# BALDOON



*Lord Selkirk's Settlement*

*In Upper Canada*

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## *Lord Selkirk's Settlement In Upper Canada*



*A. E. D. MacKenzie*



" I feel confident that if we have patience he will receive ample justice, and when the North West Co are forgotten, his name and character will be revered as they ought. For this I would wish to wait although it may be his grandchildren only who are likely to feel it . . . "

Lady Selkirk, 15 May, 1820.

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*THOMAS DOUGLAS*
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Dedicated to the memory of

PEARL MACKENZIE ERREY

## PREFACE

The circumstances which led to the foundation of Baldoon and the manner in which it evolved into the Town of Wallaceburg, as for many other settlements in Canada, is a story in itself; a story which contains qualities of foresight, determination and personal courage in the face of grave adversity.

This may have been the first planned settlement in the rich lands of the Western District of Upper Canada. The scheme to resettle displaced Highlanders from the poor areas of Northern Scotland in what is sometimes called the Garden of Canada was basically sound.

Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, who conceived this plan had spent much time studying the development of land for farming. He had an original turn of mind which did not bend to the conventional wisdom of the time particularly related to such subjects as Emigration, Defence and Economics.

Considering the limited communications at the end of the 18th Century, it was no mean achievement to select from so vast a region what are now three of the richest farming areas in Canada. Prince Edward Island met with fairly early success but formidable problems, difficult to anticipate, were to emerge at Baldoon and the Red River.

At his death Selkirk must surely have thought that much of his life's effort had been in vain.

Mr. MacKenzie has done a great service in gathering and presenting to us the events which took place on the banks of the Sydenham River.

London, Eng., 1977. (Selkirk)

## INTRODUCTION

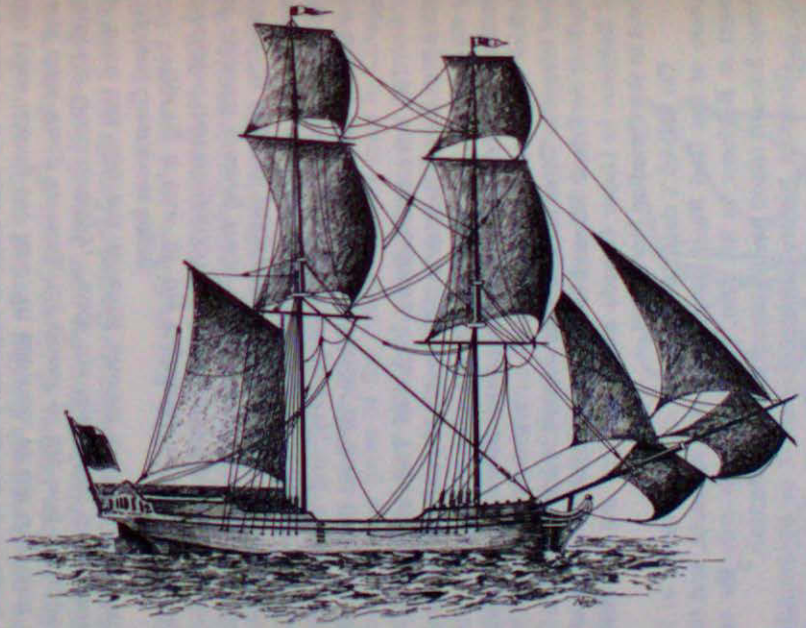
The defeat of the Jacobite supporters in Scotland at the battle of Culloden, brought about the disintegration of the traditional clan system. Prior to the Forty-Five rebellion, the importance of a chieftain was measured by the number of fighting men at his command.[1] With the loss of the chieftains' power at Culloden the primary function of the clansmen as fighting men ceased. Their value to the head of the clan became secondary to the revenue he could obtain from leasing the land. In addition, as the chieftains turned to large scale sheep farming, the power of the land to support people declined. Unfortunately, "once the chiefs lost their powers, many of them lost also any parental interest in their clansmen."[2] The Highland Clearances began.

During a tour of the Highlands in 1792, Thomas Douglas concluded that emigration was the solution to the economic and social upheaval ensuing from the Highland Clearances. A government policy to support emigration could achieve two highly favourable results: the opportunity for a new start in life for those whose future held nothing but continued poverty, and the strengthening of the British Empire by the settlement of these people in the colonies.

The advanced colonial vision of Thomas Douglas, who became fifth Earl of Selkirk in 1799, was not shared by the government at Westminster, preoccupied with the more pressing needs of continental war. However, after years of patient persuasion and negotiation, Selkirk obtained official approval to translate his vision into practical schemes. Three experiments in colonization in Canada followed, the first on Prince Edward Island, to be followed by the settlement of Baldoon in Upper Canada and, finally, by the Red River settlement in the Canadian Northwest.

On Selkirk's death at the town of Pau, France, in 1820, the future of the Red River colony was still in doubt, and the experiment at Baldoon, in his view, a failure, with only the colony of Prince Edward Island having brought him satisfaction.[3]

Canadian history remembers Selkirk as the founder of the ultimately-successful colony at Red River in what is now the province of Manitoba. His venture at Baldoon has been viewed as a failure, a judgement unaltered by history. While the experiment in settlement was undoubtedly a failure in terms of Selkirk's plans and the settlers' hopes, it may be measured by another yardstick – that of the ultimate success of the settlers in overcoming personal hardship and contributing to the development of one of the richest agricultural areas of eastern North America.



*The Passenger Vessel Oughton, circa 1768.*

# CHAPTER I

## SCOTTISH BACKGROUND

The eighteenth century, as historians keep reminding us, was a coarse and violent age. It was an age of disease and dirt as well as the Age of Elegance. In a society whose popular amusements could cheerfully include bear-baiting, cheap gin and public rioting, there was little clamour for improvement of the social conditions whose existence gave rise to these short-cuts to oblivion. The rich man in his manor and the poor man in his hovel were well-separated by a gulf which was not merely social and economic, but was a part of the natural order of things, sanctioned by folk-memory and formal religion, and scarcely challenged by history or conscience.

The condition of society was a field for religious reformers, with exhortations to moral reform in this life and spiritual compensation in the next. The camp meetings of a Wesley or a Whitefield could work miracles in the transformation of human behaviour, but did little for the material conditions of life. The time was not yet ready for the practical reforms of a Shaftesbury, Wakefield, or Gladstone.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, men who could combine moral vision with practical sense were few. The notion that the God-ordained condition of life could be altered by the hands of men was impractical, if not heretical. Secular conditions could be seen as part of Divine judgement: squalor, hunger and disease were the immutable attributes of human society. That some escaped was evidence of their own good favour in the eyes of the Deity.

Those few men who challenged the notion of society's immutability were part of a movement which saw reform of society as a moral duty as well as a political necessity. Revolutions across the Atlantic and across the Channel showed men of conscience in Britain that reform too long delayed could make its demands not only irresistable but uncontrollable. Necessity and conscience pressed upon the character of those who prided themselves on their enlightenment. Those same impulses which stirred Shaftesbury and the great reformers of the nineteenth century moved also in the reformers of the eighteenth. The nineteenth century was the great age

of social reform, but much pioneering work in both theory and practice had to be done before the goals and necessities of reform could be defined. It was to men such as Selkirk and to his contemporaries of the Scottish Enlightenment that the tide of nineteenth century reform owed its source and its direction. Conscience, moral indignation and practical vision were the attributes and the weapons of the new social pioneers in their efforts to rid their society of its callousness and its toleration of the intolerable.

Selkirk, of course, shared the moral concerns of the reformers of his age. Unlike most of his contemporaries, he had the financial resources and the drive to carry him beyond simple concern for the unfortunate. He could do more than express concern: he could engage in the practical alleviation of poverty through planned and assisted emigration. The beneficiaries of his philanthropy would be the residents of the Highlands and Islands where he had seen poverty at its starkest.

Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, Baron Daer and Shortcleugh, was born at St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland, in 1771. In many respects the Douglas family was a prototype of the political family of later ages. Closely knit, interested in each others' progress, and with a patriarch setting the pace for the sons' achievement, it is not surprising that the sons reflected the political views of the father. Dunbar-Hamilton (Douglas) 4th Earl of Selkirk gained local notoriety as a reformer. He stood firmly in the camp of the Whigs and was one of the leaders of the resistance to the King's List and a strong supporter of Parliamentary reform.[1] His position was consistent with the intellectual climate of his time, for reform of social conditions as well as of parliament, was the creed of men of advanced views in Britain towards the end of the century. To people with perception and sensitivity the social conditions created by population pressures and the accelerating revolutions in agriculture and industry could no longer continue according to the conventions and structures appropriate to an early age.

Basil Douglas, the 4th Earl's heir-apparent and a resident of Edinburgh, became involved in "The Friends of the People", a reform society patterned after similarly named societies elsewhere in Britain. Although the upper middle class membership of these societies tended to decline with each advance of radical ideas, Basil continued his association until his early death in 1794. Thomas also shared his father's political views and, during a trip through the Highlands in 1792, wrote to him with great enthusiasm that "he had the honour of watching a parade in Dundee to burn Mr. Dundas in effigy for opposing the reform of the Scottish boroughs."[2] Although he eventually became disenchanted with liberalism as a political force,[3] as a member of a family which had expressed great sympathy for the American Colonists in their struggle for liberty, he not surprisingly supported the cause to force "the acceptance of Scotland's demands for Parliamentary reform."[4]

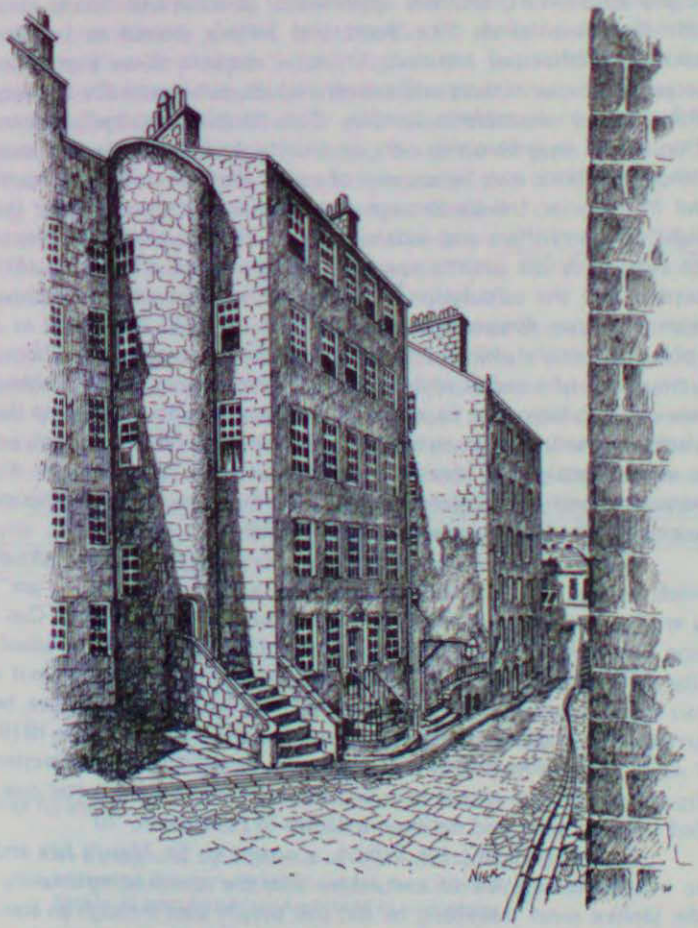
The Church, the Military, or the Law, during the eighteenth century, were the socially acceptable careers open to sons of the aristocracy and the Douglas family proved no exception since

several of the boys elected careers in the military and the youngest, Thomas, a career in Law. He entered the University of Edinburgh at the age of 15 (not an unusual age for the time) when Scottish Universities were among the finest in all of Europe, and when many of the finest minds of the Enlightenment were connected with them.

On the face of it, there was little prospect that the poor and barren little country on the windswept fringes of Europe would participate in the intellectual movement known to history as the Enlightenment. Yet Scotland was a receptive host to the notion that the mind had a part to play in the direction of human affairs: the country's system of education and the democratic, argumentative nature of its established religion provided a fertile mental climate as a counterpoint to the meanness of its resources. They also gave the Scottish Enlightenment its peculiar moral and didactic tone: its chief figures were teachers as well as philosophers – and teachers, moreover, whose curiosity ranged beyond formal intellectual classifications. It could be recognized that knowledge had its divisions, but the philosopher-teachers of late eighteenth-century Scotland were not inhibited by them. Their intellectual concerns were broad, but they had a common character in their slant towards moral problems and, by extension, to their effect on society. Moral philosophers could be at the same time historians – like David Hume and William Robertson; sociologists – like Adam Ferguson and John Millar; or economists – like Adam Smith and Hume. Intellectual effort, therefore, was directed towards application in society, rather than abstraction and formulation for their own sakes. As a modern historian puts it: "A compulsive involvement in the world and a compulsive curiosity about the social sciences were perhaps, in the end, the very best thing that the Scottish philosophers gave to the world."[5]

At Edinburgh, Selkirk came under the influence of Dugald Stewart, a moral philosopher who in an age of great teachers was without equal. An intense "common sense" philosopher, he encouraged debate and discussion during his lectures. He was to exert an indelible influence over a whole generation of young Scottish intellectuals.[6]

In the tradition of great European universities, the students were expected to learn from their peers as well as from their lectures. Selkirk, with his classmates Walter Scott and Francis Jeffery, a founding member and editor of the Edinburgh Review, and several others formed a society called "The Club" which met in Carrubbers Close off the High Street.[7] Learned discussion flowed around their table, followed by more convivial conversation at a nearby inn. As



*Carrubbers Close off the High Street, Edinburgh.*

one historian put it: "The regeneration of the world and of society was the natural aim of these high-born youths in their irrepressible stage".[8]

Thomas left university after two years of legal studies, and although he did not stay long enough to graduate, these years were to have a significant influence. The practical, common sense philosophy of Stewart, and the opportunity to meet and discuss ideas with first-class minds like Scott and Jeffery, served to broaden Selkirk's intellectual horizon. In some respects these years reinforced that sense of duty and concern which came naturally to many 18th century aristocratic families. This "noblesse oblige" concern often found expression in acts of charity or in pious declarations. Although Selkirk may be accused of paternalism, there is little doubt that in his later travels through the Highlands his concern for the plight of the crofters was indeed genuine. He saw Highland poverty not only with the artist's eye but with the mind of a moral philosopher and the calculation of an economist. Poverty was a phenomenon whose dimensions and solutions could be calculated as a problem in natural philosophy and whose continuance was an affront to the mind of a moral philosopher. The dimensions of the problem were clear to him, and he saw that the only sensible solution to the existing poverty lay in emigration. Not content merely to analyze, he would apply his ideas in a practical way, and through his various emigration projects attempt to provide much needed assistance to those whose future was otherwise bleak.

Selkirk was by nature sensitive, reserved and timid, facts of which he was not unaware and which he wished to change. "I am", he wrote, "in company without making one of the company. Can I hope that time will cure me of this ridiculous timidity".[9] His sensitivity inhibited by shyness, Selkirk appeared cold. But he was not a man to be deterred by his timidity for once possessed of an idea, he carried it through to its conclusion. Of Selkirk, Scott wrote in 1819, "I never knew in my life of a man of more generous and disinterested disposition, or one whose talents and perseverance were better qualified to bring great and national schemes to conclusion."[10]

Summers meant for Selkirk a return to St. Mary's Isle and the intense fascination of excursions into the surrounding countryside. Unlike most travellers, he did not simply pass through an area, but like the landscape artist, he experienced it. He made notes on everything that interested him and his interests ranged from the sketching of old castles to the making of detailed notes on the geological structure of the land.[11] An innocent-looking farm soon became a thick notebook of the farm's operation: crops, costs, size

of buildings, soil and proper land use. Through the purchase of a small farm from his father, Thomas put his theories on farming into practice. It was not long before the farm became "the wonder of the countryside and the local inhabitants took great pleasure in pointing out a field that young Tom Douglas had broken to the plough, driving the clumsy instrument himself."[12]

Practical methods, applied to theoretical calculation, gave him a considerable degree of expertise in farming and farming methods. The diary which Selkirk kept in the years 1803-04 during his travels in North America, is an excellent testimony to his expert knowledge of the many facets of agriculture. Wherever he visited, he made notes on the raising of crops, the price of grain, the quality of the soil and, indeed, any economic activity: ship-building, lumbering, distilling, all received extensive comment in the diary.[13] As Patrick White points out in his introduction to Lord Selkirk's Diary, "The result in one sense is the production of a diary which could serve as a handbook on colonisation."[14]

In 1792, Selkirk made an extensive tour through the Highlands of Scotland with a Mr. Gilmour, for he was, "strongly excited by the representations he had heard of the ancient state of society" and of "the striking peculiarity of manners still remaining" among the Highlanders.[15] Notebook always at hand, he gathered extensive information about living conditions, and from this material he wrote his Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland with a View of the Causes and Probable Consequences of Emigration. The Edinburgh Review of October 1805 wrote:

> It is a book which will by no means perish with the local prejudices which it was designed to remove. It has other claims to a permanent reputation and utility. Not only will it preserve a better picture, than has been drawn by any other hand, of a peculiar state of society and manners, highly interesting to historians; but it forms a large contribution to the theory of political economy, of most satisfactory deductions and general conclusions.[16]

and further:

> As having cast light on one of the most intricate parts of the science of Economy, that in which the theory of wealth and the theory of population are examined in connection.[17]

Selkirk recognized the significance of the economic and social changes brought about in Highland Society after the Battle of Culloden in 1746. Before Culloden, the clan system was pyramidal in structure with the bottom stratum composed of cotters, and the

apex crowned by a chieftain. The power of the chief lay in the number of men he could bring into battle rather than in the general prosperity of his clansmen or his personal wealth. The value of landed property, in effect, was measured not by the rent money it produced but by the number of fighting men who could be sent into the field.[18] The chief who possessed extensive territories granted large farms to younger members of his family or to trusted officers. The tacksmen, as they were called, were primarily those in command of the military operations of the clan and as such had little interest in the pursuit of agriculture, leasing their land to sub-tenants who held their soil "from year to year on the suffrance and goodwill of the tacksmen."[19] The insecurity of the sub-tenant was a guarantee that he and his sons could be brought into the clan regiment.[20] The cotters who formed the bottom stratum were usually landless men who from birth to death were servants. They were the blacksmiths, tailors, herdsmen, axemen and bowmen, who in return for a "little grazing for a cow on the township pasture, a kail-yard and a potato patch by his round stone hut . . . paid a lifetime of service to the sub-tenant."[21] It was for the cotters that Selkirk held the greatest sympathy and they were to form the majority of the Baldoon settlers.

Life may have been hard in this society, and its horizons limited by the universal touch of poverty, but it had the saving grace of a strong sense of personal responsibility to its members. The relationships of man to man, and of family members to each other compensated greatly for the material scarcity suffered by Highlanders. This intensely personal, inward-looking society came to an end at Culloden and with it passed a form of human organization as old as human history.

> No individual soldier in the Stuart Army of 1746 has a grave. That was not needed: all that was needed was that each one should be placed in his own clan burial-place. It might almost be said that the soldiers had no individuality of their own. Each one was, say, a Mackintosh: above him was his chief, the Mackintosh, and above him, the chief of chiefs, Prince Charles Edward.
>
> Here, in these common graves, is clearly shown the last of a form of government which had ruled humanity for as far back as human history can go — indeed, for further yet, for in a crude form it can be seen in the apes. It was a tribal, a racial, society. The rule of the chieftains over the clans implied, as a logical necessity, the rule of the King over the chieftains. The Hanoverian soldiers . . . were agents of a power which was determined to break this older power down, and to substitute for it a form of society in which each man was an individual. He might be richer,

or better-born, than another, and the law would take due note of that.[22]

Forces other than Hanoverian military power were also at work on Highland society at that time. Eighteenth century Scotland experienced economic change of a kind and of a rapidity up to then unknown in the country's history. The Act of Union in 1707 opened up the large English and colonial markets to an economy which was still staggering from the effects of the Darien fiasco. From a domestic market of some one million, the scope for Scottish products and enterprise was widened to include the 5½ millions of England, plus the markets of Ireland and the overseas colonies. An economic backwater, Scotland was suddenly thrust into the role of participant in an extensive trading system.

The Scottish Enlightenment, spreading the secular gospel of reform and scientific progress, encouraged a climate of receptivity to new economic ideas, especially in the field of agriculture. Intelligent legislation spurred economic growth: the establishment of the Board of Trustees for Improving Fisherys and Manufactures in Scotland introduced a measure of state encouragement – and financial aid – to industries such as textiles, especially the manufacture of linens.

The Jacobite Rebellions, in their destruction of the old clan system and the consolidation of scattered landholdings, contributed in the long run to the general economic improvement of Scotland, and the general well-being of Britain as a whole. The Forfeited Estates Commissioners, established in 1752 by the Crown, improved agricultural methods and encouraged manufacturing on the estates within their jurisdiction. The Hanoverian campaigns to put down the Fifteen and the Forty-five necessitated a great deal of road and bridge building, which was to have a significant effect on communications and commerce in the Highlands.

That economic conditions improved was, in a sense a defiance of nature. Scotland was an unpromising land for economic development, as a petition to the House of Commons about 1720 shows in striking terms.

> Scotland is a country the most barren of any Nation in these Parts of Europe, they have nothing of their own growth to export, except corn, coals, cattle and some wool; nor nothing to form any Manufacturers but what they receive from their neighbours. There is nothing hinders Scotland from being a Trading Nation but the want of goods to export.[23]

Within Scotland, the contrast between Highlands and Lowlands was marked. In central Scotland and the eastern seaboard as far north as Aberdeen was some of the richest (if inefficiently worked) agricultural land in Britain. The Highlands by contrast formed a region of rock and mountain, with scattered settlements subsisting on the thin soil of river valleys and sea lochs. In these areas, overstocking with cattle and sheep, and lack of winter fodder resulted in a high mortality rate in livestock each winter. The land could maintain large numbers of sheep and cattle to be sure, but only as a commercial proposition, not as the support of a considerable population.

For the Highlands, economic improvement of the land was bought at a severe human price. Economic transformation changed the face of the Highlands at the expense of the old relationship between man and man. Obligation in the post-Rebellion society of the Highlands was defined in cash terms, not service. Less than a generation after the Forty-five, Samuel Johnson noted:

> The Chiefs, divested of their prerogatives, necessarily turned their thoughts to the improvement of their revenues, and expect more rent, as they have less homage. The tenant, who is far from perceiving that his condition is made better in the same proportion, as that of his landlord is made worse, does not immediately see why his industry is to be taxed more heavily than before. He refuses to pay the demand, and is ejected; the ground is then let to a stranger, who perhaps brings a larger stock, but who, taking the land at its full price, treats with the Laird upon equal terms, and considers him not as a Chief, but as a trafficker in land. Thus the estate is improved, but the clan is broken.[24]

In 1792, the same year in which Lord Selkirk made his tour of the Highlands, another traveller observed that the same human cost was still being exacted as estates and livestock replaced the small leaseholds of the tenants and cotters. In strict economic terms, the new agriculture of the Highlands was a success story: greater efficiency in land use and well-managed herds and flocks meant that Britain could feed a larger population. But that population was undergoing a massive internal redistribution. The native Highlanders moved out as Sassenachs, sheep and cattle moved in:

> Managers of sheep from Clydesdale and other southern counties, have, within these last ten or twelve years, begun to resort eagerly to the Highlands. They have obtained, in many places, long leases from the proprietors of the lands, in these parts . . . at rents much higher than were paid for the same farms, . . . such as no Highlandman could pay, by the old practise of farming. . . .

> yet, such as these alien shepherds have, by their modes of managing livestock, been enable to pay, and at the same time, to enrich themselves . . . . They have thus been enabled to make seemingly unimproveable heaths and hills, afford a much greater proportion of subsistence for human life, than was before obtained from them. These improvers, however, and the landlords whose grounds they have rented, have become on this score unpopular in the Highlands. The prejudices of clanship have almost died away: yet the Highlanders think it hard that a Highland Gentleman should let his lands to a stranger, in preference to one of themselves, even when tempered by the offer of higher rent. When excluded too from this, the only species of industry of which he is capable, a Highlandman has no other shift to follow, but to leave the country.[25]

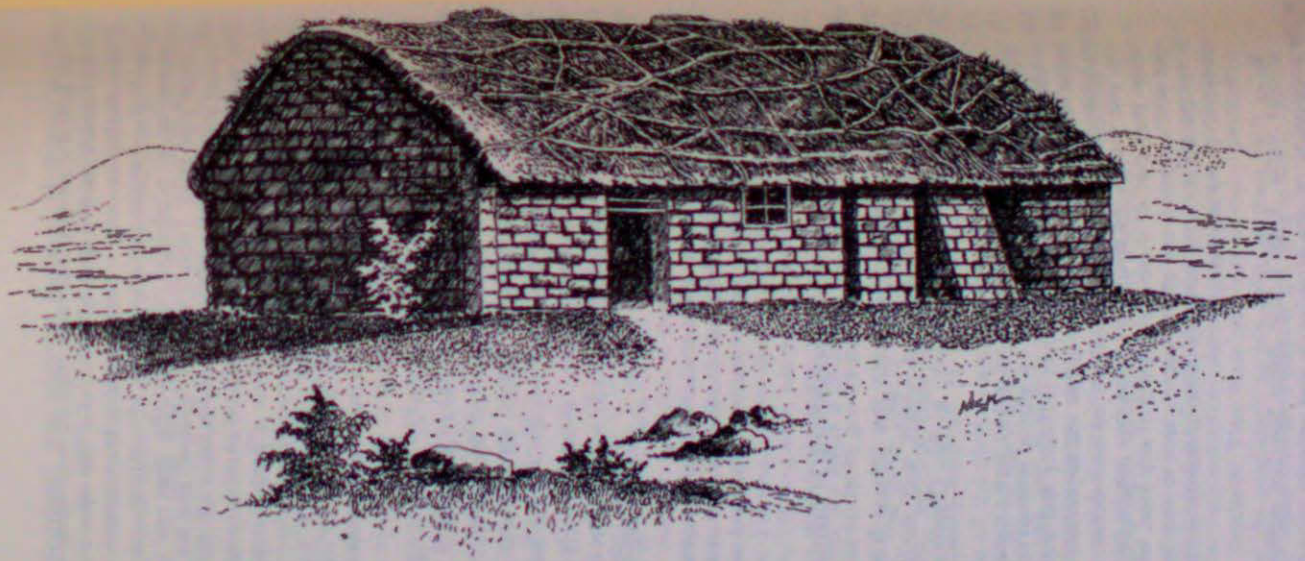
Rising rents and the conversion of the old system of landholdings to broad estates combined with a rapid rise in population to force large numbers of Highlanders out of their ancestral lands. Most of the migration was to more properous agricultural and industrial regions to the south, where the demand for labour was high: in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, thousands left the Highlands and the Western Isles to seek, if not their fortunes, at least an escape from destruction.[26] As the astute Selkirk quickly realized:

> "That emigration was an unavoidable result of the general state of the country, arising from causes above all control and in itself of essential consequence to the tranquility and permanent welfare of the kingdom."[27]

So much for the general conditions in Scotland which resulted in large scale emigration. Something must be said of the local conditions in those areas from which the fifteen Baldoon families migrated, specifically the County of Argyll, and, more particularly, the Isles of Mull and Tiree. Selkirk, in his Observations, wrote:

> The Western Coast and Isles are subject to such excessive rains, that a crop of grain can scarcely be secured without damage, or at least not without great expense, difficulty and uncertainty. Under these circumstances, the farmer will certainly find it for his advantage to keep the greatest part of his arable land in pasture: and, though the tending of cattle may require rather more labour than that of sheep, yet grazing of any kind, when managed with economy, can afford employment to very few people in comparison with the numbers hitherto maintained under the old system of the Highlands.[28]

In the early 1790's, Sir John Sinclair compiled statistics on the population of the Highlands and reports sent to him by the



*A COTTAGE IN ILAY*

*(Thomas Pennant, A Tour In Scotland And Voyage To The Hebrides, 1790).*

parish ministers of Mull and Tiree agree with Selkirk's view of the conditions in those areas.

The Reverend Archibald McColl, in his report for the Isle of Tiree, which formed part of the Lordship of the Isles administered by the McLeans as representatives of the McDonalds, stated that, although no one had as yet emigrated from Tiree to America, "some folk talk of doing so."[29] McColl explained further "that crop failures in 1790 and 1791 together with the low price of kelp and cattle had caused considerable hardship and that many of them would soon have to go elsewhere unless manufacture be introduced to give them employment."[30]

The reports from the Isle of Mull which also belonged to the Lordship of the Isle were even more critical. The Rev. Archibald McArther of the parish of Kilninian reported that conditions were so poor, that unless something drastic were done by those in charge there would be little hope for any increase in prosperity . . . . but rather the reverse would occur.[31] He went on to report that so many of their people were poor that the list of those who were recipients of public charity was never under seventy and in some years was between ninety and one hundred.[32]

The Rev. Dugal Campbell, reporting on conditions in the parish of Kilfinchen and Kilviceuen, Isle of Mull, stated that a number of families had emigrated to America and that several families had left in 1792 to seek employment in the cotton work of the Low Country.[33]

The population of Mull increased by 80 per cent between 1775 and 1811. In two generations, the island's population saw a classic Malthusian dilemma unfold before their eyes. Properties were divided to accommodate the increase. A mixed rural economy based on cattle-raising, oats, and potatoes devolved to a subsistence economy dependent like that of Ireland, on a single crop, the potato.[34]

The poverty of the cotters could be readily observed in the general wage scale of the Isles as follows:

> A man servant a year from £3 to £4.10.0d.; exclusive of what shoes he required; a maidservant had somewhat less than half of these wages; a day-labourer could not be had for under 6d. a day and his victuals or from 10d. to 1/3d. a day without.[35]

These figures contrast significantly with those earned in Upper Canada. John McDougall, one of the Baldoon settlers, writing home in 1806 stated:

> There is good encouragement for tradesmen in this Country, viz. Carpenters, Blacksmiths and Shoemakers, that have two dollars per day and their victuals - labouring men has from 1 dollar and 12 Shillings per day.[36]

In 1792, Selkirk did not possess the financial resources to effect any plans he might have had to relieve the distress he found in Scotland. The line of succession to the earldom appeared secure and, as the seventh son, Selkirk never thought of succeeding to the title. Through a series of tragic events, Thomas, the seventh son, became in 1799 the fifth Earl of Selkirk and, as such, a man of sufficient wealth and influence to carry out a scheme of migration and planned settlement.

## FOOTNOTES

## INTRODUCTION.

1. The ascendancy of James I (King James VI of Scotland), son of Mary Stuart, to the throne of England, in 1603, brought about the personal union of England and Scotland. The Act of Union 1707 united the two countries under the name Great Britain. In 1687 James II was forced to flee England and his daughter Mary and her husband William ruled until 1702 (Mary died 1694). The son of James II while in exile in France laid claim to the throne of Great Britain as James III. In 1715 "The Fifteen" the supporters of James' III claim (known as Jacobites) led an unsuccessful uprising in Scotland. In 1745 "The Forty-Five", the Jacobite supporters were led by Bonnie Prince Charles in a futile attempt to proclaim his father as James VIII of Scotland and James III of England.

2. John Prebble, The Highland Clearances (London 1963), preface.

3. John Gray, Lord Selkirk of Red River (Toronto 1963), p.328. The name Baldoon for the settlement derives from an estate in Scotland that Selkirk inherited from his mother the Duchess of Hamilton.

## CHAPTER ONE

1. John Gray, Lord Selkirk of Red River (Toronto, 1963), p. 9.

2. Ibid., p. 11.

3. The Earl wrote and had published, A Letter Addressed to John Cartwright, Esq. In this letter Selkirk endeavoured to put forth his views on further parliamentary reform. Although a Whig, the excesses of the French Revolution and a growing disillusionment with the practical implementation of the democratic theory of the United States caused him to switch his political allegiance to the Tories, "a political adventurer, raised to power by popular favour, is fully as likely to abuse that power, as is the purchaser of a rotten borough." Ibid., pp. 54-5.

4. Ibid., p. 13.

5. T.C. Smout, History of the Scottish People (1560-1830). (Bungay, Suffolk, 1972). p. 453.

6. Ibid., p. 453.

7. George Bryce, The Life of Lord Selkirk (Toronto, 1913), p. 12.

8. Ibid., p. 12.

9. Gray, op. cit., p. 13.

10. Bryce, op. cit., p. 86.

11. Gray, op. cit., p. 7.

12. Ibid., p. 15.

13. Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04 ed. Patrick White (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1958), p. xxix.

14. Ibid. p. xxix.

15. Selkirk, Observations On The Present State of The Highlands of Scotland With A View of The Causes and Probable Consequences of Emigration (Edinburgh, 1806), p. 2.

16. The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal, Oct. 1805 - Jan. 1806. (Edinburgh, 1806), Vol. VII, p. 187.

17. Ibid., p. 202.

18. Selkirk, op. cit., p. 15.

19. John Prebble, The Highland Clearances (London, 1963), p. 21.

20. Ibid., p. 21.

21. Ibid., p.21.

22. G.D.H. Cole & Raymond Postgate, The Common People, 1746 - 1946., 2nd. edition (London, 1946), p. 1.

23. Quoted in Henry Hamilton, An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (Oxford, 1963), xiii.

24. Samuel Johnson, A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, edited by R.W. Chapman (London, 1924), pp. 85-86.

25. R. Heron, Observations made in a Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland (1792). Quoted in R.H. Campbell & J.B.A. Dow (eds.), A Source Book of Scottish Economic and Social History (Oxford, 1968), p. 52.

26. For estimates of the numbers emigrating from the Highlands and Islands in the latter part of the eighteenth century, see Hamilton. Economic History of Scotland, p. 13.

27. Ibid., p. 2.

28. Ibid., p. 36.

29. John Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1794), Vol. 10, p. 416.

30. Ibid., p. 416.

31. John Sinclair, op. cit., Vol. 14, p. 155.

32. Ibid., p. 149.

33. Ibid., p. 191.

34. Smout, op. cit., p. 327.

35. Ibid., pp. 151-2.

36. John McDougald to Hugh McDougald, 29th April 1806; Selkirk Papers, Public Archives of Canada. M.G. 19, E.I, Vol. 55, pp. 14739-40. All Selkirk Papers used in this thesis are in the Public Archives of Canada.

## CHAPTER II
## GOVERNMENT OBSTRUCTION

Selkirk's first proposal concerning emigration was on behalf of the Irish, not his fellow Scotsmen, when their plight came to national attention as the result of the rebellion of 1798. After a tour of Ireland to gain first-hand knowledge of the situation, he drew up a memorial entitled, A Proposal Tending to the Permanent Security of Ireland.[1] Although his motives were undoubtedly humanitarian, he attempted to mask his altruism by couching his proposal in terms of national interest: His Majesty's Government could rid itself of the more rebellious Irishmen who would undoubtedly be the leaders in any revolt, and unburden itself of those whose very poverty made them easy prey to provocateurs.[2] Selkirk proposed Louisiana as the location for the settlement because of its importance as a communication route and because of its hospitable climate. Government officials were interested because Britain coveted the territory only recently ceded by Spain to France. However, at the peace negotiations begun in 1801 at Amiens between France and Britain, Louisiana did not become a negotiable issue and remained a French possession. Selkirk then turned his attention to the Red River area.

It is quite possible that the exploits of Alexander MacKenzie whose Voyages, printed in 1801, contained an account of his exploration, drew Selkirk's attention to the West.[3] Although he never abandoned his plans for the Red River, he was induced to search elsewhere after Lord Pelham, the Secretary of State, vetoed the idea because of his opposition to emigration - especially mass Irish emigration and because he did not want, for political reasons, to interfere with the Hudson's Bay Company.[4]

On the 11th of January, 1802, Selkirk met with Hobart, the Colonial Secretary, to discuss various emigration programmes. Like Pelham before him, Hobart was unsympathetic to Selkirk's Red River proposal; however, he was not opposed to colonisation elsewhere and informed Selkirk that he would give every consideration to a request for land in Prince Edward Island. Selkirk still preferred an inland settlement over a maritime one. Therefore, in a letter to

Hobart on the 6th of July, 1802, he requested a grant of land in Upper Canada at St. Mary's Falls (Sault Ste Marie) and, in order to meet part of his expenses, a grant "also of the mines and minerals"[6] he might discover along the north shores of Lakes Superior and Huron. Selkirk indicated in his letter a willingness to undertake the settlement of Prince Edward Island, if the conditions of the grant were reasonable, in conjunction with his proposal for St. Mary's. He argued that:

> By possessing these different grants in connection I could devote to them more of my time and attention than I could afford to either separately and should therefore hope to render them more beneficial both to myself and the public.[7]

Hobart, in his reply of the 30th July 1802, stated that the Government would not be able to grant any special consideration and that if Selkirk wished to pursue his settlement plans for Upper Canada any further, he would have to meet the general regulations regarding the granting of waste lands.[8] In effect, he was telling Selkirk he would not receive the additional grant of mines and minerals to help defray his costs. Hobart went on to state that:

> If upon this explanation, your Lordship should think the subject deserving your further consideration, and will do me the honor to inform me what number of Persons you may calculate upon being able to engage as Settlers under your direction, I will take His Majesty's pleasure for sending the necessary directions to the Governor of Upper Canada, to afford the most favourable consideration which his General Instructions will admit to your Lordship's application; and I shall have great pleasure in giving every facility in my power to the furtherance of your Lordship's views.[9]

The Colonial Secretary felt that the Government of Canada would "probably object to the introduction of a large number of Irish settlers at the commencement"[10] and advised Selkirk to engage either Scottish or German families. Selkirk was delighted with the reply and, in his letter of 21st August, 1802, enthusiastically agreed to Lord Hobart's suggestion that he bring out people "more tractable than the Irish"[11] as he could secure a sufficient number of Scots who were at the very moment about to emigrate. He was most anxious, however, to see the terms of the grant changed as he believed conditions at St. Mary's required that "some modification should be made on the usual terms of His Majesty's American Grants"[12] and in his letter of the 21st August, 1802, he endeavour-

ed to justify his earlier proposal. The strait, he argued, was the only means of communication between the eastern provinces and the western territory, other than through the United States, and provided also for the passage of valuable fur trade. The strategic importance of the strait could not therefore be overlooked by His Majesty's Government and must be secured before control of the strait passed to the Americans.[13] Selkirk contended that, as the area was extremely remote and the land less fertile and hospitable than the more southerly parts of the province, it would require "extraordinary encouragement"[14] to attract settlers. Consequently, he requested the grant of mineral rights in compensation for the extra expense incurred in offering more favourable terms to attract the necessary settlers.

As he received no reply to his letter of the 21st August and a subsequent letter of the 30th November, he cautioned the Government in a letter of the 25th of January, 1803, that because it was necessary to make immediate preparations for those settlers already assembled and because he could not afford to meet all the expenses he had incurred, he could turn the immediate debts into a profitable account through "a purchase in the western territory of the United States".[15] He maintained, however, that "little short of absolute necessity would make me think of this resource".[16]

On the 1st February, 1803, Selkirk made a separate proposal to the Rt. Hon. Henry Addington in which he asked for permission to settle those already recruited on "the unappropriated lands in that portion of Upper Canada south west of Lake Simcoe and Yonge Street."[17] Selkirk included in his request concessions beyond the usual terms of the grant of waste lands. Addington discussed the proposal with Lord Hobart who replied by letter to Selkirk on the 12th February, 1803, that the Government was in no position to initiate any action on the scale Selkirk had requested. However:

> If with such encouragement as the general regulations mentioned in my last letter to your Lordship of the 30th June last will admit, you should be inclined to make the attempt upon a more limited scale I shall feel extremely disposed to extend that encouragement as far as it can be done without a total deviation from the principle which has hitherto been acted upon.[18]

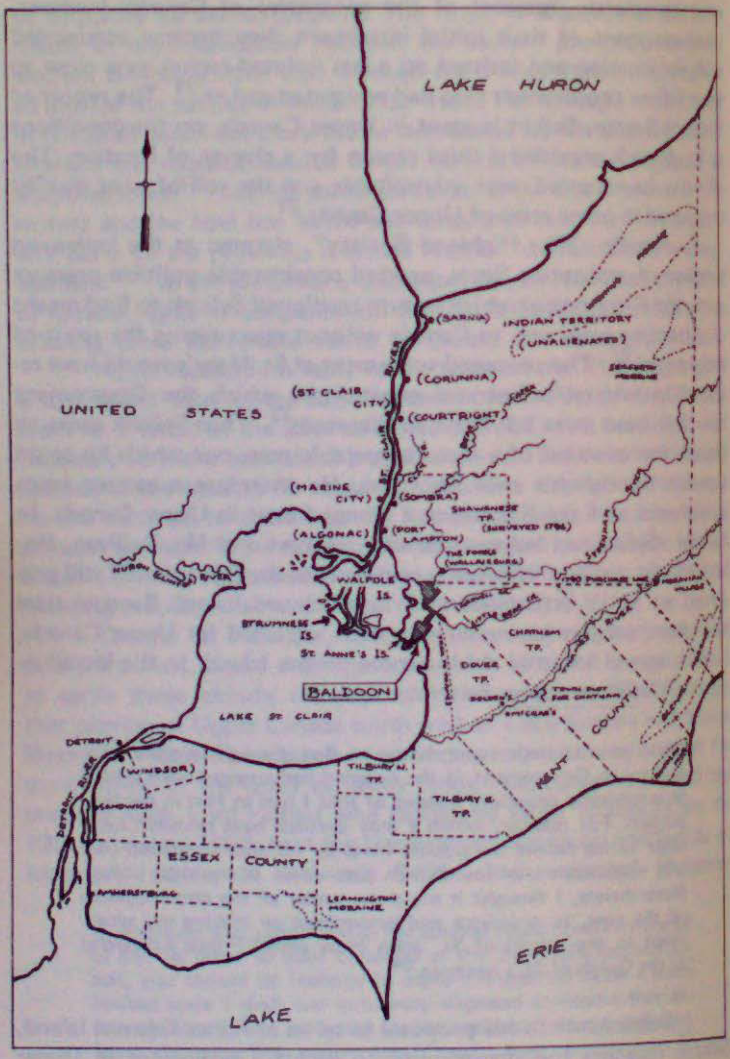
Earlier historians of the Baldoon settlement have not fully explained the move from St. Mary's. Four important developments led to this sudden change in location. First, the North West Company viewed a proposed settlement at St. Mary's as an intrusion into their traditional trading area.[19] A second, and ultimately the most important factor was the reaction of the settlers to the site. They

were completely ignorant of the geography of Canada; however, upon payment of their initial instalment they became acquainted with its location and insisted on a less isolated region, one close to their fellow countrymen who had emigrated earlier.[21] The report of Richard Savage, Selkirk's agent in Upper Canada, on the conditions at St. Mary's provided a third reason for a change of location. The climate, he reported, was inhospitable and the soil of poor quality compared to other areas of Upper Canada.[21]

Finally, "The Highland Society", alarmed at the increasing number of emigrating Scots, exerted considerable political pressure upon the Government which in turn cautioned Selkirk to find means of attracting emigrants to Canada without encouraging the spirit of emigration.[22] The proposed settlement at St. Mary's would have required considerable financial expenditure which the Government now felt even more reluctant to dispense.[23] Thus Selkirk came to favour the selection of a more hospitable area, one which he could support through his own resources. He therefore suggested lands south-west of Lake Simcoe and Yonge Street in Upper Canada. In further discussions between Selkirk, Hobart and Mr. Sullivan, Hobart's intermediary, it became evident that the Government still preferred an initial settlement at Prince Edward Island. Because time was short, settlers having already been recruited for Upper Canada, Selkirk agreed to settle these people on the Island. In the introduction to his Observations, he wrote:

> I was given to understand, however, that it would be more satisfactory to Government, if the people I had engaged were settled in a maritime situation, instead of that I had at first in contemplation. For reasons, which I may perhaps have occasion hereafter to lay before the public, I was by no means satisfied that this suggestion was founded in just views of national policy. Nevertheless, I thought it my duty, under all the circumstances of the case, to acquiesce and determined on making my settlement in the Island of St. John (now called Prince Edward's) in the Gulph of St. Lawrence.[24]

Subsequent to his proposal to settle at Prince Edward Island, Selkirk received the opportunity to locate a settlement in Upper Canada, at some future date, on the terms suggested by Hobart in his letters of the 12th February, 1803, and June 30th, 1802. Hobart wrote on 28th February, 1803, to Lieutenant-General Hunter, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, signifying that it was "His Majesty's Pleasure to grant, in the usual, and subject to the customary regulations, to Lord Selkirk a grant of any township not already appropriated which he may prefer".[25] In July 1803, 800 of the set-




*WESTERN DISTRICT OF UPPER CANADA (1810)*

*(Lloyd Clark, The Baldoon Settlement Land Grants, unpublished. 1970.)*

*(Communities in brackets, e.g., Sarnia, Corunna, etc., established after 1810).*

tlers originally intended for Upper Canada sailed to Prince Edward Island, accompanied by Selkirk.[26] Selkirk took advantage of the time in Prince Edward Island to visit various parts of the United States and Canada. He left the Island on the 17th September, 1803, with two purposes in mind. One was the examination of land which he had purchased earlier in the Genessee area of northern New York and the other was the organisation of his projected settlement in Upper Canada.[27] Despite the fact that his efforts in the summer of 1803 were "directed towards the colonisation of Prince Edward Island, he did not lose sight of his plan for a settlement in Upper Canada."[28]

During the summer of 1802, Selkirk had directed his agent, Richard Savage, to purchase up to 1,000 sheep in the eastern United States and to have them ready to take to Upper Canada.[29] William Burn, an experienced sheep farmer, was chosen as his overseer and Alexander Brown, a fellow Scotsman, was hired to help Burn take care of the sheep. Burn arrived in New York on the 10th December, 1802, and wintered at White Creek.[30] Selkirk in a letter of the 16th June, 1803, instructed Burn to visit the country between Niagara and Detroit.

> I have an order from the King for a grant in that quarter of any township I shall choose and therefore I wish you to take a general view of the Country before my arrival to give me a guess of the best situations.[31]

Selkirk arrived at York (Toronto) on the 20th November, 1803 and remained there until 4th January, 1804.[32] It was during his stay at York that he decided to establish his settlement in the north west portion of Dover Township.[33] Since he had not yet read Burn's report, this decision was undoubtedly reached on the basis of his conversation the previous fall with Father Burke of Halifax, and his several meetings with the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Lieutenant-General Hunter, together with his many visits to the Surveyor General's office in York where he had diligently studied the maps of the LaTranche (Thames) and River St. Clair areas.[34]

It has been argued that Selkirk selected Baldoon "for geographical considerations of national strategy and therefore stands open to the charge of settling areas with an eye to the map rather than to the markets for colonial produce."[35] There is no doubt that one of the major considerations for the selection of Baldoon was that of national strategy, but it was not the only one. During his stay

at Halifax in the fall of 1803, Selkirk had met with Father Burke, a Roman Catholic clergyman, and the ensuing discussion dealt with the possibility of establishing a settlement in Upper Canada. Father Burke regretted the fact that Selkirk had induced his people to settle on Prince Edward Island for Burke viewed Upper Canada "both as a better country and one of importance to be secured to Great Britain by a colony of Europeans - avert to the danger of being settled by Yankees - as also necessity of securing the Passes at Detroit and R. St. Clair to preserve the trade to the upper country."[36]

Selkirk concurred with Burke's assessment of the importance of the south-western region of Upper Canada and informed him that his original plan was to establish a settlement in that area, but he had been induced by His Majesty's Government to transfer his settlers to Prince Edward Island.[37] The following day, Selkirk and Burke spent two or three hours poring over a map of Upper Canada and Selkirk mentioned that he preferred a location where there was more room to spread "in which view R. St. Clair or LaTranche was preferable," and "where a settlement could be formed and kept distinct from the Yankees, unmixed and not hemmed in - (where) the object of keeping up their national distinction should be studied, to prevent their imbibing the principles and dispositions of Yankees, which would otherwise pervade the whole country."[39]

Lieutenant-General Hunter with whom Selkirk had several meetings while at York, undoubtedly agreed with Selkirk's selection from a purely military point of view as he was keenly aware of the military importance of the region. On the 23rd April, 1802, General Hunter had received a manuscript from Gother Mann, Colonel Commanding, Royal Engineers, Quebec, entitled Some General Observations on the Boundary between the British Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick and the United States.[39] In this report, Colonel Mann mentioned the military importance of the area and specifically of several of the islands between Lakes Erie and Huron.[40] Hunter was greatly impressed and forwarded the manuscript to Edward Thornton, British representative to the United States, with a description of the report as "being the best information upon that subject which I have yet been able to obtain."[41]

Although Selkirk was well aware of the settlement's strategic importance, a further consideration and one undoubtedly of equal importance was that of securing land which would enable his settlement to prosper. His extensive knowledge of soils and land use made it quite clear that the rich soil of Dover township and the excellent water transportation routes available would greatly increase the settlement's chances of success. The tract of land he selected was

open, which meant that little clearing would be necessary and the lush grasses would provide excellent fodder for his sheep. In a letter to Burn in June 1803, when he asked his overseer to visit "the country between that (Niagara) and Detroit",[42] he wanted information on the area in order to make the best selection of land and he mentioned that he had already been told that "there is much land thereabouts, naturally clear of wood and good pasture which must be of great convenience."[43]

The motto of the Douglas Family, "Firmior quo Paratior" - The Firmer as the More Prepared"[44] was prophetically apt for Thomas Douglas. Decisions for Thomas were made only after careful weighing of concrete evidence and it is therefore not surprising that Selkirk strongly favoured planned, rather than random settlement. During his tour of 1803-04, nothing connected with settlement escaped his notice or his pen. Motivated by a strong desire to ensure the success of his colonizing theories, he issued detailed instructions to McDonnell, his newly appointed farm manager, on the settlement's operation. These instructions, contained in McDonnell's notebook, cover a wide range of activity from the employment of the indenture system to the raising and marketing of sheep and cattle.

The indenture system was employed by Selkirk because land was so plentiful and cheap that in order to attract settlers it would have to be offered at very low prices. However, the low prices would be extremely attractive to people from the United States and these he considered to be of the worst type.[45] Land-hungry labourers from Europe would undoubtedly indenture themselves for the opportunity of being brought to Canada if they could have a farm of their own at the end of their indenture.[46] Selkirk realised that this system offered many disadvantages because some of those indentured would work with such ill will that their labour would be of little value, and others would desert.[47] This Selkirk blamed on the lack of formal ties as most indentured people were single. He hoped to overcome this disadvantage by bringing out indentured families. He also introduced an incentive programme where allowance would be made for work done beyond a fixed amount and the settlers would be allowed to share in the produce of their labour. Additional land might also be granted to parents of young indentured men if the children served faithfully, thus committing the family unit even more closely to the settlement.[48] The Home Farm was to be the centre of the settlement, and the work of the indentured on this farm was expected to produce a profit which would reimburse Selkirk for his expenses.

Sheep were to be the staple upon which the farm would flourish. Selkirk anticipated eventually wintering 10,000 to 15,000 and saw the possibility of employing the system used in Spain where sheep were sent from one part of the country to another for winter and summer pasture.[49] This would require more land than Selkirk possessed and he therefore negotiated to obtain more land further west in what is now the state of Michigan.[50] The breed of sheep was extremely important and Selkirk imported Spanish Merino rams which had acquired a wide reputation for their wool-bearing qualities. The market for the wool produced would be found in Albany, New England, Kentucky, Pittsburg and Lower Canada.[51]

Cattle were to be wintered on the coarse grasses, with a dairy herd of approximately twenty and the milk to be applied entirely to the making of cheese and butter.[52] He also hoped to purchase one hundred cattle annually to fatten for market.[53] A small number of horses were also to be raised, both for the market and as beasts of burden.

The usual fodder crops – hay, timothy, and clover – were to be grown with a few cereal crops such as Indian corn, oats and wheat. Selkirk believed the two crops best suited for an export market were rape seed, which could be converted into oil for easy transport, and hemp, for which there was a strong demand in Europe.[54] A distillery would be an asset to ensure a market for the surplus grains, and a grist mill would be needed for the settlers' cereal crops. However, these constructions could wait until the settlers were more securely established.

The proposed settlement appeared destined for full development because the site apparently offered the necessary environment for exploitation. Through planned settlement based on family indenture, Selkirk believed he could minimize hardships and trouble, and assure the settlement's success. Human problems could be surmounted: however, nature was to provide the one intractable obstacle.

## FOOTNOTES

## CHAPTER TWO

1. Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04 ed. Patrick White, (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1958), p. xii.

2. Ibid., p. xii.

3. Ibid., p. xiv, footnote 3.

4. Pelham to Selkirk, 27th May 1802; Q. 293, pp. 167 ff. Quoted in J. R. Pritchett, The Red River Valley, 1811-1849, A Regional Study, p. 28. Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04 p. xv.

5. Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04 p. xv.

6. Selkirk to Hobart, 6th July 1802; Selkirk Papers Public Archives of Canada, M.G. 19, E. I, Vol. 52, p. 13840.

7. Ibid., pp. 13840-41.

8. "I am under the necessity of acquainting your Lordship, that the Extent of the Grants of Waste Lands must be regulated by the number of Settlers which it may be undertaken to establish upon them, allowing Twelve hundred acres for the Principal of the undertaking and 200 acres for each Settler or follower; and that the Governor and Council of the Province regulate upon the Spot, according to a General & Established Rule, the nature and situation of the Grants and the conditions & Reservations to which they are subject." Hobart to Selkirk, 30th July 1802; Selkirk Papers Vol. 52, pp. 13851-2.

9. Ibid, p. 13852.

10. Ibid., p. 13852.

11. Selkirk to Hobart, 21st August 1802; Selkirk Papers Vol. 52, p.13843.

12. Ibid., p. 13842.

13. Ibid., pp. 13842-3.

14. Ibid., p. 13843.

15. Selkirk to Hobart, 25th January 1803; Selkirk Papers Vol. 52, pp. 13847-8.

16. Ibid., p. 13848.

17. Selkirk to Addington, 1st February 1803; Selkirk Papers Vol. 52, pp. 13854-55.

18. Hobart to Selkirk, 12th February 1803; Selkirk Papers Vol. 52, p. 13849.

19. Fred Hamil, Lord Selkirk's Work In Upper Canada: The Story of Baldoon (unpublished manuscript, 1942), p. 7.

20. Robert Brown, Strictures And Remarks On the Earl of Selkirk's Observations On The Present State of The Highlands With A View of The Causes And Probable Consequences of Emigration (Edinburgh, 1806), pp. 10-11.

21. Hobart to Hunter, 4th September 1802; Michigan Pioneer Collection Vol. XXIII, p. 424. Quoted in F. Hamil, Lord Selkirk's Work In Upper Canada: The Story of Baldoon p. 7.

22. Selkirk to Addington, 1st February 1803; Selkirk Papers Vol. 52, p. 13853.

23. Selkirk believed that a settlement at St. Mary's was in the best interests of Great Britain. Since the area was remote the Government would have to grant extremely lenient terms to Selkirk for he would have to offer in turn extremely attractive terms to induce settlers to the area.

24. Selkirk, Observations On The Present State of The Highlands of Scotland With A View of The Causes And Probable Consequences of Emigration (Edinburgh, 1806), pp. 6-7.

25. Hobart to Hunter, 28th February 1803; Selkirk Papers Vol. 52, p. 14305.

26. Observations p. 198 - Thomas Clark to Wm. Burn, 25 July, 1803: "Selkirk certainly acts strangely in not writing. Report now says that Lord Selkirk is going to the Island of St. Johns in Gulf of St. Lawrence." Selkirk Papers, Vol. 53, p. 14196.

27. Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04 p. xx.

28. Hamil, op. cit., p. 9.

29. Ibid., p. 9.

30. Ibid., p. 9.

31. Selkirk to Burn, 16th June 1803; Selkirk Papers, Vol. 53, p. 14272.

32. Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04 pp. 143-69.

33. Mure to Burn, 9th May 1804; Selkirk Papers Vol. 53, p. 14212. The Site selected, Selkirk advised Burn to proceed to Chenail Ecarté and to get a copy of (Surveyor) Mr. Iredell's notes. Also Robert Nicol of Fort Erie provided Burn with a letter of introduction to the Rev.

erend M. Young, Moravian Missionary at Fairfield on the River Thames. "The bearer of this, Mr. William Burn, is Agent for a Scottish nobleman who has some intention of forming a settlement - on the Chenail Ecarté in your neighbourhood."
Selkirk Papers - Vol. 53, p. 14295 and p. 14203.

34. Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04 p. 170.

35. Chester Martin, Lord Selkirk's Work In Upper Canada (Oxford, 1916), p. 184.

36. Selkirk's Papers Vol. 75, p. 19904.

37. Ibid., p. 19904.

38. Ibid., p. 19905.

39. Peter Hunter, Letter Books, 1799-1805 Public Archives of Canada, M.G. 24, A.6, p. 121.

40. Ibid., pp. 121-7.

41. Peter Hunter, Military Correspondence: October 1799 to August 1805, Part 1, p. 185.

42. Selkirk to Burn, 16th June 1803; Selkirk Papers Vol. 53, p. 14272.

43. Ibid., p. 14272.

44. George Bryce, Life of Lord Selkirk (Toronto, 1913), p. 95.

45. Alexander McDonell Collection, Notebook Public Archives of Canada, M.G. 24, I.8, Vol. 12, p. 16.

46. Ibid., p. 16.

47. Selkirk fully realized that there were certain disadvantages to the indenture system: "It is not to be denied however that many persons have brought over labourers from Europe on Indenture, and have not been able to turn them to advantage - and that the Indentured men finding the circumstances of the Country so different from that which they left have become discontented and have either deserted, or done their duty with so much ill will and reluctance as not to be of any value." Ibid., p. 17.

48. Ibid., p. 18.

49. " . . . if sufficient wintering can be secured, there are abundant resources for summer tho' the Island and other adjacent Pasture should be totally inadequate we need not be at a loss while any Plains remain unoccupied, as we may adopt the system used in Spain where they send their sheep from one area of the Kingdom to the other between

their Summer and Winter pasture . . . "
Ibid., p. 2.

50. Ibid., p. 2.

51. Ibid., p. 5.

52. Ibid., p. 6.

53. Ibid., p. 7.

54. Ibid., pp. 10-11. McDonell in a letter to Selkirk dated 21st September 1809, suggested that one or two Russians who understood the growing of hemp be encouraged to settle at Baldoon. Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p. 14487.

## CHAPTER III
## THE ARRIVAL OF THE SETTLERS.

Selkirk left Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, on the 17th of September, 1803, satisfied that his maritime settlement would succeed. He spent the next 9 months travelling extensively throughout New England, Upper New York State, the eastern part of Upper Canada and parts of Lower Canada. In May 1804, he crossed the Niagara River into Upper Canada determined to visit the site he had selected in Dover Township. William Burn the acting overseer was already in residence with a few hired men preparing the site.

On the 30th of May Selkirk set out for Baldoon from Burlington Bay, stopping initially at Hatts Farm, Ancaster, where the Hatt brothers from England had developed a thriving business which included a mill, distillery and potash works.[1] Selkirk made extensive notes on the development activities at Ancaster which he believed could be put to immediate use in his own settlement. By the 1st of June he was at Mr. Ingersol's in Oxford on the Thames, where he spent the night. On the 2nd of June he sent the horses on to Delaware while he and his party continued their journey in three canoes provided by the great Indian Leader Joseph Brant, and paddled by six of his followers. They proceeded down the Thames, passing Putnam's Saw Mill and Reynolds Mill at Dorchester. They encamped three miles upstream from the forks of the Thames and the next day arrived at the forks where they found a group of Chippewas encamped.[2] After stopping briefly and receiving a fine supply of black bass from the Chippewas they continued to Delaware where they stopped to visit the Brighams, Tiffanys and Allans.[3] Selkirk's party passed a restless night on the 4th of June at Muncy, their sleep disturbed by an Indian ceremonial gathering which lasted the night.[4] Next morning Selkirk's tired party set off on the last leg of their trip and arrived at the settlement on or about the 7th of June.

The instructions from Hobart to Hunter in February 1802 indicated that Selkirk was to receive a gift of any township that he preferred which had not already been appropriated, subject of course to customary regulations. As there was not sufficient land un-

## TABLE SHOWING THE QUANTITY OF LAND RECEIVED, RE-GRANTED, APPROPRIATED BY AND DUE TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF SELKIRK, UNDER ROYAL ORDER OF 28TH FEBRUARY, 1803.

| A | | B | | C | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Received in right of. | Acres | Heads of Families re-granted to | Acres | Heads of Families Appropriated to | Acres |
| The Earl of Selkirk | 1200 | Allan McDougal | 50 | Angus McDougal | 50 |
| Allan McDougal | 200 | Heir of John | | John McDougal,Sr. | 50 |
| John McDougal,Sr. | 200 | McDougal,Sr. | 50 | John Brown | 50 |
| Donald Brown | 200 | Donald Brown | 50 | Hugh McCallum | 50 |
| Donald McDonald, tailor | 200 | Donald McDonald, tailor | 50 | John McDonald, son of Peter | 50 |
| Angus McDonald, shepherd | 200 | Angus McDonald, shepherd | 50 | James Morrison | 50 |
| | | | | Donald McPherson | 50 |
| Charles Morrison | 200 | Charles Morrison | 50 | John McDonald, son of piper | 50 |
| Donald McCallum | 200 | Heir of Donald | | | |
| Alex McDonald, piper | 200 | McCallum | 50 | Alex Buchanan | 50 |
| | | Heir of Alex | | Lionel Johnson | 50 |
| Angus McPherson | 200 | McDonald,piper | 50 | James Stewart | 50 |
| John McKenzie | 200 | Heir of Angus | | Angus McDonald, Laggan | 50 |
| Donald McDonald, Laggan | 200 | McPherson | 50 | | |
| | | John McKenzie | 50 | James Carfrae, weaver | 50 |
| John Buchanan | 200 | Heir of Donald | | | |
| Peter McDonald | 200 | McDonald,Laggan | 50 | Samuel Crayble, millwright | 50 |
| Allan McLean | 200 | Heir of John | | | |
| Angus McDonald, Sr. | 200 | Buchanan | 50 | Joseph Miller | 50 |
| | | Heir of | | George Sweener, blacksmith | 50 |
| | | Peter McDonald | 50 | | |
| | | Allan McLean | 50 | Robert Albin | 50 |
| | | Heirs of Angus | | Nicholas Cornwall | 50 |
| | | McDonald,Sr. | 50 | Gerrard Linsley | 50 |
| | | Angus McDonell, baker | 50 | William Caldwell | 50 |
| | | | | James Burns | 50 |
| | | Sons of Angus | | Elijah Bassett | 50 |
| | | McDonald,Sr. | 50 | Charles Fisher | 50 |
| | | Allan McDonald | 50 | Mathias Crow | 50 |
| | | John McDonald | 50 | Alex Brown | 50 |
| TOTAL | 4200 | | 900 | | 1250 |

A. Selkirk had received from the government 4200 acres; 1200 in his own right, and 200 each in right of the 15 heads of families.

B. Selkirk regranted 900 acres to 18 heads of families, less 50 acres re-conveyed to him by Allan McDougal for debt.

C. Selkirk appropriated 1250 acres to an additional twenty-five heads of families.

| D | | E | | F | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Due upon actual grants to | Acres | Due upon Appropriation to | Acres | Received in right of | Acres |
| Angus McDonell, baker | 200 | Angus McDougal | 200 | Allan McDonald | 200 |
| Sons of Angus, Sr. | | John McDougal,Sr. | 200 | John McDonald | 200 |
| Allan McDonald | 200 | John Brown | 200 | Angus McDougal | 200 |
| John McDonald | 200 | Hugh McCallum | 200 | John McDougal | 200 |
| | | John McDonald, son of Peter | 200 | Hugh McCallum | 200 |
| | | James Morrison | 200 | Angus McDonell | 200 |
| | | Donald McPherson | 200 | Angus McDonald | 200 |
| | | John McDonald, son of piper | 200 | John McDonald | 200 |
| | | Alex Buchanan | 200 | Donald McPherson | 200 |
| | | Lionel Stewart | 200 | John Brown | 200 |
| | | James Stewart | 200 | Charles Fisher | 200 |
| | | Angus McDonald, Laggan | 200 | | |
| | | James Carfrae, weaver | 200 | | |
| | | Samuel Crayble, Millwright | 200 | | |
| | | Joseph Miller | 200 | | |
| | | George Sweener, blacksmith | 200 | | |
| | | Robert Albin | 200 | | |
| | | Nicholas Cornwall | 200 | | |
| | | James Burns | 200 | | |
| | | Elijah Bassett | 200 | | |
| | | Charles Fisher | 200 | | |
| | | Gerrard Linsley | 200 | | |
| | | William Caldwell | 200 | | |
| | | Mathias Crow | 200 | | |
| | | Alex Brown | 200 | | |
| | 600 | | 5000 | | 2200 |

D. The government owed Selkirk 600 acres for the three extra grants that he made to settlers.

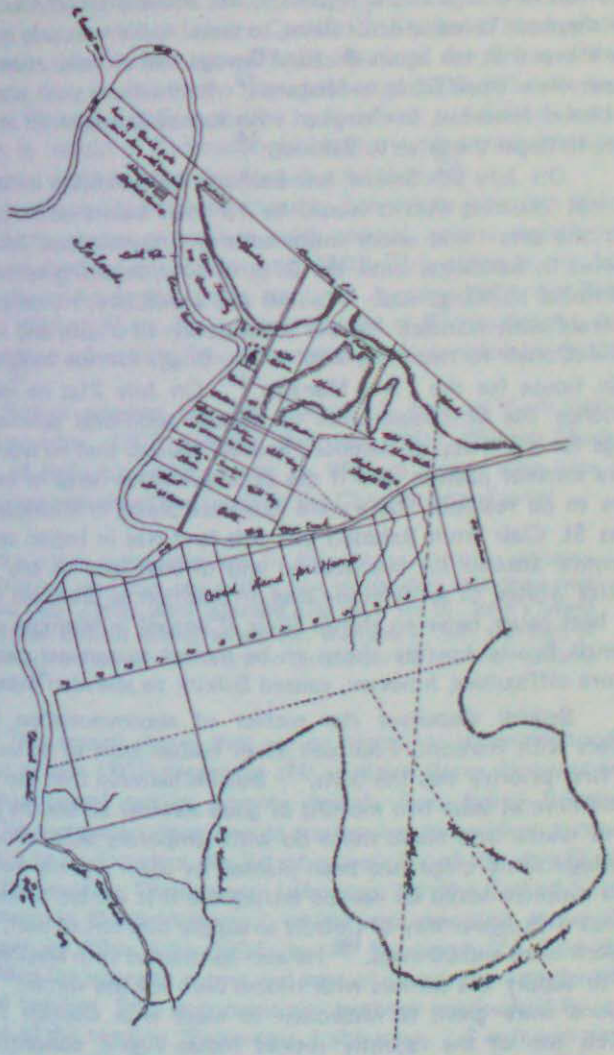
E. Selkirk also sought an appropriation of 500 acres for the additional 25 heads of families placed on 50 acre farms as indicated in (c) above.

F. Instead of petitioning for 5600 acres of land in right of 28 settlers, (c & d), Selkirk never petitioned for or received more than an additional 2200 acres in right of 11 young men.

appropriated in any one township in the Chenail Ecarté area Selkirk petitioned for, and ultimately received, two adjoining half-townships, being approximately the northern halves of Dover and Chatham townships.[5] Selkirk's grant was progressive in that more land would be made available as the number of settlers increased. Initially, he petitioned for, and received, 1200 acres for himself and 200 acres for each of the 15 heads of families en route from the Highlands. Fifty acres of the 200 were to be regranted to the heads of families.[6]

The Home Farm, Selkirk's personal property, was to be the operational centre for the settlement. Consisting of approximately 950 acres, this triangular property was bounded on the west by the Chenail Ecarté (Snye River), on the east by Big Bear Creek (Sydenham River), and on the north by the boundary line separating Dover Township from the Shawnee Territory. The settlers were to be placed on 50 acre lots strung out along the eastern bank of the Chenail Ecarté from Lake St. Clair to the boundary line of the Shawnee Territory.[7] William Burn, the shepherd and overseer had everything prepared for Selkirk's visit, and a mess room which Burn had fixed for the local labourers from the Thames was offered to the visiting party.[8] Selkirk had brought with him as prospective farm manager, Alexander McDonell, the sheriff at York, a Dr. Shaw and Jills, Selkirk's valet.[9] Burn had been busy since early spring preparing the site for Selkirk's visit and for the settlers who were expected to arrive later in the summer. According to Selkirk's instructions, Templeton, a carpenter had been hired to build an ox stable and a store house, and Peter McKee and a Mr. Turner were to clear part of the Home Farm.[10] In addition to the hired men from the area, several other persons were already at the site prior to Selkirk's arrival. These included young men that Selkirk had recruited during his tour the previous nine months. These were three young men from the Glengarry settlement at the eastern end of Lake Ontario including one Angus McDonnell and at least two men from Prince Edward Island, John McDonald and a Mr. McInnes.[11] McDonald had been upset by the location of his site in Prince Edward Island and Petitioned Selkirk to go to Baldoon. Although more will be said of McDonald later, he was to generate a lot of discontent and mismanagement.

During his stay at Baldoon Selkirk learned as much about the site as time permitted. He toured his lands extensively on foot, and where necessary by canoe, assessing its potential and selecting those sites necessary for immediate development. He settled his terms with Templeton, McKee and Turner, and contracted with McKee to build 2 houses, one for the workmen and the other for Peter McDonald,



*PLAN OF BALDOON FARM (1810).*
*(Selkirk Papers, Vol. 55.)*
*and*
*SETTLERS' LOTS ALONG BEAR CREEK (1804).*
*(Alexander McDonell Collection, Notebook).*

who was in charge of the settlers.[12] He also instructed Alex Brown, the shepherd hired to assist Burn, to travel to Schenectady and bring the sheep that his agent Richard Savage had already assembled in Upper New York State to Niagara.[13] Instructions were also issued to Lionel Johnston, in charge of a flock already assembled at Queenston, to begin the drive to Baldoon.[14]

On July 9th Selkirk left Baldoon for Sandwich in high spirits, not knowing that it would be 13 years before he would again visit the area - and under more adverse circumstances. Selkirk remained in Sandwich until the 27th of July, receiving estimates on additional buildings such as a mill and a distillery. He concluded a contract with Ransom for the construction of a barn and instructed McDonell to negotiate with a Mr. Briggs for the building of a main house for the Farm Manager.[15] On July 21st he met with Maconce the Chippewa chief to discuss additional summer pasturage for the sheep at Baldoon. Selkirk realised that he would need more summer pasture land if the extensive sheep range he envisaged were to be realised. There were extensive plains in Michigan across Lake St. Clair from Baldoon but this land was in Indian territory. Maconce assured his cooperation and offered land to any settlers Selkirk wished to settle in the area. In addition he promised to mark the best route between Huron River (Clinton) in Michigan and the Chenail Ecarté for the sheep to be moved to summer pasture.[16] Future difficulties, however, caused Selkirk to abandon these plans.

Selkirk discussed the matter of accommodation for his settlers with Ransom. Fourteen small houses were to be built, but the first priority was the barn.[17] Selkirk believed that the settlers would have at least two months of good weather before the beginning of winter and could make do with temporary accommodation. Although some crops had been planted by Burn and his workmen, extra supplies would be needed during the first winter. Selkirk contracted with James May of Detroit to supply 500 cwt of beef, 5 pairs of work oxen and 50 ewes.[18] He also contracted with Matthew Dolson to supply the settlers with Indian corn for the winter.[19] Instructions were given to McDonell to meet with Captain Thomas McKee, son of the recently retired Indian Agent, concerning the possibility of obtaining the Shawnee territory from the government. McDonell later reported that McKee had agreed to assist in this matter.[20] Upon leaving Sandwich, Selkirk was confident that everything was in readiness for his settlers, who had only recently arrived in Quebec. The settlers had been assembled at Kirkcudbright for a year, in the charge of Peter McDonald. Some of the families had been recruited for St. Mary's in Upper Canada, but when the site

changed to Prince Edward Island they preferred to wait upon the selection of a new site in Upper Canada.[21] Several of them decided to go with those settlers specifically destined for Prince Edward Island and they set sail in the late summer of 1803, but were forced to return. Britain and France were again at war and Selkirk instructed them to remain at Kirkcudbright until the next year, because he feared they might be taken by French privateers.[22]

A minor historical controversy has arisen over the identity of the latter group of settlers, with several writers claiming that they were destined for Baldoon in 1803. This claim is not borne out by the evidence, for it was not until January 1804 that Selkirk notified William Mure, his estate manager at Kirkcudbright, that a site had been selected in Dover township for his settlement in Upper Canada.[23]

Selkirk selected the site during his stay at York between 20th November, 1803 and 4th January, 1804. William Mure, on receipt of Selkirk's letter wrote to William Burn, who was then undertaking a study of the lands in the Chenail Ecarté area:

> This will be delivered to you by Peter McDonald your old acquaintance, who goes out with a few highlanders that came here last year – they were intended originally for St. John's Island (Prince Edward Island) where Mr. Williams is, but the Earl of Selkirk wrote me from York to send them by Montreal towards you.[24]

This record shows that earlier historians misunderstood the purpose of the 1803 departure and explains those accounts which have the original settlers coming directly from Prince Edward Island. The most accurate reference concerning the original number of settlers is to be found in the list of passengers of the ship Oughton under the heading "Passengers, Labourers for the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement in North America" which was recorded at La Chine (Lachine) on 19th July, 1804, by A. Roxburgh.[25] The above-mentioned list contains names and ages of all members of the fifteen original families. This document was perhaps overlooked by others because of the heading "Passengers, Labourers . . ." as it was perhaps assumed that the list contained the names of people from Prince Edward Island who were to be brought to the settlement to work as labourers; however, the intention was in fact to differentiate between the settlers who paid their own passage on the ship and those who came across under the indenture. Selkirk makes reference to this fact in his diary on the 5th and 6th August, 1804:

A. McLean etc. not indented asked terms for going up – I promised work and land cheap on credit – wages, referred to W. Burn.[26]

Research indicates that the "Passengers and Labourers . . ." list of the ship Oughton, is, in fact the most accurate record of the number, names, and ages of the original Baldoon settlers and shows that there were fifteen heads of families comprising 102 persons. Once the site was selected, preparations were made for the emigration of those at Kirkcudbright who wished to settle in Upper Canada, and in July 1804, the fifteen Highland families disembarked at Montreal from the ship Oughton.[27] Unfortunately no record of the crossing has come down to us, if indeed any of the settlers kept a diary. Certainly not all were illiterate, for Angus McDonald and Hugh McCullum were sufficiently educated to become schoolmasters in the settlement.

To any traveller from Europe, the North American forest presented the greatest physical contrast to the settled lands he had left in the old country. Great stretches of birch, elm and tamarack stretched back for mile after impenetrable mile from the shores of the waterways which were the principal communication routes of Upper and Lower Canada. The settlers destined for Baldoon, travelling by the Montreal-Kingston-Niagara route were spared the horrors of overland travel in oxcarts and unsprung wagons which almost every commentator on early travel in the Canadas remembered with a shudder.

Apart from the short overland journey from Montreal to Lachine in French carts, the journey to Queenston was accomplished by water, which saved time and provided some opportunity for recuperation after the rigours of the Atlantic crossing. The settlers arrived at Queenston on the 5th of August, where they were met by Selkirk.[28] Arrangements were made for a brief stay at Fort Erie. The opportunity of meeting with Selkirk to discuss various problems was welcomed by the settlers. Peter McDonald, whom Selkirk had placed in charge of the migrants, recounted the events of the year's stay at Kircudbright. The settlers, he maintained, were generally well behaved and several proved to be good workmen.[29] The indentured families requested Selkirk to allow the time spent at Kircudbright to count as part of their indenture period.[30] In Selkirk's view they did not anticipate a favourable reply, and, when refused, appeared satisfied.[31]

The settlers, and in particular, Mary McCullum, complained that meal and potatoes were insufficient and asked for compensation.[32] Selkirk instructed McDonald to give out Indian meal and

corn, according to proportions at Kirkcudbright[33] while they were detained at Fort Erie. Fresh beef was to be given in lieu of milk.[34]

Selkirk believed the settlers should be kept busy, for too much leisure time, he thought, would make them indolent and lazy. He therefore issued instructions that they be kept together and usefully employed during their stay at Fort Erie. Several settlers were employed in cutting firewood for the garrison, while others quarried limestone ballast for the ship Camden.[35] The women were not forgotten as Peter McDonald issued them with wool to be spun at the rate of the country.[36] Thomas Clark, Selkirk's agent at Queenston, endeavoured "to employ five or six lads in driving Oxen."[37]

Leaving Fort Erie, Selkirk resumed his journey eastward to the Maritimes and eventually home to Scotland; the settlers continued westward by ship, arriving at Amherstburg in the latter part of August. After a short stay, they completed their exhausting trip when they reached Baldoon on September 5th, 1804.[38]

The settlement area was not typical of that usually granted to settlers in Upper Canada. In contrast to the dense, dark forests which greeted settlers in the rest of the colony, the Baldoon Farm was set on a rich and fertile plain – one of the few in Upper Canada, covering almost 1,000 acres.

To an eye accustomed to the bare rocks and meagre soils of the Highlands, such an area was an attractive proposition for farming, and Selkirk well knew the agricultural possibilities of swampy ground, once it was drained and fenced. Unfortunately for his hopes, North American swamps, unlike the bogs of Ireland and the marshes of Scotland, breed mosquitos. Malaria was to be one of the biggest enemies of the scheme of settlement. There was dry ground available in the area of the settlement, but it could not be exploited until the swamps were drained and roads constructed to connect with the Chenail Ecarté.

## FOOTNOTES

## CHAPTER III

1. Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04, ed. Patrick White, (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1958), p. 301.

2. Ibid., p. 306. "Left our encampment and stopt[sic] a few minutes at the Forks, in the great city of London - where there is a Chippaway Bark Whigwham".[sic] Selkirk in a facetious mood is referring to Lt. Governor John Simcoe's abortive plan, 1793, to locate the capital of Upper Canada at the Forks of the Thames to be named London.

3. Ibid., p. 307. Ebenezer Allan (1752-1813) is acknowledged as the founder of Rochester, N.Y. A Loyalist he moved to Upper Canada in 1794 and obtained 2000 acres. He built a grist mill around which the village of Delaware developed. In the War of 1812 he supported the Americans and was imprisoned. Gideon Tiffany (1774-1854) of New Hampshire moved to Niagara in 1794 and as King's Printer, published the official "Upper Canada Gazette." In 1799 he published this province's first independent newspaper the "Canada Constellation". He moved to Delaware with Moses Brigham in 1800 and purchased a large tract of land including site of present village from Ebenezer Allan. See also Ontario Historical Society plaques, Delaware.

4. Ibid., p. 309.

5. Selkirk Papers, Vol. 52, p. 14130.

6. Ibid., p. 14134.

7. Michigan Pioneer Collection XXIII., p. 429. Quoted in Hamil, Lord Selkirk's Work in Upper Canada: The Story of Baldoon. (unpublished manuscript, 1942), p.8.

8. Selkirk Papers, Vol. 53, p. 14316. In a letter of Mar. 12, 1804, from Albany, Selkirk directed Burn to proceed to Chatham and Dover to prepare the site. He advised Burn to hire 3 or 4 men in the neighbourhood and clear 10 acres by job work - also to bargain for girdling and clearing out the brush wood - to clear more land and sow with corn and potatoes. The buildings (except as previously directed by Selkirk) could wait until Selkirk's arrival. He cautioned Burn to direct the labourers in clearing to preserve the good building logs and not to burn them with the rest. Selkirk Papers, Vol. 53, pp. 14279-80.

9. Ibid., p. 14316.

10. Ibid., Vol. 75, pp. 19921-3.

11. Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04. p. 336.

12. Ibid., p. 327-28.

13. Hamil, op. cit., p. 16.

14. Ibid., p. 16.

15. Alexander McDonell Collection, Notebook. Vol. 3, p. 104. Briggs was to finish the house for the farm manager by mid-November. It was to measure 35 x 18 ft with an adjoining kitchen at the back 16 x 14 ft. Later McDonell would build further additions at Selkirk's expense.

16. Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04, p. 330.

17. Ibid., p. 330.

18. Ibid., 1803-04. p.330.

19. Ibid., p. 329 and p. 336.

20. Ibid., p. 332.

21. Norman McDonald, Canada, 1763-1841. Immigration and Settlement (London, 1939), p. 155.

22. Hamil, op. cit., p. 37.

23. William Mure to William Burn; Selkirk Papers, Vol. 53, p. 14212.

24. Ibid., p. 14212.

25. "Passengers and Labourers For the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement In North America." Selkirk Papers, Vol. 4, pp. 105-08.

26. Lord Selkirk's Diary 1803-04, p. 331. Selkirk in his instructions to McDonell described the terms for those not indentured: "The Highland Settlers now gone up are to be treated on the same principles - those not indented to have assistance in Cattle, Provisions . . . on an adequate return in work or produce."
Alexander McDonell Collection, Notebook, Public Archives of Canada, M.G. 24, I. 8, Vol. 12, p.24.

27. The Oughton, registered with Lloyds of London in 1804, was of the Snow class. A sheathed, single deck with beams ship built in 1787, it had a draught of thirteen feet when loaded. The owner, in 1804, was W. Stewart and J. Baird served as her captain. The surveying port for the Oughton in 1804 was Greenock and her destination Quebec. Lloyds Register, The Register of Shipping For The Year 1804, (London, 1804). There are no page numbers; however, the ships are listed alphabetically.

28. Hamil, op. cit., p. 37.

29. Lord Selkirk's Diary 1803-04, p. 331.

30. Ibid., p. 331.

31. Ibid., p. 331.

32. Ibid., p. 331

33. Ibid., p. 331.

34. Ibid., p. 331.

35. Ibid., p. 331. Col. Brock doubted that the Camden could take the settlers further than Sandwich; however, Captain Gilkison disagreed. Brock proved correct as the settlers had to transfer from the Camden to smaller boats to complete their journey to Baldoon. Ibid.,p.332.

36. Ibid., p. 331.

37. Ibid., p. 331.

38. A few of the settlers were in such ill health they had to remain at Amherstburg to recuperate. Robert McNiff in a letter of 29 Aug., 1804, to Burn reported the death of Mrs. Johnson. Selkirk Papers, vol. 53, p. 14,223. Lionel Johnson in a letter dated 4 Sept., 1804, to Burn asked for instructions re. the sheep to swim them across the Thames or incur the expense of ferrying. He wrote of his melancholy state as he had heard recently of the death of his wife. He was anxious to reach the settlement for his children were now reported sick. Ibid., p. 14205.

## CHAPTER IV
## THE EXPERIMENT AS A FAILURE

The success which appeared assured in June during Selkirk's stay at the site eluded the colony. It was immediately struck by a series of misfortunes from which it never fully recovered. The early disasters which befell the colony were many, and the prime cause lay in the site itself. All other causes, although important were secondary. Selkirk appreciated the rich soil and the lush, open grasslands which today form an integral part of one of the finest farm areas in north-eastern America, but this land is extremely low, marshy and subject to periodic floods. He was not unaware of the hazards created by the periodic rise of the Great Lakes for, as he reported in his diary:

> From several factors observed at Niagara and Detroit - it appears that the Lakes were higher fourteen years ago than they have been since and at that time overflowed lands at Detroit formerly cultivated and now again dry.[1]

Added to the natural disadvantages of undrained flatlands were the exceptionally heavy rainfalls of that summer. William Hambly, who had been ordered to undertake a survey of the township of Dover, recorded in his diary that from Wednesday 18th July, 1804, to Wednesday 24th October, 1804, there was scarcely a day on which it did not rain.[2] McDonell, Selkirk's farm manager wrote:

> The continued rains have swelled the (Big) Bear Creek so much that it gives its own dusky colour to the river all the way down. The water in the point of wood where Turner . . . was clearing is knee deep.[3]

The constant rains hampered the building of houses for the settlers and since the two houses already completed by Peter McKee were flooded, the settlers, already weakened by their long and exhausting journey, were housed in makeshift shelters and tents.[4] McDonell was beset by their pleas for houses. Under these conditions it was not surprising that he should report to Selkirk that "fevers have been and are extremely prevalent since the beginning of August in this district, but in no part of it so much so as at Baldoon."[5] The incessant rain, combined with mosquito infested marshes and the "Noxious vapours"[6] of decaying matter proved insurmountable for

the travel-weary settlers and McDonell regretfully reported to Selkirk on the 8th of November, 1804, that fourteen of the original settlers had died and that more were likely to follow.[7] McDonell believed, as did most people in Upper Canada at that time, that the fevers were caused by the bad air of low lying swamps and poorly drained lands. The real culprit behind the fevers was the Anopheles mosquito which abounded in the marshes of the Chenail Ecarté and St. Clair.[8] The fever, which modern medicine identifies as malaria, continued to take its toll as twenty-two settlers, including eight of the original fifteen heads of families were to die by November of 1805.

Lacking the tools of modern day science, the settlers were unable to meet the challenge of the immediate environment. Even Selkirk's presence could not have made the site a practicable place for settlement. However, he would undoubtedly have made the necessary decisions to reduce the attendant hardships. Unfortunately the delays caused by slow communications and the necessity of giving extraordinary powers of discretion to the local farm manager created further hardships. It was Selkirk's misfortune and that of his settlers that he hired as farm manager a man incapable of providing the necessary leadership - Alexander McDonell.[9]

As a farm manager, McDonell proved to be incompetent: however, he must be given some credit for realising that the site was ill-chosen. He pleaded with Selkirk on numerous occasions to quit the area and settle elsewhere, on one occasion writing:

> Would to Heaven my Lord that you had made your selection of the lands on the River Credit where the plains tho' not so extensive as those of Baldoon, are far superior for sheep pasture, where every acre could be disposed, every article find a ready market.[10]

Later he added:

> Allow me to entreat of your Lordship to turn your eyes to some more eligible part of the province for settlement for rest assured my Lord, that not one of the present importation will ever settle at Baldoon.[11]

Although McDonell's appraisal of the site was valid, his utter neglect of Selkirk's directions and of the colony's best interests compounded the disasters, to the detriment of the settlers. His self-esteem and his insatiable appetite for security took precedence over the administration of the colony, and he spent more time at York in search of higher office than he did in Baldoon. Although McDonell had agreed to take up residence at Sandwich and to devote the major portion of his time to Baldoon,[12] the record shows clearly that between 1804 and 1809 he spent the larger part of his time at York.

*ALEXANDER McDONELL*

*Sheriff of the Home District and Farm Manager at Baldoon.*

*(J. Ross Robertson Collection)*

*Metropolitan Toronto Library Board.*

McDonell had been appointed sheriff of the Home District in 1792 and was a member of the Assembly at York.[13] In February, 1805, he was elected Speaker of the Assembly and thus became even more bound to the capital.[14] His recent marriage and the early disasters at Baldoon made York seem more attractive. In 1807, McDonell asked Selkirk if he would agree to release him from his agency in case he obtained the Receivership of the Province.

Selkirk was indeed willing and wrote to McDonell as follows:

> I perceive and indeed it has appeared to me for some time past that your avocations are now so multiple that it is impossible for you to devote your individual attention to my affairs and as constant residence at Baldoon would require a sacrifice of other objects more important to yourself.[15]

McDonell did not secure the position he sought and the fear of being without a secure income induced him to make the best of the position he held with selkirk. McDonell's enthusiasm for Baldoon increased as his hopes for other employment diminished. He wrote to Selkirk, upon hearing the news that he had not been appointed to the Receivership of the province, that matters at Baldoon could still be rectified and that he would move his family to the site in the spring of 1809.[16] The settlers whom he had previously described as "a strange set, and not unlike our neighbours the Chippewas and Ottawas in their inordinate love of whisky and incorrigible propensity to Filthyness,"[17] became "the finest looking men"[18] in the whole province.

Lieutenant-General Hunter, from the first, expressed doubts to Selkirk on McDonell's ability to manage a settlement. He acknowledged McDonell's industry and integrity but distrusted his obstinacy and unaccommodating temper.[19] Time was to prove Hunter's view prophetic, as one of McDonell's greatest failings was his inability to provide leadership and his constant disagreement with those whom he left in charge during his extended trips to York.

For example, during the first winter of 1804-05, when the colony was in urgent need of competent leadership as a result of the many deaths and continuing unsettled conditions, he appointed John McDonald, not an original settler but from Prince Edward Island, as overseer during his absence. Selkirk was critical of McDonell's appointment of McDonald whom he believed to be incompetent. Selkirk gave his opinion in a letter dated 31st January, 1806:

> When I learnt that you had been absent from the settlement for so long a period last winter with no better a substitute than John McDonald to take charge, I anticipated no good, but the extravagance of which he appears to have been guilty goes beyond all bounds; and I cannot understand how you could think of leaving so unlimited a charge in the hands of a man so little capable of it.[20]

McDonell vindicated Selkirk's judgement when he wrote on 17th December, 1806:

> It would have been a fortunate event for the settlement had Mr. (John) McDonald left it at an earlier period. He introduced a spirit of discontent, idleness and party work, all of which will now, I am certain, disappear.[21]

McDonell was constantly at odds with those whom he left in charge. During the winter of 1807-08, Dr. Sims took over the management of the settlement while McDonell was at York. Sims had been sent out from Scotland in 1806 by Selkirk to serve as physician for the colony. McDonell reported to Selkirk that Sims was fully equal to managing the business at Baldoon. However, McDonell was to write in 1809:

> I think him a gentleman of abilities as a medical man and between River St. Clair, the Thames and his situation at Baldoon might have a very comfortable income, but his apathy and torpor are beyond belief and his mode of living singular and unbecoming a man of his acquirements.[22]

Unpleasant arguments also took place between McDonell and the shepherds, Johnson and Mitchell: both men eventually left the settlement. Mitchell who returned to England, complained directly to Selkirk, and McDonell in his letter of explanation to the Earl did not mince words as he described Mitchell:

> His propensity to liquor can only be equalled by his utter disregard of truth which is proverbial in the settlement . . . his low cunning and smooth manner of addressing himself I mistook for good natured naivety . . . he is a mass of deception and totally incapable of discharging the trust which it was intended should be placed in him.[23]

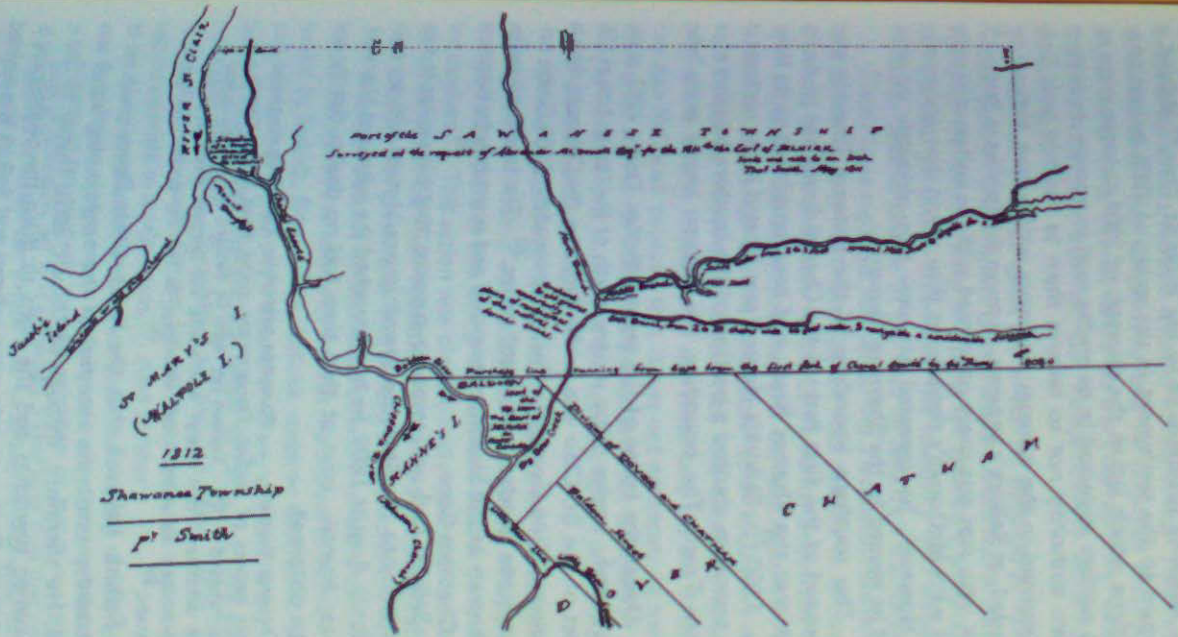
In January 1810, McDonell evidently in an attempt to cover his own shortcomings, abandoned his briefly-held good opinions of the settlers

> With the exception of three or four families they are the most drunken, quarrelsome, sponging, indolent, of any people in Upper Canada. I have repeatedly made up differences between them, but finding there is no end to their frays I have at length done what I will persevere in doing, bind them over to the quarter sessions at Sandwich. The McDougalls are pre-eminent at pugilistic exploits and the author of most broils, particularly Allan who is a worthless fellow, and who has been the cause, that seven besides himself, made their appearance at last Quarter Session lately.[24]

A second factor, which was undoubtedly of greater importance than even McDonell's inability to provide leadership was his utter disregard for Selkirk's instructions. When Selkirk first received the calamitous news of the deaths of so many of his settlers, he immediately wrote McDonell advising him to move the settlers


*Chenail Ecarté*

*(Mrs. Betty Stewart Collection)*




**PLAN OF SHAWNEE TOWNSHIP**

**(Selkirk Papers, Vol. 54.)**

to either the forks of Big Bear Creek (the present site of Wallaceburg) in the Shawnee township or to the River St. Clair.[25] McDonell, on his return to the settlement in the spring of 1805, believed that the conditions which led to the disasters of 1804 no longer existed and, as the settlers appeared to be on the road to recovery, he decided on his own authority not to remove them to healthier lands. The fevers returned in the summer and more settlers died. McDonell then proceeded, at Selkirk's expense, to move the families to Sandwich.[26] Selkirk who was genuinely concerned with the welfare of his settlers agreed with McDonell's decision as they would then receive medical care. However, he repeated his view that ultimately the settlers should be moved to the Shawnee township.

The southern boundary of the Shawnee Township, which commenced at the first fork of the Chenail Ecarté and ran due east until it met the Thames River, had been established by the McKee Treaty, 1790.[27] Selkirk's Home Farm located in the north-west of Dover township abutted a portion of the southern boundary of the Shawnee Tract. The boundary line became known as the Indian Line.

Under the terms of the second McKee Treaty, 1797, an area approximately twelve miles square north of the Indian Line of 1790 and east of the St. Clair was surrendered by the Chippewa chiefs to His Majesty, King George III for approximately £800 Quebec currency in trade goods at Montreal prices.[28] The land purchased became known as the Shawnee township and eventually by the present name, Chatham Gore.

Selkirk had no reason to suppose that his request to move the settlers into the Shawnee township would meet with any opposition for in August 1804, he had broached the subject to Lieutenant-Governor Hunter, who at that time had no doubts that the land could be obtained.

> General Hunter . . . . Shawnee township - cannot be determined till papers of Indian Department come from Lower Canada - purchased 1796 - known no right in Indians and will be located as another - but better not apply till Settlers more come in - promises no other shall interfere, & has no doubt Gov. will grant.[29]

Selkirk believed that the lands within Dover could not be made healthy until the marshes of the neighbouring islands were drained. He therefore, through McDonell, asked Hunter for land in the Shawnee township and the right to drain the neighbouring island marshes. Both requests were refused and Selkirk was surprised and vexed at Hunter's decision. Hunter, in a letter to McDonell dated 24th May, 1805, stated that the Shawnee township was reserved

to the Indians.[30] As a result of Hunter's decision and the deaths of so many of his settlers, Selkirk decided in November 1805 to abandon the settlement site temporarily and he directed McDonell to purchase two or three cleared farms on the Thames River where the settlers would be kept together, but independently working their land on shares.[31]

McDonell, who had spent the winter of 1805-06 at York, did not make Selkirk's plan known to the settlers until April 1806. The majority of the settlers were in favour of Selkirk's proposal, but again McDonell personally overruled the majority and decided to give Baldoon another chance in the face of Selkirk's instructions.[32]

Francis Gore replaced Hunter as the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada in June 1806 and Selkirk had reason to believe that Gore would be more amenable to the Earl's earlier proposals regarding the draining of the island marshes and the acquisition of land in the Shawnee township. Selkirk therefore told McDonell that it would be best to remove the settlers to the Shawnee township, giving up the idea of the move to the three lots on the Thames.[33] Once again McDonell believed that it was not necessary to move the people as the summer of 1806 had passed without a return of malaria and he therefore said nothing to the settlers about the prospect of moving to the Shawnee township.[34]

Further evidence of McDonell's neglect of instructions was indicated by his petition in June 1809, to the Council of Upper Canada to surrender the wet lots along the Chenail Ecarté in return for land elsewhere.[35] This action was diametrically opposed to Selkirk's own wishes, as the Earl had repeatedly informed McDonell that the marsh lands were of great value and should be permanently retained.

A further instance of McDonell's failure to carry out his instructions is shown by his failure to submit his expenses in the manner outlined by Selkirk. Repeatedly, Selkirk ordered McDonell to keep careful account of the colony's financial affars, yet McDonell, out of ignorance or by design, completely failed to carry out this basic administrative procedure. In a letter of the 3rd May, 1808, Selkirk wrote instructions to McDonell to let the Farm on shares and to keep the expenses to a minimum.[36] And further:

> I have also repeatedly insisted on your transmitting to me, at the beginning of each year a distinct and precise estimate of the expenses to be incurred: tho' the omission of this is no new cause of complaint yet it is extremely irksome to find that no repetition of orders can induce you to attend to that essential point. 37

Although Selkirk was an extremely patient man, McDonell's complete disregard for these instructions compelled him to write

that this act had:

> Excited my displeasure in a higher degree than anything which has occurred since I had concerns in Upper Canada, not excepting even the unparalleled extravagance which prevailed in the years 1804-05. The plan of management which I transmitted to you on 3rd May, 1804, appears to be set completely at nought though it could not escape your observations that I place great importance to that message.[38]

Selkirk ordered McDonell to come to England to explain his actions and appointed Thomas Clark, his agent at Queenston, to audit McDonell's records at Baldoon. Clark reported that although McDonell's book-keeping was irregular, there were no signs of dishonesty. However, it was his belief that if McDonell had spent more time at Baldoon there would not have been the enormous financial waste which had occurred.[39]

Bad management notwithstanding, it was nature which provided the most refractory problems for the settlement. In addition to the troubles caused by malaria, the colony suffered further hardships as the sheep which were to be the mainstay of the fledgling community fared poorly in the early years. In May, 1805, McDonell reported that the sheep had suffered from scab and that a number had already died and more were likely to follow.[40] Rattlesnakes and roving packs of wolves also accounted for a number of the sheep, and to make matters worse, crops failed in 1804 and 1805. In the fall of 1804, McDonell reported that:

> The torrents of rain which fell during the months of September and October inundated the Plains on the Little Bear Creek to such a degree that it will be impracticable to get at the hay which has been stacked there until the frost sets in. The small crop of Peas, Barley and Oats near the garden tho' cut and stacked has been destroyed.[41]

Nature reversed her role in 1805. McDonell indicated that little could be said of the crops, for this year they had suffered as a result of summer drought.[42]

The death of William Burn and Peter McDonald in the fall of 1804 caused further grief as these two men could have filled the leadership vacuum created by McDonell's ineptitude and absence. Burn was an extremely good shepherd who had been highly recommended to Selkirk by William Mure, the Earl's estate Manager at Kirkcudbright and McDonald had been in charge of the settlers during their stay at Kirkcudbright and during their voyage to Baldoon.

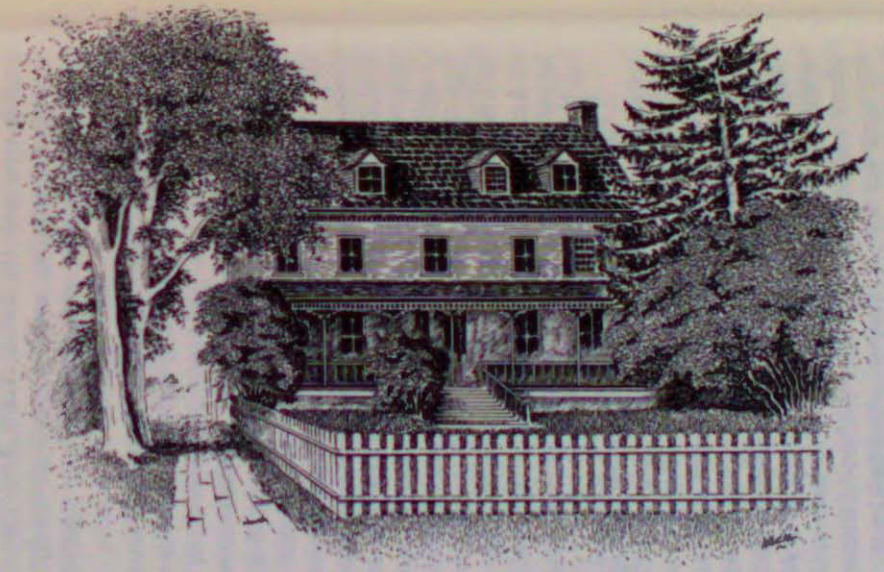
Dr. Sims, who was relieved of his duties in 1809, foresaw further difficulties for the colony when he predicted that if war were to break out between the United States and Great Britain, the Americans would raid the settlement and try to carry off the sheep at

Baldoon.[43] Sim's prediction came true, for the War in 1812 brought American troops to Baldoon.

This is not the place to discuss the origins or the course of the War of 1812. It is sufficient to say that the Baldoon settlement was a victim of Great Power squabbles in which it had no part and of which its inhabitants knew little. The ramifications of international quarrels made the British North American colonies the enemies of the United States, and the march of the American frontier to the Michigan Territory made the settlement a convenient and tempting target.

Captain Robert Forsyth, in July, 1812, commanding a small militia unit, pillaged the homes of the settlers as well as the Farm. Sandwich at that time had been occupied by the Americans under General Hull and Forsyth returned to Sandwich with a "small herd of cattle, nearly 1,000 sheep, and accompanied by the settlement's large boat and ten small ones laden with grain, flour and other booty".[44] It was later rumoured that Hull, who removed the sheep to Detroit, sold a large number of them for his personal benefit. The fortunes of Baldoon rose and fell with British fortunes on the Detroit River. The capture of Detroit by Brock led to the return to Baldoon of many of the sheep, through the intervention of Col. Matthew Elliot, of the Indian Department, who knew of their ownership,[45] but a number were killed and eaten by the army. In October 1814, the American General McArthur and 750 of his men took control of Baldoon but there was not the plunder attending with this raid as that of the previous one in 1812.[46]

Selkirk's interest in Baldoon waned as he became more deeply involved in his latest settlement venture at Red River. Following the war of 1812, the Baldoon Farm was leased to a William Jones. In 1818, Selkirk returned to the area, not to visit his settlement at Baldoon, but to stand trial at the Fall Assizes of the Western District at Sandwich. Selkirk's Red River settlement had been continually harassed by agents of the North West Company and Metis. The harassment intensified and resulted in the massacre of Governor Semple and some 20 Red River settlers at Seven Oaks (Manitoba). This inhumane act provoked a furious Selkirk to administer his own form of rough justice. Armed with a commission as Justice of the Peace for Upper Canada and the Indian territory, and accompanied by a small corps of disbanded soldiers he took possession of the North West Company's Fort William. Deputy Sheriff W. Smith attempted to arrest Selkirk at the Fort on a charge of riot issued by Dr. David Mitchell.[47] Selkirk refused to recognise the charge and treated it with utter contempt. A further warrant was issued by



*Residence of James Baby, Sandwich, U.C.*

*This dwelling was erected about 1790 by the Hon. James Baby, Legislative Councillor. The Headquarters of Gen. Hull when he invaded Canada in 1812. Subsequently occupied by Gen. Brock, Col. Proctor and Gen. Harrison.*

*(J. Ross Robertson Collection - Metropolitan Toronto Library Board)*

Francois Baby at Sandwich charging Selkirk and 9 others for taking property illegally from the North West Company. Selkirk was advised by close friends to leave the country immediately through the United States. Influential people in Upper Canada, primarily those who supported the fur trade were heavily against him, and it was unlikely that he would receive a fair hearing. The Earl dismissed the well-intentioned pleas of his friends. He was a Nobleman, a symbol of British Justice – how could he not submit to British Rule of Law?

The Attorney-General, John Beverly Robinson, after the initial charge of resistance to arrest against Selkirk was dismissed, grouped all other charges under the general heading of "conspiracy to injure and destroy the trade of the North West Co."[48] Judge Powell adjourned the case Sine Die, a legal procedure to adjourn to an indefinite time. This legal device is often used in cases where the judge believes there is insufficient evidence to proceed further. Hamil suggests Powell used this particular legal manoeuvre to prevent any further embarrassment to Robinson. The charges were eventually dropped.

On September 17, 1818, while at Sandwich, Selkirk sold the farm to John McNab for approximately $2,225. The Farm was eventually resold at public auction to James Wood and William Jones. Two of the lots on the Thames River were also sold to James Wood and the remaining lot to Dr. Robert Richardson of Sandwich. Selkirk's remaining lands in Dover were finally sold in 1832 to Thomas Clark, his agent at Queenston.[49] With the transaction of 1818 the settlement may be said to have disappeared.

Selkirk's experiment at Baldoon has usually been described as an ill-fated venture and a failure, having played a relatively insignificant role in the growth of Kent, and Lambton Counties. Dr. George Bryce, in The Life of Lord Selkirk referred to Baldoon as a burden and dismissed the settlement as ten years of most disappointing events,[50] with no comment as to the ultimate success or failure of the settlers. Gray in Lord Selkirk of Red River described Baldoon as "a dead albatross"[51] about Selkirk's neck and "of his three settlements - his three dreams - only the first was ending as it should. Baldoon was finished, a miserable failure."[52] Gray, like Bryce, did not discuss the fate of the settlers and their influence on the surrounding area.

Dr. Fred Hamil, in his fine unpublished manuscript Lord Selkirk's Work in Upper Canada, The Story of Baldoon, said that the settlement at Baldoon, "intended as the nucleus of a much greater one" was destined "to extinction after a series of heart-breaking dis-

appointments . . . "[53] Hamil, unlike the writers previously mentioned, does mention the fact that many of the settlers moved northwards to the Gore of Chatham which was then part of the old Shawnee township. However, he concludes his work on Selkirk by stating that "Selkirk's work in Upper Canada met with little success, and has largely been forgotten."[54]

The settlers, however, remained and a distinction must be made between the failure of the settlement as a site and the success of the settlement in terms of the ultimate future of the settlers. The settlement site was indeed abandoned for a time but the settlers remained and provided the nucleus of many successful farming communities in Kent and Lambton Counties.

## FOOTNOTES

## CHAPTER FOUR

1. Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04 ed. Patrick White (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1958), p. 144.

2. "Hambly's Diary" published in W.G. McGeorge "Early Settlement and Surveys Along The River Thames in Kent County", Kent Historical Society: Papers and Addresses (Chatham, 1924), pp. 25-31.

3. McDonell to Selkirk, 25th September 1804; Selkirk Papers, Vol. 54, p. 14325.

4. Fred Hamil, Lord Selkirk's Work in Upper Canada: The Story of Baldoon (Unpublished manuscript, 1942), p. 38.

5. McDonell to Selkirk, 25th September 1804; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p. 14326.

6. Ibid., p. 14346.

7. McDonell to Selkirk, 8th November 1804; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p. 14329.

8. William R. Riddell, "Mosquito In Upper Canada", Ontario Historical Society: Papers And Records (Toronto, 1919), Vol. XVII, p. 85.

9. For further details on hiring of McDonell see Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04, pp. 325-7.

10. McDonell to Selkirk, 4th May 1805; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p.14341

11. McDonell to Selkirk, 28th July 1805; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p.14347.

12. Lord Selkirk's Diary, p. 326.

13. Hamil, op. cit., p.15.

14. Ibid., p. 42.

15. Selkirk to McDonell, 3rd May, 1808. Ibid., pp. 14570-72.

16. McDonell to Selkirk, 6th March 1809; Selkirk Papers, Vol. 54, p.14456.

17. McDonell to Selkirk, 30th June 1807; Selkirk Papers, Vol. 54, p. 14407.

18. McDonell to Selkirk, 20th April 1809; Selkirk Papers, Vol. 54, p. 14464.

19. Lord Selkirk's Diary, p. 341.

20. Selkirk to McDonell, 31st January 1806; Selkirk Papers, Vol. 54, pp. 14378-9. Quoted in F. Hamil, Lord Selkirk's Work In Upper Canada: The Story of Baldoon, (Unpublished manuscript, 1942), pp. 53-4.

21. McDonell to Selkirk, 17th December 1806; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, pp. 14384-5. Quoted in Hamil, ibid., p. 55.

22. McDonell to Selkirk, 27th June 1809; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54 p. 14471. Quoted in Hamil, ibid., pp. 68-9.

23. McDonell to Selkirk, 28th November 1808; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, pp. 14448-53. Quoted in Hamil, ibid., p. 62.

24. McDonell to Selkirk, 15th January 1809; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, pp. 14499-15000. Quoted in Hamil, ibid., p. 71.

25. Selkirk to McDonell, 21st February 1805; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p. 14540.

26. McDonell to Selkirk, 28th July 1805; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p.14346.

27. V. Lauriston, Romantic Kent (Chatham, 1952), p. 22.

28. Ibid., p. 391.

29. Lord Selkirk's Diary, 1803-04 pp. 341-2.

30. Hunter to McDonell, 24th May 1805; Michigan Pioneer Collections Vol. XXIII, p. 435. Quoted in Hamil, op. cit., p. 46.

31. R. S. Woods, Harrison Hall And Its Associations (Chatham, 1896), p. 88. Five of the lots were purchased by James Woods and today form part of the northern section of the city of Chatham. R.S. Woods recalled that his father, who was Selkirk's solicitor, had large trunks and boxes containing the papers of the estate (Baldoon) and those of the officials connected with it. These records have not been discovered by the author.

32. McDonell to Selkirk, 13th April 1806; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p. 14369.

33. Selkirk to McDonell, 30th October 1806; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p. 14564.

34. McDonell to Selkirk, 30th June 1807; Selkirk Papers Vol.54, p.14407.

35. McDonell to Selkirk, 27th June 1809; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p.14469.

36. Selkirk to McDonell, 3rd May 1808; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, pp. 14570-72.

37. Selkirk to McDonell, December 1809; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p. 14580.

38. Ibid., p. 14580.

39. Clark to Selkirk, 28th June 1810; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p. 14590.

40. McDonell to Selkirk, 4th May 1805; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p.14341

41. McDonell to Selkirk, 30th November 1804; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p. 14332.

42. McDonell to Selkirk, 3rd August 1805; Selkirk Papers Vol. 54, p. 14353.

43. Francis Huff, "Settlement of Baldoon An Ill-Fated Venture Of The Earl of Selkirk", London Free Press 29th June 1963, p. 28.

44. Hamil, op. cit., p. 85.

45. R. Innis requested the loan of one of Selkirk's Spanish rams and Spanish ewes for Col. Elliot. Elliot had been instrumental in preserving Selkirk's sheep at Detroit during the War in 1812. Innis to Brown, 9th September 1812. Letter in possession of Mrs. Mary Morrison, Tupperville.

46. V. Lauriston, op. cit., p. 105.

47. Hamil, op. cit., p. 89.

48. Ibid., p. 91.

49. Ibid., p. 92.

50. George Bryce, The Life of Lord Selkirk (Toronto, 1913), p.30.

51. John Gray, Lord Selkirk of Red River (Toronto, 1963), p. 40.

52. Ibid., p. 328.

53. Hamil, op. cit., p. 3.

54. Ibid., p. 105.

## *CHAPTER V*
## *THE EXPERIMENT AS A SUCCESS*

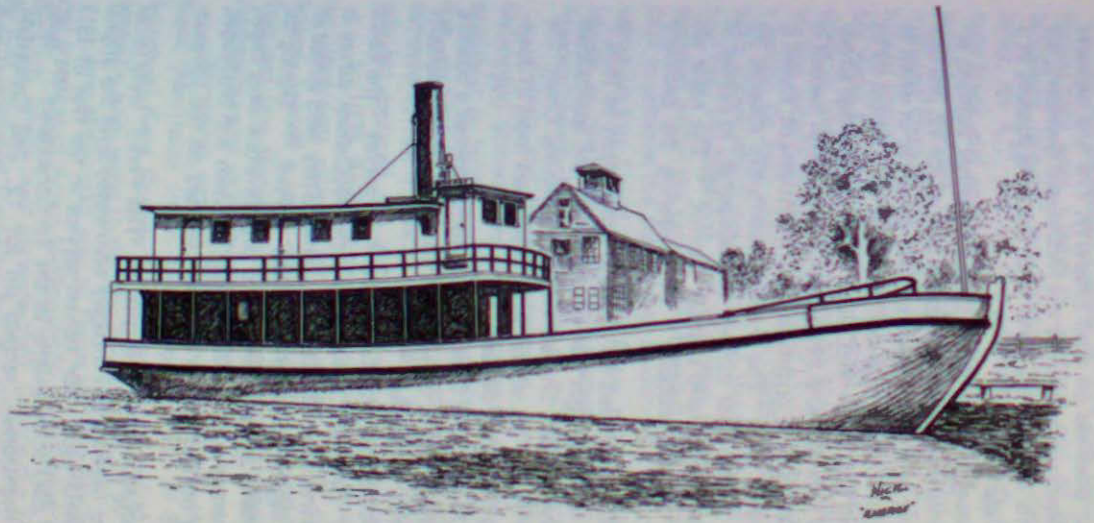
The majority of the settlers clung stubbornly to their fifty acre lots on Big Bear Creek until the Shawnee township, surveyed in 1821 by Thomas Smith, was opened for settlement in 1822.[1] Sometime around 1822, Laughlan McDougall, son of John and Sarah McDougall, secured from the Crown lot 13, 2nd Concession of Chatham Gore[2] at the forks of Big Bear Creek, less than a mile upstream, and thus became Wallaceburg's first settler.

Lionel Johnson and his son-in-law, James Stewart, in 1809 had obtained an illegal Indian deed to land at the forks and temporarily squatted at the site;[3] however, McDonell petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor for their removal as Selkirk had his own designs on the area. Johnson moved to lot 3, 1st Concession of Sombra township at a sharp bend in the Chenail Ecarté, which today is referred to as Johnson's Bend.[4] Stewart settled on lot 2, 1st Concession, Sombra township.[5]

McDougall opened a multi-purpose building which served as a trading-post, tavern and dwelling place. This building fronted on Wallace Street approximately where the Liquor Control Board of Ontario store stands today. He later opened a hostelry across the street which became famous "for its three cent swipes of whisky, and from the effects of which not a few free brawls were instituted."[6] The McDougalls were well known for their pugnacity.

In 1834, Laughlin launched the schooners Wallace and Selkirk,[7] the first of many ships to be built at Wallaceburg. Interestingly enough, Selkirk in his early instructions to McDonell suggested that the Baldoon settlement would need the services of a "shallop" and felt that McDougalls, with a good shipwright to superintend them, could handle the project, and that Allan McDougall would serve as captain.[8]

Archibald and Hector McDougall soon followed their brother's lead and took up land across the river from Laughlin on the north side of Big Bear Creek east of the Point.[9] The Point is the



*THE ENERGY*

*Steamer owned by William S. and James McLean. Malcolm McDonald master, Built by William Taylor at Wallaceburg, 1883. Broken up at Amherstburg, 1915.*

*(Mr. Frank Mann Collection).*

property situated at the confluence of the north and east branches of Big Bear Creek where the Canadian Legion building stands today. The McDougall family eventually established a flourishing lumber business on their property. The first registered cemetery in Wallaceburg, known as the McDougall Cemetery, was established on this side of the river and today is marked by a simple cairn on Water Street.[10]

The McDougalls were soon joined by other Baldoon settlers. Hugh McCallum obtained the south half of lot 12, 2nd Concession.[11] He built a frame house on the property in which he taught school. Selkirk had visualized the need for a school for his original settlement and Hugh McCallum was his intended schoolmaster.[12] Son of Donald and Mary McCallum, Hugh became in 1834 the settlement's first postmaster. The settlement, known as "The Forty Thieves" and "The Forks" eventually adopted the name Hugh gave to the post office - Wallaceburgh, in honour of Sir William Wallace, Scotland's great patriot.[13] The name was later naturalized as Wallaceburg[14] by dropping the peculiarly Scottish "h",

Hector McLean settled lot 12, 2nd Concession, in 1830.[15] He lived on the northern portion of the lot in the approximate area where today Nelson Street crosses Running Creek. The southern portion of the lot which now comprises most of downtown Wallaceburg remained dense bush.

Hectór McDonald at a later period, 1840, opened a boarding house on present-day Nelson Street where he dispensed hospitality on strictly temperance principles.[16]

Laughlin McDougall instituted the first survey - the Eberts Survey - in 1833. This was followed by the McCallum survey in 1836.[17] On the north side of the river, James Baby who settled on lot 12, 2nd Concession, initiated the Baby Survey.[18] During the next forty years many other surveys and sub-divisions were begun, bearing Highland names such as McDonald, McLean and McDougall, thus indicating the impact of the Baldoon settlers on the community.[19]

The Baldoon settlers who settled at "The Forks" were joined at an early stage by families not directly connected with the original settlement. John McGregor, for valued service in the War of 1812 received a grant of 850 acres chiefly in the 1st Concession.[20] James Baby, previously mentioned, settled on lot 12, 2nd Concession. George Little, who married Hannah McDougall, a Baldoon descendant, settled east of "The Forks" on the north bank on lot 18.[21] Following 1860, the Hay, Beattie, Forhan, Fraser, and Scott families

entered the area, joining other non-Baldoon settlers who had recently preceeded them, the Judsons, Steinhoffs, Pattersons and Clancys.[22]

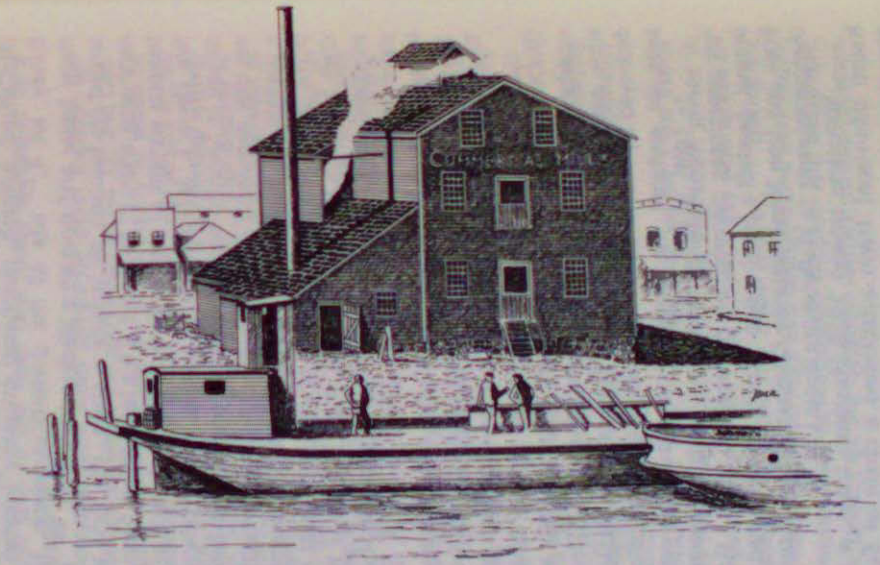
As the community grew in size the business and industrial interests kept pace. Lionel H. Johnson, son of James and Margaret (McCallum) Johnson, purchased property located within the Baby Survey, lot 4,[23] site of the present cenotaph. Here he erected a frame house and opened a blacksmith's shop.[24] Eventually he extended his business to include a store, the first to be built on the north-west angle of the forks. This land today forms a portion of the business section of James Street, Wallaceburg's principal thoroughfare. Henry E. Johnson, son of Lionel, took a course at a commercial college in Toronto and returned to operate his father's store.[25] He was later appointed the community's first Dominion Telegraph agent, a position he held until 1884. In 1898 he became librarian of the public library which was located on the north-east lower floor of the town hall. The building was less than ideal, for the local fire hall, contained within the same walls, created sufficient din with each fire alarm to unnerve the staunchest reader. In 1908, the present library located on lots 1 and 2 of the Baby survey was opened with Mr. Johnson as chief librarian.[26] Like many libraries of the day it was financed through the munificence of a Carnegie grant.

Calvert and Hugh Stonehouse, sons of Hugh and Margaret (McDougall) Stonehouse extended the dry goods and grocery store established in 1879 by their grandfather R.S. Stonehouse.[27] The store, situated at the corner of Wallace and McDougall Street was destroyed by fire in 1892; however, a brick building erected on the same lot replaced the former frame building and stands today.

In 1905, Baldoon descendant Herb McDougall, together with two prominent citizens of Wallaceburg, D.A. Gordon and Herb Burgess, headed a local group which incorporated the Wallaceburg Brass and Iron Manufacturing Company.[28] In April 1933, the firm changed its name to Wallaceburg Brass Ltd.[29]

Sometime around 1926 Morrison Irwin, a son of John and Naomi (Morrison) Irwin established a chain of 5c and 10c stores throughout Kent County known as Mirwin's Ltd. The stores were eventually sold, some to the Metropolitan chain.[30]

Eric McDonald, son of Delos and Ella McDonald and a great-great grandson of Angus McDonald Sr., established his own company, Mac Craft, which built pleasure craft. During the Second World War, the firm produced Fairmiles for the Canadian Navy. Following the war he established Mac Construction which has built numerous buildings in Kent County, including the additions to the local hospital and library.[31]



*Commercial Mill.*

*Wallaceburg Water Front, C. 1900.*

*(Mr. Frank Mann Collection).*

The Baldoon settlers as loyal subjects offered their services to the Crown when the national security of Canada was threatened. Hugh McCallum[32] and Angus McDougall took part in the War of 1812.[33] It has been reported that McCallum saw action at the battle of the Thames where Tecumseh, Britain's ally, was mortally wounded.

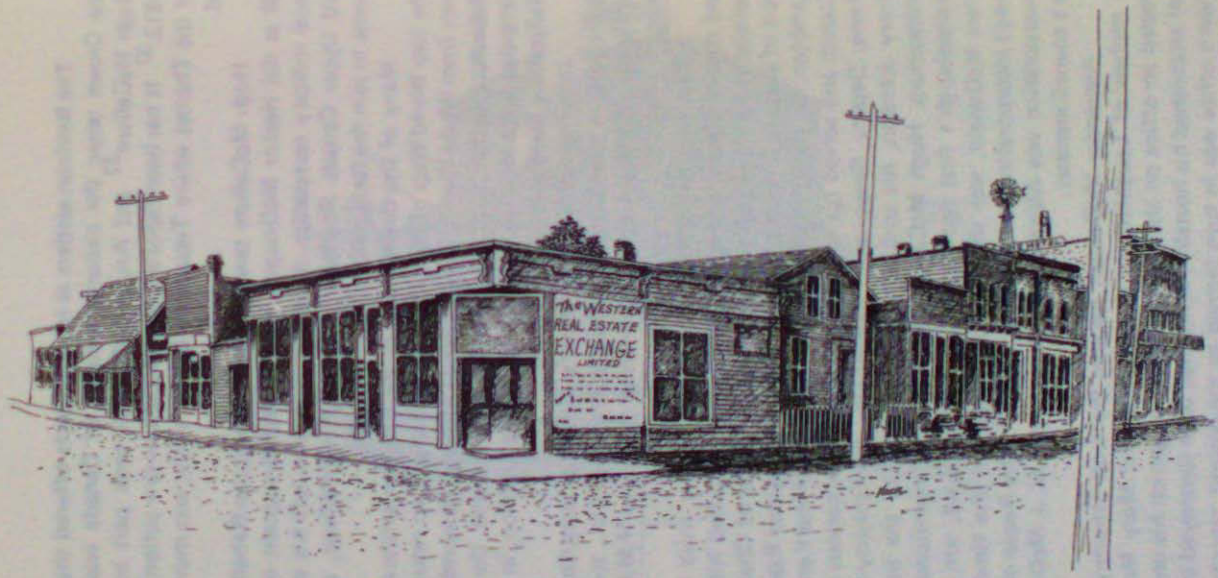
Hugh McCallum saw further action in the Rebellion of 1837-38 as did Hector McDougall, who served as captain of one of the local military companies. Lionel H. Johnson left his studies at the old Upper Canada Academy, now Victoria College, and returned home to join the local militia.[35]

Many of the descendants of the Baldoon settlers took part in the two World Wars of the twentieth century. Two returning servicemen from World War II, Cal and Fred Duchene, descendants of Allan McLean, together with Harold Martin, organized the fund-raising campaign for a local arena which led to the erection, in 1948, of the Wallaceburg Memorial Arena.[36]

In recognition of the town's industrial contribution to the War effort, in which the Wallaceburg Brass Co. Ltd., took a prominent part, a Canadian corvette received the name H.M.C.S. Wallaceburg.[37]

The Baldoon settlers also played active roles in municipal and county affairs. Lionel H. Johnson distinguished himself in local politics as he was chosen to represent the Gore of Chatham, then a part of Sombra township, on the District Council of Essex, Kent and Lambton. In 1849, he was elected chairman of the Kent Provisional Council and served his township and county in various capacities, as Reeve, Deputy Reeve and Warden for over twenty-five years.[38] Henry Johnson, his son, served for a time as the town clerk of Wallaceburg. Hugh McCallum, as previously mentioned, served as Wallaceburgh's first postmaster. D. B. McDonald, son of Neil and Flora McDonald, was the local postmaster at the time of Wallaceburg's incorporation as a village in 1874.[39] The Reeve at the time of incorporation was Alexander McDougall and W. J. McDonald served as a council member.

Alexander McDougall became the local attorney in 1857.[40] A nephew of Laughlin and son of John and Mary McDougall, he erected an office on the same property on which his uncle Laughlin had established his hostelry, which had been destroyed by fire. Alexander's office was in turn burned to the ground, reportedly by irate hotel owners frustrated with McDougall's strict enforcement of the Canada Temperance Act 1878.[41] The outline of the office foundation can still be seen today in front of the apartment occupied by




*Corner of James and Duncan Streets.*
*Wallaceburg's Main Intersection, c. 1903.*
*(Mr. Frank Mann Collection.)*

*Residence of John T. McDonald, c. 1850.*
*(Mr. Frank Mann Collection).*

his grand-daughter, Frieda McDougall.

Since 1896 when Captain J. Steinhoff was elected Wallaceburg's first mayor, four Baldoon descendants have held the town's highest office; J. W. McDonald, 1909-10; C. S. Stonehouse, 1929-30; J.Eric McDonald, 1944 and 1950; L. Stonehouse 1976-78.[42]

Chester McGregor, 1911-12; W. J. McDonald, 1917-19; Frank C. Nightingale, 1950;[43] all Baldoon descendants, served as Reeves of Wallaceburg and the previously mentioned W.J. McDonald served as Deputy Reeve in 1914-15, as did C. S. Stonehouse in 1926.[44]

The foregoing record of the contribution made by the individuals previously cited to the founding and growth of Wallaceburg is by no means exhaustive. Other Baldoon descendants were to perform valuable service as town councillors, teachers and as members of various civic and county boards. The full impact of the Baldoon settlers and their descendants can never be fully measured but Wallaceburg's earliest beginnings and development owe an enormous debt to the courage and perseverance of the Selkirk settlers in the face of so many hardships.

Not all the Baldoon settlers took up residence at "The Forks" but a large number of them took to homesteading in the immediate area where they contributed greatly to the development of the agricultural economy of north Kent and south Lambton.

Angus McDonald, only son of Donald and Margaret McDonald, apprenticed himself early in life to a tannery in Amherstburg. Following his apprenticeship, he took up land in c. 1817 in Sombra township, bounded on the north by the present Ward Line and on the south by the French Line.[45] This property today consists of a large part of the village of Port Lambton. Angus opened the first tannery on the St. Clair River and became one of the leading figures in the growth and development of Port Lambton. Through necessity he became Sombra township's first schoolteacher. He built a small log cabin next to his home where he taught his many children. In later years many of his neighbours started sending their children to Angus to be taught reading, writing and arithmetic. The descendants of the Angus McDonald family today live on both sides of the St. Clair River which forms the boundary between the State of Michigan and the Province of Ontario.

The Donald Taylor McDonald family moved a short distance upstream on the Chenail Ecarté where they received in 1842 a grant of land being lot B of the 4th Concession.[46] John McDonald, eldest son of Donald, received in 1826 a grant of land in Lot A, 4th Concession.[47] It was on this lot that John built a home which became

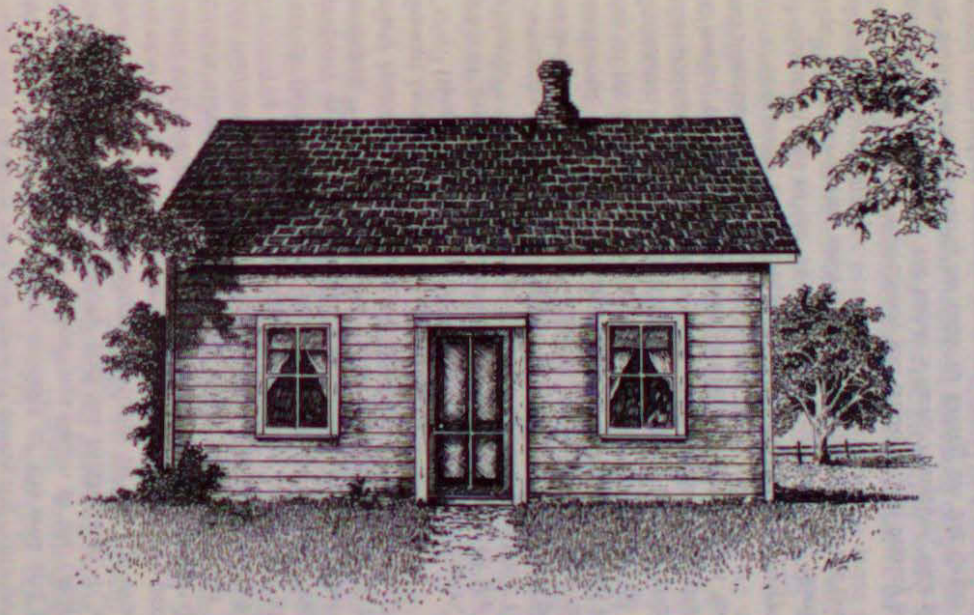
the focus of the "Baldoon Mystery".[48] The Baldoon Ghost or Poltergeist caused tables to fly through the air, fires to appear and disappear and other strange phenomena. The McDonalds for a short period of time enjoyed great notoriety as hundreds of curious people came great distances with the hope of seeing the Poltergeist at work. Mr. Frank Mann, a long time resident of the area and an amateur historian, believes that the happenings began as the result of a fued between the Buchanan family and the McDonalds. It was only a short time after John McDonald refused to sell his property to a member of the Buchanan family that the phenomena occurred. The canny McDonalds used these happenings to great advantage: the McDonald home became one of the area's earliest tourist attractions and they were never ones to look a gift horse in the mouth.

The enterprising Duncan McDonald, a brother of John and son of Donald, eventually secured both his father's and brother's property as well as additional land in the 6th Concession of Sombra township.[49] These extensive holdings were willed in turn to his many relatives. A portion of this property is today owned by the Stewart family, also Baldoon descendants.

Hector Brown, son of Donald and Marion Brown, received a grant of land from the Crown being the north part of the south half of lot A[50] and the north part of the south half of lot 1 in the 3rd Concession of Sombra township.[51] In 1826 he sold this property to his brother, Alexander, for £30.[52] In addition to the land already mentioned, Hector Brown also received from the Crown in 1837, in lieu of his brother Neil who had died, the north half of lot 1, 3rd Concession of Sombra township.[53] Hector became prominent in local politics serving for four years on the township council. A skilled orator, he became the local preacher, well known for his "fire and brimstone" sermons.

Alexander Brown received a grant of land in 1837 consisting of the north half of lot A in the 3rd Concession of Sombra township.[54] As mentioned above, Alexander purchased his brother Hector's property in 1826.

Alexander T. McDonald, son of John and Nancy McDonald, spent his early years on his father's farm. However, like so many of the Baldoon descendants, he took to sailing on the Great Lakes for several years before returning home to marry and to commence farming in Sombra township. About 1869 he moved to Wallaceburg where he opened a highly successful grocery store. In 1881 he built the barge Gondola which operated between Detroit and Wallaceburg.[55]



*Residence of Hector McDonald, c. 1860.*
*(Mrs. Betty Stewart Collection).*

The John Buchanan family took up land on the north bank of Big Bear Creek in the 19th Concession.[56] During the building of the addition to the Heinz factory in Wallaceburg, the Buchanan family burial plot was discovered. The headstone of Catherine Buchanan, wife of Robert Clark, was the only one to be preserved and is now situated on the Clark homestead.

The majority of the Baldoon settlers were either Roman Catholic or Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, but on coming to Canada many of the protestants became Methodists. Sometime around 1812, the Wesleyans from the Thames Circuit established two appointments, one on the upper Chenail Ecarté and the other on the lower Chenail Ecarté. The congregations united in 1842 and built a log church on the farm of James Stewart.[57] Robert Brown, Hector T. McDonald, John Buchanan and H. McDonald, all Baldoon settlers became staunch supporters of this Wesleyan congregation.

John Morrison, upon leaving the Baldoon settlement took up property on Strumness Island, Lake St. Clair. In 1830, he sold a portion of his land to Robert Brown[59] and eventually leased the remainder to a James Cartwright and moved to the mainland.[60] He settled on land located on the north branch of Big Bear Creek which he in turn sold and finally took up permanent residence on lot 11, 15th Concession, Chatham township.[61] Edwin and Charles Morrison, sons of John, opened a highly successful grist mill on the east branch of Big Bear Creek. In time the small village of Tupperville grew up around the mill. The descendants of the Morrisons have remained in the Tupperville/Dresden area where they are engaged principally in farming.

The John McKenzie family elected to settle on the Baldoon Road in Dover township on lot 40.[62] This family suffered greatly from an outbreak of Black Diptheria and only one member, Daniel, a grandson of John McKenzie, survived. The local residents buried the family on the homestead and the cemetery was still in existence at the turn of the century. However, as the farm changed hands the cemetery was eventually ploughed under with the headstones thrown into a nearby dredge cut.[63] The descendants of Daniel McKenzie still reside in Dover township but the McKenzie name has been apparently lost.

One of the more colourful descendants of the Baldoon settlers was "Black Hawk" McDougall, whose career was almost a parody of a Wild West scenario. McDougall was head of the Missouri, Illinois and Eastern Trading Company, a grandiose title masking a well-organised horse rustling scheme. McDougall and his business partners stole horses in the American Midwest and drove them around Detroit

to the shores of Lake St. Clair where they were loaded into the hold of a steam scow, whose legal deck load of timber hid the more profitable cargo below.[64] After crossing Lake St. Clair, they were transported up the Chenail Ecarté and the Sydenham River, and then offloaded on an isolated farm north of Wallaceburg. The brands on the horses were changed and they were driven to a place known then as Poplar Maze between Mount Brydges and London, and sold to professional horse traders. McDougall's career as a rustler was brought to an end when he was captured, tried and sentenced, in 1848, to eight years imprisonment in Kingston penitentiary.

As an experiment in planned colonization, Baldoon failed. This is history's judgement, and no amount of dwelling on the heroic efforts of the settlers can alter it. Nature and human weaknesses combined to doom the experiment from the outset. The hopes of Lord Selkirk were too sanguine and the labours of the settlers too ill-managed to provide more than the meagre portion of success Baldoon actually achieved. But nature and mismanagement only killed an experiment: many of the settlers died because of conditions at Baldoon, but others remained in the area to begin farming on their own, as the United Empire Loyalists had done a generation before, and as tens of thousands of immigrants were to do in the decades to come.

The settlers left Baldoon, but the movement was not a diaspora. They remained in the area to cut down the bush and drain the marshes, and in so doing they turned a wilderness into one of the richest mixed-farming areas in North America. This in itself was a triumph over adversity; despite their hardships and almost unbearable disappointments, the people of Baldoon refused to be beaten by their misfortunes. They survived and they prospered: of pioneers, no more need be asked.

As for Selkirk he died a disappointed man at Pau, France in 1820. Few reformers faced with the realities of the world they wished to improve, could hope for complete success in their ventures. Selkirk suffered the common fate of most visionaries who try to realize their dreams: his success was partial, his detractors many, and disappointment affected his health. But, as a practical-minded reformer, he deserves far greater recognition and credit, especially in Canada and his native Scotland, for trying to better the lot of that small portion of mankind which was within his power to help.

## FOOTNOTES

## CHAPTER FIVE

1. V. Lauriston, Romantic Kent (Chatham, 1952), p. 391.
2. James Soutar, "Baldoon", Kent County Annual And Almanac, 1882 (Chatham, 1882), p. 18.
3. Fred Hamil, Lord Selkirk's Work in Upper Canada: The Story of Baldoon (Unpublished manuscript, 1942), p. 70.
4. Wallaceburg Old Boys' And Girls' Reunion (Wallaceburg, 1936), p. 5. D. MacDonald, Illustrated Atlas of The Dominion of Canada (Toronto, 1881), p. xiii.
5. Ibid., p. 5.
6. Soutar, op. cit., p. 18.
7. Ibid., p. 18.
8. Alexander McDonell Collection, Notebook Public Archives of Canada M.G. 24, I 8, Vol. 12, pp. 44-45.
9. Wallaceburg Old Boys' And Girls' Reunion p. 7.
10. A list of the settlers buried in the McDougall cemetery is now in the possession of Frank Mann, Wallaceburg.
11. Soutar, op. cit., p. 18.
12. Alexander McDonell Collection, Notebook, p. 48.
13. Soutar, op cit., p. 19.
14. A map of Wallaceburg drawn in c.1880 retained the spelling 'Wallaceburgh' and was undoubtedly pronounced Wallaceboro' as in Edinburgh; however, the 'h' was eventually dropped. Map owned by Frank Mann, Wallaceburg.
15. Wallaceburg Old Boys' And Girls' Reunion p. 7.
16. Soutar, op. cit., p. 19.
17. Ibid., p. 19.
18. Ibid., p. 19.
19. See map of Wallaceburg
20. Wallaceburg Old Boys' And Girls' Reunion, p. 7.

21. George Mitchell, "The Baldoon Settlement", Kent Historical Society (Chatham, 1914), p. 18.

22. Soutar, op. cit., p. 25.

23. Ibid., p. 19.

24. Wallaceburg Old Boys' And Girls' Reunion, p. 7.

25. J. H. Beers & Co., Commemorative Biographical Record of The County of Kent (Toronto, 1904), p. 203.

26. Pamphlet prepared by Frank Mann on the opening of the addition to the Wallaceburg Public Library on Saturday, 8th July 1967. The addition was Wallaceburg's official centennial project.

27. Wallaceburg Old Boys' And Girls' Reunion, p. 27.

28. Lauriston, op. cit., p. 409.

29. Ibid., p. 410.

30. Interview with Mr. Robert Irwin, Wallaceburg, autumn 1967.

31. Interview with Mrs. Eric McDonald, Wallaceburg, summer 1967.

32. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 17.

33. The Crown Deed to Angus McDougall read as follows: " . . . and Grant unto Angus McDougle or Dougal of the Township of Dover in the County of Kent in the Western District Farmer as a private in the late Company of Kent Volunteers . . . . one hundred acres - be the same more or less, being the North half of lot no. Twelve in the Third Concession of the said Township."
Crown Deed to Angus McDougall recorded 2nd August 1823, now in the possession of Frank Mann, Wallaceburg.

34. Commemorative Biographical Record of The County of Kent p. 649.

35. Wallaceburg Old Boys' And Girls' Reunion p. 13.

36. Lauriston, op. cit., pp. 414-415. Interview with Michael Duchene of Wallaceburg, brother of Cal and Fred Duchene, autumn 1967.

37. Lauriston, op. cit., p. 416.

38. Wallaceburg Old Boys' And Girls' Reunion p. 13. Commemorative Biographical Record of The County of Kent p. 203.

39. For further information on D.B. McDonald see Appendix.

40. Interview with Miss Frieda McDougall, granddaughter of Alexander McDougall, 1967.

41. "The Canada Temperance Act", Public Statutes of Canada, 1878 Chapter 16, pp. 81-123.

42. List of mayors prepared by Frank Mann, Wallaceburg, and D. MacKenzie, London.

43. Lauriston, op. cit., pp. 783-4.

44. Ibid., p. 784.

45. Wreath, Helen. "Lambton Centennial Series", Sarnia Observer (Sarnia, 1949), day and month of issue not available.

46. Abstract relating to north part of south part of lot lettered 'B' in the 4th Concession, Gore of Chatham. (Kent County Registry Office, Chatham).

47. Abstract relating to south half of lot lettered 'A' in 4th Concession, Gore of Chatham. (Kent County Registry Office, Chatham).

48. For further information on the Baldoon Poltergeist see Neil T. McDonald, The Belledoon Mystery (Wallaceburg, c.1880). Francis Huff, "Sombra Teacher Faced Witchcraft Charge Over Baldoon 'Ghost' ", London Free Press, 28th March 1964. P. Jones, History of The Ojibway Indians (London, 1861), pp. 157-9.

49. Will of Duncan McDonald, 13th July 1874, Kent Registry Office (Chatham, Ontario).

50. Bargain of Sale by Hector Brown to Alexander Brown of a portion of the north part of the south half of lot lettered 'A' in the 3rd Concession of Sombra township, 15th June 1826. Indenture of Bargain of Sale owned by Mrs. Gordon Stewart, R.R. 4, Wallaceburg, Ontario.

51. Bargain of Sale by Hector Brown to Alexander Brown of a portion of the north part of the south half of lot 1 in the 3rd Concession of Sombra township, 15th June 1826. Indenture of Bargain of Sale owned by Mrs. Gordon Stewart, R.R. 4, Wallaceburg, Ontario.

52. Crown Deed of 100 acres to Hector Brown, 28th February 1837. Deed owned by Mrs. Gordon Stewart, R.R. 4, Wallaceburg, Ontario.

53. Bargain of Sale by Hector Brown to Alexander Brown of a portion of the north part of the south half of lot lettered 'A' and the north part of the south half of lot 1, both in the 3rd Concession of Sombra township, 15th June 1826. Indenture of Bargain of Sale owned by Mrs. Gordon Stewart.

54. Crown Deed of 100 acres to Alexander Brown, 28th February 1837. Deed owned by Mrs. Gordon Stewart.

55. J. H. Beers & Co., Commemorative Biographical Record of The County of Lambton (Toronto, 1906), p. 494.

56. John Buchannan (Buchanan) owned 50 acres of lot 1 in the 19th Concession, Chatham township. Assessment Roll, 2nd November 1860. Assessment Roll owned by Mrs. George Clark, Port Lambton, Ontario.

57. "The News Annual For 1905" Wallaceburg News Colwell Bros.(Wallaceburg, 1905).

58. Subscription pledge by members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, 30th July 1853, now owned by Mrs. George Clark, Port Lambton, Ontario.

59. Mortgage Deed from John Morrison to John Brown, 14th August 1830.

60. Mortgage Deed from John Morrison to James Cartwright, 9th March 1832.

61. Deed of Land sold by John Morrison to Angus Morrison, 5th April 1873. Deed owned by Mrs. Mary Morrison, Tupperville, Ontario.

62. Alexander McDonell Collection, Notebook p. 48.

63. Interview with present owner of farm on lot 40, Dover township.

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"A unique document" is the genealogy of the Catherine (Buchanan) and Roderick Clark Family done in needlepoint.

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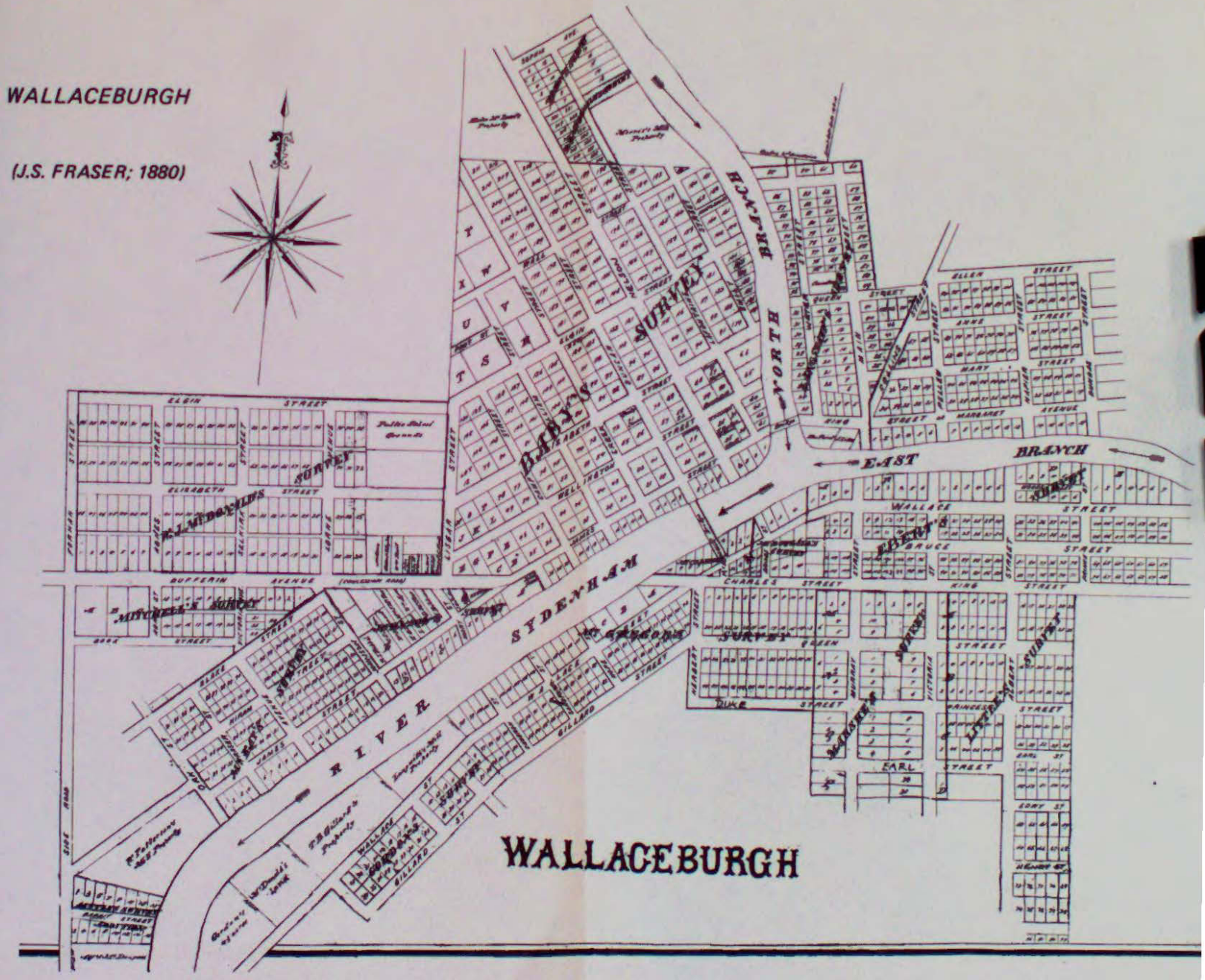
WALLACEBURGH
(J.S. FRASER; 1880)
NORTH BRANCH
EAST BRANCH
SYDENHAM RIVER
SURVEY
WALLACE
ELGIN
STREET
WALLACEBURGH

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