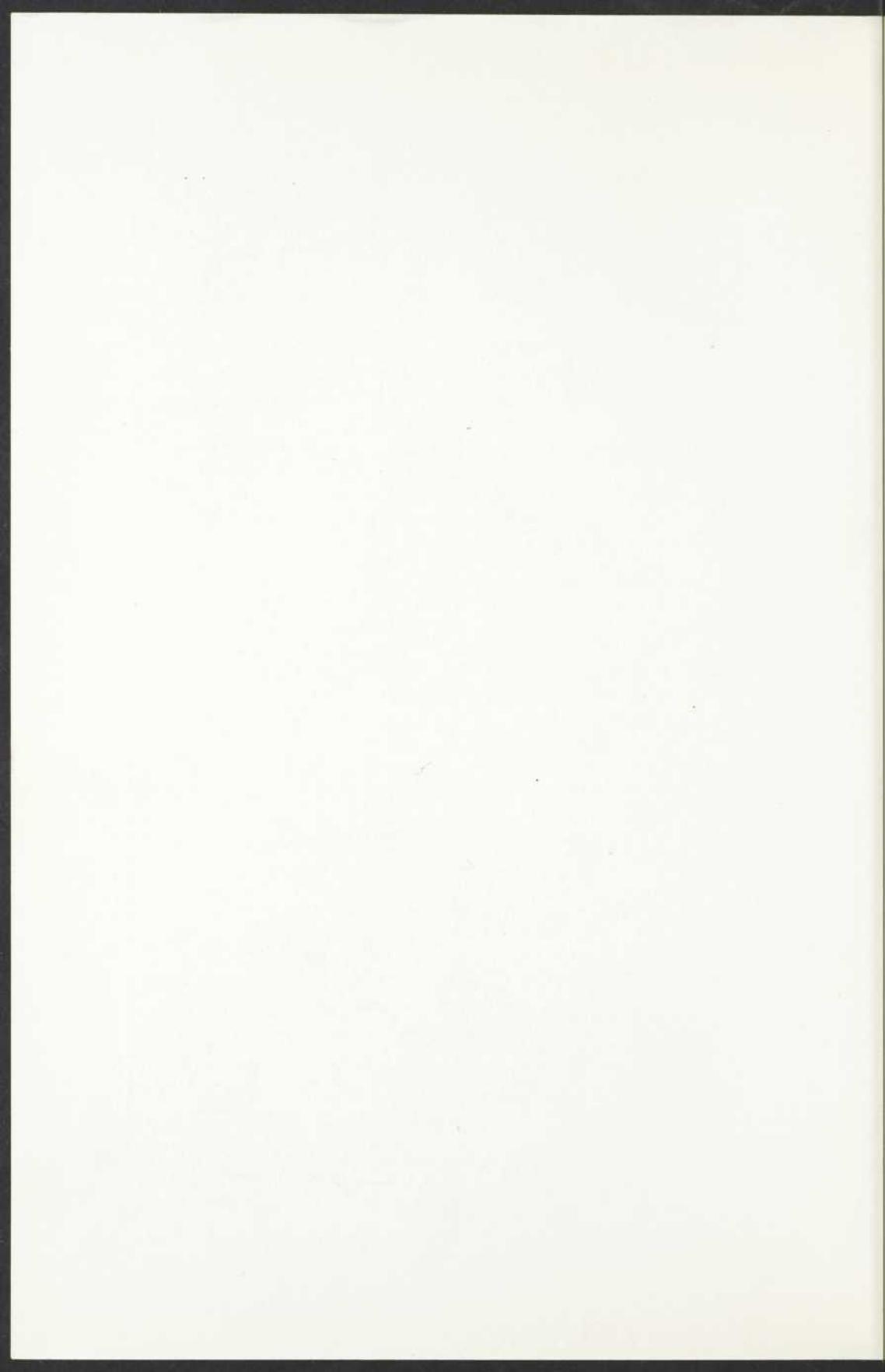


St. Paul's Church, 1846-1896

Methodist Church, Built 1819 and War Memorial



Present St. Paul's Church, 1896



stated to be irredeemable subsequent legislation has made all ground rents redeemable. The agreements not only leased but ceded, alienated and transferred the lots to the grantee, his heirs and assigns forever. This form of grant was probably devised to meet the conditions prevalent at the time when money to make the capital payments was frequently not available. Ruiter's records shew the following original Leases:

Lot Number	Date of Lease	Grantee
1, 2 & 3	2nd September, 1796	Leased by John Ruiter to John Ferguson
4	11th October, 1814	Wm. Copp — later leased to Miss Townshend
5	27th August, 1810	Day and Gelston
6	27th August, 1810	Anthony Rhodes and Wm. H. Taylor
7	27th August, 1810	Barnabas Hitchcock
8	27th August, 1810	Charles G. Lester
9	9th June, 1809	Anthony Rhodes
10		John Ruiter's house
11	9th June, 1809	Simeon Lester
12 & 13	9th June, 1809	Samuel Farrar
14	1824	Ralph Taylor
15		Philip Ruiter's mansion
17	11th April, 1811	Charles G. Lester
18	9th June, 1809	Thos. Russell
20	12th June, 1815	Timothy Smith
21 & 22	29th May, 1811	Richard Pitt

The lot at the corner of Day and Craig was leased on the 11th April, 1811, to Wm. King but as he did not pay for the materials for the house which he erected on it nor did he pay the ground rent it was sold by the Sheriff on the 4th May, 1812.

Later surveys of village lots were made by one Joel Ackley.



CHAPTER VI

Development of Trade — Bouchette's description of Philipsburg in 1815 — Township of Dunham granted to Thos. Dunn and associates — Organization and settlement of Eastern Townships.

The lots on Rhodes Street carried with them the lots on the Western side of the street down to the waters of the Bay and on this strip stores and warehouses were erected.

In the years between Dunn's grants and the laying out of the Village Philipsburg had become not only the gateway for the settlement of the Eastern Townships but had developed into an important link in the connections between New York and Lower Canada. No road existed between Philipsburg and St. Johns. The New York mails came through Swanton to Philipsburg as did goods and supplies. From Philipsburg they were carried by water to Peel Head Bay and from there over a corduroy road through Mandigos Swamp to South River and from there down the Richelieu to St. Johns. Not only did legitimate trade flourish but smuggling became an important industry. One of the writer's early recollections is of a large two storey customs house which stood on the present site of Gallagher's Hotel at the corner of Day and Rhodes Streets. The Canada Directory of 1857-58 and Lovells Directory as late as 1871 show no less than three customs officers resident in the place.

While the Amos Lay survey and the laying out of village lots only took place in 1809 and the early leases are dated 1809 and 1810 it is evident that a substantial settlement had taken place years earlier. The Ruiter books from 1797 show accounts with scores of different settlers representing a variety of trades. Rum seems to have been one of the articles most in demand while potash was the principal export. It was delivered and shipped in barrels which were all inspected and graded and carefully marked. There was also some trade in shad and furs. Bouchette in his "Topographical Description of Lower Canada," published in 1815, gives a good idea of the development by this date:

"This property is well located with respect to the means of improvement, as it adjoins the state of Vermont, which is both a populous and flourishing district, with good roads leading in every direction, besides the main road that runs through Phillipsburg by Burlington and Vergennes, down to Albany, and which is the most direct line of communication with New York; it cannot but benefit by the advantages to be derived from so easy an intercourse with a country that has already made great progress in agricultural knowledge. The first settlement made within this seignior was in the year 1785, by some Dutch loyalists, whose industry was so well applied that the increase has been so rapid as to make it an estate of great value; there are 187 lots of 200 acres each conceded, besides an extent of nearly three miles in depth from Missisqui Bay, by the whole breadth, divided into much smaller portions, and now extremely well cultivated. The village of Phillipsburg is conveniently situated on the edge of the bay, about one mile from the province line; it is a handsome place, containing about sixty houses, exceedingly well built of wood, many of them in the peculiar style of neatness common to the Dutch, and the others more in the fashion of the American than the Canadian villages; some regard has been paid to regularity in the formation of the principal street, which has a lively and agreeable appearance; between this street and the bay are many storehouses, with wharfs for landing goods at a short distance from them. At this place there are many of the inhabitants employed in trade and mercantile pursuits, besides artizans, and perhaps more than a due proportion of tavernkeepers. On the south side of the road, leading from the village to the eastern part of the seignior, is a handsome church (built of wood) dedicated to St. Paul, and a good parsonage-house; there are also two baptist meeting-houses, a public free school, and several private schools; from the wharfs there is a ferry to the opposite side of the Bay, a distance of about four miles."

It will be noticed that Bouchette, writing in 1815, mentions that "many of the inhabitants are employed in trade and mercantile pursuits besides artizans." As a matter of fact such was the enterprise of the settlers that even at this early date Phillipsburg had already become a more or less self-providing community. The quarries, we know, had already been opened; not only were there a number of lime kilns but there were also brickyards, one of which was on Captain Duell's farm and another on Captain Sixby's at St. Armand. These account for the number of the early houses which were constructed of brick. There was a foundry on the hill running up from Russell Street to Craig Street and even in my youth the hill was always known as "Foundry Hill." There was a tannery on the wharflike projection opposite the residence of the Rev. Arthur French and from Philip Ruiters' accounts we see that there were tailors, shoemakers and followers of other trades. King, who

built the house at the corner of Day and Craig Streets, was a hatter. James McGill, the founder of McGill University, apparently had a very active connection with the place and married Miss Des Rivieres, whose family had established at Malmaison, now Des Rivieres Station. The late Mr. C. O. Jones was in possession of one of his account books which showed that he supplied the community with various commodities — powder and rum being mentioned most frequently. The community was also the proud possessor of a distillery.

Bouchette mentions the Township of Dunham as one of the boundaries of the Seignory of St. Armand. It will be remembered that when the boundary line between Canada and the United States was run about two-thirds of the Seignory of St. Armand was found to be south of the forty-fifth parallel of latitude and was consequently lost to the United States.

The Hon. Thos. Dunn, who was not only a Judge of the Court of King's Bench but also a member of the Executive Council and consequently a man of considerable influence, applied for a further grant of lands when the Townships were opened for grant, as compensation for this lost territory (declaring in his petition that he had been informed he might obtain a grant of part of the lost tract "on forfeiting his Allegiance to His King, and becoming a Subject of the United States of America," but that these conditions were ones "on which Your Memorialist could never consent to accept of any Grant in their power to give"), and he, at the head of thirty-four "associates," was granted the Township of Dunham immediately adjoining his Seignory. The Letters Patent to Dunn bore date the 2nd February, 1796, and constituted the first grant of a "Township" to be made. This was the start of what came to be known as the Eastern Townships. They were undoubtedly so called by reason of the fact that while Canada West, or Ontario, was laid out in townships Canada East had up to that time been entirely laid out in seigniories. While St. Armand had been granted as a seignory it has nevertheless always been treated as a township. Thus in the Consolidated Statutes of Lower Canada, Chapter 41, section 66, An Act respecting the abolition of federal rights and duties and to provide for the payments for the benefit of the townships only "including St. Armand East and West." It will be remembered that Sir Frederick Haldimand, while he was Governor, had been opposed to the settlement of the territory for the time being fearing trouble with the Americans. In addition there had existed a considerable

difference of opinion as to whether the Seignorial system should or should not be continued in further grants. Finally in 1792 an order was given to divide the lands not previously granted as Seignories into Townships of about ten miles square. Between 1792 and 1794 surveys were made and names assigned to the different Townships. Then followed a rush of applications for lands largely from people from the New England States. The applicants wanted large tracts of land but the Government scheme called for grants of only two hundred acres to each individual—the grantees of each Township usually forming a group of “associates” under a “leader.” For a while the Government insisted that the applicants were largely land speculators and for some years refused to make any grants. Dunn, as a member of the Council, naturally had no difficulty in persuading his fellow Councillors of his suitability as a grantee. In the two or three years following his patent, the Government’s opposition to the other petitioners was finally broken down, and further grants began, the first five being the following:

Dunham	to Thos. Dunn	February 2nd, 1796
Brome	" Asa Porter	August 18th, 1797
Bolton	" Nicholas Austin	do.
Potton	" Lachlan McLean	October 31st, 1797
Farnham	" Samuel Gale	October 22nd, 1798

One hundred and thirty in all were granted down to December, 1810.

Stanbridge, also mentioned as a boundary of St. Armand, was the seventeenth grant to be made and bore date September 1st, 1800. As a matter of interest it may be noted that Ascot, in which the City of Sherbrooke was founded, was the fifty-sixth grant and was made to Gilbert Hyatt on the 21st April, 1803; Hyatt was one of the original settlers at Missisquoi Bay.

The agreement between the Hon. Thos. Dunn and the thirty-four whom he associated with himself was made at Missisquoi Bay at the house of John Ruiter on the 30th August, 1796, before Chaboillez, N.P.

The associates named were the following:

Joseph Buck, John Helliker, Jacob Helliker, George Sax, Matthew Hall, William Farrow, David Farrow, Joshua Chambers, Amos Woodard, David Reychert, John Reychert, John Blake, Thomas Best, Daniel Mills, Jeremiah Reychert, Daniel Trever, Alexander McDougall, James Pell, Andres Teneick, Henry Teneick, Archibald Henderson, Henry Hall, Elisha Dickenson, Jacob Best Sr., George Weymore, Abraham Lampman, John Mills, Stephen Jennce, Jacob Best Jr., Adam Deal, Lodowick Streit, Samuel Mills, Philip Ruiter and Jacob Ruiter.

Quite a number of those named were at the time inhabitants of the Bay and in fact it was from Missisquoi Bay that the settlement of the Eastern Townships was promoted.

As Dunn pointed out in his Petition for Dunham many of the settlers on his seigniory were "avers to feudal Tenors" and anxious to move into the new lands granted in "free and common soccage."

It was at the Bay too, during the following two years that a series of important meetings were held by the majority of the township petitioners, and the pressure brought to bear that led at last to the issuing of the grants. The Archives contain the Minutes of these meetings, the first of which is headed:

"At a Meeting of a number of the Applicants for Waste lands of the Crown in the Province of Lower Canada on behalf of themselves and others their Constituents and their several and respective associates — held at Missiskouie Bay the 28th November 1797 at the House of John Ferguson Esq. —"

Dr. Calvin May was appointed Moderator and Alexander Ferguson Clerk. A committee of five was appointed to draft a Memorial and Petition to lay before His Excellency Governor Prescott. The committee consisted of Samuel Willard, Jesse Pennoyer, Daniel Brunson, Gilbert Hyatt and Wm. Barnard. On the following day they met to consider the Draft and it was resolved that the following Townships be represented in the Memorial and Petition:

Stuckely — Shipton — Hereford — Orford — Brompton — Shefford — Whitton — Newport — Stratford — Compton — Ely — Chertsey — Eaton — Stanstead — Milton — Bury — Dudswell — Ditchland — Ascott — Lingwick — Acton — Hatley — Melburn — Aylesbury — Wotton — Stoke — Olney — Tingwick — Dittqn.

A Committee of nine was appointed to sign the Memorial and Petition:

Jesse Pennoyer Esq.	John Ferguson Esq.	Mr. Josiah Sawyer
Samuel Willard Esq.	Mr. Gilbert Hyatt	Mr. Ebenr. Hovey
Calvin May Esq.	Mr. Wm. Barnard	Daniel Brunson Esq.

Jesse Pennoyer was chosen to present the Memorial and Petition to His Excellency the Governor and the sum of twenty-five pounds was advanced to defray his expenses to be charged equally to the Townships to be represented.

The Memorial which is too long to reproduce is an extraordinary mixture of honey and vinegar and full of high sounding phrases. For instance when referring to

those of the applicants who had remained in the United States it speaks of them as "His Majesty's faithful farmers (for so they consider themselves nevertheless for their having found it necessary to remain for a time in a country in which His Majesty's Paternal Scepter ceased to Sway)".

They met again at Missisquoi Bay on the third Monday in January to consider the Governor's reply which advised them the Governor had judged it advisable to transmit a copy of the Memorial home to the British Government with a recommendation and concludes with a word of caution:

"Should the Applicants continue in their present Opinion of sending an Agent Home to represent their Cases more fully, the Governor can see no Objection to their being furnished (by the Proper Officers) with New Copies of the Documents of the Proceedings heretofore had in the Business — He however thinks it proper to observe that it might perhaps be a prudent Caution on the Part of those of the Applicants whose Views and Intentions were really sincere and consonant to His Majesty's Royal Instructions, not to have their Cases blended and united with the Cases of others whom they may have Reason to suspect of entertaining Views and Desires to elude His Majesty's Gracious Intentions, and to transform His Royal Munificence into Monopolies for the Purposes of Speculation. — Such an Union might probably tend to encrease the Difficulty, and to retard, instead of accelerating, the Redress they desire—"

Whether or not they followed this excellent advice does not appear but in any event the grants of Townships began to come through; nor did the parties appointed to sign the Memorial fare so badly.

Samuel Willard	was granted	Stukely
Josiah Sawyer	" "	Eaton
Jesse Pennoyer	" "	Compton
Calvin May	" "	Bury
Gilbert Hyatt	" "	Ascot
William Barnard	" "	Brompton

Following the established practice the grants were in each case made to the leader of a band of associates who got a larger share of the territory. A portion was reserved for the Crown as well as portions for the support of the Protestant Clergy.

From the above it will be seen what an important part Missisquoi Bay or Philipsburg played in the establishment and settlement of the Eastern Townships.

CHAPTER VII

Establishment of a system of roads — Commencement of Railway Construction — Marked decline of Philipsburg — The Marble Quarries — Referred to by Stanbury in 1821 — The Philipsburg Junction Railway and Quarry Company.

ROADS

Prior to the passage of the Jay Treaty in 1794 and its ratification in 1795 trade between the United States and the British possessions had virtually been prohibited, but immediately after the need for a road to connect Montreal with the "Great Public Road" from New York to Swanton and on to the provincial line became apparent. The Ruitter Papers in the Archives contain a copy of a document dated July 10, 1797, bearing the signatures of eight subscribers and the amounts (from 10/-down) they agree to pay on demand to John Ferguson of Missisquoi Bay, the preamble stating "whereas it is proposed to explore the Country between Pike River and St. Johns in Order to Ascertain the most eligible place to cut a Road'.

This was followed by an advertisement in the Montreal Gazette of November 20, 1797, reading:

"Pro Bona Publico.

"The Public are hereby most respectfully informed that there is a Public Road proposed to be laid out from the Province line at Missiskouie Bay to St. Johns, which will be a continuation of the Great Public Road already laid out from New York to that place where a line of stages are established and will run as soon as the road can be made practicable from New York quite to St. Johns, this road will no doubt when effected be the most expeditious and convenient one to travel from this Country to the United States as it will be passable at all Seasons of the year, and runs through a Fertile and well settled Country South of the line 45°.—The distance to be opened from Missiskouie Bay to St. Johns is about Sixteen or Eighteen Miles, and the Country uninhabited—The intention of this Notification is to solicit the favor of the Public to contribute something towards effecting it. The places open for subscription are as follows:— At Montreal Messrs. Thomas J. Sullivan, John M'Arthur, and John Teasdale, at St. Johns, Messrs. Alexander Schutt, and Abijah Cheesman, at Missiskouie Bay, Messrs.

Schutt and Abijah Cheesman, at Missiskaue Bay Messrs. John Ferguson Senr. and Philip Ruiter — The several sums subscribed will be gratefully received and faithfully laid out for the express purpose above mentioned also Accounted for by John Ferguson Senr. Patrick Conroy, Jessey Pennoyer, Philip Ruiter and Alexander Schutt Trustees.

Montreal, 30th October, 1797."

How far the public responded with their contributions is not known but there was no immediate result.

In 1800 Hugh Finlay, a member of the Executive Council, was commissioned by Robert Shore Milnes, the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Lower Canada to make a "Report on the Form of the Registers kept by the Commissioners at Missiskouie Bay, etc." A former Deputy Postmaster-General, Finlay was always interested in the provision of communications, and his report which is dated 1st October, 1800, concludes with certain recommendations for the development of the country, necessitating the construction of roads; the final paragraph once more proposes the road to St. John's, and clearly describes the advantages that would result:

"This desirable work may be begun in the place where it is at this moment most wanted; that is, from the head of Missiskouie-bay to St. Johns, a distance of 14 miles, which by the present way is upwards of 35 miles, partly by water, sometimes too shallow even for a wooden canoe, and partly by land in paths next to impassable on horse back, and totally impracticable in wheel carriages. The Couriers who are charged with the English Mails from New-York for this Province, intend to carry them to Swanton in the State of Vermont in the course of the ensuing Spring, and from thence to the line 45° ten miles further on, and but two miles from Missiskouie-bay. When the road shall be opened from thence to St. John, the speed of the Mails will not be interrupted by water carriage, or by bad ice from Burlington to St. John the present incommodious route. The opening might be made in the course of the next winter — the advantages thence arising would immediately be felt throughout the Province, as the Commercial interest would be greatly advantaged by the acceleration of mercantile correspondence."

In April 1808, a society called the Bedford Society was formed, composed of all the most important citizens of the region, to open and keep up a turnpike road from St. Armand to St. Johns and erect bridges on the Richelieu and Pike Rivers. Eventually a road was built from the end of Peel Head Bay through Henryville to St. Johns. Mr. A. Manson, a descendant of one of the original settlers and then an octogenarian, in an old letter to the Bedford Times writes:

"In my early recollection there was no road from Philipsburg to St. Johns; the mail was carried by canoe over Missisco and Peelhead Bay, then on shoulder past South River to the lake or Richlieu River, then by boat to

St. Johns. I can distinctly remember when the Seignors of Noyon and Bleury opened a road from near the mouth of Pike River, through what is now Henryville, and thence to St. Johns. It was a great thing for the country for it was through a dense wilderness. At the opening of that road from Lampman's Mills, now Bedford, to St. Johns, there was nothing but woods."

The road doubtless referred to can be seen marked "Great Montreal Road" on the "Topographical map of the District of Montreal by Joseph Bouchette, Surveyor General" (1831). Shown opposite Page 48.

A further development of the road system can be seen on another map in the Archives entitled "Plan of the Frontier of Canada East surveyed in the year 1839 under the direction of Colonel the Honorable Charles Gore, Deputy Quartermaster General." (Shown on Page 59.)

The time table of the old Montreal, Albany and New York stage coach, which passed through Philipsburg, was printed as an advertisement in the Montreal press of that time, surmounted by a picture of a coach drawn by four horses, and was as follows:

"STAGE NOTICES

Line of Montreal, Albany, New York mail stages
Through in three days.

LEAVING MONTREAL every day except Sundays, at half-past ONE; and leaving ALBANY each day at FOUR o'clock morning, by the way of Laprairie, St. Johns, Swanton, St. Albans, Burlington, and so on to Albany, intersecting with the Boston line at Burlington.

For seats in MONTREAL, apply at the Upper Canada stage office, St. Paul Street. In ALBANY at the office of BAKER AND WALBRIDGE, opposite the Eagle Tavern.

Fare through \$14.00 or £3.10 Halifax currency.

It is intended this LINE shall depart and arrive at the above hours with punctuality.

All baggage at the risk of the owners.

BAKER & WALBRIDGE, Albany
FRANCIS DUCLOS & SON, Laprairie
MOTT & PATTEE, St. Johns.

Dec. 12, 1832."

As a matter of interest we also reproduce opposite page 64 hereof a plan of the Frontier made by Colonel Garnet Wolseley, afterwards Viscount Wolseley, Commander-in-Chief of the British Armies. He was Deputy Quartermaster General in Canada in 1867 and the plan was no doubt made at that time.

The Archives also contain an old plan of a proposed canal between Peel Head Bay and South River a distance of four miles. South River of course runs into the Richelieu and the canal would have given direct communication between Missisquoi Bay and the Richelieu and would have avoided the long trip around Alburg Tongue.

The Proclamation, issued by the old Province of Canada incorporating the Village of Philipsburg and setting forth its boundaries was dated 12th January, 1846.

Down to the time of the construction of railways Philipsburg continued to be a most important centre. As railway construction spread, water borne transport diminished, and the strategic position which Philipsburg enjoyed at the Canadian end of Lake Champlain lost its value. The main International highway from Albany to Montreal which formerly passed through Burlington, Swanton and Philipsburg, with a port of entry at Philipsburg, quickly lost its importance. Having no railways and no water powers it had no special inducements to offer to manufacturers. Even as a farming centre the very factors which had formerly contributed to its prosperity became disadvantages. Bounded on the West by the Lake and on the South by the International boundary it had only the territory to the North and to the North East to look to, and these came to be served by the Town of Bedford, which, although considerably junior to it in years was more centrally located and had in addition a certain amount of water power and a railway.

The low ebb to which Philipsburg's fortune fell is illustrated by a petition, a copy of which is in the Archives at Ottawa. It was dated September 20, 1866, and was addressed to Viscount Monck, Governor General of British North America; it reads as follows:

"The Petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the Village of Philipsburg in the County of Missisquoi,

Humbly sheweth:

That at the time when the present municipal law of Lower Canada was enacted, the Corporation of the said Village of Philipsburg formed a separate municipality and still exists as such. That the reasons which originally made it expedient to have said Village incorporated have ceased to exist, and the said Corporation formerly a flourishing and populous municipality, from various causes, for several years past, has been gradually diminishing in population until at the taking of the last census it numbered only 393 souls, which number at the present time is still further decreased. That in consequence of the diminution of the population and the consequent decrease in the value of the assessable property within the Corporation limits it is found more onerous than advantageous for the inhabitants to maintain

a separate corporate existence. That in fact the Parish of St. Armand West, to which the said Village of Philipsburg naturally belongs — (the Parish Church of said parish being now actually within the village limits) is itself a very small municipality, containing only about 30 square miles of territory, and 1,328 inhabitants, and no reason exists why the said Village of Philipsburg should not be united to and merged in the said Parish of St. Armand West, which even then would only number 1721 souls. That such union would greatly promote the interests of both municipalities, since it would strengthen the said Parish, and relieve the said Parish of the expense of maintaining a separate staff of municipal officers and the other expenses incidental to the maintenance of a separate municipal property existence. That your Petitioners form more than 2/3rds of the assessable inhabitants of said Parish as will appear by a certified copy of the assessment roll thereof, herewith transmitted.

Wherefore your Petitioners humbly pray that your Excellency will be pleased to cause a Proclamation to issue uniting the said Village of Philipsburg to the said Parish of Saint Armand West.

And your Petitioners will ever pray.
Philipsburg, September 20, 1866."

What became of the petition is unknown to the writer but in any event no action was taken upon it.

THE MARBLE QUARRIES

Apart from the Missisquoi Carriage Factory, which for a time did a flourishing business and will be referred to later, the only industry which neither the efflux of time nor the changes in the systems of transportation have been able to remove are the valuable marble quarries which adjoin the village and are now included in its territory.

That they have been known and operated intermittently from the earliest times appears from an interesting old book published in New York in 1822. It is entitled "A Pedestrian Tour of Two Thousand Three Hundred Miles in North America performed in the Autumn of 1821 by P. Stansbury." His journey through Canada ended at Philipsburg where he spent Sunday. On Monday morning he got a boy to accompany him to the boundary line which was then marked by the same big rock which stands beside the boundary post at the present time. He sprang to the top of it and relates his impressions. His contrasts between the two countries, while decidedly unflattering to Canada, are so choice that I cannot refrain from quoting them:

"The sensations of that man are enviable, who has long been a stranger from his home, and who at last beholds the blue hills of his native country, fast rising to his eager footsteps. This is the case even when the language and

manners of the people, with whom he has been associating, are not very dissimilar from those he is about to meet. How much more exquisite must be his sensations, when he leaves behind him a nation, entirely different from his own; and of a sudden, enters the fields, sees the attire, and hears the delightful accents, to which his early years have always been accustomed. That person only can have an idea of the workings in the bosom of a returning traveller, who has himself been a wanderer from his country, and has often mentally exclaimed like the pensive poet—

'Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see,
My heart, untrammelled, fondly turns to thee.'

The manners of the Canadians, are not so incongenial with those of the Americans, as to deserve to be reproached or contemned by them; yet, there is something, notwithstanding all their complacency, that makes many an American glad to escape out of their province, that adds highly to his patriotic notions, and redoubles the pleasure of his return. The contrast is plain. There we have reserved, austere, unambitious peasants: here, plain, open-hearted, merry-making farmers — There we have all penuriousness and grinding economy: here, all abundance and generous profusion — There one monotonous scene revolves from century to century: here, life, busy movements, public spirit, distinguish every New-Year — There, a climate chained by eight icy months of winter: here, a course of seasons equally ballanced by cold and warmth — There, habitations, enclosures, the people themselves, and all their performances, low and humble: here, mansions, walls, gigantic citizens, and mighty projects, rivalling the glory of the most enlightened ages and nations. We might pursue the contrast: but these are facts sufficient to illustrate the respective merits of the countries, exclusive of the form of government, which it is well known, must instil into every individual peculiar principles of life and honour.

A boy accompanied me in the morning, to point out the present station of the boundary line. I ascended the first hill since leaving Quebec. The style of agriculture, already betokened a change of inhabitants. 'Here is the mark,' said the boy, showing me a huge disjointed rock of limestone upon the right; and I immediately sprang to the top, to take an elevated survey of Canada and to welcome the joyful land of *Yankies* and of freedom. The air was bland: the landscape was bright and beautiful: and nature herself smiled upon our happy country. It seemed as if clouds, cold and storms, had been left with Canada, whose horrible hemlock swamps spread in wide prospect to the north. I turned to the green and finely cultivated hills of Vermont, and saluting with a sort of extasy, the odoriferous breeze that gently wafted hither the fragrance of the south, hurried with bounding steps over hill and valley, towards the middle of the State."

His brief description of Philipsburg is as follows:

"Philipsburg contains about fifty German and American families. During Sunday I stopped at this place, making in the meantime an excursion to some quarries of valuable black and clouded marbles in the vicinity. Within two miles

runs the imaginary line which separates this country from the United States."

From this it is evident that both quarries were being worked in 1821. Specimens of marble furnished by C. R. Cheeseman were included in the Canadian exhibit at the Paris Exposition in 1856.

The operation of the quarries must have been intermittent and for long spaces of time they remained idle. In 1873, C. R. Cheeseman, a nephew of Philip Ruiter and his residuary heir, leased the Quarry to one Louis Menard, stonecutter of Montreal, for fourteen years with the right to transfer the lease to Joseph Brunet, contractor of Montreal.

The terms of the lease called for the quarry to be worked at least four months in each year with at least two men under pain of forfeiture. Notwithstanding this low requirement Brunet would appear to have worked the quarries quite strenuously, according to contemporary accounts both night and day. At the end of a couple of years, however, he discontinued operations and the quarries again became idle for five or six years.

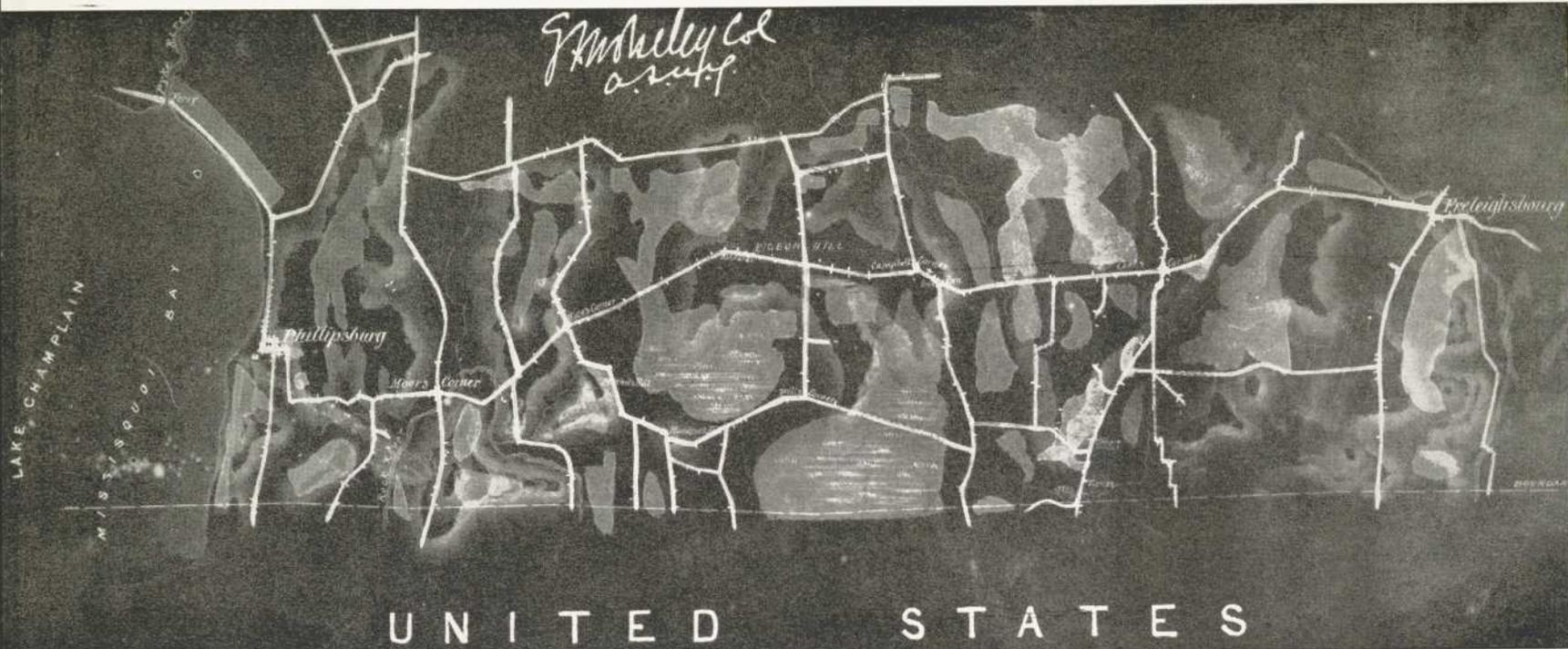
On the 24th August, 1882, Cheesman served a protest on Brunet cancelling the lease and proceeded to lease the property to a syndicate headed by a man by the name of Benjamin. The latter took out quite a quantity of large blocks of marble some of which were drawn down by team to what was then known as the little dock now covered by Mr. Plouffe's extension, and there they remained. The intention had been to remove them by boat but something happened to Benjamin's enterprise and the quarry was again shut down and remained shut down for another ten years.

In 1893 The Philipsburg Junction Railway and Quarry Company was formed on quite an ambitious scale. Major E. L. Bond, a son of the Archbishop of Montreal, was President. Mr. Henry Timmis was Secretary and Mr. F. B. Wells, General Manager. A Railway was built from Stanbridge to Philipsburg with a spur running down to the Breakwater which the Federal Government was induced to construct. The original intention had been to construct it a short distance north of the Village and the roadbed of the spur was actually built through the quarry meadow on the lakeshore. The plan was, however, changed and the breakwater constructed at its present site, the spur running through the Village. The intention was to ship the marble by water as well as by rail but in point of fact no marble was ever sent down to the breakwater and the rails were eventually removed.

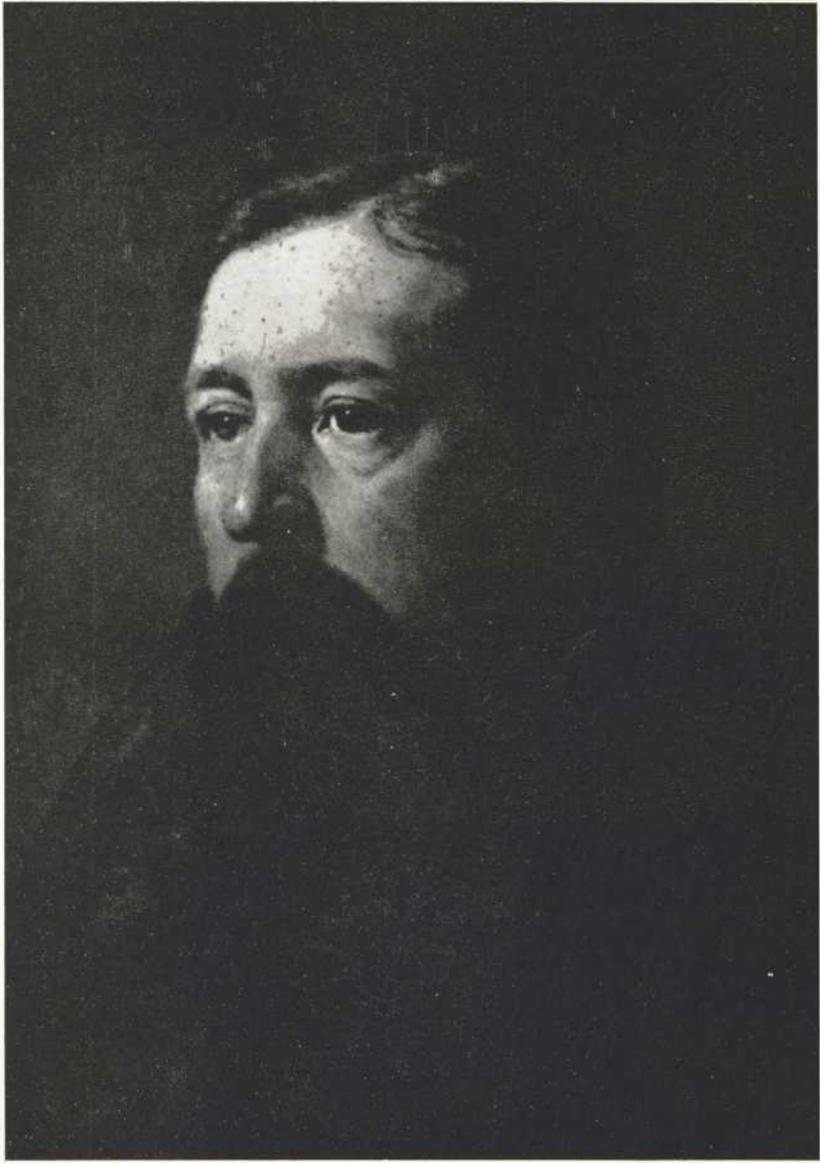
A By-law was introduced in 1893 authorising the Village to contribute four thousand dollars towards the construction of the breakwater and quite a bitter campaign ensued. However, the yeas had it and a four thousand dollars Thirty Year Bond Issue was created and eventually paid off according to its terms.

The Railway at first had a regular operating schedule with two passenger or mixed trains per day. The first engine driver, Spaulding, with two well known and popular local boys, Chester Fleming and William Symms, were drowned while sailing across the Bay in May, 1894. The passenger service which was never a paying proposition was first reduced to Saturday and Monday trains and then discontinued altogether. The Railway continued to serve the quarry for years, but the advent of good roads and truck service eventually destroyed its usefulness and the rails have now been removed. In addition to the operation of a passenger service on the Railway the ambitious plans of the promoters called for the opening of a park, to which excursions were to be run. Windsor Park was laid out on the rocky cliff on the West side of the road leading to the quarry. Tables and benches were put up for the picnickers and a bandstand erected in the middle. A few copies of the illustrated booklet advertising "Windsor Park" and Philipsburg are still extant but the outward and visible signs of the Park have long since disappeared.

In December, 1901, Major Bond's house on Rhodes Street was destroyed by fire and the Major himself was burned in it. The Bond stable which was at the Philip Street end of the lot was later moved forward and converted into the house now owned by the Estate of the late Robert Slee. The quarry itself apart from a few interruptions, due to financial difficulties, has been in continuous operation ever since and its product can be seen in many of the most important public buildings in the Dominion, two of them being the Dominion Parliament Buildings and the Royal Bank Building in Motreal. The Company is now known as the Missisquoi Stone and Marble Company and its large and efficient plant is under the capable management of its President, Mr. Thomas Allan. Philipsburg owes to the quarry its electric light and water systems.



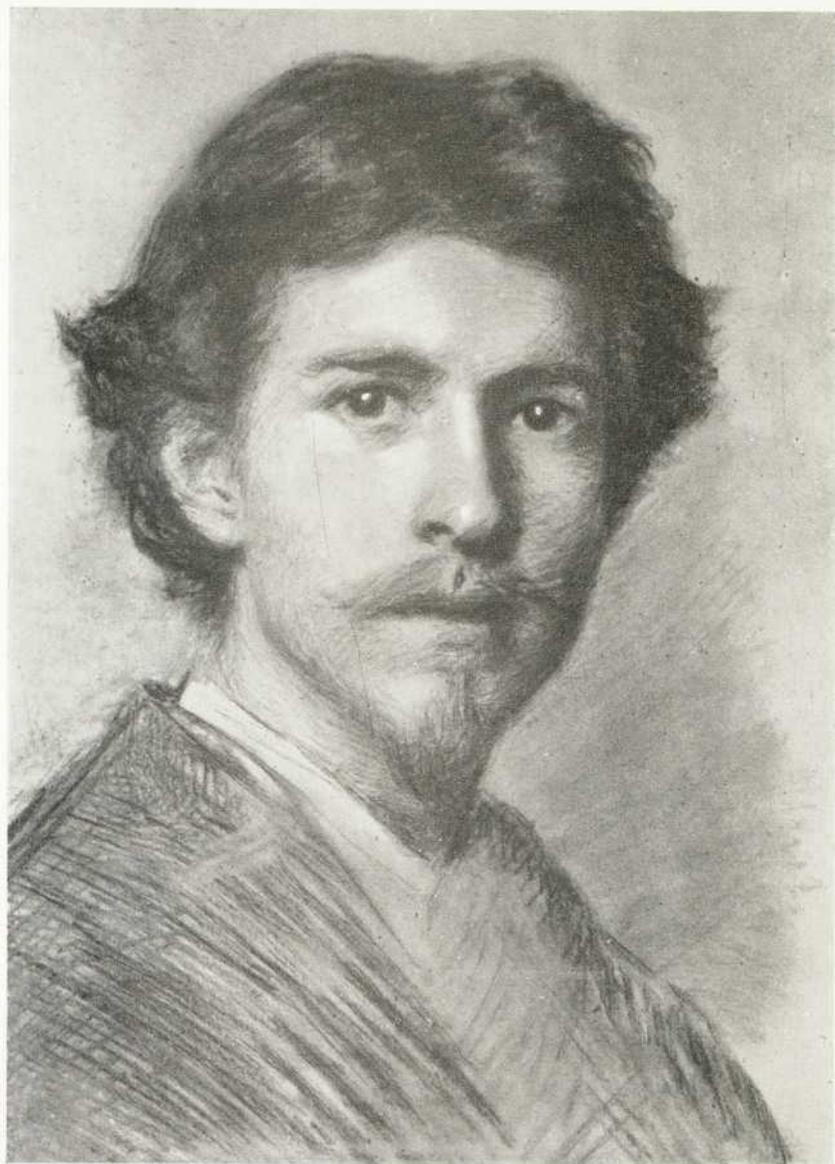
Plan of Frontier — Col. Garnet Wolseley 1867



Portrait of W. F. KAY, Esq.
by Wyatt Eaton.



Portrait of MRS. W. F. KAY
by Wyatt Eaton.



SELF PORTRAIT OF WYATT EATON

CHAPTER VIII

The 1874 Revival — Descriptive letter in St. Alban's Messenger — The Missisquoi Carriage Factory — Mr. W. F. Kay.

The 1874 Revival

We have seen that in 1866 the fortunes of Philipsburg had fallen to such a low ebb that a plan was on foot to re-annex it to the Parish of St. Armand West. In 1874 however a number of events happened, which, apart from the birth of the writer, served to put new life in to the place, at least for the time being. The opening of the quarries by Brunet, the prosperity of the Missisquoi Carriage Factory and the advent of Mr. W. F. Kay to Philipsburg would seem to have been the principal factors. These are all extolled in a letter to the St. Alban's Messenger dated July 27, 1874, written by an anonymous booster. It reads:

"Letter from Over the Border.
Philipsburg, Quebec,
July 27, 1874.

Editor Messenger:— Your readers have not been troubled lately with communications from this place, but it is hoped a short article may not be deemed an intrusion since there are some things here of interest to many of them.

At this season of the year this is one of the most pleasant places in this section of the country. The cool breezes from the Bay, the beautiful surrounding country and the decidedly rural aspect of the village combine to make it one of the pleasantest places of resort, and many are beginning to realize it.

About half a mile north from the village a quarry has been opened and it is kept running night and day. A company formed in Montreal control it. Geologists say the marble will equal the best 'Rutland' by the time they reach the level of the lake. The opening of this business has made all kinds of business better and raised rents, which have been merely nominal since the Vt. Junction R.R. was built.

We have some things which every place of this size is not favored with. We have three mails per day; one of the neatest and best kept hotels outside of the cities; a large carriage shop, which beside a large home trade makes work for Montreal and even New Zealand market. All this beside tailor, shoe and blacksmith shops, five stores, etc.

One enterprise here deserves especial mention, and that is the stock farm of W. F. Kay, who though a gentleman holding many positions of trust and honor, yet declines all titles but that of stock-breeder. He is no nabob, though possessed of a large fortune but is a gentleman in every sense of that term; and should any Franklin Co. farmers come over to see his stock they will find him willing and anxious to show it and he will make them feel at home while doing it. We have interviewed him and he frankly gave us the following statement. His farm comprises 425 acres. There are two barns on it now, one 30 by 40 and one 25 by 20. Contract is let for putting up two more, one for horses and one for cattle; total length 120 by 26. He will put up a similar one next year.

His cattle at present are all Ayrshire, and all pure blood from imported stock. He has seventeen in all; one a 4 years old bull, weight about 1650 lbs., and was imported in 1872. He has two stallions, one a pure Clydesdale imported from Scotland in 1873, four years old and weighs 1800; the other a thoroughbred four years old, 16 hands high and a clean-looking fellow; also has several horses of both breeds, some imported. It does one good to see his Clydesdales draw a load. Farmers in this vicinity will do well to examine this breed if they want draft horses. He now expects the following stock in by steamer next month from across the water where he ordered the **best blood** that could be found:— Two Clydesdale mares, 2 Ayrshire cows, 1 Ayrshire bull, 2 or 3 Short Horns, 10 Leicester sheep, 3 Berkshire hogs (1 male and 2 female) and 2 Shetland ponies. It is his intention to continue to import as circumstances require, and to bring only the best of its kind, hoping by thus doing to improve the stock in this vicinity as well as to gratify his personal feelings. Mr. Kay has cows that give 36 quarts of milk per day. They are milked three times per day during a part of the season. His experience is that pure imported blood if kept pure, furnishes the deepest milkers after four or five generations have been bred in this country.

Mr. Kay has also introduced some improved machinery, including one of Crawford's patent stone lifters, a hay tedder, horse hay fork, etc. He intends to build a mansion one of these years just south of the village on what is called "Block House Hill" where is one of the finest sites nature ever made. His residence among us is not only a benefit to the place, but to the whole farming community.

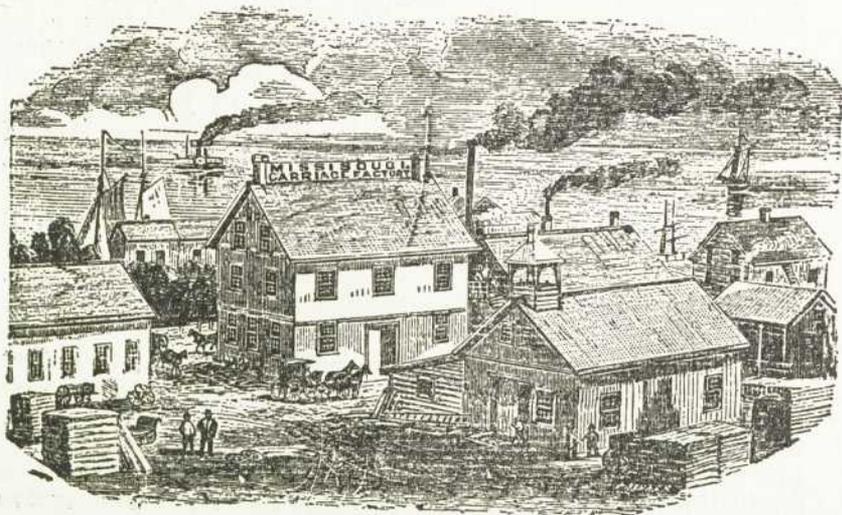
We are expecting a railroad one of these years; when that comes perhaps you will send some besides a few of your fast clerks out here to rusticate. They will find a sober, industrious and cordial class of citizens who will do their best to make them feel at home."

The three mails have long since been reduced to two. The hotel referred to was the large brick hotel which stood at the foot of the writer's lawn on Day Street. It was kept for many years by Mr. Lewis Streit and later revolved to his wife who remarried and became Mrs. Cowan, — the family for whom Cowansville was named. The large hotel barn stood opposite it on the lakeshore where the boat

houses now stand. It was used as a livery stable in the writer's youth. The stable was operated successively by John Streit and Phil Hauver, both of whom resided in the Bibaud stone house. This stone house was erected at an early date and was used for officers' quarters at the time of the 1837 Rebellion when the Block House was built. The hotel was destroyed by fire during the early part of the present century when it was owned and operated by Mr. George Hogle.

While we are speaking of hotels, it may be of local interest to record that the former Champlain House — now a convent — was built by Mr. E. C. Burke for his only son Henry, a young man just about to enter upon a business career. Before the hotel could be opened Henry was drowned while skating on the Lake on December 5, 1885. It was the first ice of the season and on the same afternoon Honore Cadorette Sr. who was blind, was also drowned with his two children. Four in one afternoon.

But to revert to our booster friend's letter. The large carriage shop was the Missisquoi Carriage Factory. It stood on the North East corner of Philips Street and Foundry Hill and some of the many buildings still exist. One of them, now commonly known as "The Beehive" has been converted into workmen's flats, recently torn down and replaced by Mr. Fournier's house, while another was moved a short distance up the hill and converted into a dwelling by the late Herbert Borden. The Carriage Factory was really an important one and it is quite true that in



addition to supplying the local demand and shipping to the Montreal market it had an export trade with New Zealand. It was operated by Mr. J. W. Eaton who in addition to being a Justice of the Peace was also Mayor of Philipsburg and President of the Missisquoi and Rouville Fire Insurance Company, which then had its head office in Philipsburg. Mr. Eaton resided at the foot of South Street. The house which was later occupied by his widow and his daughter, Mrs. Wheeler, has now been converted into two tenements. It was formerly used as a hotel and the iron arrow from which the hotel sign was suspended still projects from the large elm tree which faces it. It offered the first hospitality to travellers entering Canada by the stage coach from Albany. Mr. Eaton's son, Mr. Wyatt Eaton, who later became a very well known artist and portrait painter, did his early painting in a studio at the rear of the house. Long after Mr. Eaton's death and the closing of the Carriage Factory some excellent craftsmen remained in the village. William Symms Senior and Junior were carpenters and wheelwrights. William Symms the third was drowned as has been mentioned. James McLeod, with his three sons James, Albert and Thomas, were painters. Alphonse Meunier, commonly known as Fred Miller, was the Village blacksmith. All have now gone. In the writer's youth William Symms' carpenter shop was more or less the local club and his was the last word on any topic.

The tailor mentioned was T. C. Crothers, who lived and died in the brick house now occupied by Walter Cadorette and Frank Young. His brother, William John Crothers, was the shoemaker. Of the five stores four were in a row on the waterfront. Two of the buildings now remain. The third and fourth stood immediately North of the present ice cream parlour. The fourth known as the brick store stood on the site of the present garage. Behind it and partly over the water stood a warehouse with a large vertical wheel on which we used to play as youngsters. The fifth store was kept by Mrs. Keenan in the present Landry house.

The sketch of Mr. W. F. Kay might sound overdrawn but it was not and the enthusiasm over his advent to Philipsburg is understandable. He had inherited a wholesale merchandising business in Montreal from his father and resided in Montreal in a large house — Fernleigh — on Dorchester Street where now stands the former Ford Hotel. He was prominent socially in Montreal and was a member of the City Council which seems to have been more of a distinction in those days. Having retired from active

business he decided to take up the life of a gentleman farmer and purchased the Gerrish farm (now Symingtons) as well as that of James Taylor (one of the sons of Alexander Taylor). The front portion of the Kay house was the residence of James Taylor (Missisquoi County Historical Society 4th Report, p. 67). He contested the Federal seat for Missisquoi County but was defeated. The Kay farm with its imported live stock was one of the show places of the Province. Mr. Kay later resided in England but upon his death there in 1893 the family returned to Philipsburg.



CHAPTER IX

Parliamentary representatives — The Hon. W. F. Kay, Ralph Taylor — Hon. Philip Moore — Dr. Brigham — Medical Profession — Dr. Horatio May — Dr. Calvin May

The memory of Mr. Kay's son, the Hon. W. F. Kay, is so fresh with us that for the present generation comment is hardly necessary. He took his Law course at McGill but never practised. Following in his father's footsteps he contested Missisquoi County in the Liberal interest in the Federal Election of 1911 and was elected at a time when the country generally swung to the Conservative ranks. He held the seat continuously from 1911 to 1930 and closed his Parliamentary career as a Member of the Cabinet without Portfolio. Mr. Kay was later nominated as Sheriff for the District of Bedford, a position which he occupied until the time of his death on May 8, 1942. He was Mayor of Philipsburg for approximately twenty-five years and his death was widely regretted by a host of friends.

Mr. Kay was not the first resident of Philipsburg and its environment to represent his county in Parliament. In 1829, when the Townships were given increased representation, and the county of Missisquoi set up, Ralph Taylor, another son of Alexander Taylor, was elected as its first representative in company with Mr. R. V. Freligh and was re-elected in 1831 in company with Colonel Stevens Baker. Missisquoi then had two representatives. Mr. Taylor was loudly acclaimed for his defence of the settlers of the Eastern Townships and his outspoken criticism of the Speaker, Mr. Papineau, a stand which resulted in his imprisonment for twenty-four hours followed by the presentation of a silver loving cup. A full account will be found on pp.64 et seq. of the Fifth Report of the Missisquoi County Historical Society. On the Union of the Provinces in 1841 the Hon. Philip Moore of St. Armand was appointed a Legislative Councillor of Canada, an office which he held until Confederation in 1867. He was Chairman of the Rebellion Losses Committee, the payment of which losses led to the burning of the Parliament House in Montreal. As the Parliamentary Library had been burned he was deputed to visit the United States in an effort to procure copies of public documents which had been lost. On the adoption of Confederation in 1867 Dr. Josiah Sanford Brigham of Philipsburg was elected as the first Member for Missisquoi and held the seat until 1875 when he was succeeded by the Hon. Geo. B. Baker.

Dr. Brigham studied medicine under Dr. Horatio May, whom he succeeded at Philipsburg. He was a Governor of the College of Physicians for Lower Canada and one of the most widely known characters in his section of the Townships, and is the central figure of innumerable stories. In a short biographical sketch of Dr. Brigham, Mr. Justice McCorkill wrote "The writer remembers distinctly when the field of his (Dr. Brigham's) professional services extended, not only to the South of the 45° meridian, but in a wide circle covering nearly the whole of the County of Missisquoi and part of the County of Brome."

Dr. W. P. O. Whitwell, a son of the Rev. Richard Whitwell, practised at Philipsburg concurrently with Dr. Brigham but predeceased him. Dr. Farnsworth, father of Fred Farnsworth, practised under Dr. Brigham and afterward was professor of Materia Medica at the Medical College of Iowa. Dr. Brigham was succeeded by Dr. S. W. Outwater who removed to Saranac Lake where he died. He in turn was succeeded by Dr. T. E. Montgomery. As has been noted Dr. Brigham studied under Dr. Horatio Nelson May. Dr. May was a highly respected practitioner but died on March 27, 1843, at the comparatively young age of fifty-five. His remains lie buried in the Philipsburg cemetery beside those of his father, Dr. Calvin May, to whose practice he succeeded. The Misses May removed to Chicago and among the endowment bequests of the Philipsburg church will be found the "Louise May Memorial \$2,000". The sum bequeathed was \$6,000 but it was only after a great deal of difficulty that the smaller sum was extracted from the Executors.

The names of more than one doctor appear in the Ruiter accounts, and papers relating to several early Philipsburg medicos are in the section of the Dominion Archives "S" Series entitled "Medical Licenses." In the absence of any College of Physicians and Surgeons, the function of granting licenses appears to have been exercised by the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, Montreal. For example, this "Medical Licenses" file contains the following documents relating to Dr. Jonas Abbot:

Certificate signed by L. Lalanne, Not. Pub., Nathl. Coffin J.P., John Ferguson J.P., Jno. Steel J.P., Samuel Willard, J. Jones, Philip Ruiter J.P. Calvin May, J.P.

St. Armand, May 26, 1803.

stating that from personal aqt'ce with Jonas Abbot they know him to be a useful member of society, a gentleman & of unquestioned loyalty.

Memorial of Jonas Abbot of St. Armand, Gentleman.

St. Armand, May 31, 1803.

stating that he has studied medical branch of physic and also surgery for a number of years, and wants a licence to practice in L.C.; and asking to be examined before Judges of King's Bench, Montreal, to obtain licence.

September 19, 1803.

Order for a license to be made out for Jonas Abbot of St. Armand to practice as apothecary, under the restriction (in all serious cases) "of calling in the assistance of such regularly licenced medical persons in the vicinity of the parish or place where he practises; and that he have permission to bleed and draw teeth and no further".

In the writer's youth the drawing of teeth was performed by Mr. Wm. Symms, the local carpenter and wheelwright. The charge of fifty cents per tooth did not include local anaesthetics.

Calvin May took a prominent part in the affairs of the settlement of Missisquoi Bay from its early days and was also actively concerned with the colonization of the whole Eastern Townships, the machinery for which was set up at Missisquoi Bay. As reported by Mrs. Day in her "Pioneers of the Eastern Townships" "The power to grant warrants of survey and make conditions rested with Governor-in-Council, who, for the convenience of parties interested, appointed a board of Commissioners who were located at Missisquoi Bay, whose duty it was to administer the oaths of allegiance to Agent and Associate, as well as to attend to the various details of the business that came within the defined limits of their deputed authority." Dr. Calvin May was appointed one of the Commissioners. John Ruiter was another. The Ruiter papers at Philipsburg include a book containing a number of these settlers' declarations. The following is a sample:

"I, James Howard, came into this Province of Lower Canada the twenty-first or twenty-second of May last by the way of Lake Champlain, that I am a native of America, State of Connecticut in the Township of Windham. My age is twenty-one years, my trade or occupation is that of a fuller, that for six months before I came into this Province have resided in the Township of Medford in the State of Vermont, and now in the employ of Jesse Pennoyer and Calvin May. As witness my hand at St. Armand in Missisquoi Bay this sixteenth day of September, 1794."

In October 1799 an enquiry was made into charges of trafficking in these entry permits, or rather in the land grants which were assumed would follow them. The report of the officer contains the following:

"Doctor Calvin May (a decent man in appearance) one of the Commissioners asked me 'what is to become of the

associates who came forward in consequence of notice before the 1st Aug. 1795, to take the oaths and sign the declaration? They may not return home unless they choose to live in the States considered as outcasts — they have not the money to purchase — go back they dare not — to keep themselves from starving they have sat down on the new lands in hope of being permitted to remain on such terms as Govt. may think fit to require?"

The paragraph immediately following, although not relevant, is amusing:

"Mr. Z. a commissioner informs me that the Revd. Mr. Smith of Dighton in Massachusetts had been lately at the Bay in order to learn how he might proceed for the purpose of procuring Patents for several Townships he had purchased. Mr. Z. has heard that the Parson's not much esteemed in the country he resides in seeing that he attends to land jobbing more than to the cure of souls. He induced his Parishioners to raise a sum of money and to employ him to lay it out in a purchase of a Tract in the Genesee country in the U.S. He bought the land but on such terms as were not relished by his Parishioners — they compounded with him and by that composition he put 18000 Dollars in his pocket."

This was at the period when the Government was delaying the grants on the plea that the petitioners were all land speculators, and it seems clear that May took the part of the petitioners, for the settlers who "came forward in consequence of notice before the 1st Aug. 1795" had been encouraged by the Government to do so before it temporarily reversed its policy; it will be recalled that he was one of the committee of nine appointed to sign the Memorial and Petition in 1797 for the grant of lands in the different Townships, and he himself as head of a band of associates was granted the Township of Bury although he apparently remained at Missisquoi Bay and lies buried there. He was one of the Executors of Philip Ruiter's Estate, the two others being Abraham Hogle the first and Frederic Moore.

CHAPTER X

The Administration of Justice — Establishment of Schools Administration of Justice

Missisquoi Bay lay in the District of Montreal but on at least one occasion the Court sat at Caldwell's Manor on account of the difficulties of communication. Philip Ruiter was appointed as a Commissioner for the trial of small causes and his records show frequent sittings. He was also a Justice of the Peace as was also Dr. Calvin May. The inventory of Philip Ruiter's Estate shows that he had armed himself with quite a legal library for those days. The following conviction shows at least a considerable acquaintance with legal forms and language:

"District of) Conviction.
Montreal)

Be it remembered that on the fifteenth day of June one thousand eight hundred and nine in forty ninth year of the reign of Our Sovereign, Lord George the third at Saint Armand in the District aforesaid, one William Babcock, late of the United States of America was in his own proper person brought before us Philip Ruiter, Calvin May and Jonas Abbot three of the Justices of our said Lord the King assigned to keep the peace of our said Lord the King in and for the said district, in obedience to a warrant issued by Philip Ruiter Esquire one of the said Justices to apprehend the said William Babcock and others and to search the house of one Rumabout Mandego of Saint Armand aforesaid for counterfeit bank bills and the materials for making the same upon the complaint of one Thomas Piper of Saint Armand, Carpenter, that divers persons amongst whom was the said William Babcock, had violently assaulted, bruised and ill treated the said Thoms. Piper, at the house of one Rumabout Mandego a house of ill fame and that the said persons were forming making and counterfeiting bank bills of the different banks in the United States and that the materials for making such counterfeit bills were in the house of the said Mandego. And because the said William Babcock after information and communication of the said complaint did acknowledge amongst many other things to have been concerned in the making and counterfeiting bank bills, and assert that he had a right so to do. And because John Powell of Saint Armand, yeoman, hath deposed and said upon oath that he assisted in the arrest of the said William Babcock and in the search of the house of the said Rumabout

Mandego, and found in a chest which the said William Babcock declared to be his, a quantity of counterfeit bills on different banks in the United States of America and a quantity of paper which the said William Babcock said he had purchased for the purpose of making counterfeit bills, and also the materials for making counterfeit bills, which the said William Babcock likewise declared to be his and forbid to be taken away saying he should want them again; and further because Nathaniel Merrick of Saint Armand aforesaid, yeoman, hath among other things deposed and said upon oath that the said William Babcock declared that he had made bank bills, and had so to do, and would still continue to make them—

Where Upon, and Upon hearing and duly examining the whole matter aforesaid as well as further testimony, and upon Our Own knowledge it manifestly appears to us the said Justices that the said William Babcock hath had no honest means of gaining a livelihood during the time of his residence in this province and doth use a subtle craft to deceive and impose upon his Majesty's subjects and is a rogue and a vagabond. It is therefore considered and adjudged by us the said Justices that the said William Babcock be convicted and he is accordingly convicted of being a rogue and a vagabond. And we do hereby order and adjudge that the said William Babcock be confined in the house of correction as a rogue and a vagabond for the space of two months.

In Witness whereof we the said Justices have set Our hands and Seals to this present record of conviction at Saint Armand aforesaid in the District aforesaid on the said fifteenth day of June in the forty ninth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord the King.

Signed Philip Ruiter
Calvin May
Jonas Abott."

The "House of correction" referred to would appear to have been the common jail of Montreal, a fact suggested by the following warrant addressed to Alonson Ford, Serjeant of Militia:

To Alonson Ford Serjeant of Militia

You are hereby required to receive from G. B. Gil-
bert the Body of John Decker together with the Milite-
mus and deliver them to the first Captain of Mili-
tia on the way to Montreal that she may be conducted
in the usual Manner to the common Goal of Mont-
real - - -
Calvin May J. P.

An amusing instance of allowing the offender to be his own executioner appears in an extract from a letter dated 9th December, 1791, and signed "Timothy" found among the Ruiter papers in the Archives:

"I all most been tempted to give him a barrel Rum and let him use it as he thought proper, for I really believe he will never leave off but will kill himself by drinking, the man that is sensible that it hurt him & will not leave it I believe it matters not how soon he kills himself. It will be the saving of Interest to let him drink as he will and howe soon he is gone the sooner he will be out of misery."

Establishment of Schools

It is to the credit of the early settlers to note that no time was lost by them in making provision for the instruction of the youth and in their early efforts the Hon. Thos. Dunn would appear to have co-operated. It will be remembered that the early titles to lands around Missisquoi Bay was granted by Mr. Dunn in 1792 and that Captain John Ruiter was appointed as his agent. The early accounts between Dunn and Ruiter are still at Philipsburg and contain the following entry:

1794—January 14th: To cash pd. for school House £2.10

This probably represented only Mr. Dunn's contribution. Thomas, in recounting the history of the early settlers of Missisquoi Bay, says:

"Several of the number whose names are given above, having settled at and near the place now called St. Armand Station, a school-house for the accommodation of both this locality and that at the Bay was built between the two sections, on a spot near the present dwelling of J. A. Deal. This house was erected a few years after the country around was settled, and was used both for a school-house and as a place for holding public worship."

The dwelling of J. A. Deal referred to is now the Edgar Naylor residence.

In the Archives is to be found a copy of a Petition of the inhabitants of Philipsburg to Sir James Henry Craig setting out that they have erected a school and hired a schoolmaster but that this, coupled with the erection of a church, had so exhausted their resources that they were unable to keep up their payment and obliged to withdraw their children. This Petition was dated Philipsburg, Missisquoi Bay, 7th November, 1810, and was signed by a large number of Philipsburg people. A similar Petition for the establishment of a school at St. Armand and signed by a

large number of St. Armand people is also there. Their prayers must have been answered as Philip Ruiter's accounts with Mr. Dunn show the following entry in 1811: Dec. 7th:

"To cash received from Government on account of Mr. Alex'r Taylor as Schoolmaster at Philipsburg £16.12.9."

Ruiter's accounts also contain the following entries:

"Nov. 7th, 1812 — To my salary appointed as School-master £14.17.6"

and on the same day:

"To salary to Mr. James Reid as schoolmaster £26.12.6."

Similar entries appear half yearly, save that the later payments to Mr. Reid were in each case £29.17.6.

Mr. Reid was ordained, deacon in May 1815 but apparently continued to act as schoolmaster until May 1817, and was left in charge of the Parishes of St. Armand West and East by the Hon. and Revd. Charles Stewart on his visit to England in 1815.

A biography of the Rev. Micajah Townsend states that "His kind patron (The Hon. and Revd. Chas. Stewart) procured him a school at Philipsburgh, a village on the eastern shore of Missisquoi Bay, which he continued to instruct for the space of two years." He was preparing for the ministry at the same time and both he and the Rev. James Reid were ordained at Quebec on the 7th May, 1815. He was the Rector of Clarenceville for over fifty years.

Miss Townsend also taught at the school in 1818 and probably for many years after. She was no doubt Miss Harriet M. Townsend who took over Wm. Copp's lease of Lot No. 4 in 1825 and took a direct lease of the lot in 1833. Miss Munson, sister of Mrs. D. T. R. Nye, conducted a private school in a room at the rear of our old family residence, which is still known as the "schoolroom."

In 1849 a High School was established and a two storey school was erected which did duty for approximately eighty years when it was replaced by the present modern building. The old building still stands on another site. In former days it was the custom for young men aiming for a professional career to secure the money for their college course by teaching. Thus in the seventies the school was successively in charge of the three sons of Mr. A. B. Struthers, Robert, Douglas and Irving. The two first became doctors and the third a lawyer. Robert, or Dr. R. B. Struthers, established a large and successful practice at Sudbury and his son is a well known physician of Montreal. Hon. J. E. Martin also taught the school; he became one of Montreal's leading lawyers and ended his career as Chief Justice of the Superior Court.

CHAPTER XI

The Church — Anglican — The Hon. and Rev. Charles
Stewart — Richard Whitwell — Methodist —
Millerites — Congregational — Roman Catholic

The Church

According to Thomas (p. 19):

"The first religious meetings in this section were appointed by Lorenzo Dow. In 1799 he came to Canada, and visited Dunham, Sutton, and other localities toward Lake Memphramagog. He says:

'Returning through these places to Missisquoi Bay, the prospect of good increased. From thence, I proceeded round the north end of the Bay to the west side as far as I could find inhabitants. The roads were so sloughy and miry that they were almost impassable; however, I got places to accommodate the inhabitants for meetings all along. Here, for thirty miles there was no preaching until I came; but the Lord made bare his arm. Returning, I held meetings at the same places, and found the prospect to increase.'

Whether or not Lorenzo Dow was the "ignorant enthusiast" referred to in the following letter can only be surmised but in any event "the Lord made bare his arm" and Dr. Mountain who had been consecrated as the first Bishop of Quebec in 1793 was prompted to address a letter dated the 19th October of the same year (1799) to Governor Milnes:

"There is also another subject which I would take the present occasion of submitting to your Excellency's consideration. The people of St. Armand & the neighbouring townships, upon Missisquoi Bay, have expressed through the Revd. Mr. Doty of William Henry, their earnest desire to have a minister of the Church of England established amongst them & their willingness to subscribe towards his support. Mr. Justice Dunn offers two hundred acres of land for a Glebe for the clergyman; & Messrs. Ruitter & Conroy land sufficient for two churches at convenient distances with burial grounds to each. The subscription was opened & 30 pounds intended to be annual immediately subscribed at St. Armand only & the gentleman who conducted the business

undertook to say that when aided by the other townships it would amount to 50 pounds annually at least.

It was proposed to build one church at the Bay, or landing from the lake, & the other about four leagues back, towards the East end of the settlement; — by which means, most of the inhabitants of that district may enjoy the advantage of Public Worship; the lower church being almost as conveniently situated for the people of Caldwell & Christie Manors as for the back settlers of St. Armand and the upper church no less convenient for the inhabitants of Dunham & within reach of Sutton & even of Bolton. For the purpose of establishing a Minister among these people, amounting as I am credibly informed to between 12 and 15 hundred souls, all of whom are Protestants of different descriptions, many of them of the Church of England, & most of them well affected towards it and disposed to unite with it, I would request the appropriation of the salary of a hundred pounds a year, which the Duke of Portland had destined conditionally, for a Minister for Caldwell & Christie Manors, as your Excellency will see by reference to His Grace's letter to Lord Dorchester, of the 22nd June (I believe) 1796.

Thus, Sir, a foundation will be laid for the legitimate introduction of the Gospel & the establishment of the worship of the Church of England, in all the townships recently laid out on and near the Province line, forming already one of the most improtant settlements in this country & increasing every day with astonishing rapidity.

But there is a difficulty in this case, which it is by no means my intention to dissemble. Without troubling your Excellency with a narrative of the circumstances which occasioned the plan of establishing a Minister at Caldwell & Christie Manors to fall through, just as it was brought to a favourable issue, I think it incumbent upon me to mention one cause which had a very powerful operation in producing that event; I mention the nature of the security required by the Government for the payment of subscriptions entered into by persons who apply for the Ministry. They are required to give **absolute security**. This cannot be done without mortgage. It is obvious, therefore, that he who under this mortgage afterwards sells, subscribes in effect for the purchaser and his heirs; since he must sell subject to the payment of his subscription & the value of his property will be diminished accordingly.

This, therefore, is an engagement upon which the people are universally averse from entering.

The subscriptions so rapidly & cheerfully going on at St. Armand, stopped at once, upon the notification of the necessity of this engagement, and I am convinced that a like effect will follow upon every similar occasion.

I would therefore entreat your Excellency to endeavour to obtain a relaxation of this condition, however reasonable it may, at first sight, appear. The people will never accede to it; & in the present case the continuing to insist upon it will amount to an absolute exclusion of every hope of their obtaining a clergyman of our church & will leave them and their children without the benefit of the Sacraments & either entirely without religious Instruction or what is

perhaps worse than none, with such only as they receive from ignorant enthusiasts or designing hypocrites (already very busy among them) whose doctrine have little tendency to form them to the observance of the duties either of good Xians, good men or good subjects.

It appears to be extremely desirable in a political no less than in the religious point of view, to prevent teachers of this description from obtaining a permanent establishment among them & I see no other means of preventing it, than the immediate establishment of a regular clergyman of the Church of England — all difficulty upon this subject, if instead of absolute security, a joint bond of the parishioners were required, I think might be removed.

There are many other matters of ecclesiastical concern & as I humbly conceive of great importance to the best interest of this country, which it will be my duty to submit to your Excellency's consideration:— but as I am not wholly ignorant of the great variety of public business which at the present moment presses upon your Excellency's attention I shall await a more favourable occasion for laying them before you.

I have the honour to be
Sir

Most Respectfully
Your Excellency's
obedient and faithful servant
J. QUEBEC."

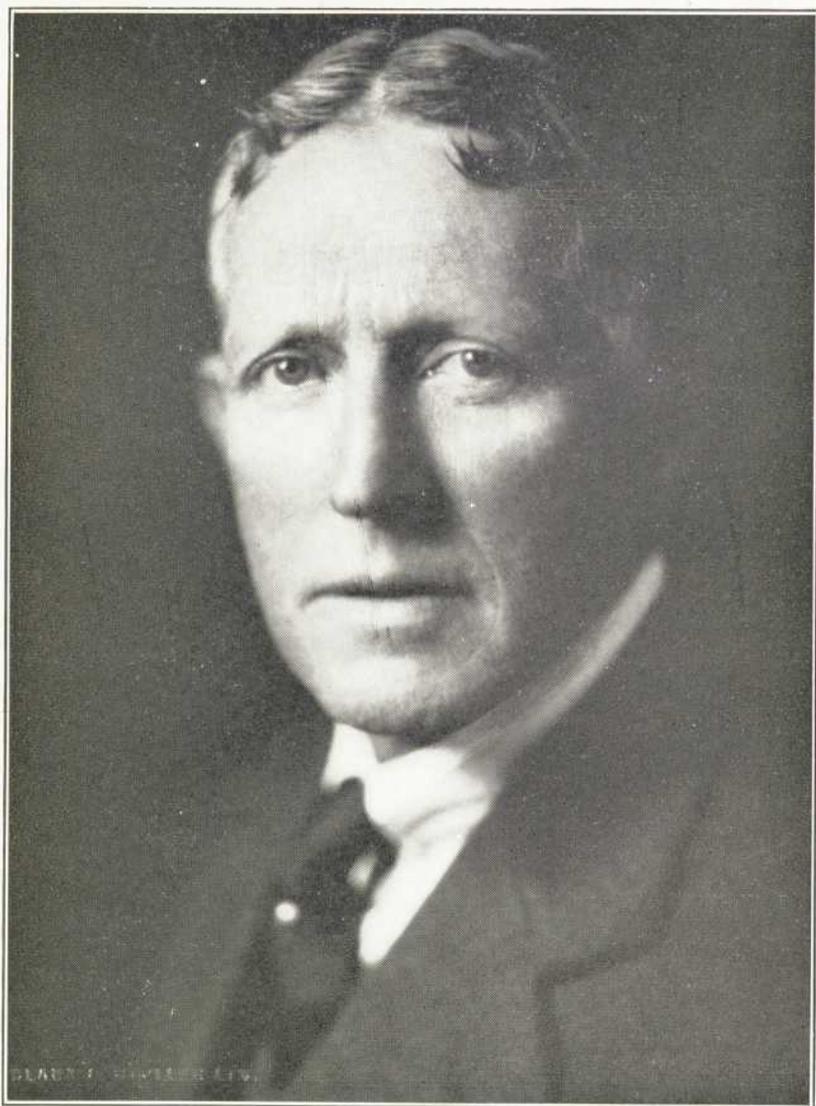
That his prayer fell upon sympathetic ears is evidenced by the Bishop's acknowledgement dated Quebec, 17th December, 1799:

"Sir,

I have received the favour of your letter of yesterday's date, signifying the Lieutenant Governor's intention that the allowance of 100£ sterling per annum to the rev'd R. Q. Short, as Minister of the Church of England at Missiskoui Bay shall commence from the first of November last; and I shall accordingly take the first opportunity of acquainting Mr. Short with His Excellency's goodness towards me."

The Rev. Mr. Short lost no time in taking up his mission and his name appears frequently in Philip Ruiter's books and correspondence during the years 1800 and 1801. He was followed by the Rev. James Marmaduke Tunstall of whom the following mention is made by the Rev. Sydenham Lindsay in his "Early History of the Anglican Church in the Province of Quebec":

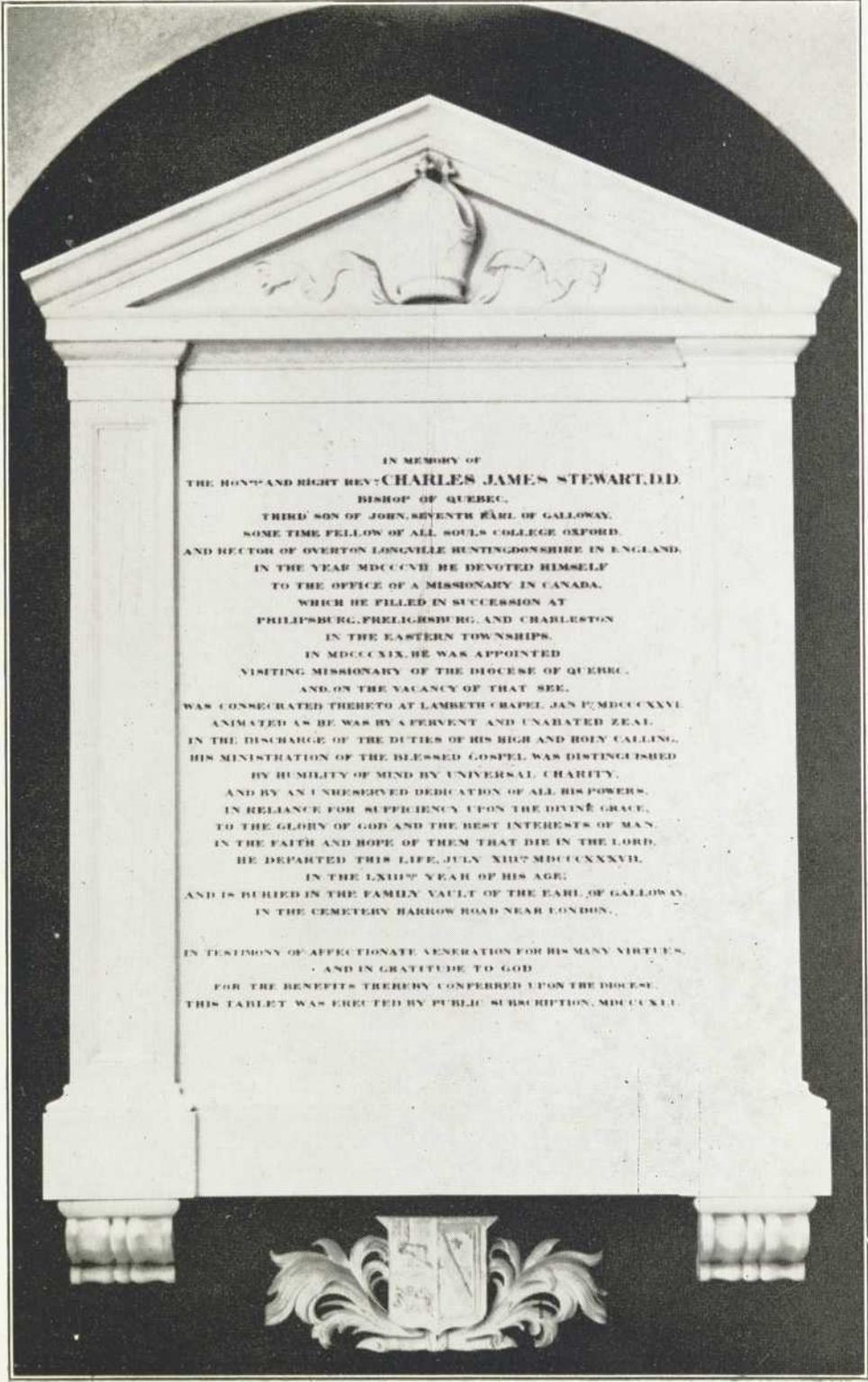
"At this time there was discord in Montreal. James Marmaduke Tunstall, who became Rector of Montreal on the death of David Chabrand Delisle on June 28th, 1874, did not hit it off with his congregation; and so his removal was decided upon, and he was placed in charge of St. Armand West or Philipsburg."



HON. W. F. KAY, M.P.

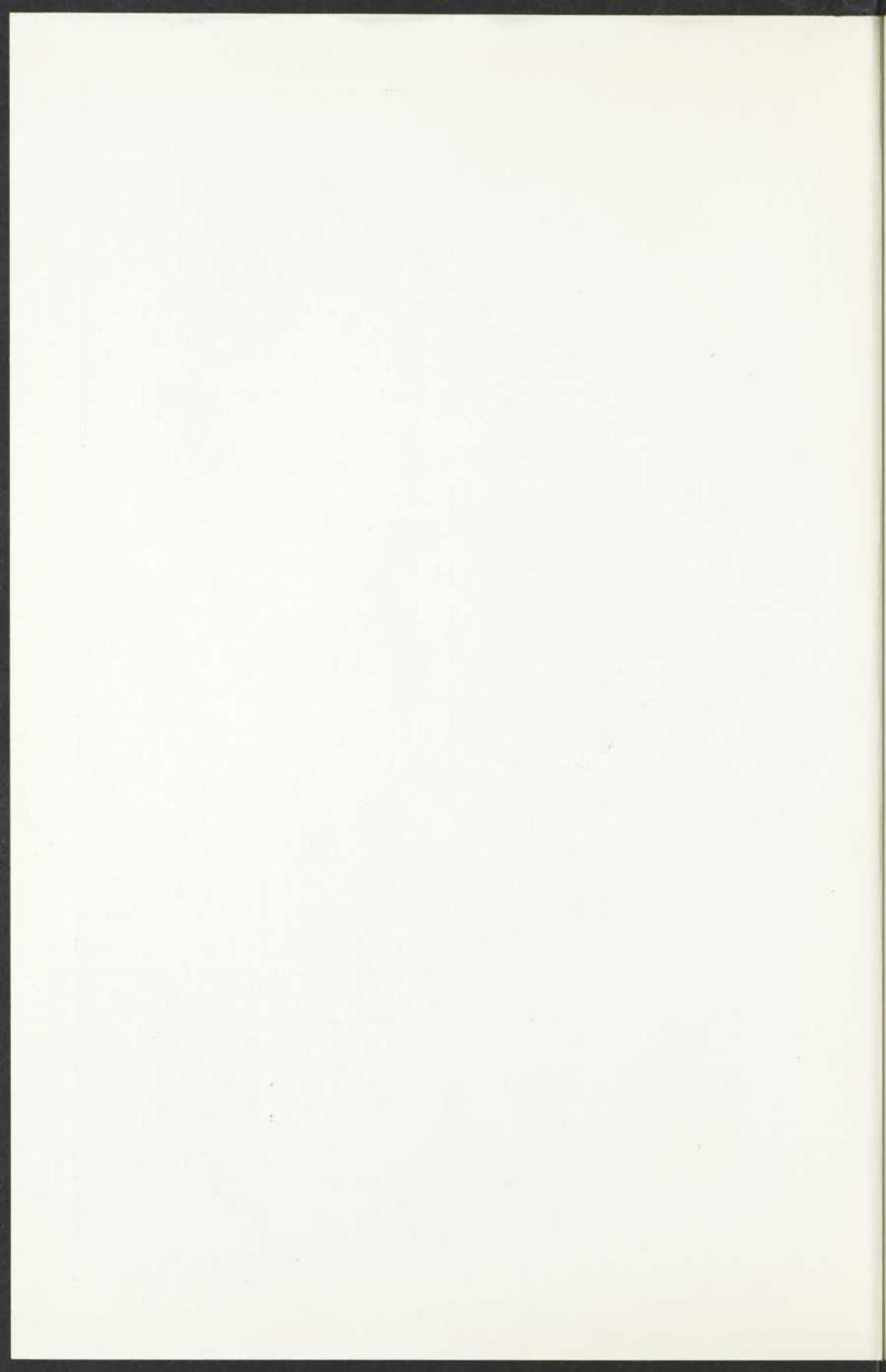


THE HON. AND REV. CHARLES J. STEWART



IN MEMORY OF
THE HON^{OR} AND RIGHT REV^{EREND}: CHARLES JAMES STEWART, D.D.
BISHOP OF QUEBEC,
THIRD SON OF JOHN, SEVENTH EARL OF GALLOWAY,
SOME TIME FELLOW OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE OXFORD,
AND RECTOR OF OVERTON LONGVILLE HUNTINGDONSHIRE IN ENGLAND,
IN THE YEAR MDCCCVII HE DEVOTED HIMSELF
TO THE OFFICE OF A MISSIONARY IN CANADA,
WHICH HE FILLED IN SUCCESSION AT
PHILIPSBURG, FRELIGSBURG, AND CHARLESTON
IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS,
IN MDCCCLXIX, HE WAS APPOINTED
VISITING MISSIONARY OF THE DIOCESE OF QUEBEC,
AND, ON THE VACANCY OF THAT SEE,
WAS CONSECRATED THERETO AT LAMBETH CHAPEL, JAN^{UARY} 1ST MDCCCLXXVI
ANIMATED AS HE WAS BY A FERVENT AND UNABATED ZEAL,
IN THE DISCHARGE OF THE DUTIES OF HIS HIGH AND HOLY CALLING,
HIS MINISTRATION OF THE BLESSED GOSPEL WAS DISTINGUISHED
BY HUMILITY OF MIND BY UNIVERSAL CHARITY,
AND BY AN UNRESERVED DEDICATION OF ALL HIS POWERS,
IN RELIANCE FOR SUFFICIENCY UPON THE DIVINE GRACE,
TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND THE BEST INTERESTS OF MAN,
IN THE FAITH AND HOPE OF THEM THAT DIE IN THE LORD,
HE DEPARTED THIS LIFE, JULY 31ST MDCCCLXXVII,
IN THE LXIIIRD YEAR OF HIS AGE,
AND IS BURIED IN THE FAMILY VAULT OF THE EARL OF GALLOWAY
IN THE CEMETERY HARROW ROAD NEAR LONDON.

IN TESTIMONY OF AFFECTIONATE VENERATION FOR HIS MANY VIRTUES,
AND IN GRATITUDE TO GOD
FOR THE BENEFITS THEREBY CONFERRED UPON THE DIOCESE,
THIS TABLET WAS ERRECTED BY PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION, MDCCCLXII.



That he was of a somewhat pugnacious temperament is illustrated by the story that he always slept with pistols under his pillow.

Due to an error which originated in an early edition of the Church Chronicle and has been copied by a number of historians it has frequently been stated that the first effort to plant the Church of England east of the Richelieu was attempted at Philipsburg by the Rev. Jas. Tunstall in January, 1801, and that he was followed by the Rev. Mr. Short. The early documentary evidence makes it clear that the order should be reversed.

First we have Bishop Mountain's letter above quoted and dated 17th December, 1799, referring to Mr. Short's appointment.

Next we have entries in Philip Ruiter's accounts with the Hon. Thos. Dunn, e.g.

April 18th, 1800, "To Draft from the Revd. Mr. Short in your favour for fifty pounds on the Revd. J. S. Mountain, Rector of Quebec, or 220 dollar & 2 crowns 1¼"

Jan. 20th, 1801, "To cash pd. the Rev. Robt. Q. Short by a draft on the Rev. Mr. Mountain for £35.16.0"

A current account with Mr. Short for goods from Mr. Ruiter's store throughout the year 1800 and finally a letter from Philip Ruiter to the Hon. Thos. Dunn dated 18th July, 1800, referring to a lot to be sold to satisfy a judgment:

"The Rev. Mr. Short spoke to me some time ago and, as he wishes to purchase it for the use of his family, if it did not sell for more than the worth of it, I have promised him to give him my interest as far as I could safely respecting the purchase."

The question would appear to be definitely settled by the registers at Three Rivers which show that the Reverend Robert Quirk Question Short was Rector of the Parish of Three Rivers from 1801 to 1826. His last entry in the parochial register is dated November 15, 1826. He died on January 28, 1827.

The first Register of the Parish is among the church records at Frelighsburg and was issued by A. Davidson, one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, Montreal, to the Rev. James Tunstall under date 20th January, 1801.

The similarity of dates in Ruiter's accounts and in the Whitwell notes — 20th January, 1801 — would suggest the Parish was handed over on that date by Mr. Short to Mr. Tunstall. One thing is certain and that is that the first establishment of the Church of England in the Eastern Townships was made at Missisquoi Bay.

The first Register among the Parish records at Philips-

burg was issued by Chief Justice Ogden in 1804 to the Rev. Charles Caleb Cotton, an Oxford graduate sent out to Canada by the S.P.G. Thomas says:

"The success of Mr. Cotton was very limited. He reported to the Society at home, that the people had not even a room set apart for divine service; that they refused to give anything towards the support of a clergyman; and that even on Christmas, when the whole strength of the congregation might be expected to assemble, there were only six persons present to celebrate the Saviour's birth-day by receiving the holy communion."

Mr. Whitwell rather endorses this:

"Mr. Cotton describes the difficulty which he met with in bringing the people into church ways and mentions as an instance of the little regard they had for religious rites, that they commonly went before a magistrate to be married, simply because it was the cheaper way. When we add that the whole number of communicants at Christmas was 6 and at Easter 5, it will be obvious that religion was at a very low ebb."

Mr. Cotton moved to Dunham in 1808 and there remained as Rector for nearly forty years. Known as "Priest Cotton" he rendered invaluable service to his parish. In the meantime events were shaping themselves which were to change the whole fortunes of the Church in the Parishes of St. Armand. On the 7th October, 1807, Henry Caldwell addressed a letter from Quebec to Philip Ruitter reading as follows:—

"This will be delivered to you by the Honorable Mr. Stewart, brother to the Earl of Galloway, a clergyman of Indep: fortune, who comes out under the direction of the Lord Bishop of Quebec with a view of making himself useful in his profession. I make no doubt you will show him every attention in your power. I am Sr. with great regard your Most. Obt. Humble Sevt."

This letter presaged the arrival of a man who has been justly called "The Apostle of the Eastern Townships" and who was later to become Bishop of Quebec with a See covering the whole of both Lower and Upper Canada.

We learn in Morgan's Sketches of Celebrated Canadians that the Honorable and Reverend Charles J. Stewart

"was the fifth son of the Earl of Galloway and was born on the 13th of April, 1775. He was educated at Galloway House in Wigtonshire, Scotland, by a private tutor until he was old enough to enter Oxford and here he graduated as M.A. in 1799 and was afterwards ordained to the holy ministry. His first charge was that of Orton Longueville and Botolph Bridge near Peterboro, where he remained for eight

years; and shortly afterwards, having offered himself to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel he was appointed to the Mission of St. Armand in the Eastern Townships. Here there was not the semblance of a church and the first service which he held was performed in a room in the village inn."

The Rev. Mr. Whitwell in his *Notitia Parochialis* describes this incident as follows:

"The same interesting authority informs us that putting up at the only tavern in the village of Frelighsburg he asked the landlord if he could let him have the only large room in the house, and being answered in the affirmative he directed him to prepare it next day for a congregation and to give as general a notice as possible that he, a clergyman of the Church of England, would then and there perform Divine Service and preach the Gospel. Upon this the honest-hearted landlord endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose informing him that not very long before a preacher had come to settle there, but that after remaining some time he had found the people so wicked and abandoned that he had left in despair. 'Then' answered the warm-hearted missionary, 'this is the very place of duty for me — here I am needed, and by God's grace here will I remain and trust to Him, in whose hands are the hearts of all people, for success'."

The early church register at Philipsburg contains the following entry in Mr. Stewart's handwriting:

"The Revd. Chas. Cotton moved from St. Armand to the Township of Dunham in the District of Montreal on the twenty-eighth day of March, 1808, and was succeeded in his appointment at St. Armand by the Honble. and Revd. C. Stewart, as witness his hand.

C. Stewart, Minister."

In a letter to his mother, the Countess of Galloway, dated 20th May, 1808, he says:

"The people are worse in appearance or rather in manner than in reality or principle. They are very free and rude but less profligate than in our country. I never was so much engaged in the exercises of religion as I have been since I came to St. Armand and I never was happier. I have persuaded the people here to build a church and it will be fit for divine service to be performed in it before next Winter."

Bearing in mind the deplorable condition of the mission as described by his predecessors, it is hard to believe that one man single handed, could have brought about such a change in so short a time. Mr. Whitwell describes the progress of the work as follows:

"At the end of a year's service (Nov. 5) Mr. Stewart informs the Society that his situation continues to be satis-

factory to himself; and as he believes profitable to the church. That it really was so may be inferred from certain recorded facts. Early in the year 1809 a new church was completed in the Eastern part of the Seigniorie and when divine service was performed in it the first time on a fine day in January, there was a congregation of a thousand persons. His communicants in this division were 27, and in the Western division 17; and both the congregations showed the interest which they felt in the Psalmody of the Church by engaging a singing master. Mr. Stewart to encourage them in their endeavors to improve this portion of the church service, prepared a small selection of psalms and hymns which he had printed in Montreal.

In August 1809 the Bishop of Quebec visited St. Armand and confirmed 60 persons. Here surely were the visible fruits of the missionary's labors. He did not however confine his services to the people of his own particular mission, but was in the habit of making missionary excursions into the neighbouring Townships where there were neither church nor clergymen, and where, but for his occasional visits, these settlers would have had no opportunity of participating in any of the ordinances of religion. On these occasions he used to perform Divine service, preach, celebrate marriages, and administer the Sacraments. Great number of children and not a few adults were thus from time to time baptized. In 1811, Mr. Stewart had the privilege of opening a new church in the Western portion (Philipsburg), when, as he informs us, 'a great concourse of people assembled in it.' Till his arrival there was not a single church in the whole of that district which is known by the name of the Eastern Townships, and which, even at that time, contained a population of 40,000 souls. That which was built in the Village of Frelighsburg, St. Armand East, was the very first erected in that part of Canada. It was a wooden frame building, 55 ft. by 39, and cost about £700. It was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. This church is still standing (1862) but must shortly be replaced by one of more durable materials.

The second church was that which was erected in St. Armand West and called in honor of the Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul's; it was nearly of the same dimensions as the former, and was surmounted by a steeple; the cost of the whole being about £800."

The Church at Frelighsburg was in fact later replaced by the present handsome building "The Bishop Stewart Memorial Church," but it is to be feared that it will never again entertain a congregation of a thousand persons.

The church at Philipsburg was built at Solomon's Corner, — presumably a compromise site which proved to be unsatisfactory to everyone. Its feature, the steeple, proved to be its undoing. On a Saturday night, the 22nd April, 1843, it was caught by a gale of wind and turned a complete somersault, the point of the spire coming down through the roof into the body of the church.

But to return to Mr. Stewart: in the Autumn of 1815 he went to England leaving his mission in the temporary charge of the Rev. Jas. Reid, who had for three years been acting as Schoolmaster at the Philipsburg end of the Parish. The primary object of his visit, Mr. Whitwell tells us, was to see his mother who was now advanced in years but he took advantage of his visit to set on foot a subscription for a fund to be applied to the erection of churches in the poorest settlements in Canada. Mr. Stewart was admitted to the degree of D.D. at Oxford during this visit. Dr. Stewart, on his return to Canada in November, 1817, had the happiness in finding his two congregations at St. Armand in a very satisfactory condition under Mr. Reid's superintendence. Seeking new worlds to conquer he fixed upon Hatley and was formally appointed to that mission by the Society and the Rev. J. Reid confirmed in that of St. Armand.

In 1819 Dr. Stewart was appointed visiting missionary in the Diocese of Quebec and on the death of Bishop Mountain in 1825 succeeded him as Bishop of Quebec. His death occurred on the 13th July, 1837, at London, in England, whither he had proceeded through extreme ill health and he was buried in the family vault at Kensal Green.

In Morgan's "Sketches of Celebrated Canadians" the biographical notes on the Hon. and Right Rev. Chas. J. Stewart begin as follows:

"The name of this truly excellent and devoted servant of Christ in Canada, who succeeded the first Bishop Mountain in the see of Quebec, deserves the highest place that can be accorded to it in the annals of the Church of England, and in the hearts of the English people of this province.

Often as we witness the wonderful efforts made by the ministry of the Church in its behalf and in the behalf of its people, we rarely, if ever, heard of a character of such self-sacrificing, devout, pious and holy principles, as those held by the late lamented Bishop of Quebec.

Bred as the son of the Earl of Galloway, in all the wealth and luxury that appertain to a scion of a noble house, brought up amidst all the temptations and hazards which beset the path of the young and noble, in their progress through college and the university, (and he might have aspired to the highest places in the many worldly employments held forth to the sons of the aristocratic families of England), he passed through the two first ordeals unscathed; and pure and spotless in character, through no worldly motives except to do good to his fellow creatures, he entered the ministry as a meek servant and instrument of God. With such purposes in view he came to this country, and endured direst privations as a missionary, passing from one place to another in the depth of winter, without perhaps,

(in those days, many years ago) a prospect of a shelter for his head, or a bed for his wearied body; and, even when raised to the high and important office as head of the church of this province, when age and sickness had crept upon him, he continued in the good work, going from one place to another, never wearied, never heedful of his own health, but all intent on the welfare of his flock and people; until finally, a not very strong constitution was undermined, and death closed his earthly labors. Beyond doubt he has met with his reward, for seldom did mortal ever strive, work, suffer and endure more to the service of his Divine Master than did the zealous and upright Bishop Stewart."

Mr. Stewart's last entry in the Parish Register at Philipsburg, prior to his departure for England, is dated the 2nd July, 1815, and the first entry by his successor, the Rev. James Reid, is dated the 15th July of the same year.

It will be recalled that Mr. Reid was confirmed in his appointment on Mr. Stewart's return to Canada in 1817. The Parish of St. Armand included both the East and West ends — Frelighsburg and Philipsburg. The people of St. Armand having been informed that the village which should first build a parsonage house would be entitled to the exclusive service of a clergyman both set to work in 1823. Frelighsburg proved first in the race and became entitled to the exclusive services of the Rev. Mr. Reid who remained in charge of Frelighsburg until the time of his death on January 14th, 1865. He was a Scot by birth and a man of great learning. He took for his pattern his predecessor with whom he continued an intimate friendship.

Mr. Reid's successor, the Rev. Richard Whitwell, M.A., arrived in Philipsburg on the 10th October, 1826, his first entry in the Parish Register bearing date the 15th October. He was a native of Yorkshire, England, having been born at Haxley in 1787. He volunteered under the auspices of the S.P.G. to serve in one of the new missions in the backwoods of Canada. He crossed the ocean in company with the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Stewart and after a voyage of fifty-six days reached Quebec on the 15th September, 1821. He was appointed to the new mission of Shefford where he served for five years. He served as Rector at Philipsburg until due to failing health he was obliged to resign and was succeeded in 1856 by the Rev. C. A. Witherall. Mr. Whitwell was the first to perform Divine Service at Bedford. He tells us:

"Being now and then invited to perform funeral service and preach in Stanbridge, led to an application to afford the people the means of public worship 'occasionally' on the Sabbath, at the village of Bedford. Tho' unwilling to deprive my parishioners of their spiritual food, compassion towards

those who were without a shepherd induced me to establish fortnightly gratuitous service at the village, which was continued about seven years, to very good congregations; when they agreed to build a church and the Rev. David Robertson was removed by Bishop Stewart from Matilda, N.C. to the new Mission of Stanbridge, East and West; for I have pleasure in stating that what I had been doing for Bedford my good friend and brother Reid had been doing for the 'Upper Mills'."

The Parish of St. Armand West was erected by Letters Patent on the 9th August, 1834 — the Earl of Dalhousie being Governor General and the Hon. and Right Revd. Dr. Stewart Lord Bishop of Quebec.

It was during Mr. Whitwell's Rectorship that the church at Solomon's Corner was partially blown down on Saturday, the 22nd April, 1843. In referring to the event Mr. Whitwell says:

"It may be interesting to many to add, that by a tremendous gust of wind entering the base of the spire through large openings made by the ceiling having fallen off, and completely filling it, the spire, by an incalculable power, was carried upwards to such an immense height as in its aerial flight, to perform a grand somersault; the point in descending, passed through the roof, one side of the ridge pole, about the middle of the building, damaged the front of the Reading Desk, then through the floors into the earth; and was found reclining its base against the front of the gallery! ! !"

Mr. Whitwell, in his *Notitia Parochialis*, goes on to relate his efforts in securing the construction of a new church building in Philipsburg, the site at Solomon's Corner having proved unsatisfactory:

"After several meetings, it was finally determined to erect a new church in Philipsburgh of a more permanent nature, but employing any materials from the old one which might be useful. Thus, the frame, being made of the best lumber, was taken — re-erected and encased with bricks. The people subscribed according to their means, as they thought, while the Rector, being disabled for public speaking by bronchitis, took to begging and procuring a curate at his own expense, performed six journeys in the Lower and one in the Upper Province, and obtained upwards of £200; also grants from the Church Society, and £50 and £20 respectively — through the hands of the Bishop — from those honourable Societies the S.P.G.T.P. and S.P.C.K. to which many of the colonies are so deeply indebted for the carrying on of the church. With these means, and what was raised in the Parish, the Rector contributing £30 in cash, the great object was effected during 1844/5, without any accident to the workmen and completed and opened in 1846. Here the writer would feel self-condemned did he not pay a just tribute of praise to the ladies, always forward in every good work to the

fruit of whose industry the Church is laid under lasting obligation for handsome Communion plate, rich drapery for Chancel, Reading Desk and pulpit, and the necessary carpeting; besides a sum towards paying off the church debt."

As to "what was raised in the Parish" the following promissory note would indicate that what they could not get in cash they took in kind:

"Philipsburg, Feb. 16, 1846

5£ For value rec'd. I promise to pay to the Treasurer of the Church Building Committee for the Episcopal Church or bearer, Five pounds cy. in saleable neat Cattle on the 1st day of October next at Cash Value or payable in Merchantable Grain in the month of January, 1847, at cash value.

Wm. Fellers."

The 1846 church was a large building, double the size of the present one, and was fitted with box pews with doors. As the English speaking population diminished and those who remained became unfortunately less regular in their attendance the building seemed to become larger and more empty. It was contemptuously referred to by the Rev. Frank Allen, whose eccentricities are familiar to the present generation, as "the old barn" and in 1895, on the eve of his departure from the Parish he had it torn down. The corner stone of the present church was laid by Bishop Bond during the Rectorship of the Rev. A. C. Wilson on September 29, 1896.

But to return to Mr. Whitwell: as has been stated he retired in 1856 but continued to live with his family in the Rectory, which he acquired from the Parish, until his death on the 4th April, 1864. A few of the older residents will remember his sons, Sherman, who was drowned while crossing the Bay on a duck shooting expedition, Dr. W. P. O. Whitwell, who practised his profession in Philipsburg, as well as Frank, who was a land surveyor. His daughters, Miss Mary Anne and Miss Charlotte lived to advanced ages, Miss Mary Anne dying at the age of ninety-two.

The Rev. Mr. Wetherall, who succeeded Mr. Whitwell, remained only a short time, resigning in October, 1858, when he was succeeded by the writer's Father, the Rev. Hugh Montgomery who remained as Rector until 1874. It was during his incumbency that the present bell was acquired for the church at Philipsburg and St. James Church was built in the outlying Parish of Pigeon Hill. He was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Naylor, who afterwards became Archdeacon of Clarendon.

The Methodist Church

Edward P. Conklin in "The Storied Province of Quebec" says, at p. 546:

"In the Eastern Townships, during the early period, Methodism made its most rapid advances outside Montreal — one of the first congregations was formed in Philipsburg in 1806 by a Francis Brown, licensed to preach, and Brother Michah Townsend, licensed to 'exhort'. The Rev. Henry James, from the United States, presided at the initial meeting. The existing church was dedicated in 1819, and is undoubtedly the oldest Methodist church building in the Province."

It is not without interest to note that Brother Michah Townsend was the father of the Rev. Micajah Townsend, for so many years Rector of Clarenceville. The son joined the Church of England "and received his first Communion at St. Armand from that eminently pious and devoted apostle of the Church in Canada, Mr. Stewart, in the summer of 1812."

Thomas, in his History of the Eastern Townships, says:

"The first Methodist meeting in St. Armand, of which we have any record, was a quarterly meeting held at Philipsburg, on the 20th of September, 1806. The name of the presiding elder was Henry Eames; of the preacher, Reuben Harris.

The first Methodist church in the Eastern Townships was built at this place in 1819. This church is still used by the Wesleyan Society."

The Reverend Bowman Tucker in his "Romance of the Palatine Millers" says at p. 96 that it "is probably the oldest Methodist Church in the Provinces of Canada which has been in continuous use." At p. 98 he says:

"It was during the ministry of Rev. Richard Williams that the Methodist Church was built at Philipsburg. The Deed of Land was passed on the 7th day of October, 1819, by Philip Ruiter and James Taylor. Ruiter is both a U. E. Loyalist, and a Palatine name. The deed was made to a Trustee Board consisting of Revd. Rd. Williams and Messrs. Garrett Sixby, A. V. V. Hogle, Charles Miller, James Blair, James Abbott, Jacob Gaylor, Artemas Turner and Alanson Kilborn. The parsonage was built in 1825."

Prothonotary Noyes, in the Third Report of the Missisquoi County Historical Society states:

"The first register issued in the present district of Bedford for 'the people called Methodists' was paraphed by Judge Foucher on the 15th April, 1820, and granted to 'the Rev. Richard Williams, of the British Wesleyan Congregation of Methodists in St. Armand and Dunham,' etc. . . . No other register was issued until 1831, the reason probably being that until 1829 there was no legal authority

for such issue. In that year the Legislature of Lower Canada, with its usual liberality towards the Protestant sects, passed an act giving Methodists a legal status. I hazard the opinion that the Methodists were incorporated by the French Roman Catholic Legislature of this province earlier than they were by the exclusive Protestant Legislature of the Upper Province."

A list of the Ministers in charge of the St. Armand circuit from 1806 onwards will be found in Tucker's work at pp. 97 and 98.

The Millerites

Noyes in his notes on the Methodist Church gives an amusing account of the Millerites who apparently created quite a "scare into piety" which though short lived was fervid while it lasted:

"The Millerites had preached for years — and proved their preaching by calculations based upon prophecy — that the world was to be destroyed by fire in 1843 — in April 1843, I believe. The year is right, but I am not sure as to the month. The people were scared into piety by graphic descriptions of the lake of brimstone and fire reserved for the really bad fellows. It was a chemical combination which the native did not relish, particularly as the preachers were not in accord as to the duration of existence on the lake aforesaid, and not too sure where the dry land was located. Ignorant as those Millerite preachers unquestionably were, they accomplished, in a few years, much more than all the missionaries of other beliefs had been able to do in a long period of time and with much labor. Even those who did not actually fall into line with the Millerites, did not see eye to eye with them as to the precise date, had a pious tremor which sent them in large numbers to the churches of a more orthodox character for baptism. The figures in the church registers indicate pretty clearly the state of alarm which existed. Take the St. Armand and Dunham circuits mentioned as a test:—

Baptisms	St. Armand	Dunham
1839	31	0
1840	60	55
1841	69	42
1842	102	129
1843	97	115
1844	63	19
1845	36	17
1846	7	11
1847	0	17
1848	0	8

A few observations will make my point clearer. In 1839 St. Armand and Dunham were one circuit, with one register. In that year the joint circuit had 31 baptisms. Notice, by adding the two together, the great rush up to

1846, by which time the scare was over, and the figures dwindled down. In the years of big figures, the baptisms were largely adults. When the danger was over it was only infants. There has never been such a stampede in St. Armand and Dunham. The pace then set has never been again reached. Perhaps the material was exhausted. There is a good deal of religion at the present time in those municipalities. The people are pious. But, perhaps, another scare might stimulate the zeal and ardor of some of them. If judicially ordered, I can furnish a list of those whom a scare would benefit, at least would not harm."

The Congregational Church

We are again indebted to Mr. Noyes for the following notes on the Philipsburg Congregational Church:

"On the 17th September, 1843, the Rev. Joel Fisk was called as pastor to the Congregational church at Philipsburg. The minutes of the meeting at which he was inducted as pastor, are entered in the register issued to him for the year by Judge Gale. There would appear to have been a large gathering of clergymen for those days when travelling was difficult. Philipsburg was probably a weak spot in religious matters in those days, hence the large array of clergymen. It may have been. But there are surface indications that godliness existed, for did not the late Dr. Brigham and 'Honest Peter' reside there at about that time. There were present on that occasion, Rev. H. Wilkes, Montreal; Rev. C. Strong, Montreal; Rev. E. Knight, Waterville; and many Vermont clergymen, including Rev. W. Smith, D.D., St. Albans; Rev. C. B. Cady, St. Albans' Bay; besides pastors of churches at Highgate and Swanton, forming 'an ecclesiastical council' to use the language of the minutes. The last register issued to that church was in 1854 to Rev. Mr. Buckham. Who was and what became of Rev. Joel Fisk? Why did that church cease to exist there? What is its history."

During the writer's youth the building which has now been converted into the Whitwell Hall stood in its original form but long unused for any purpose. It had high gothic windows, a steeple at the Day Street end, box pews and a gallery. It was subsequently converted into a hall, the windows cut down, the high interior cut off by a ceiling and the box pews, gallery and steeple removed. It was used by the Anglicans for church services pending the construction of the new church. Subsequent to the alterations it was purchased by the Misses Whitwell and donated to the Anglican Church.

The Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church in Philipsburg is of comparatively recent origin. The present church which was the first was only erected in 1921. Prior to that date the Roman

Catholic population attended the church at St. Armand Station. In the writer's youth they were a comparatively small minority and the children of both religions attended the one school on the hill. In later years a French school was opened at the top of Colborne Street and a few years ago the upper hotel on Craig Street was converted into a convent. While the problem is apparently an insoluble one from a religious point of view it is none the less unfortunate from the point of view of national unity and mutual understanding that a cleavage of the youth should take place during the formative years. However, we are only concerned here with the historical aspect. It must be remembered that the original settlers of the Eastern Townships were almost entirely English speaking. The writer has in his possession an old plan of the parish of St. Armand West showing the name of the proprietor of every farm holding and not a single French name appears. It seems unfortunate that the descendants of the original settlers should have shown so little inclination to stick to the land. Prothonotary Noyes in his review of the churches in the District reports as follows:

"The first Roman Catholic register issued for and used in the district of Bedford, bears date the 23rd of July, 1841, and was paraphed by Judge Gale. It was issued to Messrs. LaFrance and Falvey, missionary priests for the Eastern Townships. The first entry therein was the baptism, by Father Falvey, of John Alexander, son of Alexander Beck, tailor, of Stanbridge, and of Margaret Sauer, his wife. The actes registered in that year were 81, nearly all baptisms and covered localities from Philipsburg on the west to Barnston in the east. Registers were issued to missionaries up to 1847, and the next in date after 1846 was specially issued to St. Croix de Dunham. While in the first register, 1841, the entries are altogether signed either by Father LaFrance or Father Falvey, the years which follow show that there were many assistants, among whom we notice Fathers Phelan, Pineault, Morrison, and others. The dates indicate that regular appointments were made for different localities. On some occasions there would be as many as 20 baptisms. . . . It is doubtful if there was at that time a church or chapel building specially dedicated for church purposes in the district of Bedford, while to-day one is scarcely out of sight of a spire on one of its churches, or of the sound of the church-going bell. The handwriting of Fathers LaFrance and Falvey creates a presumption that they were from France. We presume there is no one living in the district who remembers them, but their work has borne fruit."

CHAPTER XII

**The Militia — Threatened outbreaks with the United States —
The War of 1812 — Capture of Philipsburg in 1813 and again
in 1814 — The 1837 Rebellion — Battle of Moore's Corners —
The Block House — The Fenian Raids of 1866 and 1870 —
The Great War 1914-1918.**

The Militia

The first recorded establishment of the Militia in the district was the Battalion of the Circle of St. John's about 1787, which included all the upper Richelieu valley. Henry Ruiter of Caldwell's Manor was the Commanding Officer and several of the Officers were from Philipsburg. Apparently the first alarm for which this Battalion was called out was in 1794. In 1793, following the French Revolution and the fall of King Louis XVI, war was declared on Great Britain by France. Both the United States and Canada were filled with emissaries from France seeking support. In Canada the aim of the French agents was to induce the French Canadians to fall in with the French Republic and rebel. There had been considerable irritation between the United States and Great Britain due partly to trade restrictions which Great Britain had imposed and partly to a dispute over the middle and Western American territory. Certain elements, particularly in the Southern States, were loud in their denunciations of Great Britain and for a time it looked as if the United States would declare war. Lord Dorchester, the Governor in May, 1794, secured the passage of an Alien Act and decided to call out a portion of the militia. His call upon the militia in the territory of Missisquoi Bay was addressed to Major Ruiter and was as follows:

“Quebec 5th May, 1794.

Sir/

It is His Excellency the Captn. General and Governor in Chief Judging it expedient that a Body of Militia should be in readiness to march on the shortest notices you are hereby required to give immediate Orders to the Captains or Officers Commanding the Companies under your directions, to Command, or if the men prefer it, to ballot from each of their

Companies respectively a proportionate number of the unmarried people, so that they may furnish in the whole Thirty privates, enjoining them to Conform to what is prescribed by the Ordinance for regulating the Militia of the Province passed the Twenty Third of April One thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven—

and all Militia men Commanded or ballot as aforesaid, or their substitute, are to prepare themselves upon a Notices of Four days, in order to be Conducted to such pleaces of randizvous as shall be hereafter appointed—

You will without loss of time transmit a List of the persons who are distained to serve, for his Excellencys information.

I have the honour

to be sir

your most obt. Humbe. Servant

Frances Le Majstre A. G.

Majr. Ruiter, Commandg
the Militia."

Fortunately the conclusion of the Jay Treaty in 1794 and its ratification in 1795 put an end for the time being to the threat of war, although in the Winter of 1796-97 Ira Allan of Vermont sailed:

"from Ostend in the 'Olive Branch' with 20,000 stand-of-arms besides artillery and ammunition. The ship was captured and brought into Portsmouth. Allan protested that this prodigal supply of arms was for the militia of Vermont which it would have provided four times over, but certain people who were behind the scenes assured the Duke of Portland that they were designed for the invasion of Canada. Vermont at that time had certainly no other use for such a prodigious armament."

In the early years of the following century trouble began to develop again between Great Britain and the United States, not due to any border troubles but to a number of irritating factors arising out of blockades and embargoes, in part incidental to the Napoleonic Wars culminating in the War of 1812. Coupled with the above factors was the undoubted desire of the United States to conquer Canada, as evidenced by a speech of Henry Clay. In June, 1807, an unfortunate incident occurred. H.M.S. "Leopard" met the U.S. warship "Chesapeake" and demanded the return of some deserters and on this being refused fired a broadside doing considerable damage to the "Chesapeake." Intense excitement followed and President Jefferson issued a proclamation ordering all armed British warships to leave the harbours of the United States. This was followed up by the President's embargo on United States ships forbidding them to leave for foreign ports. It was generally expected that the United States would declare war at that time. General Brock was the Commander of

the forces and the Hon. Thos. Dunn, as President of the Council, had been appointed Civil administrator on the departure of Sir Robert Milne. In a letter to Philip Ruiter, dated 26th August, 1807, he wrote:

"I believe the President of the United States is very much inclined to quarrel with Great Britain, but I trust the good people of the American States will prevent him and that if his obstinacy should produce a war I am confident it will throw their Government at least a half a century back and that they will meet a very different reception in Canada than they did in 1775."

As a matter of fact there was quite a little heated correspondence between Brock, representing the military, and Dunn, the civil, authorities. As is pointed out in "The Makers of Canada"

"Mr. Dunn had lived for a long time among the inhabitants of the country and had to consider their prejudices."

Brock wrote to Colonel Gordon on September 6, 1807, that he was expecting hostilities to break out at any moment, and that President Dunn had taken no precautionary measures except to order one-fifth of the militia — about ten thousand men — to be in readiness to march on the shortest notice. These measures, however, extended to Philipsburg where they seem to have been enthusiastically carried out. Mr. A. J. H. Richardson, in an Essay on "The War of 1812 in the Townships" writes:

"In 1805 a militia had been organized in the area, and at the outbreak of war the Eastern Townships proper supplied four battalions and part of a fifth to one of the regiments of the provincial militia. Their Colonel, Sir John Johnson, was the leading Loyalist in the province, and the other chief officers were also Loyalists or of English birth—the Adjutant, Captain Glen of Chambly, and the battalion commanders, Lieut.-Cols. Luke of Philipsburg, Henry Ruiter of Potton, Cull of Hatley and Pennoyer of Compton. When Jefferson's Embargo in 1807 had first brought the serious threat of war, these men had worked hard to arouse the people's patriotism; Glen had made a tour of the battalions that year with good effect; in Philipsburg many huzzaed their Adjutant General, as they termed Captain Glen, and would follow him wherever he should lead."

While war did not break out at that time the embargo continued and thoroughly demoralized trade both in the United States and Great Britain. The Eastern Townships, and particularly the frontier sections, reaped a harvest, as smuggling became the order of the day and one can imagine the volume of trade which passed through Missisquoi Bay. Mr. A. Manson, a former resident, in an old letter from his home in Iowa to the Bedford Times says:

"Philipsburg was a small hamlet in 1809 but in 1814 it was a place of immense trade, thousands of dollars in a day sometimes, but it was the smugglers that made the trade."

By the end of 1808 the embargo had become so unpopular in the United States that President Jefferson, who had stuck to it stubbornly, was obliged to repeal it. The events between 1807 and 1812 are not part of this history but war was eventually declared by the United States on the 18th June, 1812, the same day and month as the Battle of Waterloo was to be fought three years later.

Philipsburg's part in the war is described by Mr. Richardson as follows:

"In the Philipsburg area, too, the Townships settlers saw action. In October, 1813, a little fleet of American vessels entered Missisquoi Bay and landed a force of 450 men on its shores. A hundred and fifty riflemen under Colonel Isaac Clark (leader of the expedition) raided Philipsburg, the rest plundered the settlement on 'Caldwell's Manor' on the opposite side of the bay. It is true that there seems to have been little resistance at 'Caldwell's Manor', but at Philipsburg the Fourth Battalion turned out despite (or because of) Luke's absence; attacked at dawn 'from an unexpected quarter' they were soon overpowered and more than a hundred of them captured, but their resistance is proved by their eight wounded and one dead, and by a number of wounded Americans. Three months later the villagers retained enough spirit to supply a small volunteer force to drive a patrol of American dragoons from Clough's Farm on the boundary. Led by their Captain Wehr, a Loyalist, they turned out at the request of a reconnaissance party of the Select Militia and, despite lack of arms, killed or wounded three Americans and brought some prisoners home. It was only the raid of March, 1814, that was unopposed, when the Americans came back in greater force than ever under a Brigadier McComb, crossed the ice of Lake Champlain on sleighs, occupied the village and nearly surrounded a guard of British marines at South River."

The official report of the engagement of October 12, 1813, by Lieut. Col. Philip Luke reads as follows:

"St. Armand, Philipsburg,
Missisquoi, Bay,
Oct. 16th, 1813.

To Sir Roger Sheaffe, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in the District of Montreal:—

Sir:—

I have the unhappiness to inform you of a melancholly incident which transpired at this place during my absence to Montreal, and having on my return collected the most prominent circumstances from the most correct sources of information, I have the honor to transmit to you the following particulars:—



REV. CANON REID
1815 - 1826



REV. H. MONTGOMERY
1858 - 1873



REV. R. D. IRWIN
1877 - 1879



REV. CHAS. CALEB COTTON
1804 - 1808



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH
Erected 1843



REV. H. D. BRIDGE
1881 - 1883



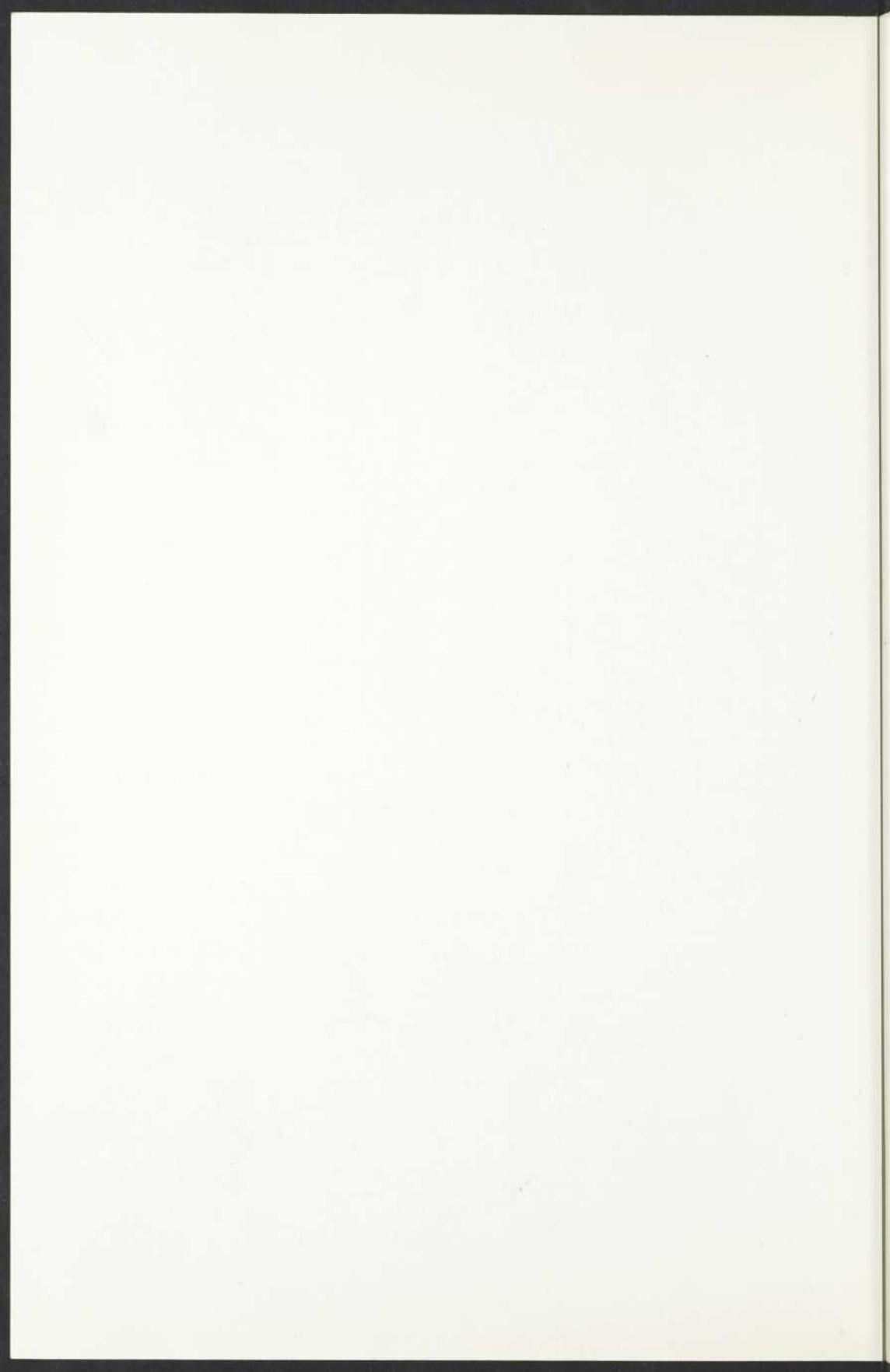
REV. W. WESTOVER
1879 - 1881



REV. JAS. TUNSTALL
1802 - 1804



REV. W. H. NAYLOR
1873 - 1876



A

SERMON,

PREACHED IN TRINITY CHURCH,
IN THE SEIGNIORY OF ST. ARMAND,

LOWER-CANADA,

ON THE TWENTY FIRST DAY OF MAY, 1816;

BEING THE DAY APPOINTED BY

PROCLAMATION.

FOR

A General Thanksgiving

TO

ALMIGHTY GOD,

"FOR HIS GREAT GOODNESS IN PUTTING AN END
"TO THE WAR IN WHICH WE WERE ENGAGED
"AGAINST FRANCE"

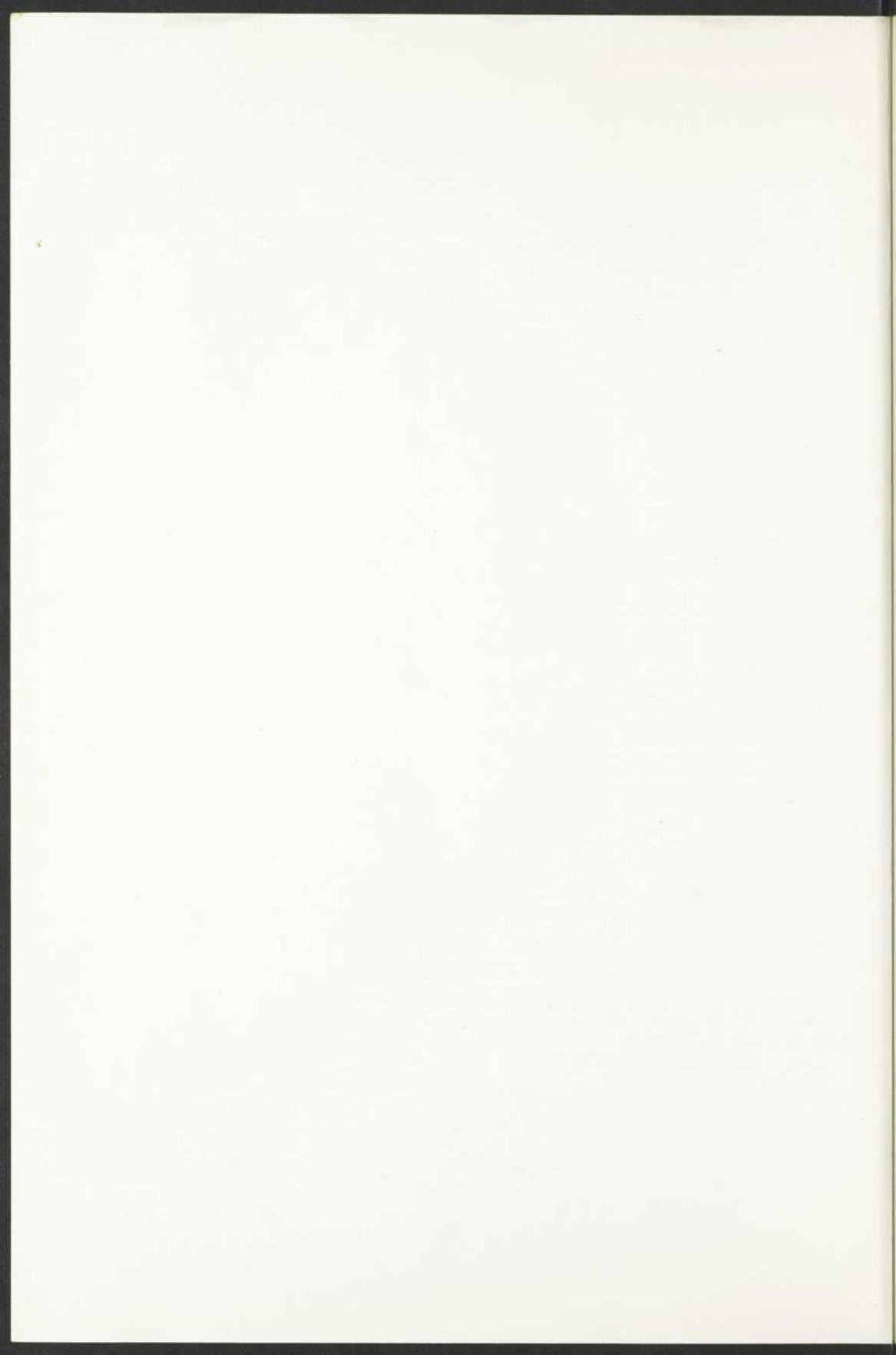
BY

THE REV'D. JAMES BEID.

Montreal.

PRINTED BY W. GRAY.

1816.



On the night of the 11th inst., the enemy under the command of Col. Isaac Clark, entered Missisquoi Bay with one sloop and ten batteaux and two scows, with a six-pounder on each scow, and in all containing about four hundred men. A detachment of about one hundred and fifty riflemen, commanded by Col. Clark in person, landed about two or three miles south of this village. The remaining boats landed on Caldwell's Manor, plundered the store of Mr. Joshua Healy, and some effects from the inhabitants and embarked on this place. At 4 o'clock on the morning of the 12th inst. we received an Express from Caldwell's Manor, that the enemy's troops were debarking there, and would probably visit us. Some arrangements were making for defence, when Col. Clark's detachment at daylight came upon us from an unexpected quarter and after an unequal resistance made by a few brave fellows they surrendered at discretion.

During the engagement, we had one man killed and eight wounded, but none mortally. The prisoners taken were Major Joseph Powell, Capt. John Ruiter, Capt. James Pell, Lieut. Philip Luke, Jr., Lieut. John Richard, Ensign Snider, Ensign George Willis, Ensign John Waggoner; in all, one major, two captains, two lieutenants, three ensigns, five sergeants and ninety-one privates, making a total of one hundred men, including the officers and wounded.

The prisoners were immediately marched to Swanton and from thence to Burlington. At 10 o'clock the sloop, batteaux, etc., under the command of Major Roberts, of Plattsburg, entered the harbor, landed their men and one six-pounder without opposition, at which time Col. Clark returned by land, took the 76 stands of arms captured by Col. Clark on board the boats, robbed the store of C. G. Lester & Co. of property to the amount of \$3,540 from an actual invoice, plundered the store of Day & Gelston of about one thousand dollars in goods.

After some small depredations of less moment they embarked, and left the place at 4 o'clock p.m. having driven off many horses and oxen. On the morning of the 13th inst. the boats left the bay, but many marauding parties straggled from the troops, committed incessant robberies on the inhabitants contiguous to the line, by driving off their cattle, horses, waggons, etc., and robbing the families of cloths, provisions, bedding, etc., to a very considerable amount.

I have the honor to be with sentiment of esteem,

Your very humble servant, (Signed) Philip Luke."

On the 10th December, 1813, Philip Ruiter, in his report to the Hon. Thos. Dunn, says:

"You must pardon me in not writing you sooner. I am sure if you knew our allarming situation for this some time past, you will excuse me. A part of the American army under the command of the infamous Col. Isaac Clark, made a visit in this place on the 12 of .October, and made 93 prisoners of our militia in this place, in which we had one killed and eight wounded, since which one had his arm and another his leg amputated in consequence of the wounds—their names an Isaac Hilliker, his arm, Benjamin Brill, his leg. Two of my brothers taken prisoners, John and Hermanus. Hermanus

made his escape from them the 3rd day from them. John is still a prisoner. At the same time took out of this place a number of horses and oxen and robbed Messrs. Strite, Deal, Hogle and Rychart of bedding and wearing apparel. Mr. Strite and Rychart say that they had no other clothes left only what they had on their back at the time. On the 27th October the same party came into Saint Armand again about 10 miles East from the Bay and took out between 80 & 100 head of oxen, however the greater part of which was smuggled in from the States, and engaged by our contractors of beef for Government, and luckily about 170 head of oxen escaped. The enemy a little to the East of them near Pinical Mountain, which oxen was immediately drove to Yamaska out of the reach of the enemy — the alarm did continue from day to day for some time until lately many of the inhabitants moved away considerable part of their moveable property to the North of St. Armand and into Stanbridge & Dunham.

The news from Spain still continues good. I believe on this the French armies are totally out of Spain. The latest news from the North of Germany is also very favourable. I hope the next arrivals from Europe that we will have a continuation of favourable news on the part of our Government and the Allied Armys.

I do believe that we cannot expect a permanent & safe peace until the power of Bonaparte is destroyed, which I pray through the Will of the Almighty God will be soon."

The reference to Napoleon might be applied to Hitler as of the date this is written.

The Philipsburg prisoners referred to in Mr. Ruiter's report were taken by the Americans to Burlington, from which place they addressed a letter to Philip Ruiter asking for clothing. The letter which was no doubt passed by censor read:

"Burlington, Dec. 8, 1813.

"Sir,

We the undersigned, your friends, officers and brothers of Upper and Lower Canada are in want of sundry articles of clothing and having obtained permission of the American Government for this purpose, write to desire you to bring to us the following enumerated articles, in such quantities as may be convenient to you, and we will hold ourselves accountable for the amount, viz. Flannels, Casiners, Vestings, Linens, Broad Cloths, Handkerchiefs, and Stockings, all of which we are much in want.

Your compliance with this request we shall esteem as a very peculiar favour and if we live to return you shall be amply compensated for your trouble in the premises.

With much respect and friendship we subscribe ourselves your very obedient servants:

Christian Snyder
John Waggoner
William Powers
Philip Luke, Jr.
John Jones

Jos. Powell
John Ruiter
George Lawes
John Baxter
Titus Williams."

The wording of this letter had evidently been supervised by their captors as the Archives contain a letter from the Hon. and Rev. Chas. Stewart addressed to Col. Brenton, Secretary to the Governor, in reference to the prisoners who had been taken at St. Armand and referring to their miserable treatment by the Americans. This letter is dated St. Armand, December 20, 1813.

A further skirmish occurred during the following January at Clough's Farm on the boundary. The official account, dated "Hd. Qrs. Montreal, 29 Jany. 1814" reads as follows:

"His Excellency the Governor in Chief and Commander of the Forces, has received a report from Lt. Cl. Taylor, Insp. of Field Officer of Militia at Yamaska, stating, that having received information that the Enemy's Patrole had recently appeared in that quarter he had directed Captain McGillivray of 3rd Bn. E. Militia to make a Reconnaissance on the frontier of the Province — and that Captain McGillivray learning on his arrival at the Village of Philipsburg on the evening of the 10th inst. — that a detachment of American Dragoons had that day gone to Clough's Farm on the lines, sent Lieut. Powell of the 5th Battalion E. Militia to collect a few volunteers in the Village who quickly returned with Captain Meyer and Ensign Prantz & 20 of the Sedentary Militia, six of whom were only armed, Captain McGillivray marched at 10 o'clock and arrived within a few yards of the house before they were discovered by the enemy's party, consisting of a Serjeant & 13 Dragoons who sallied from the house and fired from pistols; but instantly fled to it for shelter on receiving the fire of the militia who persuing them with a Bayonet secured six prisoners & 10 horses with their appointment and arms complete which they brought away, leaving one of the enemy dead, and the Serjeant and one Dragoon severely wounded."

The second capture of Philipsburg occurred on the 22nd of March, 1814, and is covered by Sir George Prevost's report to the Right Honorable Earl of Bathurst, dated from Headquarters at Lacadie, 31st March, 1814:

"My Lord,

I had scarcely closed the session of the Provincial Legislature when information arrived of the enemy having concentrated a considerable force at Platsburg for the invasion of Lower Canada; Maj. Gen'l Wilkinson advanced on the 19th inst. to Chazy & detached Brig'r Gen'l McComb with a corps of riflemen & a Brigade of infantry in sleighs across the ice of Isle la Mothe & from thence to Swanton in the State of Vermont.

On the 22d. this corps crossed the line of separation between the United States & Lower Canada & took possession of Philipsburg in the Seigniory of St. Armand & on the 23rd several guns followed & a judicious position was

selected & occupied with demonstration of an intention to establish themselves there, in force; — having previously assembled themselves at St. Johns & its vicinity the 13th 49th Regts & the Canadian Voltigeurs with a sufficient field train & one troop of the 19th Light Dragoons; I placed the whole under the command of Col. Sir Sidney Beckwith & ordered him to advance to dislodge the enemy should circumstances not disclose the movement to be a feint made to cover other operations — on these I left Quebec. On my route I received a report from Maj. Gn'l de Rottenberg of the enemy having retired precipitately from Philipsburg on the 26th & again crossed Lake Champlain for the purpose of joining the main body of the American Army near Champlain Town — On the 30th the enemy's light troops entered Oddletown."

It must be admitted that considerable difficulty was experienced in bringing up the ranks of the Eastern Townships militia to their full strength and that there was active opposition to the draft. A number of families along the frontier returned to the United States or went to St. Johns. There were so many at St. Johns that Mr. Stewart felt obliged to go over and minister to them. The facts and contributing causes are set out in Mr. Richardson's Essay on the War of 1812 and also in a memorandum in the handwriting of Notary Leon Lalanne — the first Notary in the Townships — to be found in the Archives of the Brome County Historical Society at Knowlton.

The people of Northern Vermont were no more keen on the war than were the frontier Canadians. They were all engaged in a thriving smuggling business which continued as profitable as in the days of the Embargo. As Mr. Richardson says: "There is a well-known letter of August, 1814, in which the British commander declares that 'Two thirds of the army in Canada are at this moment eating beef provided by American contractors, drawn principally from the States of Vermont and New York,' and there is abundant evidence that much of this was coming through the Townships."

There were, however, cases of actual disloyalty which is not surprising considering that many of the later settlers had come in from the States and had taken the oath of allegiance merely to obtain grants of land. The following warrant, issued by Philip Ruiter, for the arrest of Dr. J. W. Phillips of St. Armand is an illustration:

"To John Pier, Sergeant of Militia
this to execute.

Province of Lower Canada)
District of Montreal)

Whereas information hath this day been made unto me Philip Ruiter, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, in and for the said district upon the oath of Zora Smalley, late of the United States of America, Surgeon, that Doctor

Jonathan W. Phillips of Saint Armand — that sometime about the 25 of August last passed that the said Doctor J. W. Phillips informed the said Zora Smalley that he had a regular correspondence with several officers in the United States army that they had promised him the appointment of surgeon if he would leave this Government and join them, and had been making his arrangements accordingly and should go into the service of the United States, that he had been born and educated a Republican and should adhere to their Principles — he furthermore said that he had a private conversation with Col. Isaac Clark on the 12 October at rock river the day after the Americans left Missisqui Bay and Col. Clark then told him if he would join them he should be promoted to the rank of a surgeon, he also said he should go to the City of Washington in about three weeks with recommendations from Col. Clark for the above appointment, that when he went he would play for the whole — a term I do not perfectly understand.

This is therefore in His Majesty's name to command you to apprehend the said Jonathan W. Phillips and bring him before me or some other Justice of the Peace to answer to the said complaints and to be further dealt with according to law.

Given under my hand and seal this 20 day of October, 1813, and in the 53 year of His Majesty's reign."

However, the war finally came to an end in 1814 and Henry Clay's idea of taking Canada came to naught.

Mr. Whitwell relates that:

"at the conclusion of the war, and the re-establishment of a general peace a day of thanksgiving was appointed for the colonies as well as for England. The day fixed for Canada was the 13th September, 1814, and it was duly observed in the Mission of St. Armand."

The Treaty of Ghent was signed on Christmas Eve, 1814.

The Centenary anniversary of one hundred years of peace along the three thousand miles of unfortified boundary line between the two countries was celebrated at St. Albans in 1914.

The 1837 Rebellion

The rebellion of course had its origin in the alleged grievances of the French Canadians set out in rather extravagant language in the ninety-two resolutions adopted by the elected Legislative Assembly in opposition to the nominated Legislative Council. The assembly had refused to grant supplies since 1832. The dispute was more or less brought to a head by Lord John Russell's resolution empowering the Governor to expend the monies of the Province without the authorisation of the House. Papineau and his Lieutenants had, however, been stumping the en-

virons of Montreal and the Valley of the Richelieu with fiery and somewhat seditious speeches culminating in an advocacy of annexation to the United States. This serves to explain how it was that in some purely English speaking sections of the Province a certain amount of support was gained largely from Americans who had come across to obtain free land, and naturally from the Northern New England States. A paper entitled "The Missisquoi Post" had actually been established at Stanbridge East by Judge Mayo Bingham of Vermont and H. J. Thomas, which served as an organ for the patriots. While the ill advised recourse to arms only broke out late in November, 1837, trouble had been brewing all Summer and that the militia at Philipsburg and no doubt at other points were getting prepared is evidenced by the military summons here reproduced:

Mr Chichy

*Sir you must appear at St Pauls Church on the 29 day of June two hours after sunrise and there wait for further orders ^{to} attend to military duty by order of Lieutenant
McKinney June 29th 1837
C R Cheesman Sergeant*

Incidentally C. R. Cheesman was a nephew of Philip Ruitter and succeeded to the ownership of his Philipsburg properties and ground rents.

Lieutenant McKinney was no doubt an ancestor of Tabor and Edwin McKinney who will be remembered by the older inhabitants. Who Mr. Chichy was is unknown but it is evident that in those days more dependence was placed upon the sun than upon clocks.

As a matter of fact there would appear to have been a certain amount of military activity as early as 1833, as is shown by the following commitment:

District of Montreal } W. M. Esquire one of His Majesty's justices
of the peace for the said District -

To the keeper of the common goal
in the City of Montreal and District
aforesaid. - You are hereby ordered
to receive into your goal in the said
City of Montreal the body of Ransom
Hartlow (for refusing to pay the fine
to him adjudged for neglect of Military
duty on the 29th ult.) and him safely to
keep until he be duly discharged accord-
ing to law & shall have paid the
said fine of five shillings -

Given under my
hand and seal at St Armand
this 12th day of July 1833 - W. M. Esq.

To the Keeper of
the Common Goal
in the City of
Montreal

To the keeper of the Common goal
in the City of Montreal

Whatever preparations were made by the Missisquoi militiamen were not in vain as on the 6th December, 1837, they were called upon to meet a detachment of the rebels in the Battle of Moore's Corners (St. Armand Station). The following is taken from a detailed account of the engagement by Mr. C. O. Jones appearing in the Fourth Report of the Missisquoi County Historical Society at p. 67: at day-break on the 6th of December, the little village of Philipsburg was rudely awakened by the appearance of a turbulent mob of fifty or sixty men. After terrorizing the town for an hour or so they passed on taking the West road to Swanton, Vermont. Before departing they declared loudly their intention to return before night and burn the town:

"Surprise and dismay soon gave way to activity, and defensive measures were at once undertaken. The women and children were removed to a place of safety, and messengers sent out in every direction to arouse the country side. Teams, accompanied by a small escort, were immediately dispatched to the nearest military post for a supply of muskets and ammunition, as there were no military supplies then stored at Missisquoi Bay. Small parties of citizens volunteered to guard the different roads leading to the village and every man was welcome to enter, but none were allowed to leave the town. It was indeed an anxious time, but as time passed a better feeling prevailed as the numbers of the defenders increased. Bands of men arrived during the early afternoon from Bedford, Pigeon Hill and Frelighsburg, until about three hundred men had assembled in the little village all looking anxiously toward the north end of the lake, where the road from the west skirts the shore, for the teams laden with arms and ammunition. A light snow lay on the ground and late in the afternoon their gaze was rewarded by seeing the little cavalcade crawling along the north shore, showing plainly against the white of the snow. A considerable party set out to meet the teams and escort them in, although they were still two or three miles away.

When they reached the village they were taken to the old Methodist chapel, which was a very substantial stone building erected in 1819, and is still used as a church. The windows had been barricaded with heavy timbers and preparations made to use the building as an arsenal. The arms and ammunition were served out to the men from the wagons on the green in front of the church and, as the invaders were expected to return momentarily, the hastily equipped little army took up a position about half a mile south of the village, near the road leading from Swanton, while a few men were stationed farther down the road to avoid any possibility, of a surprise. Capt. O. J. Kemp, of Frelighsburg, had arrived on the scene about five o'clock, but demurred at taking charge of affairs, giving as his reason that he did not know the country well enough, so the defenders were leaderless. After a short discussion John P. Deal, who lived near by, volunteered to ride to Highgate where the roads fork and, as soon as the 'patriots' appeared, he would at once

warn the defenders of the course they were taking, as there were two roads leading to the 'Bay' from Swanton — one direct, known as the west road, and the other, by the way of Moore's Corners.

Time passed slowly, but finally Deal heard the shouting of the incoming force, which had been increased since morning to more than two hundred men. Breathlessly he watched their movements and, as he saw them take the upper road leading by the way of Moore's Corners to the 'Bay' he sprang upon his horse and rode rapidly away to warn his friends of the change of route. It afterwards transpired that one James Spooner had given the 'patroits' information of the position of the defenders and for that reason they had changed their route.

It was an anxious time, indeed, for the little band awaiting the approach of the foe. It was already about 7 o'clock, and no word of the enemies' movement had reached them. The chill of the December evening made the waiting long, but at length they heard the hoof beats of a horse coming down the road and a moment later Deal rode up and delivered his tidings. In an instant all was confusion. A leader was badly needed. Philip H. Moore cried out, 'Come on, boys' and forthwith they started for Moore's Corners where they expected to meet the insurgents. This place, now known as St. Armand Station, was considered from the lay of the land as the most suitable place to stay their progress. The farm house of Hiram Moore was situated at the intersection of the roads in a narrow valley through which flowed Rock River. The river is here crossed by two bridges, one on the road leading to Swanton and over this bridge the insurgents must pass.

The gallant defenders of the 'Bay' reached the place in a half hour or so, and, halting on the hill above the Corners they could plainly hear the boisterous cries of the advancing party as they came down the Swanton road, while yet some distance away. They appeared to be well armed and equipped, and had acquired two small field pieces which they were hauling with horses taken from the Miller and Sigsby homesteads, the first farms they had passed after crossing the international boundary. They came rapidly down the descent, running and shouting as they crossed the bridge south of the corner. The volunteers stood massed on the hill opposite. The disputants could easily follow each others movements in the uncertain light and the 'patriots' came on taunting and insulting their opponents. One of the volunteers, exasperated by their threats and taunts, discharged his musket in their direction. This shot was the beginning of a fusilade which lasted several minutes, the insurgents soon retreating along the way that they had come, leaving several wounded and one dead behind. Some zealous volunteers had removed a portion of the planking from the bridge which the retreating patriots must recross, and they were unable to take the small field pieces with them. These guns, together with fifty or sixty muskets, a few kegs of gunpowder and some boxes of ammunition, comprised the spoil which fell into the victors hands.

Stephen Jamieson found two small flags by the road side, after the fray, that had probably served the purpose of standards to the 'patriots'.

After the retreat of the main body, as the loyalists stood on the hill talking matters over near their original position, a shot came occasionally from the Moore farm house a short distance away. Interest at once became centred there. It was ascertained that a number of the 'patriots' had taken refuge within. Dr. Chamberlain, of Frelighsburg, who was standing near, suggested that they surround the house now, and in the morning they could secure the inmates as prisoners. Solomon Walbridge, of Mystic, impulsive and foremost in action by nature replied: 'To hell with such a plan! We'll take them prisoners now and you may surround the house in the morning if you want to'. With that he strode rapidly towards the place, followed by several. On reaching the door he struck it sharply with the butt of his musket. At the second blow the fastening gave way, and the door swung back upon its hinges. On the floor within lay two poor fellows wounded and, on a bed in an adjoining room, lay Robert Shore Milnes Bouchette, of Quebec, slightly wounded in the heel, the leader of the malcontents. Julien Gagnon, of St. Valentine, the leader of the party, at Missisquoi Bay in the morning was also taken prisoner. One man was killed near the Corners, the body was found lying at the road side."

Christie's History of Lower Canada, Vol. IV, p. 479:

"After the affairs at St. Denis and St. Charles several of the fugitive patriots had in the reverses they met with betaken themselves to the border settlements in the neighbouring States of New York and Vermont and in particular to Swanton, Vermont, a considerable village or County town on Missisquoi Bay, Lake Champlain, where they were daily receiving reinforcements of the disaffected from Canada, and busy making preparations for inroad upon the District of Montreal — others will have it, however, that they intended to move onward to Chateauguay and crossing there, the St. Lawrence, join Girod at St. Benoit, or Grand Brule; probably both objects may have been contemplated. Be this as it may, the gallantry of the Missisquoi Volunteers defeated the intended purpose. The following good account of the dispersion of this party and the capture of some of its leaders, is given by Captain Kemp of the Volunteers in an official despatch to Sir John Colborne."

"Frelighsburg, St. Armand,

Dec. 7th, 1837

"Sir,—

I have the honour to report for your Excellency's information that yesterday morning I left this place, by a previous arrangement with Col. Knoulton, of Brome, in company with Capt. Henry Baker, of St. Armand, having under my command a company of volunteers to the number of about fifty men, armed with such guns as could be collected, to form an escort to wagons for conveying the arms and ammunition of Col. Knoulton's battalion from Philipsburg, I had proceeded only a few miles on my way

when an express from Philipsburg met me with the information that a considerable body of rebels had passed through that village early in the morning to the State of Vermont and were expected to return to burn it the same night.

I immediately despatched expresses in different directions to raise men, armed or unarmed, and bring them to Philipsburg where I had directions from Col. Knoulton to deal out arms intended for his battallion, if necessary.

In consequence of receiving certain information, I left the wagons 4 miles east of Philipsburg and struck through the woods so as to meet the loaded wagons at the head of Missisquoi Bay, in order to strengthen the escort from Caldwell's Manor and St. Armand West. We then proceeded in company to Philipsburg and reached it at half past four p.m., where I found men assembling from different points and that scouts had come from Swanton, Vermont, with the information that a large body of men, well armed and equipped, and having with them two pieces of cannon, had taken up their line of march for this Province.

In the emergency orders were issued to supply the men with muskets and ammunition from the wagons and, at six o'clock, a position was taken a half mile south of the village on the west road leading to Swanton.

We had occupied this position nearly two hours in expectation of the enemy, when positive information came in that they had taken the east road leading to Swanton, and that they were within three miles of the Bay village.

I instantly ordered a strong guard to remain on the west road and marched to a position two miles and a half east of the village, and drew up my men on a height to the left, commanding the highway at the intersection of the Swanton road leading north and south with the St. Armand road leading east and west, where I found pickets and advanced guard had retired unperceived before the enemy, who were two hundred strong. The force under my command amounted to about three hundred men (of whom not one hundred were engaged), but before it was possible for me to reduce them to order the van of my line had commenced firing without command.

To a commander of experience I need hardly apologize for the impetuosity of an undisciplined body, hastily taken away from their farming operations and placed in sight of an enemy only a few hours after arms had been placed in their hands. This premature fire was instantly returned by the rebels and this fire was kept up on both sides for about 10 to 15 minutes when the enemy retreated back toward the State of Vermont, leaving behind them one dead, two wounded and three prisoners.

One of the wounded is Robert Shore Milnes Bouchette, of Quebec, who led the advance guard of the rebels and is severely hurt. The other is slightly wounded and reports himself to be a nephew of Julien Gagnon, of St. Valentine, in l' Acadie, habitant, leader of the party. They left also two pieces of cannon mounted on carriages, five kegs of gun powder, six boxes of ball cartridges, seventy muskets part of them in boxes and two standards.

From the undisciplined state of the Loyalists, the darkness of the night, it being nine o'clock, and the vicinity to

the woods, the rest of the party made their escape. The vicinity of the Province line was also in favor of their escape for the universal feeling throughout this part of the border is that not a man shall cross the line armed, even in pursuit of invaders from the other side, so that, to any demands made by your Excellency, or the Governor-in-chief, an answer cannot with truth be made by the general or state government of the United States, that the people of this Province line have done anything contrary to the treaties existing between that country and Great Britain.

O. J. KEMP, Captain."

The Report of Colonel Knoulton of the Shefford Volunteers was as follows:

"Frelighsburg, St. Armand,
December 7, 1837.

Sir,

I have the honour to report, that on reaching Isle Aux Noix with the arms furnished for the Shefford Volunteers, I deemed it advisable, before removing them from that station, to proceed forward in order to establish relays of carriages, with sufficient escorts, for transporting them to the County of Shefford; immediately on procuring which, I gave orders for their removal via Caldwell's Manor; and carriages set forward yesterday, simultaneously from Caldwell's Manor, Philipsburgh in St. Armand on Missisquoi Bay, and Frelighsburg, while I pushed on from Frelighsburg to Brome, to bring wagons thence, so that no delay might take place; but knowing the almost destitution of Missisquoi, as to arms and ammunition, I had given directions that the arms for my battalion should be used in case of an attack by the rebels.

On returning to Philipsburgh this morning, about six o'clock, I found that an engagement had taken place yesterday evening at nine o'clock, about two miles and a half East of that Village between the Loyalists, forming the escort under Captain Oren J. Kemp, and a large body of rebels (under a Mr. Julien Gagnon, of St. Valentin, in l'Acâdie), who had embodied in Swanton, in the State of Vermont. The enemy were driven back by the Loyalists, with one man killed, number wounded unknown, and five prisoners, one of whom, R. S. M. Bouchette, of Quebec, is severely wounded, and one very slightly. The Loyalists also captured two pieces of cannon, about forty stand of arms, five kegs of gunpowder and six boxes of ball cartridge, with two flags. The muskets captured are apparently of the kind used in the American army during the last War. The rebels were about 200, and the Loyalists 300 strong. Of the Loyalists not one man was hurt. The enemy retreated into the State of Vermont, by the road they came."

The Bouchette referred to was Robert Shore Milnes Bouchette (named after a former Governor). He was an eminently respectable man who had been misled into joining Papineau's followers. Rumours having been circulated that he had been maltreated he himself, while in the Montreal Gaol, gave the following certificate:

"This is to certify to all to whom it may concern, that I, the undersigned, ever since my capture as a prisoner by the Volunteers at Missisquoi Bay, on the 6th instant, have been treated with every degree of humanity and care, and have had my wounds regularly dressed, first by the captors at the house of Mr. Hiram Moore, afterwards at Isle Aux Noix and subsequently in the Montreal Gaol, where I am now detained. From Mr. P. H. Moore, Mr. Bertram, Mr. Lewis and particularly from Mrs. H. Moore herself, I received the greatest kindness, the latter having herself dressed my wound, nor was any thing forcibly or clandestinely taken from me. Since my detention in prison an equal measure of humanity and attention has been extended to me, for which I most gratefully give my acknowledgements.

R. S. M. Bouchette."

Mr. Bouchette was exiled to Bermuda but was later repatriated and became a surveyor of customs at Ottawa. Mr. P. H. Moore was thanked by His Excellency, the Governor, for his part in the following letter:

"Montreal,

December 20, 1837.

Sir,—

Colonel Knoulton and Captain Kemp having reported to Sir John Colborne, Commander of the Forces, the gallant conduct of the Militiamen of Caldwell's Manor, of the Escort of the Shefford Loyal Volunteers, and also of the Missisquoi Militiamen, in their decisive attack on the band of rebels which they intercepted on its march near Mr. Hiram Moore's farm; His Excellency took the earliest opportunity of conveying through those officers to all these loyal men, his cordial thanks for the important services which they have rendered to her Majesty and to all Her faithful subjects in this Province.

His Excellency now desires you will accept his sincere thanks for the prominent part taken by yourself and the loyalists under your immediate direction on that occasion; and I have it likewise in command to assure you, that he will not fail to communicate to her Majesty's Government how much we are all indebted to the prompt movement and combined energies of the loyal men who defeated and dispersed the rebels in that successful affair, and thus frustrated their daring design of laying waste the country on their route to the Richelieu.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

W. P. Christie,

Prov.Mil.Sec."

It is interesting to note that

"When the troops were called out, one of their first acts was to suppress the Missisquoi Post, which they did by drowning The Press in the millpond, and dismembering the office furniture and casting it into the street. The proprietors

Bingham and Thomas were not at home that day. Business had called them through the woods to Vermont."

The Block House

Philipsburg having been a focal point both in the 1812 war and again the 1837 Rebellion it was evidently decided that a garrison should be established there. The accompanying plan and photograph show the old Block House which was put up shortly after the Rebellion.

It will be noted that the legend on the plan reads — "Canada East Philipsburg Block House constructed for 35 men in 1839 on the land owned by Mr. James Taylor." The return referred to is in the Archives and reads:

"The Block House is built for 34 N. C. and privates, on a site belonging to Mr. Taylor of Philipsburgh, who gave permission but receives no rent for it."

The Second Report of the Missisquoi County Historical Society contains the following note:

"This old Block House was built in 1838-39 as a protection against the rebels, as they were called. It was garrisoned in 1840 by Colonel Dyer's corps of Volunteers, followed by a squadron of the Queen's Light Dragoons. The Fenians who were captured near Pigeon Hill in 1866 had their preliminary examination in the old Customs House at Philipsburg and were confined for safe-keeping in the old Block House, guarded by a company of the Royal Canadian Rifles — regulars."

lot no 5
Sun
Dey
Street

The Block house stood on the hill just back of the writer's residence and remained, gradually falling into decay until some time in the first decade of the present century when the remains were demolished. There was a large aperture on the side facing the Lake through which a cannon formerly extended. It was a legend in the writer's youth that on one twenty-fourth of May the boys decided to give a finishing touch to the celebration by firing off the cannon. Unfortunately it burst, putting out Peter McLeod's eye.

The old stone house at the foot of the hill — the Bibaud House and the writer's old family homestead were used at one time or another as Officers' quarters.

Apparently accommodations for officers had not at all times been easily secured:

"Philipsburg, 9th Augt. 1839.

I, John Benning Monk, Captain in the first Regiment Volunteer Militia do declare upon oath that on the 7th Augt. 1839 (having previously received a billet ticket from

the Billet Master at this place on A. Ford Esqre J. P.) I called upon the said Ford and presented my ticket, and requested him to shew me my Billet upon which the said Ford refused saying 'I guess you will not trouble me much with your billet' — whereupon deponent told said Ford that 'we were sent here by the Commander of the Forces for the protection of the inhabitants and told that we were to be furnished with billets' in answer Ford said 'that he did not care a damn for Sir John Colborne that he new the Laws of the country and that no one could force a billet on him', & furthermore that I, deponent, should not get into his house unless I was a stronger man than he was, and that he had three muskets in the house, and was determined to use them, and if that was not sufficient he could turn out as many militia men as I could soldiers, and deponent further declares that there is the greatest difficulty experienced both by himself and Brother Officers in obtaining Quarters, and further than this deponent saith not.

(Signed) J. B. Monk,
Capt. 1 V. M.

Sworn before me
this 9th day of Augt, 1839
(Signed) W. S. Williams,
J. P.

I Philip Juchereau Duchesnay do hereby declare upon Oath that the deposition of Captn. Monk is correct in every particular, I having accompanied him as a Witness.
(Signed) P. Juchereau Duchesnay

Sworn before me
this 9th day of Augt. 1839.
(Signed) W. S. Williams, J. P."

That the Royal Montreal Cavalry were also quartered at Philipsburg appears from Reports in the Archives, C. Series, of which the following are typical:

"15th December, 1849.
Report to Major Talbot from David Alex. Ross Lt. Royal Mont'l Cavalry commanding in absence of Capt. Ermatinger, reporting everything tranquil in Philipsburg.:

'I have also to report that the services of the troops stationed here have not been called upon to afford assistance to the civil power.'

Report by David Ross to Major Talbot, 19th Jan. 1850: 'It has come to my knowledge that a requisition has been circulated in this village and county within a day or two calling a meeting at Pigeon Hill for this day week for the purpose of bringing forward measures in favour of annexation. The requisition has been numerously signed.'

Evidently the drift towards annexation which was present in 1837 had not entirely subsided. Lt. David Alexr. Ross was an ancestor of the late Mr. Ross Crawford. His name is scratched on one of the window panes of our old house, done at a time when it was occupied as Officers' quarters.

The Fenian Raids

There were two in number, the first in 1866 and the second in 1870.

The "Fenian Brotherhood" was founded in America in 1858 by John O'Mahoney. Its members bound themselves by an oath of allegiance "to the Irish Republic now virtually established." At the close of the American Civil War in 1865 there were thousands of Irish who had been discharged and the Fenian Brotherhood made open plans for a raid into Canada. They had a number of experienced commanding officers who had just finished service in the Civil War. A threatened raid on New Brunswick had no small influence on bringing that province into Confederation. Threats of invasion in Ontario and on the Eastern Townships frontier brought a call to arms and on the 1st of June 1866 General Order No. 1 was issued from Headquarters at Ottawa:

"The Governor General and Commander in Chief directs that the following corps be called out for active service and that the said corps be immediately assembled and billeted to their respective headquarters there to await such orders for their movement as may be directed by the Commander in Chief."

Then follows a long list of Upper Canada corps and a shorter list for Lower Canada, which included — The Frelighsburg Infantry Company, the Phillipsburg Infantry Company and the Montreal Infantry Six Companies.

The first raid was made from Buffalo from which point they crossed the Niagara River and took possession of Fort Erie. They were, however, defeated at Ridgeway a day or two after. The assembly point for the Frontier raid was St. Albans, Vermont, where they met on the 1st and 2nd of June, 1866, about 2000 strong with General Spier in command and General Mahon of Boston as Chief of Staff.

On the 4th of June General Spier led an advance across the Frontier and set up Headquarters at Pigeon Hill, from the summit of which he flaunted a green flag. He had with him a force of about one thousand men. The only Canadian force in the vicinity of St. Armand consisted of three companies of infantry with nine officers and one hundred non-commissioned officers and men. They were commanded by Captain W. Carter of H. M. 16th Regt.:

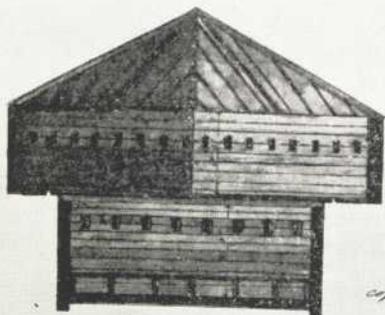
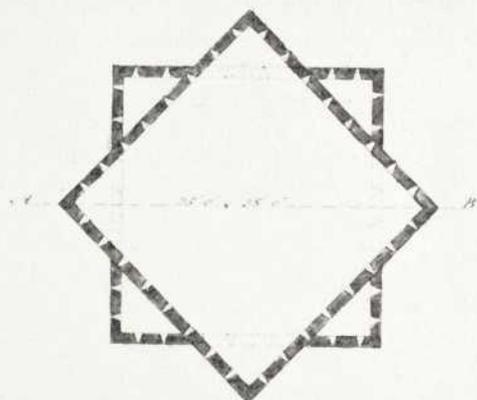
"As soon as the Fenians approached in force at St. Armand Captain Carter hastily withdrew his force to the interior as he said he was under the impression that it was

CANADA EAST
PHILLIPSBURG

Blockhouse constructed for 50 Men in 1859
on the land owned by Mr James Taylor.

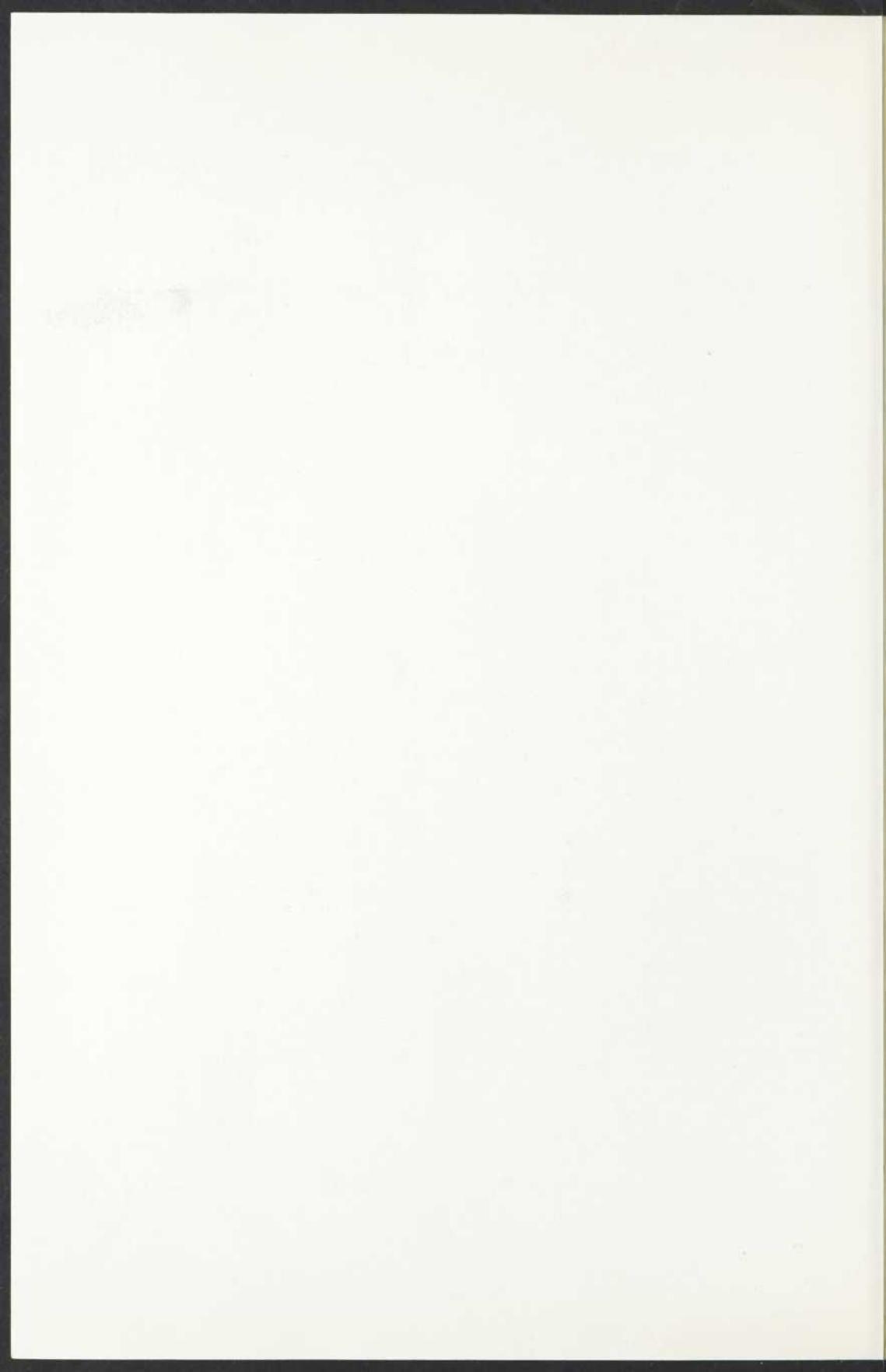
To accompany Returns called for B.C. W. Sec^y 1861 &

Scale 10 feet to an Inch



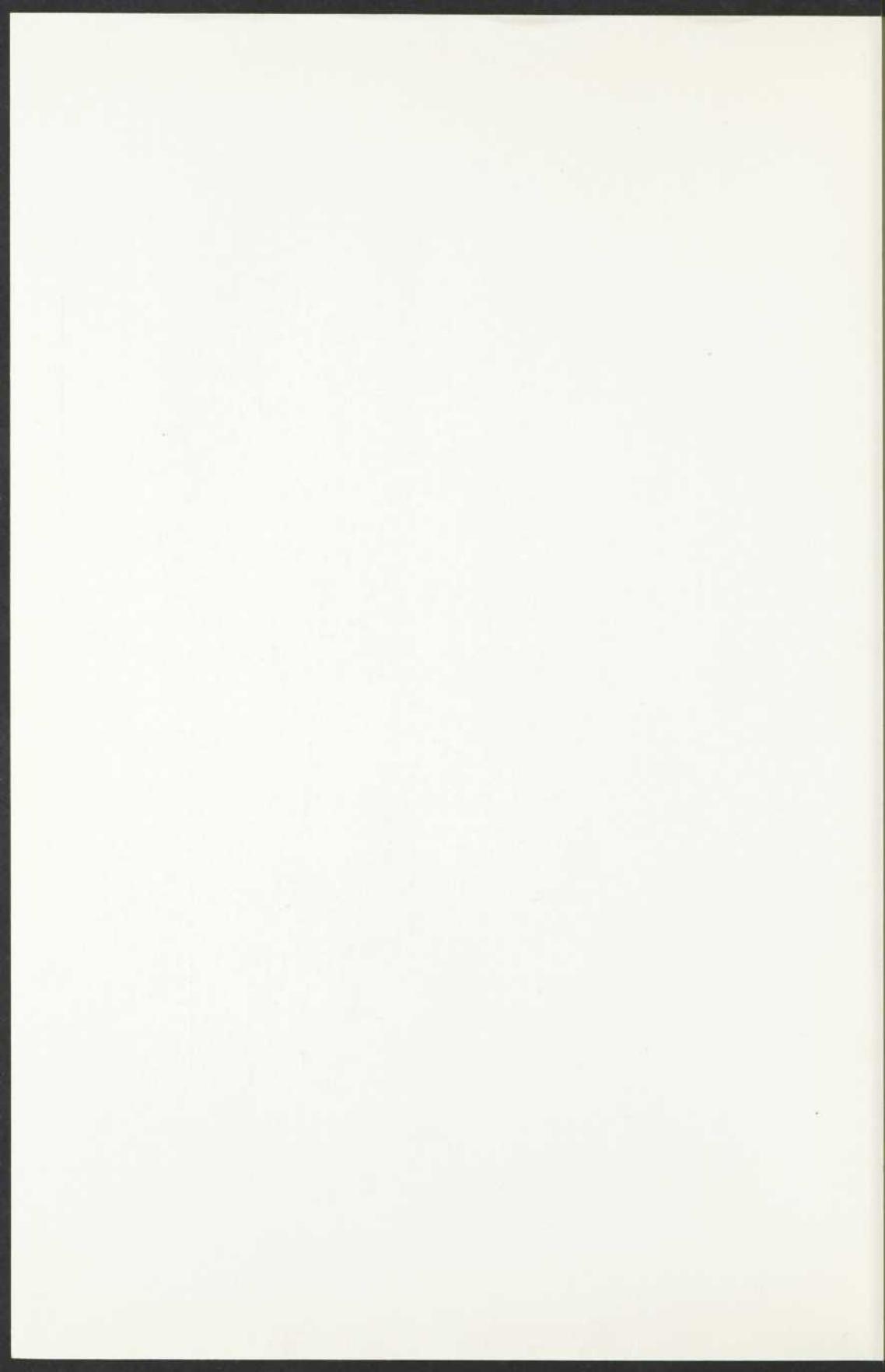
Section on A.B.

copy - R. C. Wilkinson
Staffordman
24. Sept. 1863.





DR. J. S. BRIGHAM.



not expected that he should bring on an engagement until he was properly reinforced' as his command was only an outpost. For his action in retiring so early he was severely criticised and reprimanded for his 'error of judgment in retiring without sufficient reason' while his troops never forgave him for what they considered an exhibition of cowardice."

Left unprotected a panic spread over the countryside. The writer's Mother was at the time living with her father in Bedford where he was the Anglican Rector. The women-folk were removed to Farnham but the Mother apparently regarded this as another act of cowardice and walked back the twelve miles from Farnham to Bedford and rejoined her father. In the meantime the Fenians ran riot over the countryside taking possession of houses, robbing farms and appropriating everything in sight. But the expected reinforcements which Generals Spier and Mahon were counting upon did not arrive nor did the supplies and munitions. They had been intercepted by the American authorities. On the contrary they were faced with wholesale desertions and with the expectation that on any day they might have to face a superior body of regular troops. After a council of war they decided that withdrawal was the only course left open to them and they retired in irregular order to St. Albans carrying with them booty of every description.

Macdonald, in his story of the Fenian raids, says:

"A portion of Spier's army who were stationed at a point about eight miles from St. Armand when the main body retreated were charged upon by forty men of the Montreal Guides; several Fenians were killed and sixteen taken prisoner."

There were no casualties in the Canadian corps.

It was during the course of these mopping up operations that an unfortunate accident occurred which cost Miss Margaret Vincent her life at Eccles Hill. She had gone for a pail of water and in the dusk of the evening was mistaken by some soldiers for a Fenian. They called upon her to halt but she being deaf did not hear them and finally they fired. Their grief upon discovering their mistake was natural. They left funds for the erection of a stone with an epitaph reading:

Sacred to the Memory of
MARGARET VINCENT
accidentally shot by a picquet of the
7th Royal Fusiliers
at St. Armand Frontier
on the night of the 10th of June, 1866.

This stone is erected by the Officers and Men of the Regiment, as a tribute of respect for her memory and of sympathy with her relatives and friends.

It is a matter of history that while the troops had turned out well in response to the General Order, the military arrangements had been shockingly and badly handled. They were not furnished with arms or munitions and the Commissariat fell down absolutely.

It would seem strange that such a large body of men should have been allowed to assemble at St. Albans for the avowed purpose of raiding Canada, but less than two years before in October 1864, the St. Albans Raid had taken place. A band of Confederate soldiers had held up the Town and raided the banks. They escaped to Canada but were arrested at Stanbridge East and other neighbouring points. They were taken to Montreal and extradition proceedings instituted. Their extradition was eventually refused, a fact which may have rankled in the minds of the good citizens of St. Albans.

Apart from this, the Fenians undoubtedly believed that Canada was awaiting an opportunity to escape from "the British Yoke" and that they would receive a welcome rather than the reverse. That this feeling was shared by a considerable body of people in the United States is evidenced by a Bill which on the 2nd July, 1866, was reported to the United States Congress by Representative Banks and recommitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It was entitled "A Bill for the admission of the States of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada East and Canada West and for the organization of the Territories of Selkirk, Saskatchewan and Columbia"—Canada East was to include New Foundland. A copy of the Bill which was quite an elaborate one is to be found in Macdonald's Fenian Raids.

The 1870 Raid

The retreat of Captain Carter and the neglect of the Government in protecting the Missisquoi Frontier was greatly resented by the inhabitants who had been forced to stand by while the Fenian marauders pillaged their homes and threatened their lives. Directly after the 1866 raid they resolved to take steps to protect themselves in case of another invasion and a company of "Home Guards" was organized under the lead of Captain Asa Westover of Dunham. This company procured the best breech-loading rifles and an ample supply of ammunition and had such frequent rifle practices that they became to all intents and purposes a company of "Sharp shooters." In the Spring of 1870 General O'Neill decided on another invasion of Canada and about two hundred thousand dollars is said to have been raised from Irish Patriots for the purpose. In April another

call to arms went out in Canada. According to Macdonald the Cookshire troop, under command of Lt. Taylor, was stationed at Frelighsburg with pickets at Pigeon Hill and Abbotts Corner; the 52nd Battalion, under command of Col. P. Miller, was posted at Frelighsburg; the 60th Battalion, under Colonel Brown Chamberlin, had its headquarters at Pigeon Hill with detachments at St. Armand and Philipsburg.

On the morning of the 24th of May, 1870, Colonel Osborn Smith, Deputy Adjutant General of the 5th Military District, was holding a parade in Montreal when he was advised that the Fenians were assembling at St. Albans and Franklin for an invasion. He left for the front that night, taking with him the Montreal Cavalry troop and one company of the Victoria Rifles. They arrived at Stanbridge Station about midnight and marched to Stanbridge East where they found the 60th Missisquoi Battalion assembling under Lt. Col. Brown Chamberlin. Here Col. Smith learned that a Fenian force had gathered near Franklin and were preparing to make a dash across the boundary at Eccles Hill. During the night about thirty farmers of the Home Guard had occupied Eccles Hill under the command of Mr. Asa Westover and were able to watch the preparations across the frontier. Col. Brown Chamberlin arrived with about thirty of the 60th Rifles, Imperial, and occupied the centre, the Home Guards were posted to the right and Captain Bockus with the Volunteers were posted to the left. Shortly before noon the Fenians advanced in good order, two companies being in advance of the main body with fixed bayonets and kept steadily on until within a few yards of the iron post when they broke into the double and charged across the line. Then from the Home Guards there came a single shot followed by a volley from the whole line. At the first fire a Fenian fell dead and several more were wounded. For a moment there was utter confusion in their ranks. They returned the fire for a few minutes, then staggered, wheeled and fled in all directions for shelter behind the buildings and fences. The main body turned to the left and made for a wooded hill opposite the Canadian position. Colonel Osborn Smith arrived about two-thirty with the cavalry and the Victoria Rifles and further reinforced by the 52nd Battalion of Brome they formed a skirmish line and advanced down the boundary line and drove out the Fenians who fled far out of reach of the Canadian bullets. The firing ceased about five o'clock, the day was over, the battle was won and the Canadian force returned and camped on the hill ready for

action at a moment's notice if required. The following morning the Fenians abandoned their camp at Hubbard's Farm leaving behind them a large quantity of arms, ammunition and clothing. The rifles were the best obtainable, largely breech-loading Springfields. In addition they abandoned a modern breech-loading field piece which was taken possession of by the Home Guard.

The Great Wars

The world Wars of 1914 and 1939 found Philipsburg represented by volunteers in all branches of the armed forces and it is but fitting that their names should be inscribed.

The monument erected in honour of the volunteers who laid down their lives in the first Great War bears the following names:

Captain Bertram St. George French
 J. W. Fletcher
 Russell Deuel
 Antonio Rheaume
 Rosario Lariviere
 Albert Edward Wells
 Lieutenant Lisle C. Ramsey
 Flight Lieutenant Langley Smith D.S.C., R.N.
 Lieutenant James W. M. Ramsey

A composite list of the volunteers from both Philipsburg and St. Armand to the second Great War was kept by the ladies of the United Church, who sent parcels to the men. Their names were as follows:

T. H. Montgomery	Lawrence Roy
Hugh Symington	Alphonse Fortin
Fletcher Ritchie	Wilfred Gaudreau
Francis Perkins	George H. Fournier
Romeo Jourdenais	Ronald Sornberger
David O. Ross	Robert Solomon
Ed. Piche (Sr.)	Harold Johnston
Ed. Piche (Jr.)	Benjamin Clark
J. Stuart Allan	E. Berthiaume
Lillias Krans	Antonio Dinarzo
Charles Groves	Raymond Campbell
Emmett Luke	Mary Allan
Avery Maskell	Bill Miccoci
Randall Maskell	Rev. T. W. Tyson
*Walter Shepherd	John G. Perry
Rodger Gaudreau	E. Hill Perry
Charles Duhamel	Henry Cadorette
Douglas Haig	James Cadorette
Jack Haig	Douglas Stewart
Robert C. Slee	*Melvin Harrison
Howard Maskell	Barclay Christenson
J. A. H. Marier	Allan Maxwell
Edwyn Rychard	James Maxwell

Larry Crothers
William Gibson
*Francis Quinn
J. C. Messier
Clarence Parrott
Jean L. Messier
Eleanor Evans
Geo. H. Duhamel
J. L. Mayrand
Paul E. Messier

Roland Proulette
Agnes Symington
Ruby Maxwell
Russel Maxwell
June Solomon
Lloyd Solomon
Henry R. Elliott
Lionel Dumouchel
Mary Holland
William Guthrie

(*Deceased)

CHAPTER XIII

The Press — The Gleaner — The Missisquoi News — Some of the Old Timers — Wyatt Eaton — The Princess Salm Salm

The Press

According to Thomas the "Missisquoi Standard" was the first local newspaper. It was published originally in Frelighsburg and was a weekly, the first number appearing the 8th of April, 1835. It was a violent enemy of the radicals and was edited by James M. Ferres. He displayed such ability in his editorials that he was called to Montreal and trusted with the management of the editorial department of the Montreal Herald. Subsequently he became proprietor and editor of the "Gazette" and later represented Bromc County in the Provincial Legislature. After his departure from Frelighsburg the Standard was published by J. D. Gilman but was only issued for four or five years. After its cessation of publication in Frelighsburg the printing press was removed to Philipsburg and a paper called "The Gleaner" was published by Hamilton Carr. After "The Gleaner" had been in existence a year another journal called the "Missisquoi News" began to be published by W. W. Smith. Six months afterwards "The Gleaner" was discontinued. The "Missisquoi News" was later removed to St. Johns where, with the "Missisquoi" dropped, it became one of the most important papers serving the Eastern Townships. Its editor was Mr. E. R. Smith, a son of W. W. Smith. The legal profession are all familiar with the large engraving of the Seignorial Court which was published by Mr. W. W. Smith and hangs in many legal offices. Incidentally Mr. W. W. Smith was the grandfather of Thomas F. Smith who still resides in Philipsburg. During the writer's early youth Mr. W. W. Smith was a collector of customs and his residence stood on the site of the writer's tennis court.

Some of the Old Timers

The following is an extract from "Canada Directory" 1857-58:

EXTRACT FROM "CANADA DIRECTORY" 1857-58

PHILIPSBURG, C. E. An incorporated Village in the West Parish of the Seigniory of St. Armand, in the County of Missisquoi and District of Montreal. It is a Port of Entry. The stage from Swanton, Vt., distant 8 miles, fare 50c., passes through daily to St. Johns, 25 miles, fare \$1, and there is a semi-weekly mail stage to Frelighsburg, 12 miles, fare 50c. Population about 500.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Audette, Toussaint, shoemaker.
 Brigham, Josiah S., M.A., M.D.
 Burke, David, carriage maker.
 Carr, James J. harnessmaker.
 Cheeseman, Charles R. J. P.
 farmer, and agent for Colonial
 Life Assurance Co.
 Colonial Life Assurance Company
 Charles Cheeseman, agent.
 Crothers, Thomas, tailor.
 Death, Mrs., storekeeper.
 Eaton, Jonathan, W., general
 store.
 Equitable Fire Insurance Com-
 pany, D. T. R. Nye, agent.
 Ford, Launson, J. P. village
 mayor.
 Henderson, John, surveyor of
 customs.
 High School. . . Searle, principal.
 Humphreys, John H. blacksmith.
 Humphreys, Mary, milliner and
 dressmaker.
 International Life Assurance
 Company, David T. R. Nye,
 agent.
 Keenan, Michael, Farmers hotel
 and outpost of Royal Canadian
 Rifles.</p> | <p>Merritt, Foster & Baker, wheel-
 wrights and carriage makers.
 Morgan, Henry, butcher.
 Morgan & Son, wheelwrights and
 carriage makers.
 Norris, rev. James, Wesleyan.
 Nye, David T. R., postmaster,
 store-keeper and agent for
 Equitable Fire and Internation-
 al Life Assurance Companies.
 Roberts, Chester, J. P., farmer.
 Rouville & Missisquoi Insurance
 Company, Alexander Young,
 Secretary.
 Russell, Paschal P., J. P. collector
 of customs.
 Searle . . . , principal of High
 School.
 Strite, Lewis, proprietor Missis-
 quoi Hotel.
 Wetherall, rev. Charles, Church
 of England.
 Whitwell, rev. R., Church of
 England.
 Young, Alexander, preventive
 officer and Secretary of Rou-
 ville and Missisquoi Insurance
 Company.</p> |
|--|---|

- 4 — J. P.'s
- 3 — Reverends
- 3 — Insurance Co's.
- 3 — Carriagemakers
 etc. etc.

A quite important centre apparently.

The comments of the Editor would appear to have been justified at that time.

The "Rouville and Missisquoi Insurance Company," really the "Missisquoi and Rouville" had its head office in Philipsburg. The association of the names of these two counties originates from the fact that they were formerly

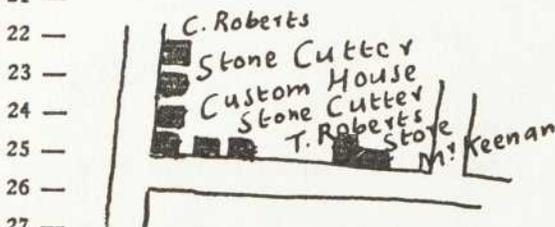
one—the County of Bedford. In 1829 the County of Bedford was divided on more or less racial lines into the Counties of Missisquoi and Rouville, the large majority of the population in Missisquoi representing the English speaking element and in Rouville the French speaking. The Merritts are supposed to have built our old family home in 1837.

The Rev. R. Whitwell had retired a year or so before the date of this Directory and the Rev. C. Wetherall was in charge of the Parish.

Wallings' map of 1864 has an interesting insert—a plan of the Village of Philipsburg, with a key giving the names of the residents.

KEY TO PHILIPSBURG INSET ON WALLING MAP OF 1864

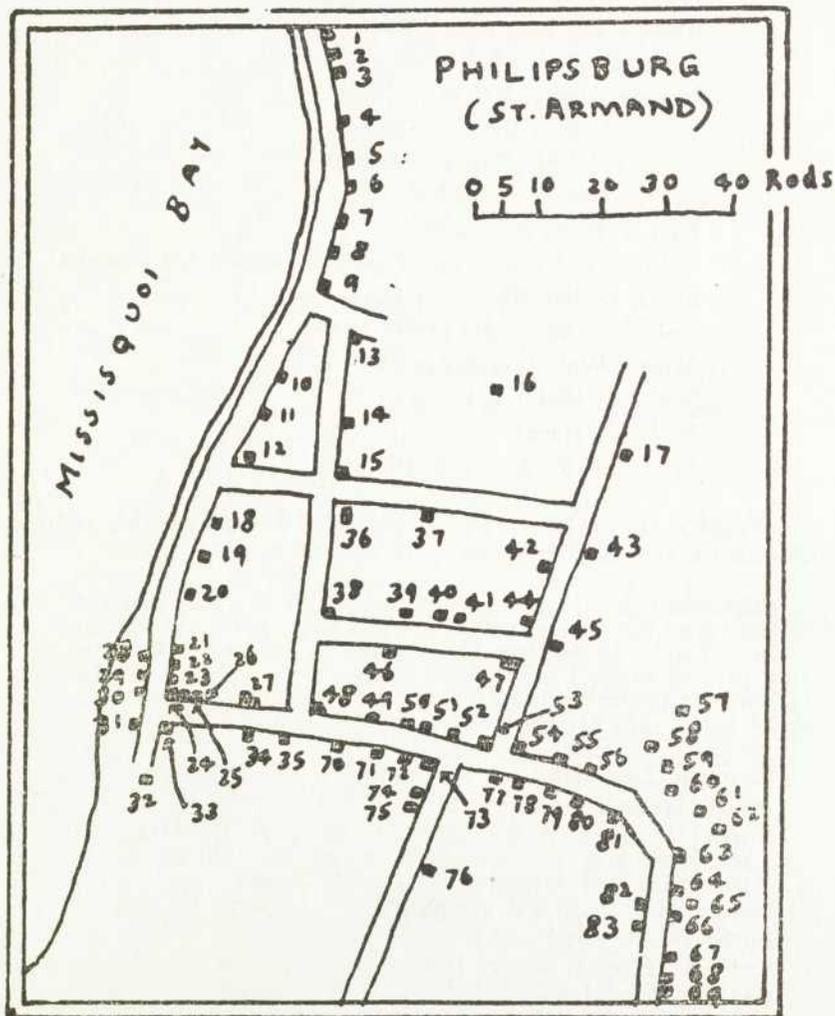
- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 — J. Blainey | 32 — Mrs. Russell |
| 2 — Mrs. Hutchinson | 33 — L. Strite, Missisquoi Hotel |
| 3 — (No name) | 34 — J. I. Carr |
| 4 — C. R. Cheesman | 35 — Rev. M. Townsend |
| 4 — T. Audette | 36 — L. Smith |
| 5 — T. Audette | 37 — E. Cadaret |
| 6 — Wightman | 38 — John Foster |
| 7 — J. Henderson | 39 — D. T. R. Nye |
| 8 — Wm. Morgan | 40 — |
| 9 — C. R. Cheesman | 41 — } W. J. Crothers |
| 10 — C. R. Cheesman | 42 — Mary Young |
| 11 — C. R. Cheesman | 43 — Mrs. Russel |
| 12 — X. Cadaret | 44 — J. W. Eaton |
| 13 — Chas. Smith | 45 — A. Ford |
| 14 — Wm. Joy | 46 — J. McCloud |
| 15 — Carriage Shop | 47 — Dr. Brigham |
| 16 — V. Eyers | 48 — H. Montgomery |
| 17 — Chas. Cheesman | 49 — Presb. Ch. |
| 18 — Jameson | 50 — N. Merritt |
| 19 — L. Taylor | 51 — T. Crothers, Tailor |
| 20 — Mrs. Woodman | 52 — O. Wells, Hotel |
| 21 — | 53 — Mrs. May |
| 22 — | 63 — (No name) |
| 23 — | 64 — R. W. Morgan |
| 24 — | 65 — W. Syms |
| 25 — | 66 — W. Morgan |
| 26 — | 67 — Rev. R. Whitwell |
| 27 — | 68 — W. Morgan |
| 28 — Store, J. W. Eaton | 69 — A. O. Aldis |
| 29 — W. A. Baker, Grocery | 70 — W. W. Smith |
| 30 — T. Roberts | 71 — Moore Baker |
| 31 — P. Smith, Store and P.O. | 72 — T. Lapoint (sic) |
| | 73 — E. Smith |
| | 74 — A. O. Aldis |
| | 75 — B. S. Shop (Blacksmith Shop?) |



- 54 — P. Whitney
- 55 — D. Burke
- 56 — F. Nye
- 57 — C. R. Cheesman
- 58 — School
- 59 — Meth. Parsonage
- 60 — Meth. Church
- 61 — J. Blainey
- 62 — Jos. Eaton

- 76 — Wm. Morgan
- 77 — Eris. Church
- 78 — W. Olds
- 79 — A. O. Aldis
- 80 — H. Morgan
- 81 — L. Smith
- 82 — R. W. Morgan Weelright
- 83 — (sic)

No. 49 "Presb. Church" should read "Congregational"



The "Phillipsburg and Frelighsburg Directory" at the bottom of the Walling map has the following Phillipsburg names —

"Brigham, I. S. M.D., physican and surgeon
Baker, Moore, Carriage Manuf.
Cheesman, C. R., J.P.
Eaton, J. W., General Merchant
Foster, John, Blacksmith
Hogle, Chas., Clerk for J. W. Eaton
Keenan, M., Grocer
Luke, P. E., Gen'l Dealer
Morgan, Henry, Butcher
McCloud, Jas., Carriage Painter
Morgan, R. W., Carriage Manuf.
Moore, Hon. P.H., M.L.C.
Nye, D. T. R., Postmaster
Roberts, T. R., Sec'y and Treas'r Missisquoi and Rouville
Strite, Lewis, Missisquoi Hotel
Smith, W. W., H.M. (torn) News"
Symms, Wm., Carriage manuf.
Whitney, Philip J. P., Gent.
Whitwell (torn)
Wells, O. F., American House."

Finally the Quebec Directory of 1871 gives the occupations of the residents as well as the names.

PHILIPSBURG — A municipal village on the east shore of Missisquoi Bay, parish of St. Armand west, county of Missisquoi, district of Bedford. Incorporated in the year 1846. It is a port of entry. Distant from St. Armand, a station of the Vermont Central railway 2 miles, fare 25c; from Frelighsburg 10 miles, fare \$1. Mail daily. Population about 500.

Bergeron Jean Baptiste, blacksmith
Blaney James, pensioner
BRIGHAM JOSIAH SANDFORD, M.A., M.D., M.P.P.,
physician and surgeon, governor of the college of
physicians and surgeons for Lower Canada
Brooks Mrs. Zoe, wid Joseph
Burke David, wheelwright
Cadoret Francois Xavier, laborer
Cadoret, Henri, laborer
Carr James, harnessmaker and carriage trimmer

Cheeseman Charles Richard, J. P. farmer
 Clow Charles, laborer
 Conger John Marshall, laborer
 Cook George, carpenter
 Crossett Mrs. Elizabeth, wid Elihu
 Crothers Miss Margaret, school teacher
 Crothers Thomas, tailor
 Crothers William John, shoemaker
 Desrosier Jean, laborer
 EATON J. W., J.P., mayor of municipality of Philipsburg,
 president of Missisquoi & Rouville Mutual Fire Insurance
 Co. and manager of Missisquoi carriage factory.
 Evers Vincent, laborer
 Ford Launson, J.P., farmer
 Gibson Clark, blacksmith
 Head Joseph, laborer
 Henderson John, collector of customs
 Hogle Augustus, mail contractor
 Holt Mrs. Eliza, wid John
 Hutchison Mrs. Ranson, laundress
 Jameson Stephenson, J.P. farmer
 JOHNSON, HON. FRANCIS G., judge of Superior court
 Joy George Washington, sailor
 Joy William, saddler
 Keenan Mrs. Maria, wid Michael, storekeeper
 Kelly rev. Thomas, Wesleyan
 Lahaise Jacques, shoemaker
 Lamson David, farmer
 Lariviere Elie, laborer
 Lariviere Olivier, mechanic
 Luke Joseph V. farmer
 Luke Philip Edward, preventive officer and fisheries overseer
 McCloud James, painter
 McCulloch Maxwell, laborer
 MISSISQUOI CARRIAGE FACTORY,
 J. W. Eaton, J.P. manager
 MISSISQUOI & ROUVILLE MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE
 CO., J. W. Eaton, J.P. president; Thomas R. Roberts,
 secretary-treasurer
 MONTGOMERY REV. HUGH, rector, ch of England
 Moore David, farmer
 Morgan William J.P. farmer
 Nye David T.R., postmaster, storekeeper, village secretary-
 treasurer, and clerk Commissioners court
 Olcott Miss Lydia
 Olds Willard, farmer
 Poulin Jacques, farmer
 Roberts Chester, J.P. trader

ROBERTS THOMAS RUSSEL, advocate and secretary-treasurer of Missisquoi & Rouville Mutual Fire Insurance Co.

Russell Amos Hamilton, farmer

Russell Mrs., wid P. P.

Shirley Mrs. Catherine, wid Thomas

Smith Lynds, trader

SMITH WM. WILLARD, surveyor of customs

Strite Lewis, hotelkeeper

Struthers Alexander Baxter, machinist

Symms William, wheelwright

Titmore Jacob, grocer

Tye Thomas, farmer

Watson Amos, blacksmith

Whitwell J. F. surveyor

Whitwell William Peter O., M.A., M.D.

Winchell Carle, laborer

Young Miss Susan.

It will be noted that Mr. J. W. Eaton had advanced from conducting a store on Rhodes Street to Mayor of the Municipality. President of the Missisquoi and Rouville Fire Insurance Company, which still had its head office in Philipsburg, and Manager of the Missisquoi Carriage Factory. His son, Mr. Wyatt Eaton, whose remains lie buried in the cemetery at Philipsburg, is the only native son to have reached the eminence of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, where he is described as follows:

"EATON, WYATT (1849-1896), American portrait and figure painter, was born at Philipsburg, Canada, on the 6th of May 1849. He was a pupil of the schools of the National Academy of Design, New York, and in 1872 went to Paris, where he studied in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts under J. L. Gerome. He made the acquaintance of J. F. Millet at Barbizon, and was also influenced by his friend Jules Bastien-Lepage. After his return to the United States in 1876 he became a teacher in Cooper Institute and opened a studio in New York city. He was one of the organizers (and the first secretary) of the Society of American Artists. Among his portraits are those of William Cullen Bryant and Timothy Cole, the wood engraver ("The Man with the Violin"). Eaton died at Newport, Rhode Island, on the 7th of June 1896."

A good example of his art is a picture of "The Harvest Field" in the Montreal Art Gallery while his portraits of the older Presidents of the Canadian Pacific Railway hang in the Company's Board Room.

The Hon. Francis G. Johnston, afterwards Chief Justice of the Superior Court, was first appointed to the District of Bedford and lived in Philipsburg. He was a strong Judge

and a strong character with a lively wit and a sarcastic tongue. Many are the stories which are told of him.

William Joy was apparently one of the very early settlers as his name will be noted on the original plan prepared by Amos Lay in 1809. The lot indicated is that on which his daughter, Mrs. Hunt, lived at the time of the writer's early recollection. The house is now occupied by Mederic Lusignan.

George Washington Joy and William Joy were respectively the brother and father of the Princess Salm-Salm, the only claimant to Royalty which the village possesses. Her's was a romantic life, filled with adventure. As her story is of more than passing interest to Philipshurgers three versions are given. The first is from an old American newspaper:

"The Princess Salm Salm

"Her Father was a Harness-maker and Her
Mother a Half-Indian

Princess Salm-Salm, whose devotion to our sick soldiers during the civil war earned for her a captain's commission and a captain's pay, came originally from a little Canadian town on the northern shore of Lake Champlain. Her father was a harness-maker and her mother a half-Indian herb doctor who had gained quite a reputation for her cures. In her younger days the princess was a servant in the family of an Episcopal minister. But the restraint and monotony of such a life was too much for the Indian blood in her veins. She ran away with a circus and became a well-known equestrienne under the name of 'Mlle. Agnes Leclercq'. In Washington, she married Prince Felix Salm-Salm, a younger son of the royal house of Anhalt, who had come to America as a soldier of fortune. At the close of the rebellion they went to Mexico, where the prince enlisted under the ill-fated Emperor Maximilian. Again the princess played a part both romantic and heroic. When the cause for which her husband fought was lost she moved heaven and earth to save the life of the fallen Emperor. But she pleaded, plotted and bribed in vain. When her husband was released they went to Germany and there the Franco-Prussian war gave her still another opportunity. To the sick, as usual, she gave all her time and the benefit of a valuable experience. More than one person saw old King William stop her in the street and salute the princess, kissing her hand—a slight recognition of her service. At the battle of St. Privat her husband was killed. Now the whilom harness-maker's daughter, servant and circus performer, lives in the university town of Bonn, respected by all for her heroic deeds."

The second is an extract from a letter from my Mother to my brother in New York, dated November 17th, 1898. It reads:

"Last week the fire put your question about Princess Salm-Salm out of my mind. Yes I saw that paragraph in the 'Munsey' so did many of the older generation here and were much amused thereat. I never saw Eliza Joy—her real name—but when I first came here (1867), traditions of her were fresh. Old Mr. Joy was a harness-maker by trade and Mrs. Joy, who was said to have some Indian blood, was a sort of generally useful woman in the place, even a doctor in her way, with roots and herbs from the woods. Her daughter may have inherited her tastes for nursing from the old woman, who dressed your brother George for the first time. She had a large family, all possessed of some sort of talent, but I do not know much of her son George Joy. He runs a steamboat on the Lake. Eliza worked for the Miss Whitwells in her young days but I suppose this place was too monotonous for her. She joined a circus and took the name of Agnes Leclerc. She was very good to the old people, sending them money and clothing and once, before my time, made a flying visit home and astonished the natives by riding Dr. Brigham's horse 'Monarch', a great bay creature, which I remember seeing long ago. A sister of hers married an American, Capt. Johnson and it was through this Capt. J. that she became acquainted with Prince Salm-Salm. The rest of the history, I suppose, is pretty correct. Her mother showed me her photo once—a dark woman, intelligent-looking, about medium size and wearing the Red Cross badge on her arm—her little black and tan terrier beside her. It was 'made in Germany' (the photo, I mean)."

The third is given in Morgan's "Types of Canadian Women—Past and Present":

"THE PRINCESS SALM-SALM

Eliza A., daughter of Mr. William Joy, was born at St. Armand West, P.Q. Impelled by a desire for change, she left home when a young girl, and became an actress, under the name of Agnes le Clerc. While filling an engagement at Washington, she met Prince Felix Salm-Salm, a younger son of the reigning Prince zu Salm-Salm, Prussia, and was married to him at St. Patrick's Church, in that city, August 30th, 1862. Her husband had previously belonged to the Austrian Army, but at the breaking out of the Civil War in the United States had offered his services to the National Government and became a member of the staff of General Louis Blenker. Through his wife's influence he obtained command of the 8th New York Regiment, and, later, of the 68th New York Volunteers, and towards the end of the war was assigned to the command of the post at Atlanta, receiving the brevet of Brigadier-general in April, 1865. He next offered his services to the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico, and was appointed Colonel on the general staff. He became the Emperor's A.D.C., and chief of his household, and was captured at Queretaro. After Maximilian's execution he returned to Europe, re-entered the Prussian army as major in the Grenadier Guards, and was killed at the battle of Gravelotte. He published his diary in Mexico, including leaves from the diary of the Princess Salm-Salm (London: 1868).

The Princess accompanied her husband throughout his military campaigns in the South, performing useful service in connection with the field hospitals, and was with him also in Mexico. After the fall of Queretaro, she rode to San Luis Potosi, and implored President Juarez to procure the release of Maximilian and of his Aide, who was imprisoned with him. She also sought the intervention of Porfirio Diaz and of Mariano Escobedo, and arranged a conference between the latter General and the Archduke. After the death of her husband, she raised a hospital brigade, which accomplished much good during the Franco-German war. Subsequently, she married Charles Heneage, Esquire, of the English diplomatic service, but soon separated from him. She published "Ten years of my Life" (Toronto: 1877). A sister is married to Edmund Johnson, Esquire, of Vineland, N.J. Residence: Karlsrake Baden, Karlstrasse 2."

The Princess herself left an autobiography entitled "Ten Years of my Life by the Princess Felix Salm-Salm" published in 1877. It gives a very detailed account of her life and adventures in the Civil War of the United States, in Mexico and in Germany and Austria, but makes no mention of her early life. In fact she frankly admits the "malicious pleasure" which it gives her in omitting any particulars of her early career. In the opening chapter she says:

"I am not writing my biography either, and I am therefore dispensed from the necessity of describing my cradle, the emotions I experienced in admiring my first pair of shoes, and of dissecting my soul for the amusement of some curious people. I confess it affords me even a malicious pleasure to disappoint, in this respect, a number of persons who for years have taken the trouble of inventing the most romantic and wonderful stories in reference to my youth, taxing their fancy to the utmost to take revenge on me for my silence."

The excuse for the book is given in the following extract from the Preface:

"In writing the following pages it is not my intention to write my biography. I shall only relate what I have seen and observed since 1862, the year in which I was married to Prince Felix zu Salm-Salm. This time of ten years is one of the most memorable in history, including the great American civil war, the catastrophe in Mexico, and the fall of the Napoleonic empire. During the American war I was almost always with my husband; I followed him also to Mexico, and was not only a mere spectator in the great and sad tragedy enacted there. During the last French war I was with the army from the commencement to the end, and afterwards I visited Rome and Spain. Everywhere my position enabled me to become acquainted with the leading persons, and to be an eyewitness of the most important events. It may therefore be supposed that I have something to tell."

Prince Felix zu Salm-Salm was a younger son of the then reigning Prince zu Salm-Salm whose principality was situate in Westphalia, Prussia. He had been an officer in the Cavalry of Prussia and afterwards of Austria. The gay life of Vienna proved to be too much for him and as the Princess says "The position of the young spend-thrift in Vienna became at last too hot; he went first to Paris, and at last to America, where he arrived in 1861, after the outbreak of the war, provided with letters of recommendation from the Crown Prince of Prussia to the Prussian Minister at Washington." He joined the Staff of the German Division of the Northern army under General Blenker.

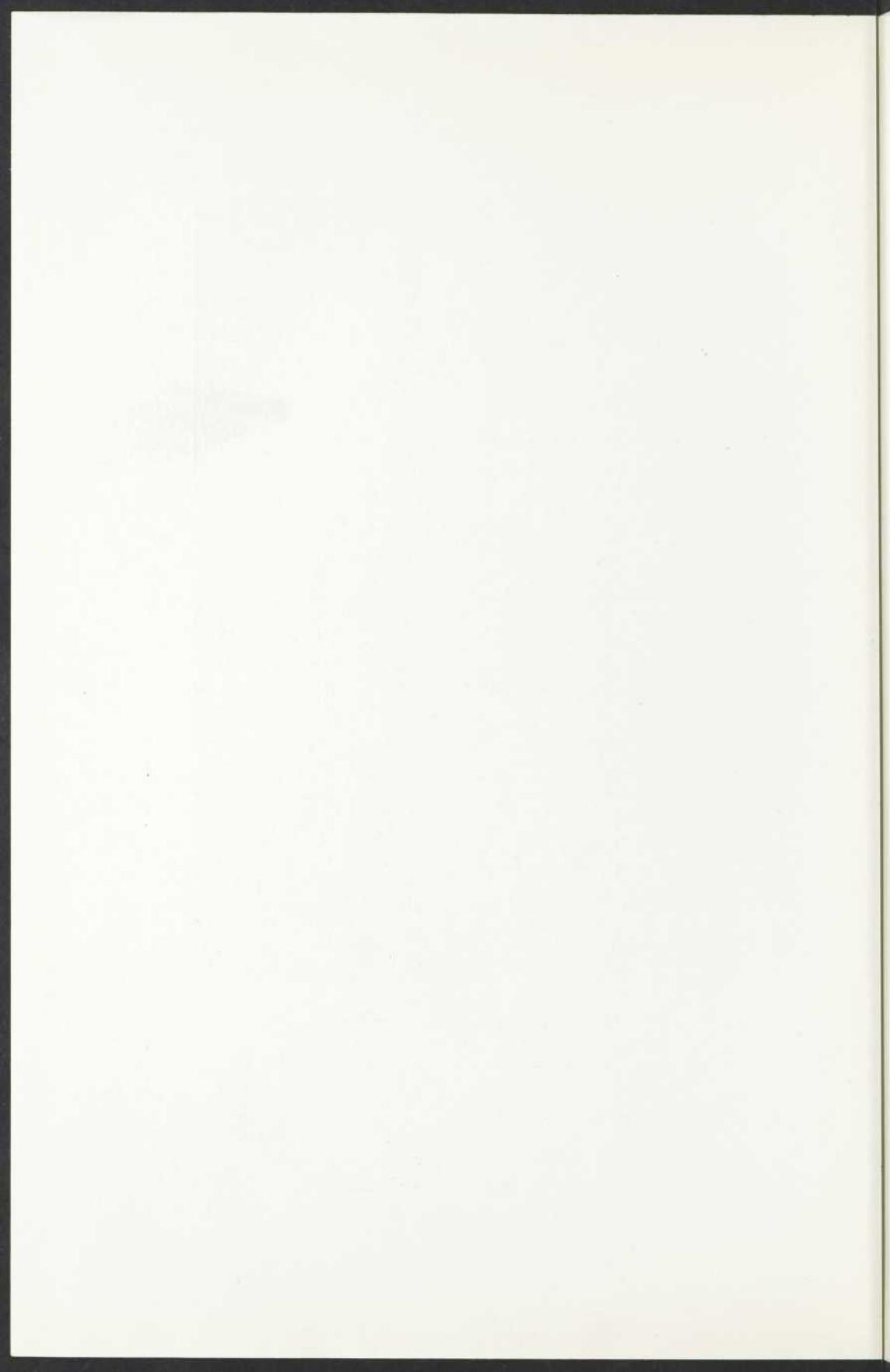
The Princess, or Agnes Leclercq, as she was then known, tells us that she had been living in Cuba for several years but was at the time staying with a sister married to an American officer. They visited General Blenker at his camp in Washington. Her description of life at Washington shows us how little nature has changed:

"Military enthusiasm was paramount in Washington. The ladies, of course, were not left untouched by the prevailing epidemic: in fact, they were more excited than the men, and not being permitted to enlist themselves they did their utmost to encourage the nascent heroes. Civilians had then little chance with them. Apollo himself would have passed unnoticed if he did not wear shoulder-straps. He who has not witnessed this military fever will scarcely believe it. All laws of society seemed suspended, and what in peaceable times would have been considered very improper and shocking was then the order of the day. Both sexes seemed to have changed places."

While at Blenker's headquarters an officer entered whom Blenker introduced as his Chief of Staff, Colonel Prince Salm. It would seem to have been a case of love at first sight, the only obstacle being that he could not speak a word of English nor she of German. However, they were married in 1862 and she certainly proved to be a wonderful wife to him and his success in the American army, where he ended up a General, was in no small measure due to her. While he had the advantage of his training in the Prussian and Austrian armies he had the corresponding disadvantage of being a foreigner with a very imperfect knowledge of the English language. It was not long after the marriage that it was learned that Salm's dismissal with other officers of Blenker's staff had been decided on by Stanton, the Secretary of War. It was then that the Princess got busy and took into her own hands the promotion of her husband's interest and a great job she made of it. Her first step was

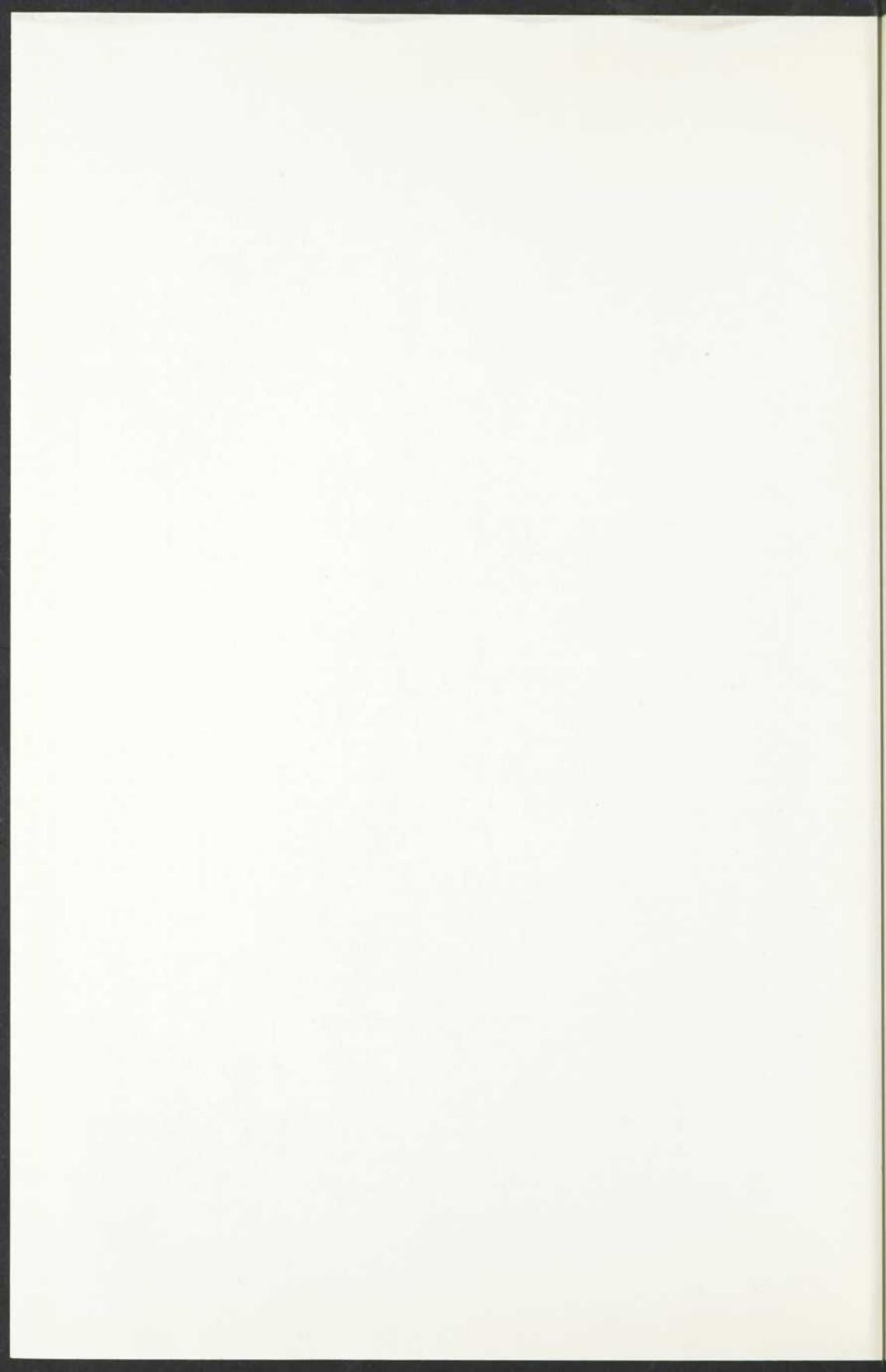


J. A.
Valijy Sultanulm...
Gaul.





Agnes P. Salm-Salm



by personal solicitations to secure for her husband the command of a regiment but she was not content with this. When the Prince's commission as a General was finally delivered into her own hands she says in her book:

"Yes, I felt extremely happy and proud. He had given me his name and made me a princess, but notwithstanding his name and rank he would have failed after his first start, and remained a colonel without a regiment, involved as he was in the fate of poor Blenker. All his merit would have availed him little against the rancour of Stanton. I procured for him the command of the 8th, and raised for him the 68th Regiment; now he had become a general through my exertions."

After the conclusion of the Civil War Salm found himself without a job. Soldiering was the only job he knew. Some of the other officers decided to join up with the Liberal Army in Mexico, which had never accepted the establishment of the new Empire. Salm-Salm decided to throw in his lot with the Emperor Maximilian, which was perhaps not unnatural, as Maximilian was an Austrian and a brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph. From a practical point of view it was an unfortunate choice as Maximilian was nearing the beginning of the end. The French Emperor, Napoleon III, had conducted a campaign against Mexico, had established a monarchy and had induced Maximilian to renounce his succession to the throne of Austria and to accept the throne of Mexico with a promise of support. This move was not regarded with favour by the United States and Napoleon withdrew his troops in January, 1866, leaving Maximilian without support. The latter's first intention was to abdicate but he later decided not to desert his troops. The result of his indecision was his capture at Querataro. The Emperor, with a number of his officers, including Prince Salm-Salm, were tried and condemned to death. A graphic story of the short-lived Empire and of the efforts made by the Princess Salm-Salm to save the lives of the Emperor and of his officers is to be found in a book recently published by Blair Niles entitled "Passengers to Mexico" (Farrar & Rinehart Inc.) The Princess took full command of the situation and made thrilling rides from place to place in Mexico interviewing President Juarez, Commander-in-Chief, Porfirio Diaz and others in authority, always accompanied by her little dog Jimmie. In the end, however, the Emperor was executed but the life of the Prince was spared and he was allowed to return to Germany. His wife followed him. Here she was received into the Royal circles and became an intimate friend of the King and Queen of Prussia and was given a decoration and an

annuity by the Emperor Francis Joseph. The Franco-Prussian war broke out and poor Salm-Salm was killed at the battle of Gravelotte. The Princess continued to do outstanding work during the war in charge of hospitals and several letters are reproduced from army heads testifying to the wonderful work which she had done in nursing the wounded in field hospitals. She made a visit to the United States in 1899 to present to Salm's old regiment their flags under which Salm had fought in the war between the States.

She was a woman of the most remarkable personality and the greatest charm. She could also show a bit of temper when required. General Escobedo said that he would "rather stand opposite a whole imperial battalion than meet the angry Princess Salm-Salm." As to her personal appearance and qualities I may be permitted to quote from Blair Niles:

"All who knew her agreed that she possessed an exotic, bizarre beauty, a magnificent physique, vivacity and a blithe devil-may-care abandon. She was at times very exasperating to harassed army officers with onerous responsibilities. They never knew what she might do; there was no limit to her daring when her exuberant sympathies were involved and nothing awed her; not generals, nor emperors, nor presidents, nor fatigue, nor danger."

Such was the career of a village maiden who not only became a Princess in name but in fact. Her adventurous life has seldom been paralleled.

Before closing our list of celebrities it might be of interest to those familiar with the bearded faces which appear on the boxes of Smith Brothers cough drops—and who is not—to know that their father, James Smith, came out from Scotland and settled in St. Armand in the early 1830's. He was a carpenter by trade and apparently quite a good one. An example of his craftsmanship is still to be seen in the carved beams of the John Krans' house near Frelighsburg. The family subsequently moved to Poughkeepsie, New York, where the cough drop business was established. William, the older of the two sons, known as "Trade" was born in Scotland but the younger, Andrew, known as "Mark", was born in St. Armand. These brothers have raised an eternal monument to themselves.

CHAPTER XIV

Early Free Masonry

The following has been contributed by Mr. Homer Mitchell, Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Quebec:

"Freemasonry at Missisquoi Bay

"The Village of Missisquoi Bay has the distinction of being the place where the first Masonic Lodge was held in the Eastern Townships. This Lodge had been formed in the City of Quebec and received a Warrant from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada dated May 11th, 1793 and was named 'Select Surveyors Lodge' No 9 on the Register of that Provincial Grand Lodge.

The name indicates the profession of its original members, all names well known to those familiar with the early surveys in the Eastern Townships, John Frederic Holland, son of Samuel Holland, Surveyor General of Lower Canada, was the first Master. Associated with him were Jesse Pennoyer, Jeremiah McCarthy, Nathaniel Coffin, Joseph Kilburn and others, all surveyors. This Lodge remained in Quebec City until early in the year 1795, when conditions such as the coming of settlers into territory now known as the Eastern Townships, made it necessary to carry out surveys of the Crown Lands therein. The Lodge, was, therefore, moved to the Village of Missisquoi Bay, which became the headquarters for these surveyors and those seeking grants of land.

The first meeting of Select Surveyors Lodge at Missisquoi Bay was on February 27th, 1795, and listed as visitors on this occasion were Bros. Henry Ruiter, Philip Ruiter, Calvin May and George Dame.

The second meeting followed on March 2nd, when two candidates were initiated and, therefore, have the right of being listed as the first Masons made in the Eastern Townships. They were George Fitch and Moses Westover.

Both of these men were Loyalists and had left New England following the War of Independence, the first eventually receiving a grant of land at Lake Memphramagog where the name is still well known. The second was given a grant in Sutton and there are still members of this family still living there.

The dues paid by the members were one shilling and sixpence, Halifax currency, each lodge night.

Gilbert Hyatt who settled at Missisquoi Bay in 1794 was initiated on April 18th, 1795. He later built a grist mill at Sherbrooke which was then known as Hyatt's Mill.

Jesse Pennoyer was elected Master and installed on June 24th, 1795, at which meeting Amos Lay, Surveyor, was initiated.

We find in the records of this early lodge a succession of names of the pioneer settlers some of whom later left Missisquoi Bay and settled in other parts of the Eastern Townships:

Jacob Ruiter on February 8th, 1797; later he is recorded as one of the first settlers at Nelsonville;

Joseph Hurlburt from Shelbourne, Vermont, who settled at North Pinnacle, joined on March 8th, 1797;

Oliver Hall, Stephen Jenne and Joseph Collins on May 10th, 1797;

Solomon Curtis and Francis Hogle, June 14th, 1797, the latter being Master of the Lodge the same year;

George Cook, from whom Cook's Corner derived its name, was also added to the roll;

Benjamin Spencer on October 11th, 1797; he later moved to St. Armand East;

Jedediah Hibbard, December 18th, 1797; he settled at Abbott's Corner and was an elder in the Baptist Church organized in 1799.

Other names well known among the first settlers to appear in the lodge minutes are: Josephus Curtis and his brother, Solomon; Ebenezer Fisk; John Catling; Bemsley Lord; Samuel Wells; John Luke; Leon Lalanne; Jonothan Ball; Jonas Abbott; Dr. Allen Miner; John Freligh; Isaac Smith; Rev. James Tunstall; Abram Freligh.

There is also a record of the Masonic funeral of Francis Hogle who had been Master in 1797 and among those who were present are names of members of the Craft from Franklin Lodge in Vermont.

Select Surveyors Lodge continued to meet at Missisquoi Bay until about 1810 when it was moved to Cook's Corner, later known as St. Armand, and a short time later a fire destroyed the meeting place when the Warrant was also lost. When a new Warrant was obtained from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada, the name was changed to Prevost Lodge, by which name the lodge is better known in the District of Bedford. The name Prevost was selected in honour of Sir George Prevost, who became the Governor of Lower Canada in 1811. When this new Warrant was received, the lodge again moved and now met in the Village of Frelighsburg.

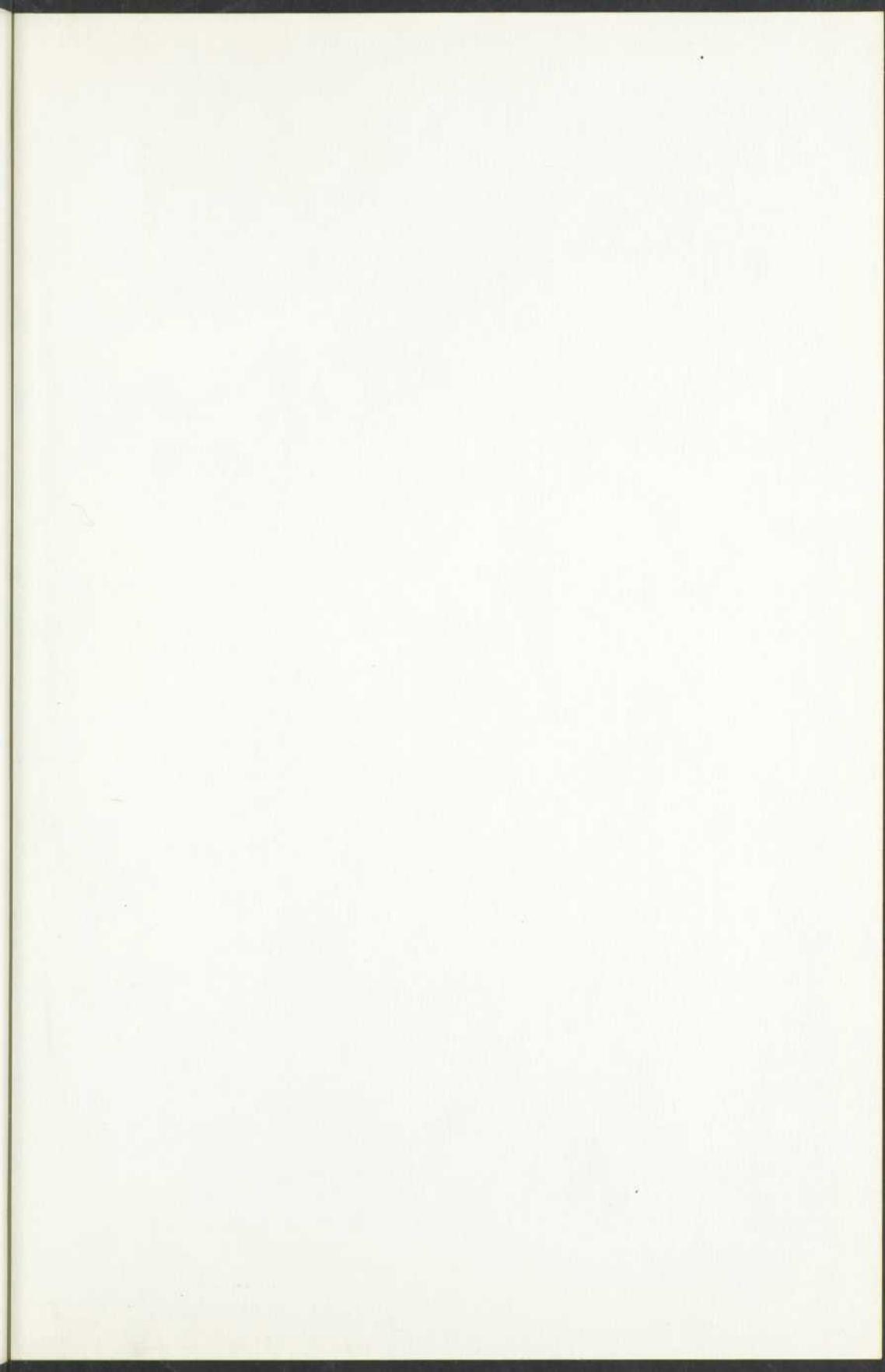
Thus briefly we have recorded the activities of this first Masonic Lodge of the Eastern Townships during the period it was domiciled at Missisquoi Bay."

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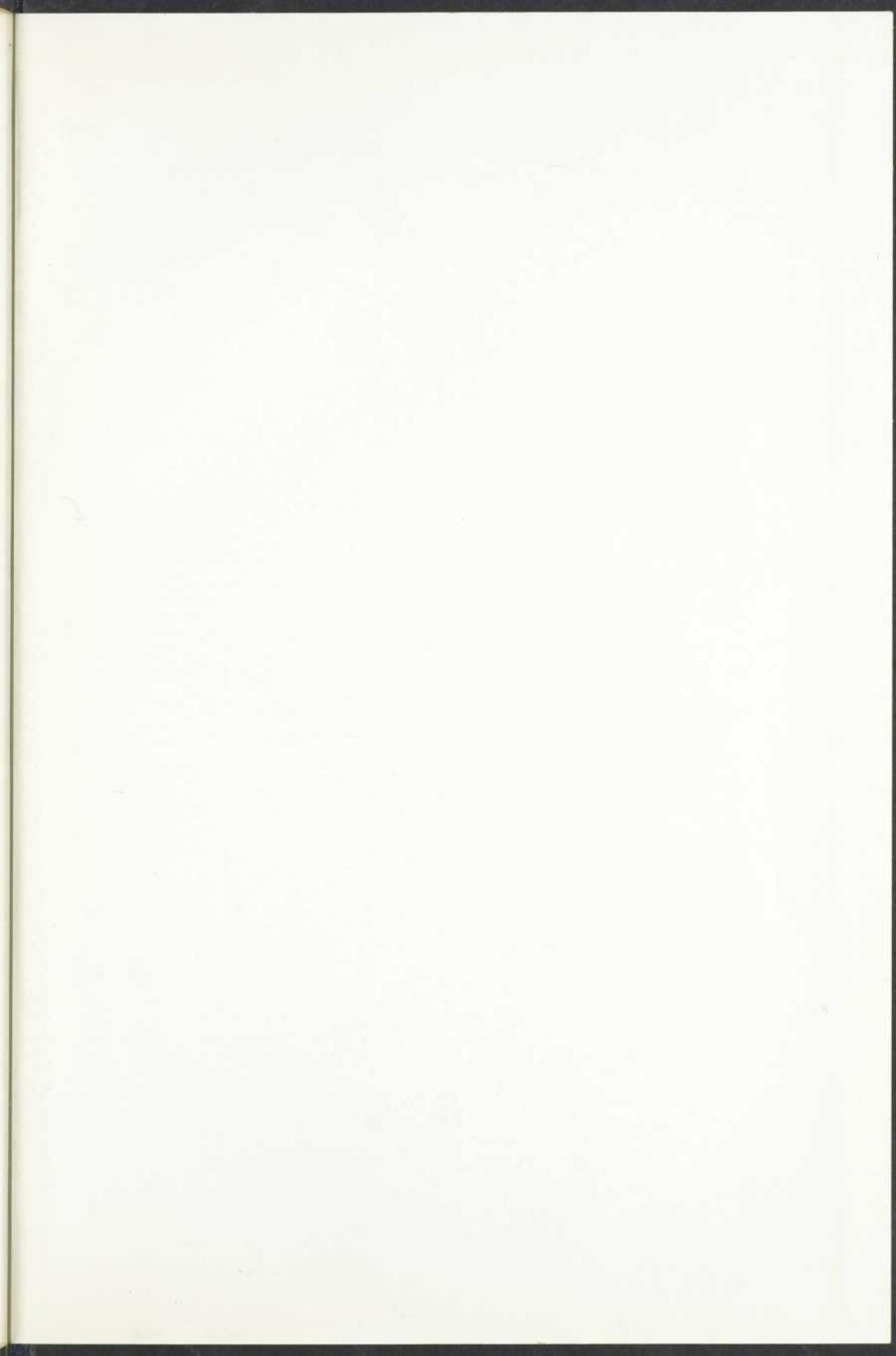
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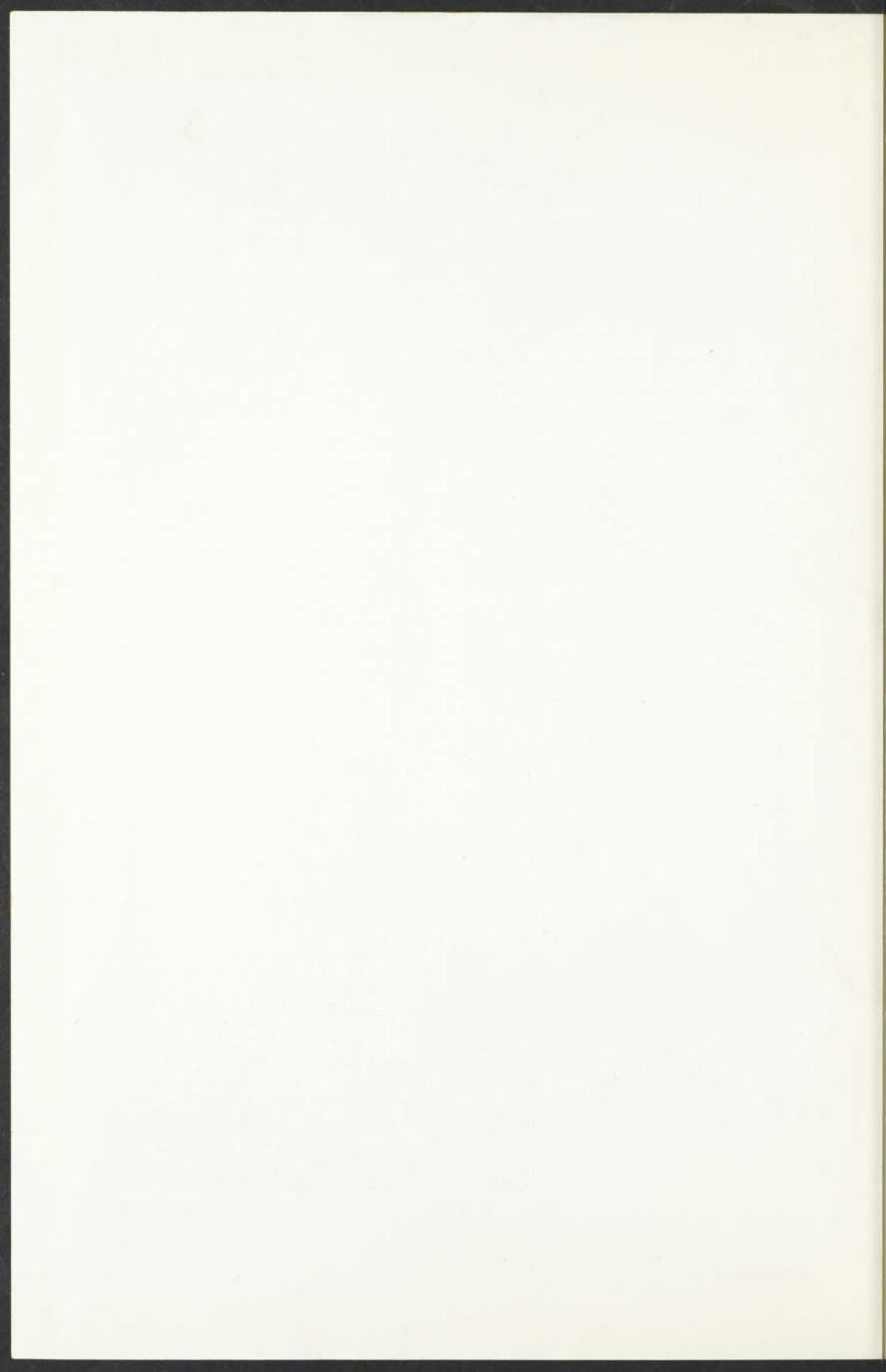
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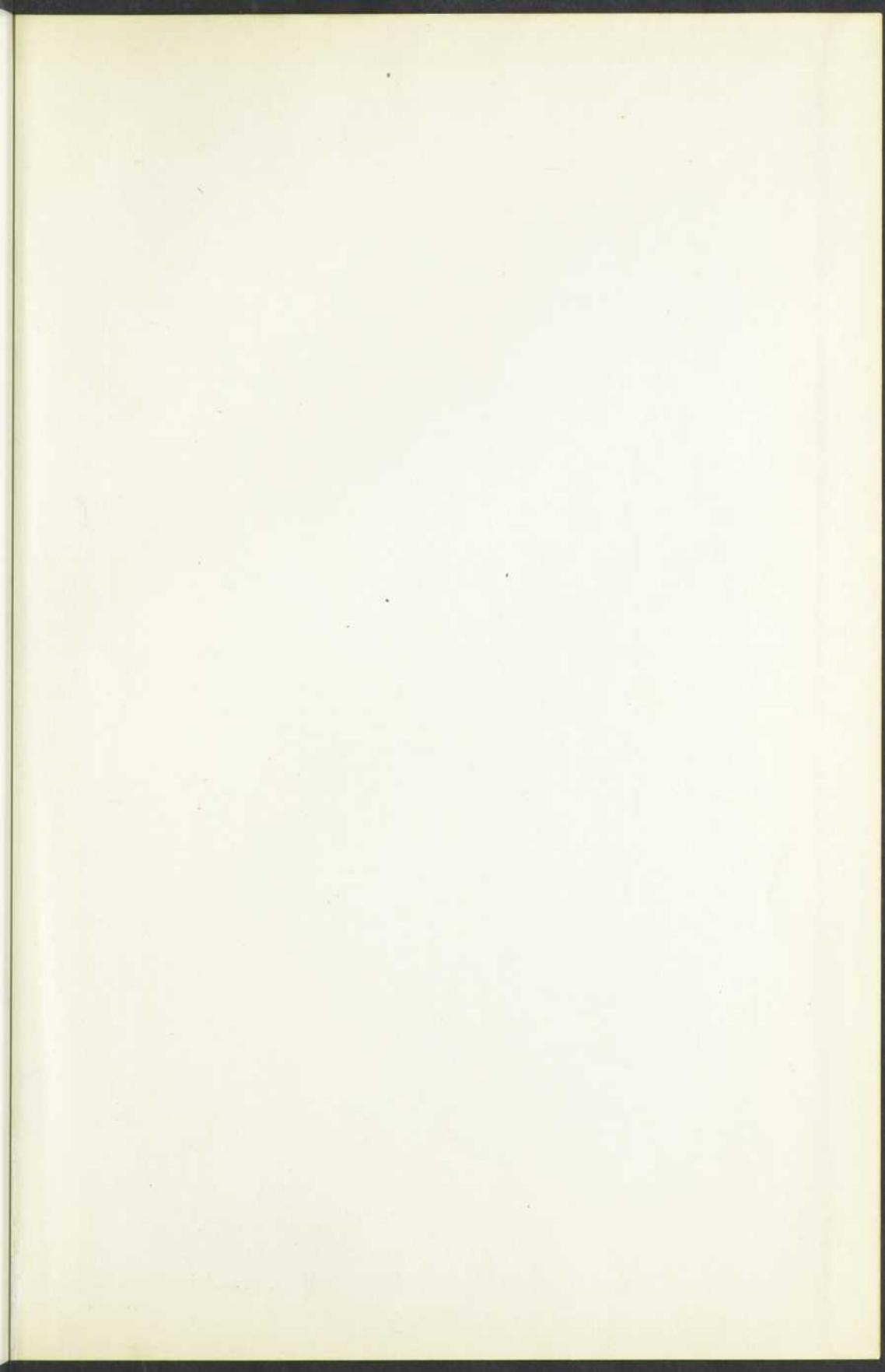


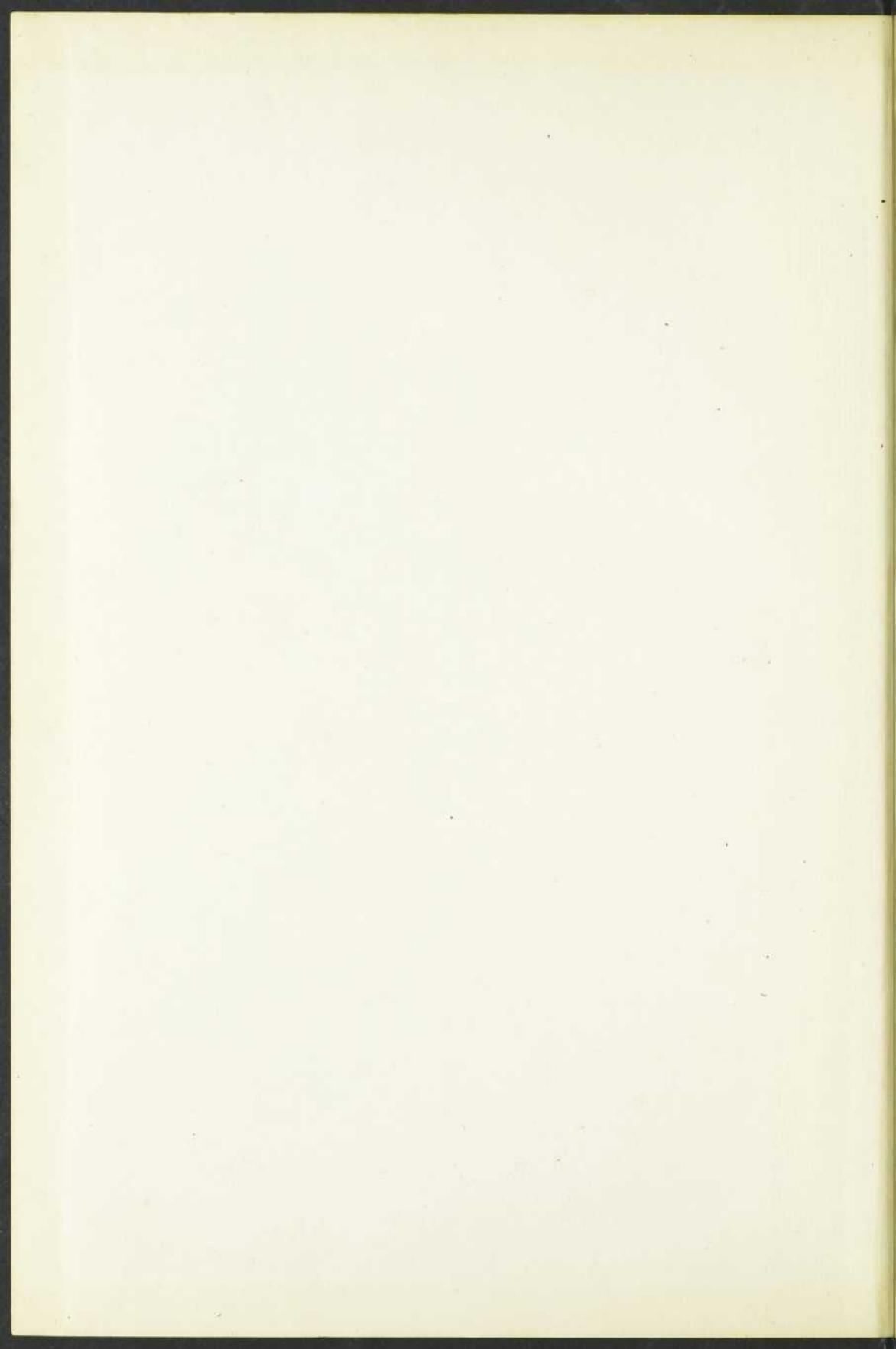


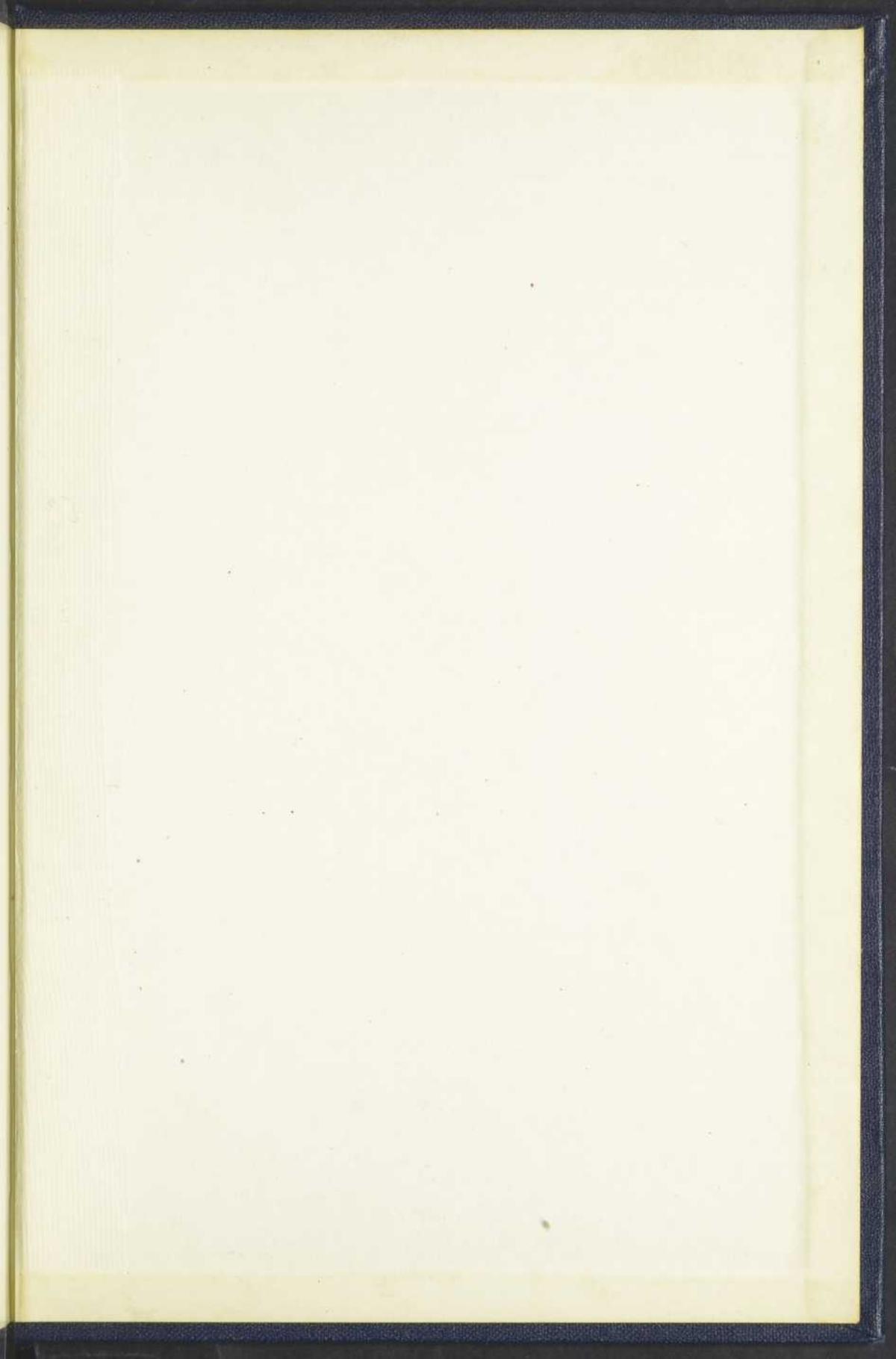












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