

**THE LANDS ALONG THE UPPER ST. LAWRENCE:
CANADIAN - AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT
DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

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**Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of the University of
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requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy**

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W. A. Douglas Jackson

College Park,
September 15, 1952.

FOREWORD

Among most geographers it is generally agreed that historical geography may be defined as the geography of the past. However, there is no universal agreement among these students as to the exact approach to a study of this nature.

The method of presentation chosen by this investigator is one which undertakes the reconstruction of several past regional geographies through the recreation of cross-sections at selected periods of time during the 19th century. In doing so, it will attempt to combine the methods of chorology with those of history. In this respect it differs from those studies which purport to trace the evolution of landscape. The cross-sections are confined to the past century because, in the opinion of this writer, they will be sufficient to illustrate the approach.

Furthermore, rather than commencing with a description of the physical elements of the modern area, a procedure commonly followed by most studies in historical geography, the present thesis attempts, first, to discuss the area as the original settlers saw it. As the description of each cross-section

unfolds and with more information thus obtained, a clearer understanding of the final cross-section of the area is achieved. A sound basis is provided, therefore, for a more adequate study and a more thorough conception of the present geography.

Following this approach, the thesis consists of an introductory statement designed to orient the reader to the present areal setting of the region. A subsequent chapter discusses the general historical background of the area at the beginning of settlement, illustrating particularly the techniques employed in surveying and in settlement. The main emphasis of the study, however, lies in the treatment of four cross-sections of the area. In addition, a summary presents some of the findings of the investigator and an evaluation of the critical factors affecting settlement and land development.

Of course, the selection of these cross-sections by the present writer represents, perforce, his subjective judgment of the development of the area. However, each of the cross-sections selected is unique in so far as the expansion of settlement and changes in land use are concerned. It should not be understood that these divisions represent the most significant periods of the century; nor does the choice assume that the intervening years are unimportant or insignificant. Another

investigator might have selected a completely different set of cross-sections. With justification, he might have chosen more than four, or less than four; indeed, he might have chosen any number. Since the geography of a region may be reconstructed for any given time, it matters little what periods are being selected. Conceivably, however, the choice will depend on the extent of the changes that have occurred in the area.

This cross-section approach in the study of historical geography does not attempt to prove any theory concerning changes in an area; indeed, it professes no predetermined theory of change. It attempts only to illustrate how any area at any given time is a product of the forces both within itself and without. In short, it is regional geography of the past.

The reconstruction of the past geography of this area, as attempted by the present writer, has relied heavily on primary sources, including eye witness accounts, government documents and land papers, and contemporary maps pertaining to each period. The basic consideration is to portray each of these cross-sections as a contemporary observer would have seen and analyzed them at that time. Although many

of the statements are not in direct quotations, they are, nevertheless, in so far as possible, paraphrased from the original sources.

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***Map in Pocket**

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

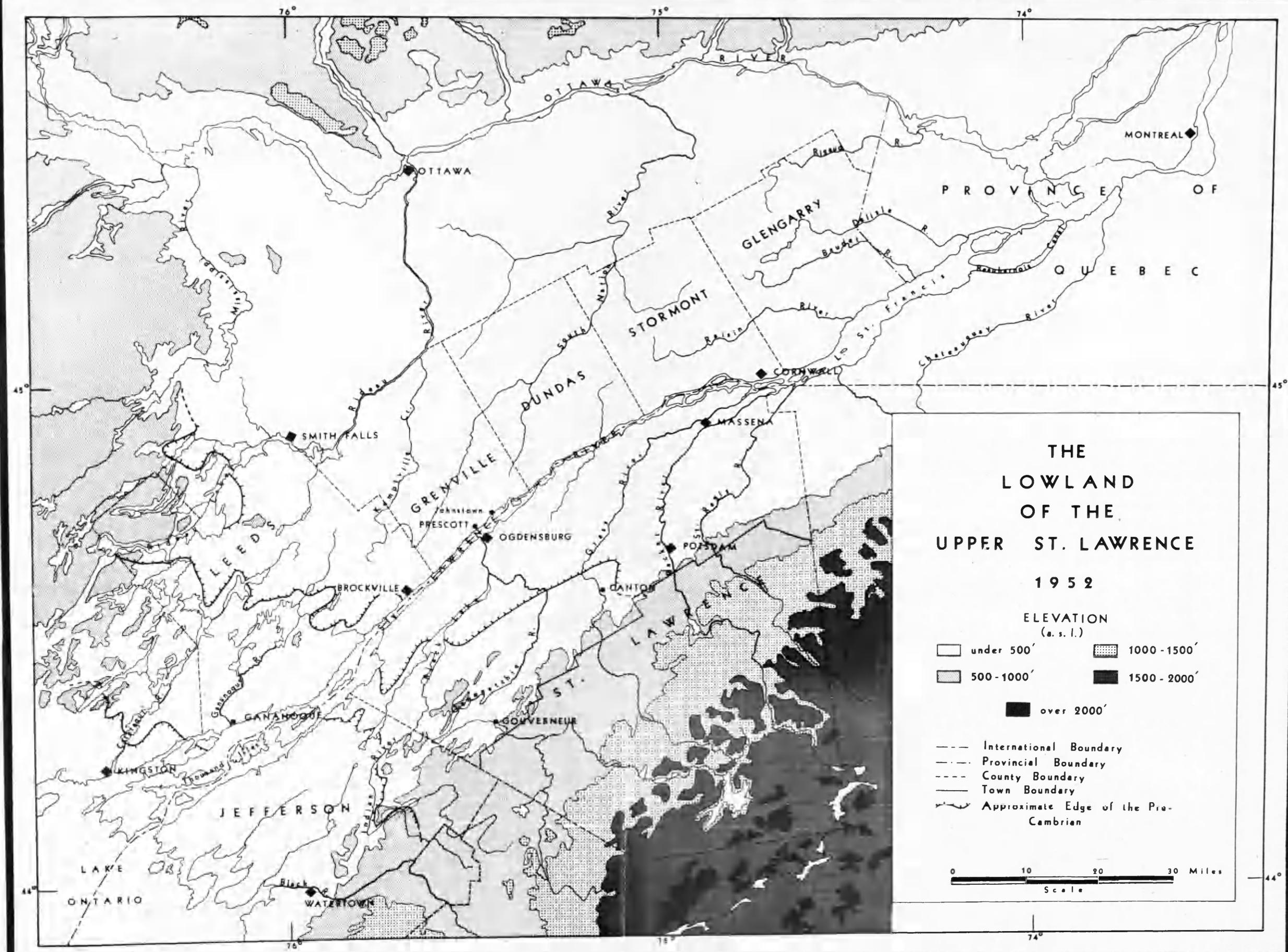
The relations of Canada and the United States have become, within recent years, favorite topics of investigation among social science students on both sides of the International Boundary. Most notable of such studies are the series of volumes prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. However, in virtually every instance the topics selected concern political and economic relations, generally analyzed from an historical point of view. Little attempt has yet been made to study Canadian-American relations through a geographical approach.

The methods adopted by the United States and Canada in settling and developing the prairies and great plains of the Public Domain and "Dominion Lands", respectively, have often been compared. However, differential land policies and patterns of settlement in the region of the lower Great Lakes have been virtually overlooked.

The lands along the upper St. Lawrence River, in particular, offer a fascinating study in contrasts in land settlement and development. During the early decades of the 19th century, the extent of forest clearings, especially the striking divergences found on both sides of the river, were directly related to the distinct land policies of the British Government and the New York State Legislature. Dissimilar techniques in surveying and in promoting settlement resulted in varied settlement patterns and problems. After the middle of the century, however, other factors played a dominant role in the changes within the area. Many of these factors are physical, but the effects of American, Canadian, and British trade policies are clearly evident.

The Area

Location.-- The area chosen for the present study extends along both sides of the upper St. Lawrence River between the western boundary of the Province of Quebec and Lake Ontario (Fig. 1). The Canadian section includes five counties, from northeast to southwest, Glengarry, Stormont, Dundas, Grenville, and Leeds. The distance from the Province of Quebec to the western boundary falls a few miles short of Lake Ontario, but it was selected for convenience. Glengarry County is



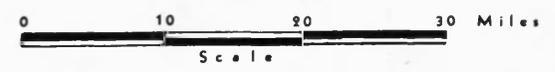
THE
LOWLAND
OF THE
UPPER ST. LAWRENCE

1952

ELEVATION
(a. s. l.)

- under 500'
- 500-1000'
- 1000-1500'
- 1500-2000'
- over 2000'

- International Boundary
- Provincial Boundary
- County Boundary
- Town Boundary
- Approximate Edge of the Pre-Cambrian



the only county which does not front on the International section of the St. Lawrence. Its development, however, is so integrally bound up with the remaining four counties that it could not, with justice, be excluded.

The Canadian counties extend inland from the St. Lawrence River approximately 25 miles. Grenville and part of Leeds are bounded on the north by the Rideau River and associated lakes.

The area on the American side of the St. Lawrence includes approximately two tiers of towns or townships along the river, in St. Lawrence and Jefferson Counties, New York. The distance between Lake Ontario in the southwest and the northeastern boundary of St. Lawrence County, which is about six miles from the Province of Quebec, is approximately 90 miles, the American area thus being shorter in extent than the Canadian area. The two tiers of American towns extend southward from the St. Lawrence about 20 miles. In the southwest, the lower course of the Black River, from the bend to Lake Ontario, forms a convenient natural boundary. In a sense, the Black River is the American counterpart of the Rideau in Ontario.

This American-Canadian region is part of the larger St. Lawrence-Lake Ontario lowland which commences

near the City of Quebec and extends southwestward along the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario. Between Montreal and the lake, the lowland broadens extensively on the Canadian side, but on the American side it is bounded approximately 20 miles south of the St. Lawrence by the foothills of the Adirondack Mountains. Beyond Lake Ontario to the west, the lowland merges into the great interior lowland in the heart of North America.

Geology, topography, and soils.-- With the exception of the northwestern corner of Leeds County and the southeastern section of Jefferson County, most of the area of the present study lies at less than 500 feet above sea level. Little disturbed Paleozoic sandstones and limestones form the bedrock throughout most of the region. Glacial till and post-glacial marine sediments cover the bedrock, though not to any considerable depth. Swells in the till, drumlins, and old beach ridges form the only relief. Soils vary from heavy clay or clay loam to light sand, the latter being extensive in the eastern half of Grenville County and in parts of northeastern St. Lawrence County. Because many of the soil types are derived, to a considerable extent, from weathered limestone till, they are only mildly acid or neutral in reaction. However, stoniness is characteristic of much of the

area on both sides of the St. Lawrence. In general, because of the little relief and the nature of the soils, fairly extensive portions are poorly drained or even occupied by swamps.

On the Canadian side, through the western half of Leeds County, a peninsula of rocky land, known as the Frontenac Axis, extends southward to the St. Lawrence. The bedrock consists of granites and gneisses of pre-Cambrian age. Outcrops of these ancient, resistant rocks form a rock-knob topography, which reaches its greatest extent in the main body of the Canadian shield to the north. Innumerable lakes connected by helter-skelter rivers and streams, and pockets of fairly fertile clay occupy the basins between the granitic, soil-less knobs. In the broad part of the St. Lawrence River near Lake Ontario, the rock-knobs protrude above the water in various shapes and sizes to form the Thousand Islands. On the American side, the pre-Cambrian is rather extensively covered by till, but south and southwest of Black Lake it appears again at the surface and produces a rugged topography.

Drainage.-- The american side of the St. Lawrence contains several large tributaries. The Grass, Racket and St. Regis Rivers enter the St. Lawrence near the 45th Parallel, all within a few miles of each other.

They rise in the Adirondack Mountains in the southern part of St. Lawrence County and follow parallel courses northeastward to the St. Lawrence. About 45 miles up the latter river, at the City of Ogdensburg, is the wide mouth of the Oswegatchie. It, too, rises deep in the southern part of the county. In the course of its flow over the lowland, the Oswegatchie makes several striking changes in direction. A short west branch, seven miles south of Ogdensburg, drains a narrow, elongated body of water, known as Black Lake. Entering the lake on the southwest is the Indian River, which flows through much of eastern Jefferson County. Apart from the Black River, which drains westward into Lake Ontario, the latter county has no other river of comparable size. Numerous small streams flow into both Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River.

The Canadian side of the St. Lawrence is not as well endowed with tributaries as the American side. The largest is the Gananoque River. It drains many of the lakes on the Frontenac Axis in southwestern Leeds County. Some of the lakes north of the Gananoque are part of the Cataragui River system which enters Lake Ontario at Kingston. The other tributaries of the St. Lawrence on the Canadian side worthy of mention are the Haisin, Baudet, and Delisle Rivers. All enter

the St. Lawrence where it widens into Lake St. Francis, the mouths of the Baudet and Belisle lying within the Province of Quebec.

Several rivers, however, drain a large part of the area of the Canadian counties towards the Ottawa River. The Rigaud River rises in the northern Glengarry County and enters the lower Ottawa beyond the provincial boundary. The headwaters of the South Nation River lie within a few miles of the St. Lawrence in Leeds County. The divide between the tributaries of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence Rivers here is very low and scarcely noticeable on the landscape. The South Nation crosses Grenville, the center of Dundas, and the northwestern corner of Stormont County on its way to the Ottawa. In northern Grenville County drainage is effected by the Kemptville Creek, a tributary of the Rideau. The Rideau River, which consists of a profusion of lakes in northern Leeds County, is the major tributary of the lower Ottawa River on the Ontario side. During the 1820's, the river was canalized, and the lakes were connected by a series of canals and locks with the lakes of the Cataraqui system in western Leeds to form a navigable waterway from Lake Ontario to the Ottawa River.

Climate.-- The lands along the upper St. Lawrence

River lie within the cooler part of the temperate zone, marked by comparatively short, mild summers and rather long, severe winters. In general, the average January temperature falls below 20 degrees Fahrenheit, while the average July temperature rises to 70 degrees. The length of the growing season is approximately 150 days, although in Jefferson County immediately adjacent to Lake Ontario it is slightly longer.

Total annual precipitation throughout most of the lowland is about 30 inches. In the southern part of the American region, however, where the elevation of the land rises above 500 feet, the precipitation increases slightly more than five inches annually. Although precipitation is fairly evenly distributed throughout the year, a slight summer maximum is characteristic. In the late summer, hot, dry periods which provoke drought are common. In the winter, precipitation generally takes the form of snow.

Vegetation.-- Originally the area contained some excellent stands of white pine, particularly on the lighter soils. Indeed, on the Canadian side, blackened stumps of pine may still be seen in some of the fields. At present, the vegetation consists of mixed deciduous and coniferous species. Sugar maple and elm, white cedar, pine and spruce are predominant.

On the Frontenac Axis, birch and hemlock, along with sugar maple and pine, are the principal species. Brake ferns are very common in clearings and along the roadsides.

The Present Scene.-- At present, the Canadian and American sides of the upper St. Lawrence River have many features in common as well as presenting some striking contrasts. Both sides are predominantly rural. Throughout the countryside there is much that still reflects the pioneer days of a century ago. Old stone, frame, and even log houses, split-rail, stump, and stone fences are common. Indeed, in many places, the region has the appearance of having seen more prosperous days, for many of the farm houses are extremely large and well-built structures, although some are now abandoned.

Summer dairying forms the basis of the farm economy. The average size of farm is approximately 150 acres, with about 45 acres in pasture. Hay, oats, mixed grains, and silage corn constitute the chief crops. Winter wheat, the staple of the early decades of the 19th century, has virtually disappeared.

On the American side, however, dairying is more highly specialized than on the Canadian side. There, the production and sale of fluid milk accounts for approximately 75 per cent. or more of farm income, the

bulk of the milk being sent by rail to New York City. On the Canadian side, local cheese factories consume the greater portion of the milk produced. The Canadian farmer, too, generally supplements his income through raising livestock for sale, particularly dairy cattle and hogs. In some sections, the production of maple sugar is an important part of farm life, while flax culture is a feature of the low, flat, wet lands in the southern part of Glengarry County.

The area contains several small cities, all located on or near the St. Lawrence River. Ogdensburg (16,126) and Massena (13,123) on the American side, and Cornwall (14,117) and Brockville (11,342) on the Canadian side, are manufacturing centers, which have developed because of the advantages of power and of transportation facilities. There are also several sizeable towns. On the American side are Potsdam (7,489) and Canton (4,360), important educational centers, situated in the midst of fine agricultural districts, and Gouverneur (4,907), a farmer's supply point. On the Canadian side are Cananoque (4,044), with small manufactures, at the "Gateway to the Thousand Isles", and Prescott (3,223), an unimpressive community opposite Ogdensburg, which, from the descriptions of travellers a century ago, scarcely seems to have

changed. In addition, there are numerous villages and unincorporated crossroads, railway depots, and grist-mill hamlets.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNING OF SETTLEMENT (1783-1799)

The wooded banks of the St. Lawrence River above Montreal in 1783 scarcely indicated a century and a half of European trespass. With the exception of several small clearings, which were threatened by invasion from encroaching underbrush, the forest grew to the river's edge.

The French, who controlled the St. Lawrence before the English came in 1763, were not great colonizers. In the region of the lower Great Lakes, they planted forts, trading posts, and missions along strategic waterways but, with the exception of Detroit, none led to permanent development.

The French, however, made two seigneurial grants southwest of Montreal. One grant conferred on Chevalier de Longueuil in 1734 the land extending from the confluence of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers to Point au Baudet (Fig. 2). The other, on Lake Ontario at the mouth of the Cataragui (Cataracoui) River, was made to La Salle several decades earlier. The grant to Longueuil, being near the main French settlements

43rd Paralell of North Latitude

FIG. 2.

SCALE of English statute Miles about 69 1/2 to a Degree

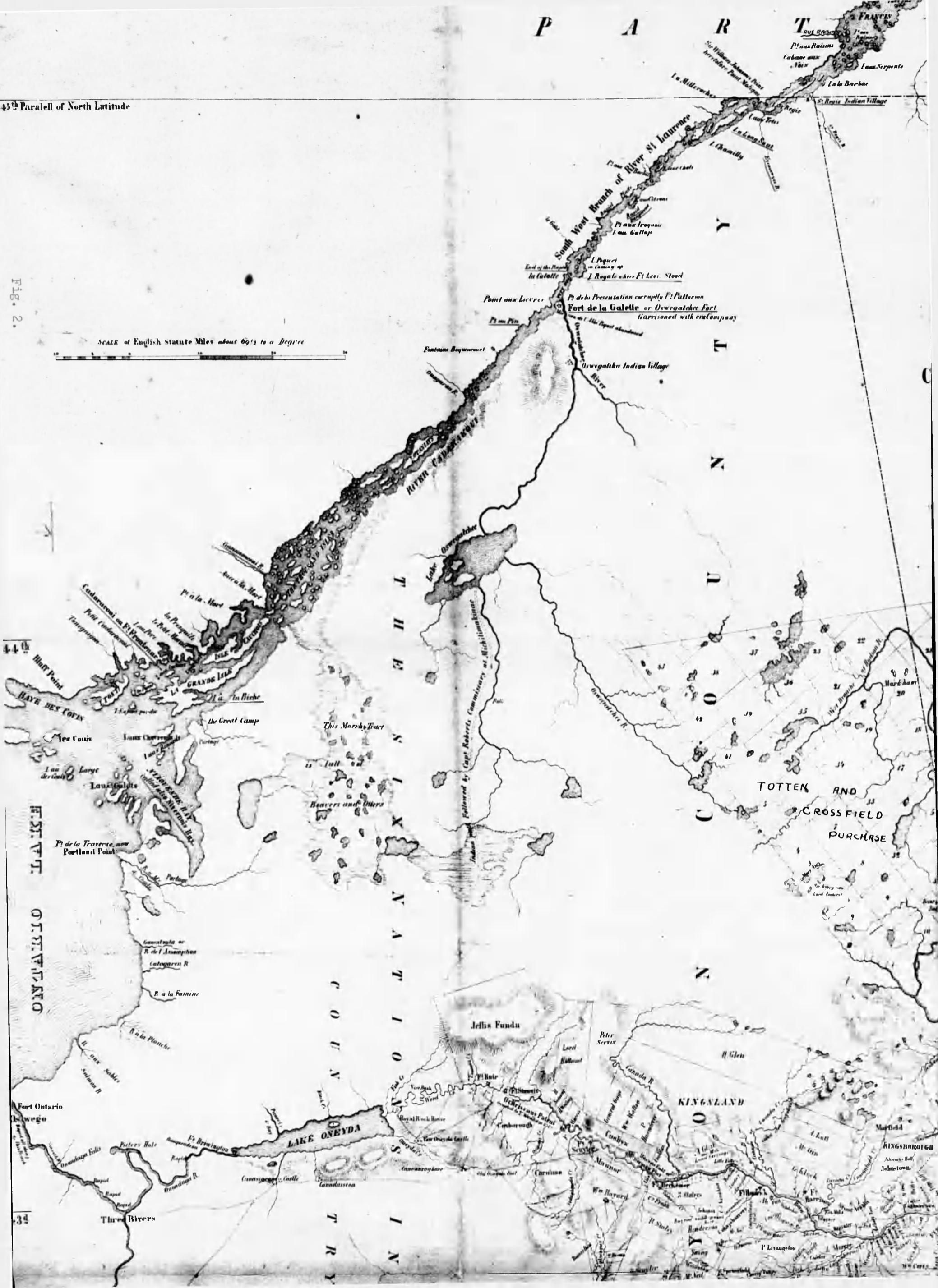


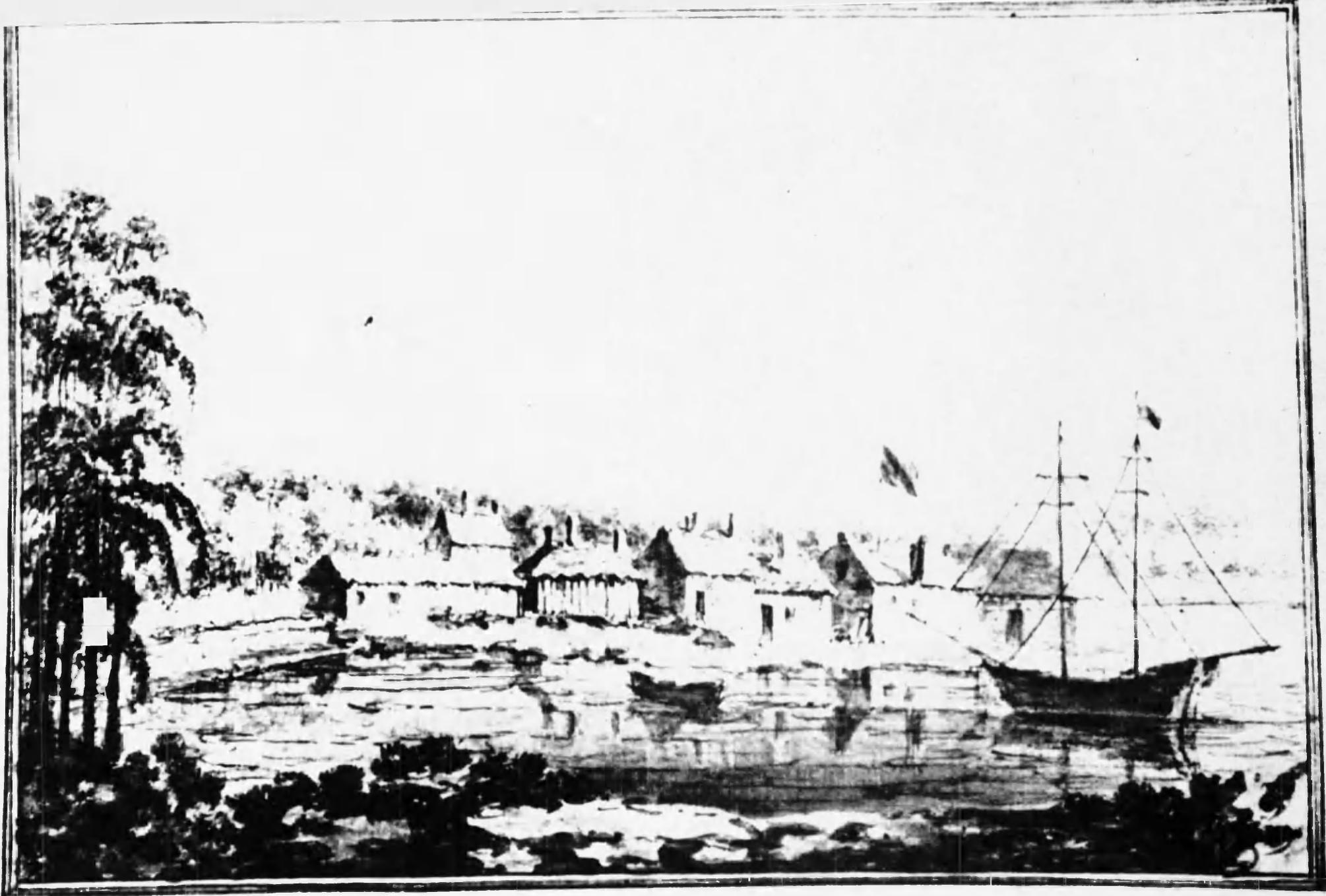
Fig. 2.

From "A Chorographical Map of the
Province of New-York in North America. . . ." By
Order of His Excellency Major General William Tryon,
by Claude Joseph Sauthier, Esq.
London, Engraved and published by William Paden,
Charing-Cross, January 1st, 1779.
(Obtained from the Library of Congress)

on the lower St. Lawrence, resulted in some settlement, whereas the land at the mouth of the Cataragui became the site of the great Fort Frontenac (Fig. 2).

However, along the upper course of the St. Lawrence, between the two grants, the French were active. In 1749, a small clearing was made on the south bank of the river, near the mouth of the Oswegatchie (Oswegatchee) (Fig. 2). Here, Father Picquet, with a zeal characteristic of French missionaries, established the mission, La Presentation. With the assistance of the local Oswegatchie Indians, "trees of prodigious size and height" (181:277) were felled and fed to a small mill erected on the west bank of the Oswegatchie. The mill, though badly in need of repair, was still extant in 1783.

The world-wide conflict between France and Great Britain which lasted seven years (1756-1763) also reached the upper St. Lawrence and the forest resounded to the alarms of war. When Fort Frontenac fell to the British (1758), the French built a small fort and shipyard at Point au Pin on the north bank of the St. Lawrence (Fig. 2), about seven miles above the mouth of the Oswegatchie.¹ When, in 1760, the British captured Fort de la Galette, on the site of the Picquet mission, the French abandoned the shipyard



VIEW of OSWEGATCHEE on the *RIVER ST LAURENCE*. July 1765

B.M. Kingo Mapo CXXI 78 (2)

Curtesy of the 1951-52 Act 1 11 1111

and retreated to Isle Royale, a small island downstream in the St. Lawrence where they erected Fort Levis (Fig. 2). The fort capitulated soon after and only a chimney remained standing two decades later.²

Following the British conquest, the region of the upper St. Lawrence returned to the quiet of an earlier time. Indians roamed the area: a few bands of travelling Mississaguas along the north bank; some Iroquois from their villages on the Mohawk; half-breeds from the village of St. Regis on the south bank at the 45th Parallel (Fig. 2); and the local Oswegatchies.³ Canoes of white and half-breed traders from Detroit and Niagara followed the river to Montreal, stopping frequently at the mouth of the Oswegatchie or on Carleton Island (Isle a la Biche) (Fig. 2), a favorite rendezvous.

With the revolt of the 13 Colonies, however, war again disturbed the peaceful life along the St. Lawrence. British troops reinforced the garrison at the mouth of the Oswegatchie (Fort Oswegatchie), and erected Fort Haldimand on strategic Carleton Island. Refugees from the conflict in New York and New England found sanctuary under the protective guns at Haldimand and Oswegatchie, as well as at Fort Ontario, at the mouth of the Oswego River (Fig. 2).

As the struggle drew to a close, the British Government prepared to settle many of these Loyalists or Tories, as they were labelled in the late Colonies, in the virgin territory southwest of Montreal. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 granted the new nation of the Atlantic seaboard the land south of the rivers and lakes southwestward from the 45th Parallel where it reaches the St. Lawrence at St. Regis. Thus, the St. Lawrence River in its upper course became the boundary between His Majesty's Province of Quebec on the north and the State of New York on the south.⁴

The Land

The Region as Known in 1763.-- A close inspection of a reliable map of the time (Fig. 2) will show an impressive river issuing out of Lake Ontario, known invariably as the Iroquois, or Cadarakoui, or more commonly the St. Lawrence, the latter being the old French name.⁵ Where it issues from the lake, the river is broad and dotted by numerous islands, called the Thousand Isles, of varying sizes and shapes. Carleton Island is one. Innumerable inlets, bays and channels are formed - such diversity, it is said, as is to be rarely met with in the world. "If a crew be not well acquainted with the direct course,"

according to the admonition of one traveller, "and if they once miss it, they may chance to be bewildered, and for days may not find it again" (25:137,138).

The current is not rapid around the Thousand Isles, the river following a devious course or lingering in deep, stagnant pools. Downstream, however, toward Point au Pin, the river narrows, at the same time becoming very swift. From there to Lake St. Francis, the river again widens, its course divided by islands, and its passage hindered by rapids. The Galloo (la Galotte), the Rapide Plat (Rapid Platte), and the Longue Sault (Long Sault) are the most extensive and dangerous of the rapids (Fig. 2). "They are either whirlpools, occasioned by rocks, against which the water strikes in its course, or strong declinations of the bed of the river, the rapid motion of which is checked by few or no obstructions" (137:99). It is reported that in moderate weather the rapids may be passed by canoes or bateaux, guided by good pilots, without the need of landing and portaging (87:17).

Cursory surveys carried out by the British on the north bank of the St. Lawrence in 1783 indicated a land that would support a prosperous settlement. According to Captain Justus Sherwood, Surveyor, "the ultimate here is very mild and good, and I think the

Loyalists may be the happiest in America by settling this Country from Long Sault (Longue Sault) to Bay of Quinty (Baye des Couis)" (171:13). The land is watered by innumerable streams, the largest being the River aux Raisins (Fig. 2) which enters the St. Lawrence where the latter widens into Lake St. Francis, and the Gananoque (Gananoncoul) (Fig. 2) which flows into the lake of the Thousand Isles.

Between the western boundary of the Seigneurie de Longueuil at Point au Saudet (Fig. 2) and the mouth of the aux Raisins, the land is low towards the St. Lawrence, crossed by many small streams and fit only for meadows.⁶ However, a few miles back from Lake St. Francis, according to reports, both drainage and soil improve. Upstream on the aux Raisins is a fall of about five feet (Fig. 2), with a good situation for a mill on each bank. However, from the lake to the falls along the course of the river, the land for the most part is bad, consisting of pine ridges, and hemlock and cedar swamps. It is estimated that there are no more than 3,000 acres of good land along the river.

From the upper part of Lake St. Francis to the Longue Sault, no land could be more promising, covered with fine timber fit for building vessels, and in some places pineries fit for masts. Over the land is a foot

and a half of black mould. The land is well watered by several small streams, but with few large enough for a mill.

The bank of the St. Lawrence fronting the Longue Sault has not an inviting aspect; there is much broken ground and the soil is light and stony. At no great distance back, however, are fine pineries and the soil is equal to that near Lake St. Francis.

From the Longue Sault to the uppermost rapids, the Galloo, the country has a most favorable aspect, a few cedar swamps and pine ridges excepted. The land is very level and well watered by several fine creeks, the forest consisting primarily of maple, beech, and hickory. A short distance inland from the St. Lawrence, the heads of tributary streams communicate by short portages with the heads of the South Branch of the Rideau (Kemptville Creek) and the Petite Nation (South Nation) Rivers, which drain northeastward to the Ottawa (Fig. 1). This network of streams promises to afford great advantages to all kinds of inland communication (148:14).

The land continues to be favorable along the north bank of the St. Lawrence to Point au Pin. From there to the mouth of the Cataragui the shore is high and rocky, but opening at numerous places into

beautiful coves and bays, leading back into fine natural meadows. Though the shore is rough and uninviting (the Frontenac Axis), it is reported that the soil is rich at some distance inland, fit for all purposes of agriculture. However, along the whole course of the Gananoque River, there is not "much good land conveniently situated as would serve one farmer." The land is entirely too rocky to cultivate, the timber is pine, cedar, and mountain oak, "the whole bad of its kind." The Gananoque enters the St. Lawrence in a fall of ten feet. Below the fall, the mouth of the river widens and presents an excellent harbor; the shore is bold and the water deep, with a very slow current (148:80).

It is doubtless true that the American side of the St. Lawrence is similar to that of the British. However, a pre-revolutionary report of the area was not complimentary. Surveyors running the lines of the Totten and Crossfield Purchase in 1773⁷ reported the whole territory to be a rugged and inhospitable wilderness (50:69).

According to explorers, streams are fewer on the American than on the British side of the St. Lawrence. As indicated on the map (Fig. 2), two streams, called the St. Regis and the Nyensawyee

(either the Grass or Backet River), drain northward to the St. Lawrence near the 45th Parallel. From there to Lake Ontario, the only tributary known to any considerable extent is the Oswegatchie River, which enters the St. Lawrence a few miles above the Galloo rapids. The Oswegatchie and its tributaries have long been used by Indians and traders moving between the St. Lawrence and the Mohawk Valleys.

The mouth of the Oswegatchie River, at Fort Oswegatchie, widens into a beautiful harbor, protected on the west by a long, low, sand spit. At the base of the spit, where once was located Father Picquet's mission, stands the fort, still occupied by the British.⁸ The situation of the post is very strategic. It commands both the passage of boats along the St. Lawrence as well as through the harbor. The east bank of the Oswegatchie is more elevated and rises gradually into an amphitheater.⁹ It is, without doubt, considering its location at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and Oswegatchie Rivers, an excellent site for a town.

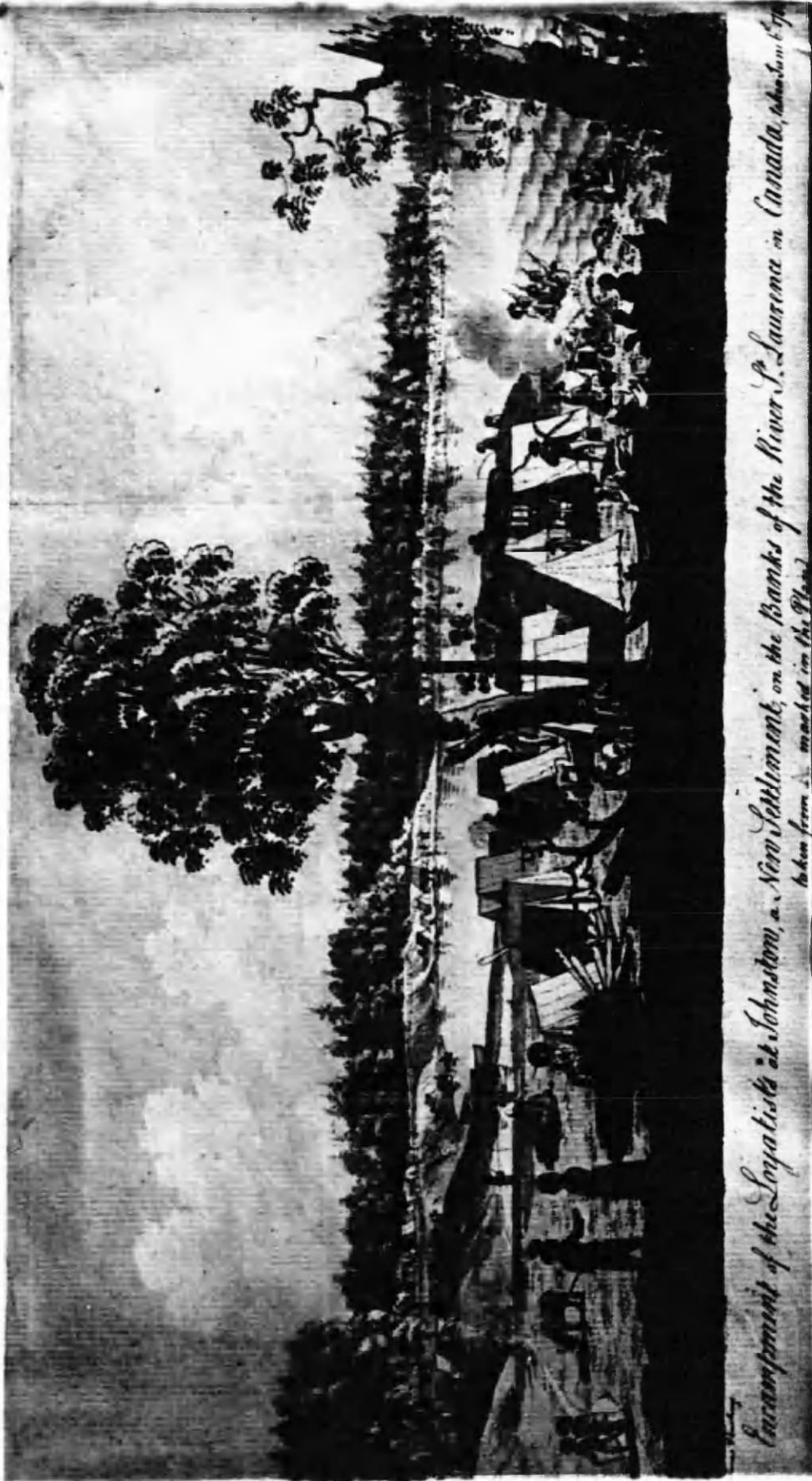
Several small streams water the extreme western portion of the territory. The largest is the Black River (a. a Mr. de Comte) which flows westward into Lake Ontario in the neighborhood of Hungary Bay (also

called Nyaouenre or Nivernois Bay), a deep indentation of the lake shore. Most of the interior portion of the tract between the upper waters of the Oswegatchie River and Hungary Bay is a marshy tract full of beavers and otters, and the favorite hunting grounds of the Indians (Fig. 2).

On both sides of the St. Lawrence, the soils are generally believed by explorers to be fertile and deep, as is determined by the height and variety of the trees that compose the forest. The country abounds in white pine and oak, the latter being in demand at Montreal and Quebec. In other sections, there is a mixture of elm, sugar maple, butternut, and hickory, also hemlock and different kinds of spruce and cedar. From the boughs of the spruce is made that beer so praised by Captain Cook, and known to be the best of anti-scorbutics. The sugar maple is so common in some places as to form a third of the trees (81:52).

In general, the rivers and streams abound in fish and the brooks in trout. Colonies of beaver, valued for their peltry, inhabit the region, while wolves and deer roam the forest. Among the birds are the pheasant, partridge, wild turkey, and different kinds of ducks and geese.

The group of islands in the St. Lawrence near



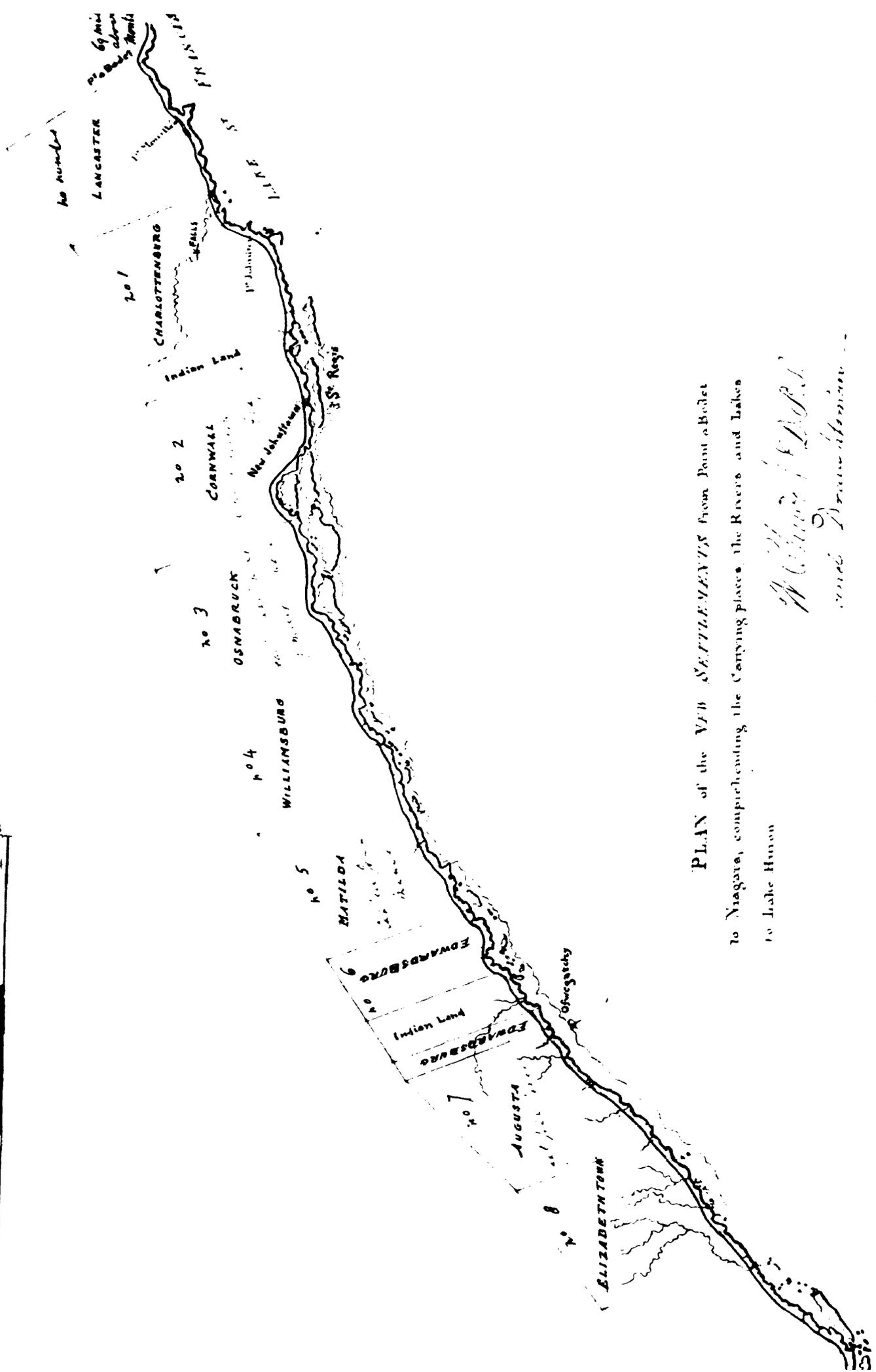
Encampment of the Loyalists at Johnson's, a New Settlement, on the Banks of the River St. Lawrence in Canada, about 1777.
Taken from a sketch in the Plateau.

the 40th Parallel are, on the whole, larger than most of the Thousand Isles, more fertile, and bear excellent timber. The latter group, in contrast, are, with several exceptions, of little value, producing scraggy trees of pine unsatisfactory for ship building. Many of the Thousand Isles are scarcely larger than a boat and none of them, except such as are situated at the upper extremity, appear to contain more than fifteen English acres each. The shores of the islands are rocky, often rising boldly in perpendicular masses upwards to 20 feet above the water. Nevertheless, it is said that the scenery presented to view in sailing about the islands is beautiful in the highest degree (158:275).

Early Development: The Canadian Side

The Settlement of the Loyalists.-- The British purchased the title to the north bank of the St. Lawrence River from the Mississagua Indians in 1783.¹⁰ Surveys commenced in 1781, but following the purchase nine seigneuries, or townships, were laid out southwest of Point au Baudet, the western boundary of Longueuil (Fig. 3). The townships were numbered from one to eight, beginning with the second. The tract immediately adjoining Longueuil was originally left

Miles, see Miles to one Inch



PLAN of the *VEB SETTLEMENTS* from Point a Boquet

to Niagara, comprehending the Carrying places, the Rivers and Lakes to Lake Huron

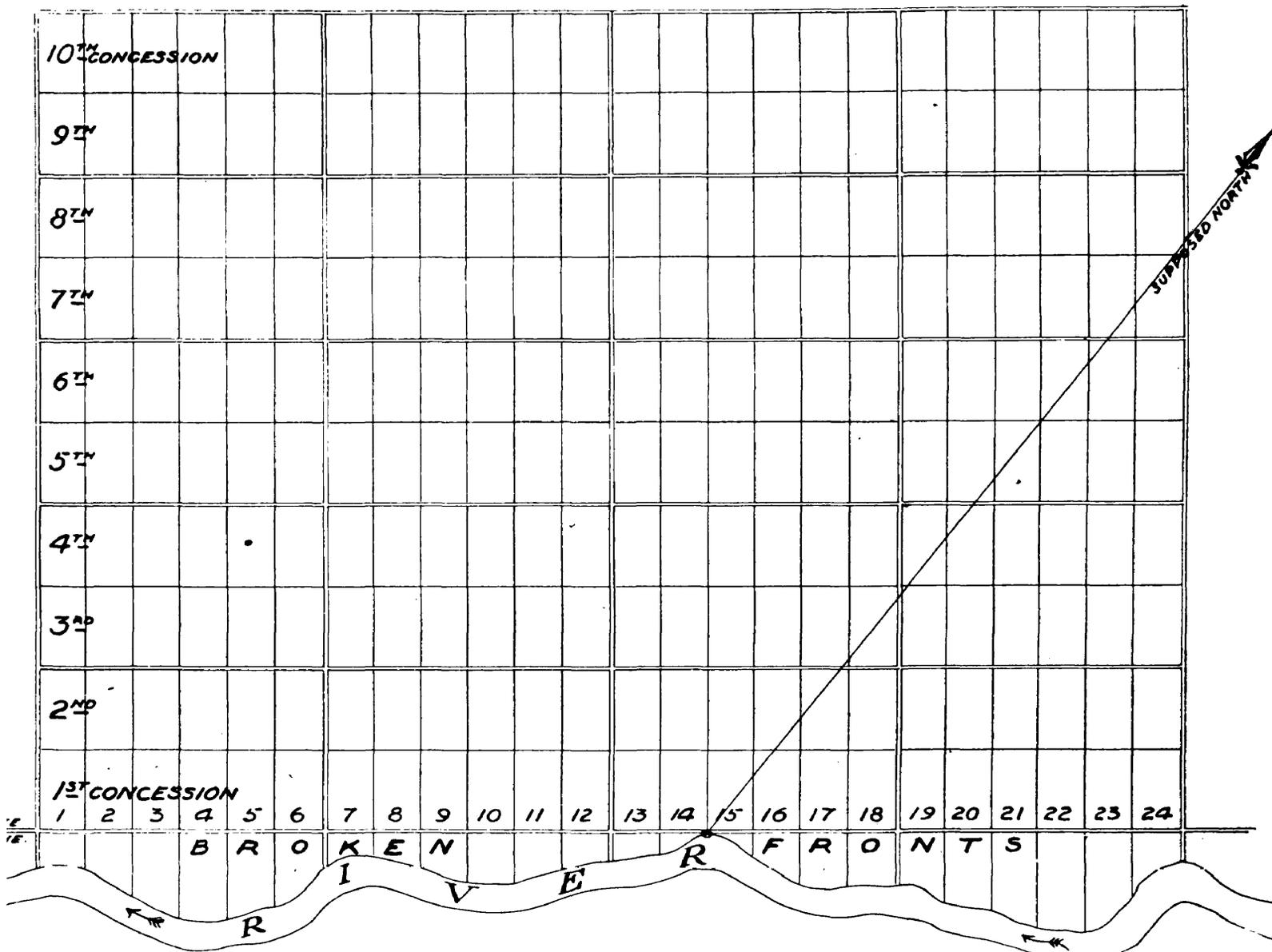
Wm. Halliday
and *Daniel Johnson*

Copy obtained from the Library of Congress

unnumbered because it was believed that its flatness and dampness rendered it unfit for settlement. The eighth township coincided with the beginning of the rough, rocky land facing the Thousand Isles. Beyond that point the land remained unsurveyed until 1788. Above the Cataraqui River, however, where the land improved, a second series of townships were laid out (Figs. 1 and 5).

In running the surveys, a base line was first established along the St. Lawrence River, cutting off the 'broken front' (Fig. 4). As settlement warranted, other lines were drawn parallel to the base, at a distance generally of a mile and a quarter from the river. Each range was termed a 'concession', a term derived from the French; each concession was divided into lots of 200 acres. The original river lots were narrow, being about 80 rods wide and 400 rods deep, in order to secure a water frontage to as many settlers as possible. Allowances were also made for roads along the concession lines.¹¹

Since many of the Loyalists in fleeing from the 13 Colonies suffered a considerable loss of property, the British Crown offered free lands as a partial compensation. Officers and men of His Majesty's Forces, who served in the war, and were disbanded at Quebec, were also eligible for grants. A scale of allotments



A sketch from the Surveyor-General's Office.

D. W. Smith, Actg. Surveyor-General.

Courtesy of the archives of Ontario

was arranged relative to the rank of the applicant or the nature of the service rendered in the late conflict.

Every single Loyalist was granted 50 acres, while every Loyalist who was the head of a family received 100 acres in addition to 50 acres for each member of his family. Later, an additional bounty of 200 acres was awarded to the head of a family as a reward for his industry in improving and cultivating the lands already assigned. Children of registered Loyalists¹² received 200 acres upon coming of age, or in the case of daughters, upon marriage (182:lxii, lxxv). Grants to the military gradually increased so that a field officer eventually received 5,000 acres; a captain, 3,000 acres; subalterns, staff and warrant officers, 2,000 acres each; a non-commissioned officer, 400 acres; and every private, 300 acres (128:22-23).

All lands (Crown lands) were granted free, although under the law of Canada (the Custom of Paris) title remained in the king, a cause of discontent and confusion among the refugees from the American colonies. Location tickets to the front lots along the St. Lawrence were drawn by lottery. Settlers who had a large grant were allowed to take only a very

small acreage in front, selecting the rest of their lands at a later date in the rear of the township or in other townships when subsequently surveyed. Until 1793, all minerals in the soil and all mill sites were reserved for the Crown, unless otherwise specifically granted (128:45).

The disbanded officers and men of Sir John Johnson's Corps, the Royal Regiment of New York, with their wives and children, a total of 1,462 people, were settled along the front of the first six townships, including the one immediately to the west of Point au Baudet, now called Lake or Lancaster (182:lxix). In an effort to prevent religious strife, Roman Catholic Scottish Highlanders from the Mohawk Valley¹³ were settled in Lancaster and Township No. 1, called Charlottenburg (Fig. 3), adjacent to the French Catholic settlers northeast of Point au Baudet. Scottish Presbyterians occupied the front of No. 2, or Cornwall. German Palatines from the Mohawk, also of Calvinist faith, took up lands in No. 3, or Osna-bruck. Their compatriots of Lutheran belief were granted the front of No. 4, or Williamsburg, and part of No. 5, or Matilda (Figs. 3 and 5). The rest of the front of Matilda was occupied by American Episcopalians from New York and New England.

From: United Empire Loyalists of Lunenburg County,
Ontario, n. l., by A. C. Casselman, 1900.
Courtesy of the ANTI-CONFEDERATE SOCIETY OF CANADA

Townships Nos. 6 to 8, or Edwardsburg, Augusta, and Elizabethtown, respectively, were settled by part of Jessup's Loyal Rangers of New York, with their wives and children, of mixed religion, in all 485 people (182:lxix).

A strip of territory, approximately two miles wide between Charlottenburg and Cornwall, was reserved for St. Regis Indians remaining loyal to the Crown (Fig. 3). In Edwardsburg, a similar tract was set aside for friendly Oswegatchies until 1789, at which time it was purchased by the British Government and surveyed into a town plot and 200 acre lots (185:66).

The townships from Lancaster to Matilda were generally called the New Johnstown district (Fig. 5). The remaining surveyed portion of the river bank was referred to as New Oswegatchie, after the old French shipyard at Point au Pin (in Augusta), the ruins of which were clearly visible (Fig. 5).

Table 1

Muster of the Canadian Population in 1784*

Township	Men	Women	Children		Servants	Total
			M	F		
Lancaster	36	15	19	20	-	90
Charlottenburg	145	87	119	105	-	456
Cornwall	215	87	104	110	1	489
Osnabruck	50	7	7	7	4	75
Williamsburg	93	33	38	38	-	202
Matilda	75	33	33	31	5	177
Edwardsburg	68	28	28	30	11	166
Augusta	82	42	46	46	12	228
Elizabethtown	51	27	42	62	-	182
Total	817	359	436	449	33	2,065

*Source: 292:B 168; 111.

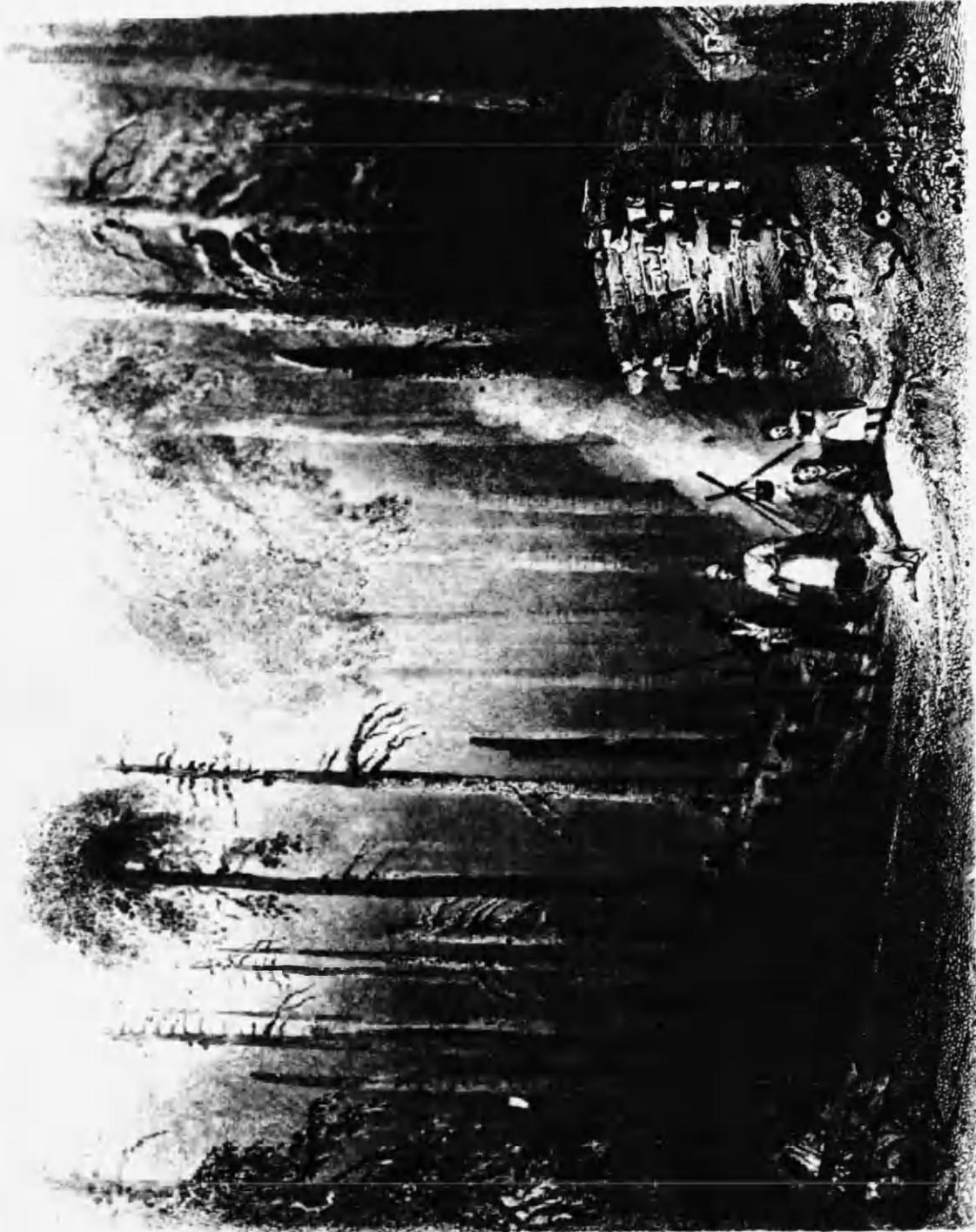
Since most of the Loyalists arrived in their new locations without the wherewithal to establish themselves, the British Government provided the necessaries. Axes, hoes, knives, grindstones, food, livestock, seed and clothing were brought up from Montreal in bateaux. A memorandum from New Oswegatchie, July 23, 1784, showed the following inventory (171:142):

	Axes	Hoes	Bushhoes	Grindstones	Knives
"Received"	487	110	20	13	39
"Delivered"	452	110	20	13	39
"Wanted to Compleat"	11	340	400	12	71

The process of clearing the land and sowing the seed in the new settlements was the same as in most of

the northern states of the republic. The refugees from frontier New York and New England, particularly the settlers of Anglo-American stock, merely transferred techniques learned from predecessors and developed through their own experience. Working in "bees", or "bee-rollikies" as they were later called by the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders (246:44), small clearings were made. The stumps were generally left in the ground to rot or to be taken out, when time permitted, by firing on a dry, windy summer day (293:99). The finest pine and oak in the forest were reserved for the Royal Navy and could only be cut by royal contractors (182:lix). However, many of the settlers, without licenses, cut a good deal of excellent timber, floated it to Montreal and pocketed the revenue. Logs of maple and beech were burned for their ashes. From these, soap and potash were manufactured, the latter also finding a ready cash market down the St. Lawrence.

By the autumn of 1784 over 609 acres of land were cleared within the nine townships on the Canadian side. The most extensive clearing was in Augusta Township where 124 acres were prepared for cultivation. Charlottenburg, on the other hand, which received the bulk of the Highlanders and possessed a larger population than Augusta, had only 14 acres cleared (292:B168; 85,95-98). This discrepancy may be attributed to the



A FIRST SETTLEMENT

By W. H. Bartlett (1808-1834)
Curtesy of the PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
From Photograph Negative A 1997

fact that the Highlanders were not interested in a staid life of agriculture and lacked the pioneering acumen characteristic of the migrants of Anglo-American origin.

Table 2

Extent of Clearing on the Canadian Side by the Autumn of 1784*

Township	Acreage
Lancaster	20½
Charlottenburg	14
Cornwall	101½
Osnabruck	30
Williamsburg	101½
Matilda	56½
Edwardsburg	122
Augusta	124
Elizabethtown	39½
Total	609½

*Source: 292:B168; 61-2,84-5,88-100.

Having made a small clearing, the settler built for his family a small, crude log cabin for protection against the winter cold,¹⁴ and planted seed by hand among the tree stumps. Winter wheat was the staple, but oats - especially among the scottish settlers - barley, rye, Indian corn, peas,¹⁵ potatoes, and other vegetables were grown. The virgin soil was fertile and yielded

well except when the season was unfavorable as in 1788. Too much rain was responsible for the light crop resulting in the so-called "Hungry Year" of 1789 (168:74; 24:379). Within a short time, too, many of the farmers had planted small apple orchards.

During the first years of the settlement, a shortage of livestock among the inhabitants was a serious handicap. The district of New Oswegatchie in 1784 reported among its 597 settlers only six horses, eight oxen, and 18 cows (171:142). However, with governmental assistance and imports from the French section of the province and the settled regions of New York State, livestock soon increased considerably. By 1787, Matilda Township alone reported a livestock population of 44 horses, 24 colts, 15 oxen, 12 bulls, 67 cows, 47 heifers, five sheep, and 207 hogs (182:463-4).

Indeed, so well established did the settlers appear to be by 1787 that the British Government discontinued its provisions. If Matilda Township may be taken as indicative of the rate of progress, the success of the settlements were assured. Here, the population increased from 177 to 257, and 51 houses were erected. Three winters of logging expanded the improved land from 56½ acres to 439, 403 acres being



A South East View of Cataract on Lake Ontario, taken on August 7/73

By James Leachey (In Canada, 1783-1784)
Courtesy of the PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
From Photograph Negative A 257

arable and the rest meadow (182:463-4).

Within a decade of the first settlement on the Canadian side, many of the farmers had a surplus of agricultural products for sale, which they took to Montreal in spring on rafts or in scows, or more preferably in winter on sleds when the St. Lawrence was frozen. Indeed, the "Hungry Year" of 1789 was as much a result of the heavy export of grain from the area, at low prices, during the previous year, as it was due to the poor harvests of the succeeding spring (24:579).

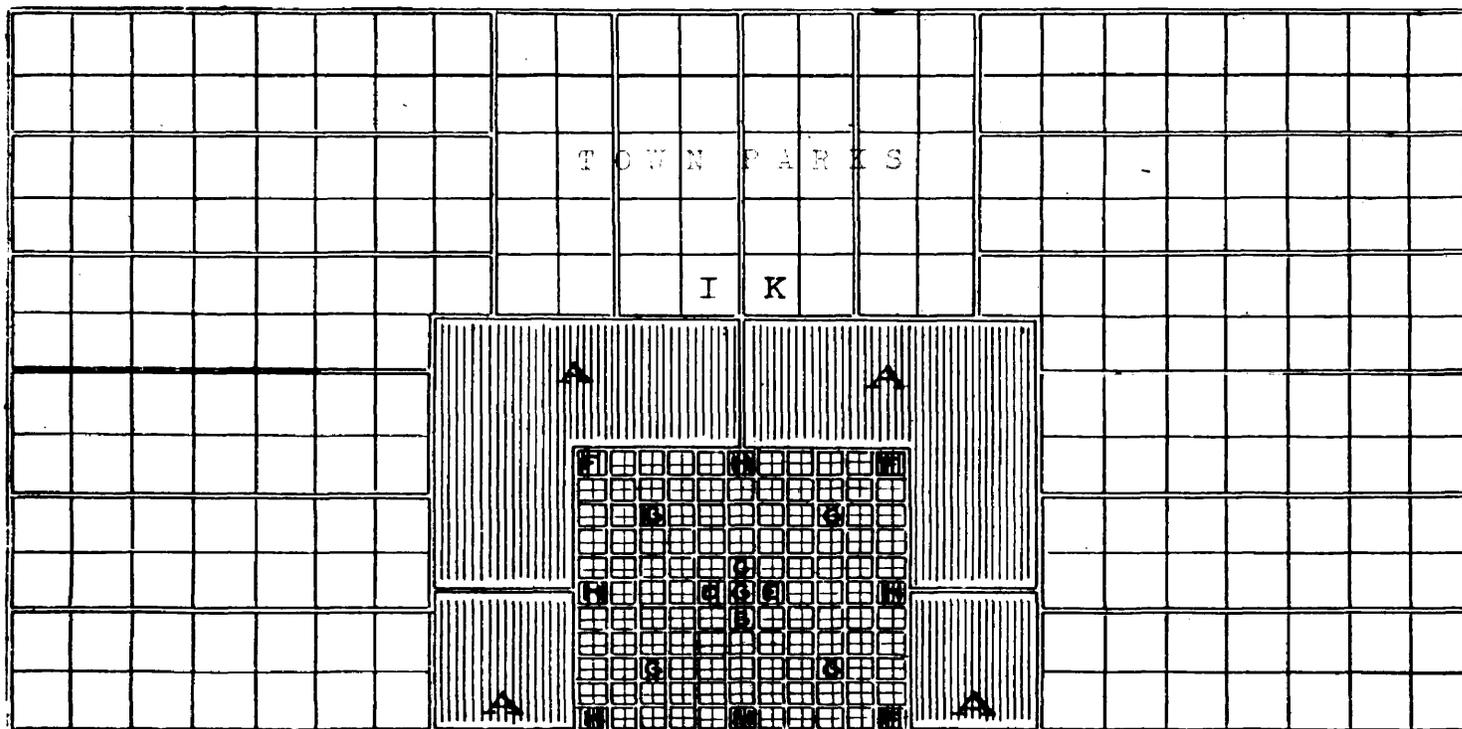
The greatest inconvenience experienced by the pioneers was the lack of mills. Although the government erected mills on the Cataragui River, about seven miles above the village of Kingston (Cataragui) on the site of old Fort Frontenac, and provided bateaux to haul the grists, the distance from the St. Lawrence settlements was great and the journey long. Small hand mills were distributed for home grinding but these proved clumsy and inadequate.

According to a survey made by Patrick McNiff, Deputy Surveyor, there were few good mill sites on the streams throughout the area immediately fronting on the St. Lawrence River (296). Nevertheless, within a short time, a number of grist and saw mills were

erected, the falls on the Cananoque and aux Raisins Rivers being the most satisfactory sites. Attempts to utilize the power of the St. Lawrence itself were unsuccessful because of the heaving of ice in winter. Consequently, two mills propelled by horse power were constructed on the bank of the St. Lawrence in Cornwall. One in Augusta was wind-driven (295).

The mill privilege on the Cananoque River was divided between two eminent Loyalists, Sir John Johnson and Captain Joel Stone of Connecticut. Johnson's grant contained 700 acres along the east bank of the river, while Stone received 500 acres along the west bank. Both men erected mills although Johnson resided in Montreal and leased his structure.

Township Planning.-- As surveying proceeded along the north bank of the St. Lawrence, the British gradually evolved an intricate system of township planning. Each river township was designated approximately 12 miles in depth with a water frontage of nine miles (Fig. 7). This specification of a narrow waterfront permitted an equal share of the bank of the river to each township, water transportation being the easiest and most convenient in pioneer communities. Inland townships were, in the course of time, to be surveyed 12 miles square (182:1x11, 185:63).



PLAN OF A TOWN

The Town is one mile square, the Town Lots each one acre.
The open Area of half a mile joining the Town Lots is to
be reserved.

The Town Parks join the Reserve all round containing each
twenty-four acres, one rood and twelve perches.

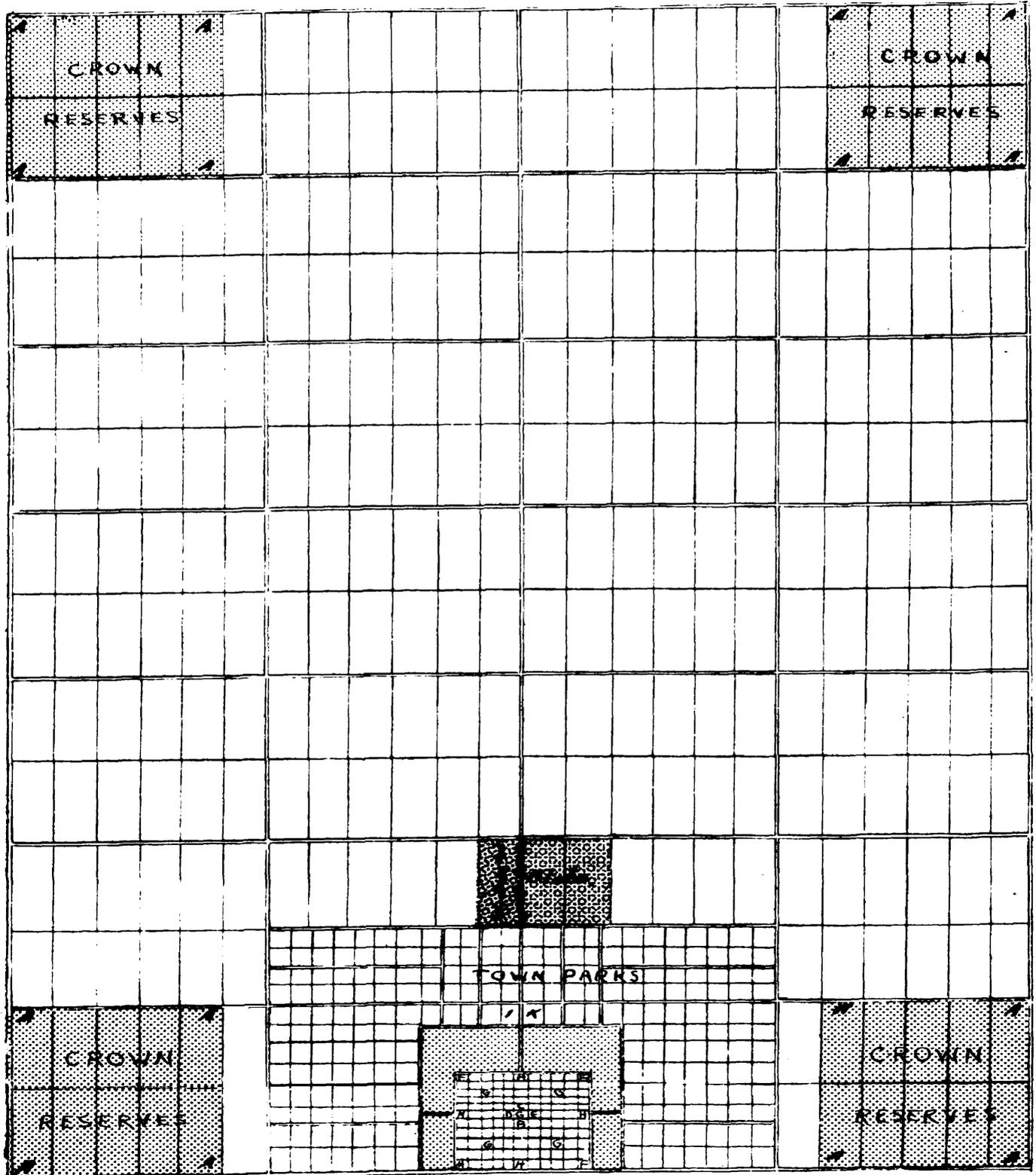
A - Reserves for the Crown: B and C - Church, Parsonage,
and School House: D - Gaol and Court House: E - Work
House: F - Church Yards, Hospitals, &c: G - Public
Squares: H - Market Places: I - Town Park for a School-
master: K - Town Park for a Minister.

PLAN of a TOWN and TOWNSHIP

of Nine Miles front by Twelve Miles in Depth proposed to be situated on a

RIVER or LAKE

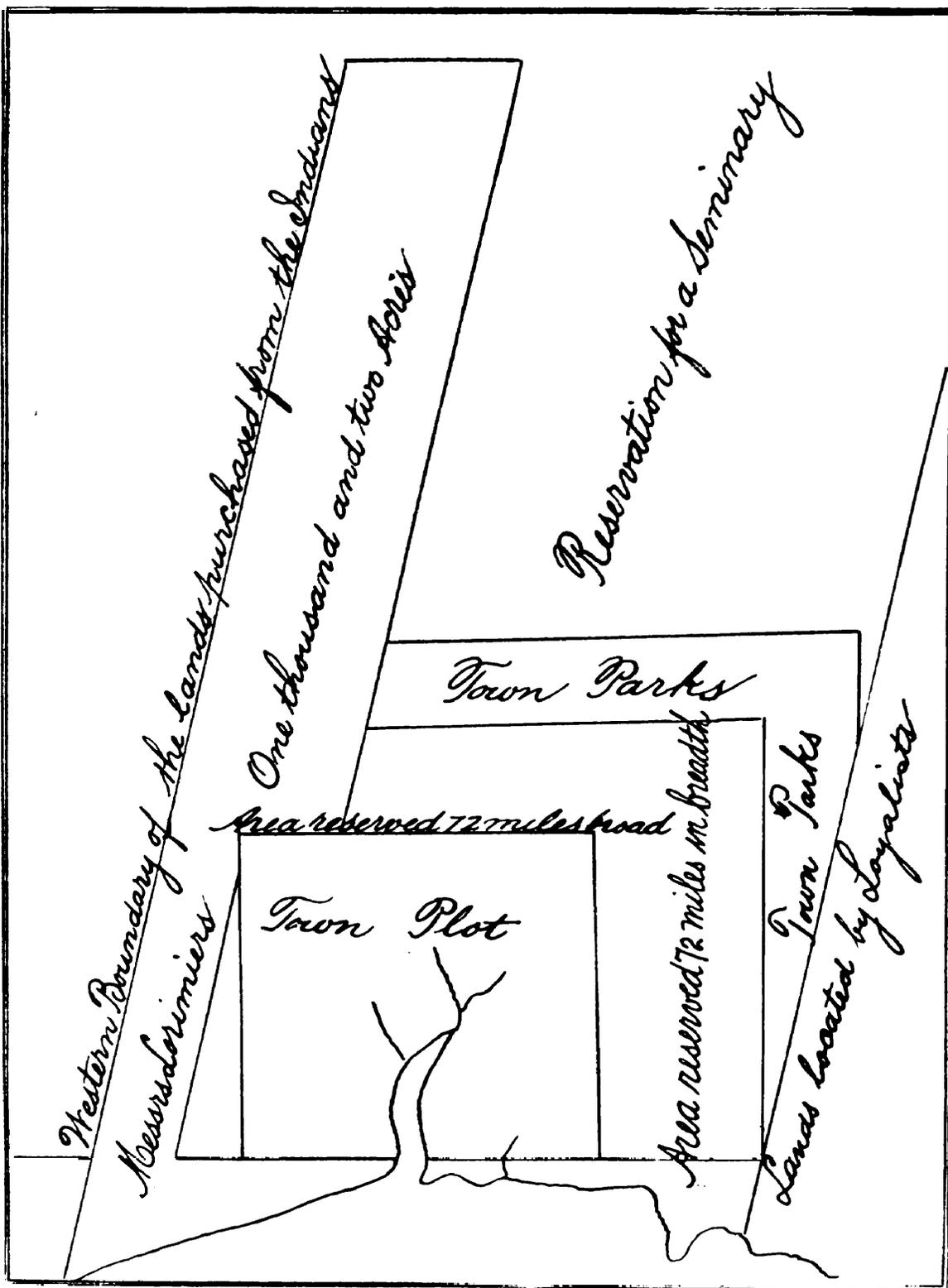
*Agreeable to the Tenth Article of the Rules & Regulations, for the Conduct of the General Office Department
by Order of His Excellency The Right Honourable Lord Dorchester*



Courtesy of the Archives of Ontario

A town plot of one mile square, containing 640 lots, was to be located in the central part of each township, or if a river township, in the center of the front (Figs. 6 and 7). Certain lots were reserved for public squares, public buildings, market places, a church, school, and hospital. Surrounding the town a crown reservation was planned for defense if necessary; beyond the reserve, were to be located town parks, divided into lots of 24 acres each. Beyond the park lots, of course, were the rectangular, 200-acre farm lots. Certain park and farm lots were to be reserved for a clergyman and a schoolmaster (Figs. 6 and 7). The Crown planned to reserve for its future use 8,000 acres in the four corners of each river township (Fig. 7). The reservation of ten farm lots by the Crown along the bank of the river would leave only two farm lots for settlers, thus seriously restricting the approach to the water's edge.

Since settlement began along the St. Lawrence before the plans were elaborated, it was impossible to uproot the inhabitants in order to resurvey the land into town plots and crown reserves. However, in an incomplete fashion, two towns were actually laid out. The town of New Johnstown or Cornwall was surveyed along a small bay in the St. Lawrence River in Cornwall



DESCRIPTION OF TRACT

Plan of the Town Plot of New Johnstown and a lot of one thousand acres for Messrs. Lorimier, to begin on the western boundary of the land purchased from the Indians, and to run towards the Town on a line with the front of the same, six acres and from thence on a line parallel with the western boundary mentioned above twenty-five acres to the northern boundary of the Town Plot, including one hundred and fifty acres and from thence to be twelve acres in front, adjoining the boundary line of the Town, by seventy-one acres in depth, making eight hundred and fifty-two acres, which added to the former one hundred and fifty mentioned above makes in the whole one thousand and two acres agreeable to the Order-of-Council the 25th August, 1790.

Quebec, 27th August, 1790.

(Signed) JOHN COLLINS, D.S.G.

Township (Fig. 10). No surrounding Crown reserve or town parks were created because the lands around the town were already alienated to settlers. The other town, called Johnstown, was located in Edwardsburg. In the case of the latter town most of the plan was implemented because the land lay at the front of the Oswegatchie Indian reserve, purchased by the British Government in 1789. However, previous to this some settlers obtained title to a section of the river front from the Indians and had established farms (Fig. 8). Thus, the Crown reserve and town parks were considerably reduced in area. North of the parks, on the other hand, a tract of four square miles was set aside for the future establishment of a seminary or university (185:67).

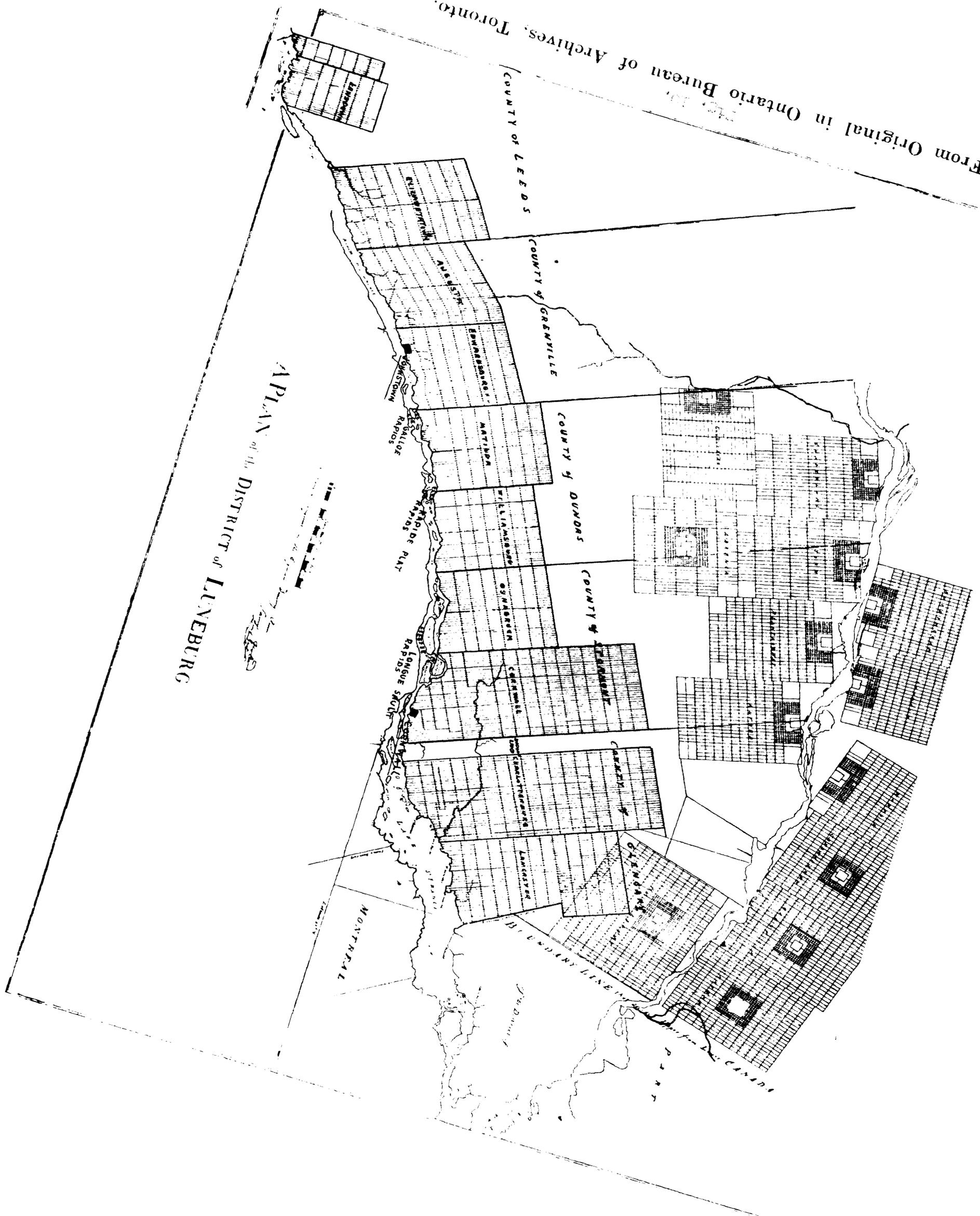
In 1788, because of the size of the population in the territory southwest of the Ottawa River, four districts were created. The north bank of the St. Lawrence between Point au Saut and the mouth of the Gananoque River formed the District of Lunenburg (Fig. 10). Cornwall, housing the King's Stores, became the main supply depot for the district. Johnstown became the judicial capital and a court house was subsequently erected. By 1790, the latter town had several houses and a saw mill, erected on the small

stream, La Vielle Gallette, which crossed the plot (Fig. 9). Both Cornwall and Johnstown were wisely located in terms of river navigation. Cornwall was situated at the foot of the rapids, a few miles above Lake St. Francis; Johnstown was located at the head of all the rapids, three miles below the mouth of the Oswegatchie, the lowest point on the St. Lawrence River to which lake vessels could venture (Fig. 10).

Within a short time of settlement, the Loyalists began to petition for the English system of land holding and the creation of an administration separate and distinct from that along the lower St. Lawrence (165:524-7,647-9). Although Crown lands were granted "en fief et seigneurie" (182:lxiv), this situation was not a real hardship for the settlers. In practice, they handled their lots, traded and sold them, as if they held actual title. Nevertheless, the inhabitants were not able to tolerate for long a system which they, as former members of the 13 Colonies, regarded with mistrust.

By 1791, when the population of the country southwest of the Ottawa totalled something under 25,000 (128:32), there was real need for a separate administration. Consequently, the British Government created the Province of Upper Canada which encompassed the

From Original in Ontario Bureau of Archives, Toronto.



MAP of the DISTRICT of LUNENBURG

MONTREAL

ST. LAWRENCE RIVER

LENNOXVILLE

CARLETON PLACE

CORNWALL

OSNABURGH

WILLIAMSBURGH

MATILDA

EDWARDSBURGH

NASSAU

EVERSHAM

COUNTY OF LEEDS

COUNTY OF GRENVILLE

COUNTY OF DUNDAS

COUNTY OF STORMONT

COUNTY OF LENNOX AND ADDINGTON

GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE

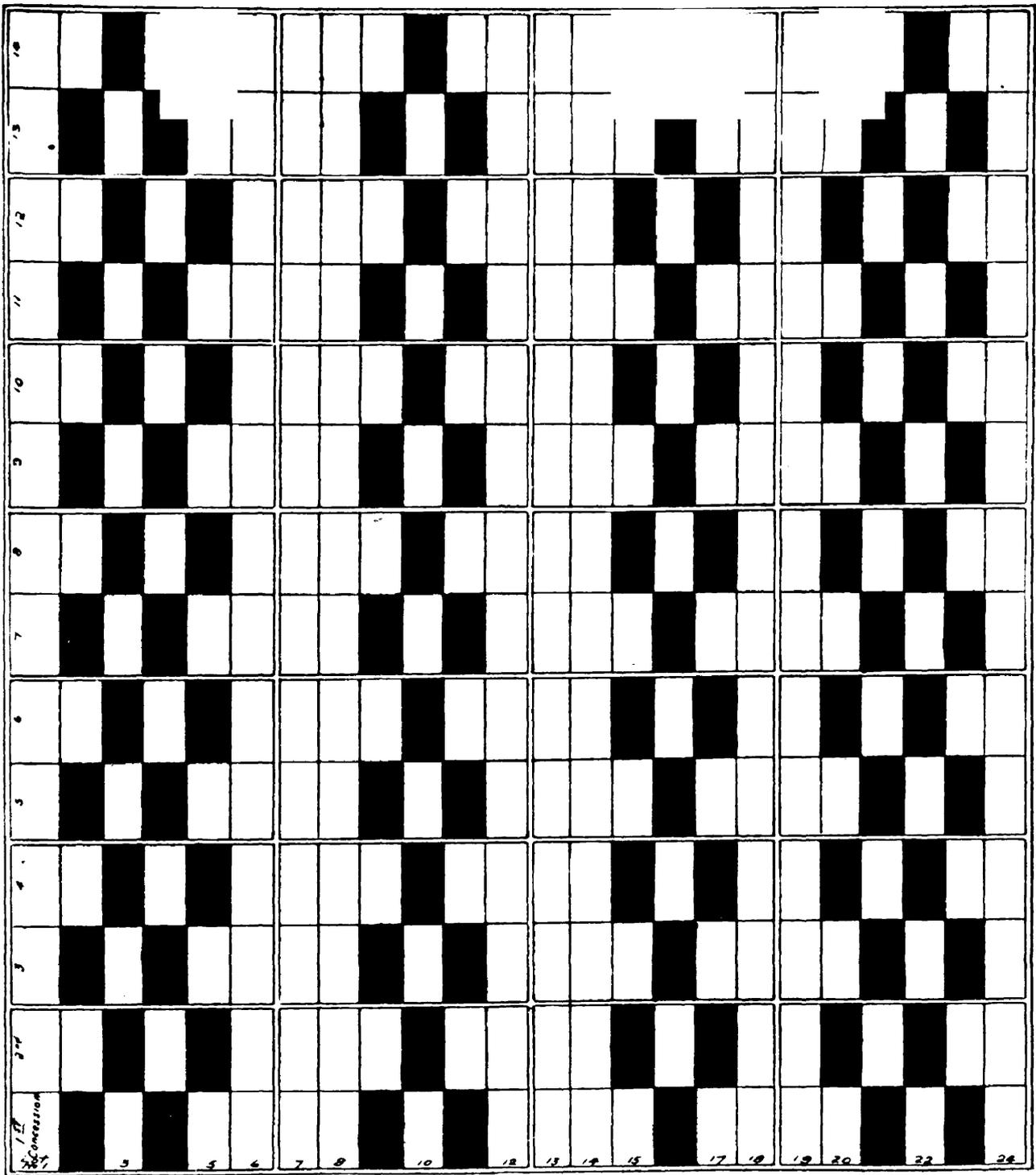


Courtesy of the Archives of Ontario

territory from the Ottawa River to Detroit. The Province of Quebec, or Lower Canada, was confined to the land northeastward from the Ottawa to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence - its limits in 1763.

The Crown and Clergy Reserves.-- In Upper Canada, Crown lands were henceforth granted in free and common socage, i.e. free tenure. In addition, under the constitution of the new province, two-sevenths of all grantable lands were to be reserved for the future use of the Crown and for the establishment and support of a Protestant clergy (166: 694-708).

The old township plans were considered unsatisfactory, particularly in relation to the extensive Crown reserves along the front of the township; consequently, in order to implement the provisions pertaining to both the Crown and clergy reserves,¹⁶ new township plans were drawn up. The distribution of the Crown reserves, as under the old plan, was altered; in the future the reserves were to be scattered throughout the whole township, and to them in equal proportion were to be added the clergy reserves. The reorganization of the township along this pattern was called the "Chequered Plan" (Fig. 11). Where settlement already occurred, as in the front concessions



The
Chequered Plan, For a ~
 Township of nine Miles in front, by 12 Miles in depth, supposed to be
 situated on a River or Lake, laid out into Farm Lots, or about 200 acres
 each agreeable to the 10th Article of the Rules & Regulations for the conduct
 of the Land Office Department of the 17th February 1789 so far as it relates to
 farm Lots, shewing in what manner two sevenths of the Land may be re-
 served for the Government & Clergy. The Lots coloured crimson show the
 Reserves.

D. W. Smith
 Act^y Surveyor General.

Courtesy of the Archives of Ontario

along the St. Lawrence River, the reserves were to be located in blocks in the rear of the townships, or when surveyed, in other townships north of the river townships. It was not intended that the reserves monopolize the good land, nor take a disproportionate share of the bad. Rather the lands were to be so reserved as to be nearly of the like value of an equal quantity of the lands alienated to settlers (182:civ-cvi). This could be readily accomplished since the rectangular system of surveying, upon which the "Chequered Plan" was based, disregarded the features of the terrain.

The institution of such extensive reserves was an attempt to establish an aristocracy in Upper Canada. It was suggested in 1787 that "these reserved parcels will enable His Majesty to reward such of His Provincial Servants as may merit the Royal favour, and will also enable the Crown to create and strengthen an Aristocracy, or which the best use may be made on this continent, where all Governments are feeble, and the general condition of things tends to a wild democracy. . . ." (165:646). In addition, the reserves would secure to the Crown "a certain and improving revenue - a measure which, if it had been adopted when the old Colonies were first settled,

would have retained them to this hour in obedience and loyalty." Although it was not specifically stated what Protestant body would benefit from the clergy reserves, it was generally assumed by British officialdom and members of the Church of England in Upper Canada that the latter organization was implied. Thus, the province was to possess a government, endowed with land and a possible source of revenue, free from the interference and popular obstruction such as precipitated the revolt in the 13 Colonies. Similarly, the church was to be established in order to exercise an influence toward stability as in England. In short, it was hoped by British colonial policy makers that Upper Canada would be securely attached to the Crown and would not find it possible, in the future, to imitate the actions of the late Colonies. The Crown and clergy reserves were the key to the early history of the province.

In order to develop the reserves and to derive a revenue from them, it was proposed that they be leased for a period of seven years. In granting leases, preference would be shown those settlers who occupied adjoining farms. If everything were satisfactory at the end of the allotted period, a renewal might then be made for another seven years.

In this way a steady income would be obtained and the developed reserve would be an asset to general development. Furthermore, as the alienated lands adjacent to the reserves were developed and improved, the value of the reserves would correspondingly rise, and eventually provide a more than adequate endowment for both the local government and the clergy. What this meant was that the two institutions would benefit from the energy and efforts of the settlers.

Free Lands.-- As a means of promoting the rapid development of the province, the first governor, John Graves Simcoe, issued a Proclamation offering lands, subject only to patent and survey fees, to any one who would take the oath of loyalty to the Crown and settle (182:civ-cvi). Simcoe believed that many, sympathetic to the Crown, still resided in the United States, who needed only the inducement of free land to cause them to remove to Upper Canada. The governor was particularly anxious to attract New Englanders whom he found "an enterprising People, fond of speculation, and noted for their perseverance in bringing forward new settlements. Many of their connections (were) already settled in Upper Canada and hundreds of families would follow their example . . . could they raise the money barely sufficient to pay the

carriage of their affects through Lower Canada" (170:I;87).

In order to provide more effective local administration, the province was reorganized and divided into counties. The Lunenburg District was renamed the Eastern District and contained five counties, from northeast to southwest, Glengary,¹⁷ Stormont, Dundas, Grenville, and Leeds (Fig. 10). Each county, with the exception of Leeds, included two of the St. Lawrence River townships; Leeds County consisted of Elizabethtown and three other townships, including a gore, surveyed on the rocky tract southwest of Elizabethtown. By the end of the century a second tier of townships was laid out immediately to the rear of the river townships.

The westward migration of people from New England and New York was well underway, and many, bent on settling or speculating, followed the trails and waterways to Upper Canada. Between May 1st, 1789 and November 1st, 1791, 817 migrants passed through Oswego (still occupied by the British) enroute to the province. Of these 263 went to Niagara; 400 settled near Kingston; and 154 turned eastward to the Canadian counties on the St. Lawrence (170:I;122). Following the governor's proclamation the post-Loyalist migration

increased, but the numbers of migrants are now known. In the summer of 1793, according to one traveller, great numbers of people emigrated to Upper Canada from Vermont, Massachusetts, and the Mohawk Valley (222:137). Between July, 1792, and the end of December, 1798, over 343,885 acres of land were alienated in the Canadian counties on the St. Lawrence. A large percentage of this acreage, however, consisted of grants given to Loyalists and their children in order to complete original allotments (172:III;159).

Settlers entering the eastern part of the province followed the Mohawk and Oswego Rivers to Lake Ontario, or proceeded up the St. Lawrence in bateaux or canoes from Lachine, a village at the western end of Montreal island and the point of departure for Upper Canada. Land travel through the forest or over crude trails was avoided wherever possible. Once reaching the St. Lawrence above Montreal, it was possible to journey most of the distance between the major settlements by land. By 1796, a road was opened most of the distance from Kingston to Point au Baudet (Fig. 3). Horse-powered ferries operated on Lake St. Francis to convey the traveller past the low front of Glengary. However, in spite of the blazing of the road, no one thought

of traversing the distance from Glengary to Leeds by land. According to Mrs. Simcoe, a careful observer, "a horse of the country" was necessary to cross the rough bridges of logs thrown over the creeks. Rotten logs sometimes gave way endangering both the horse and the rider (188:104).

The Scottish Migration.-- By the end of the century, the densest settlement on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence was in Glengary. This was due to the fact that several migrations of Highlanders from the depressed homeland joined the original Scottish population which followed Sir John Johnson from the Mohawk. The falls on the aux Raisins became the center of the settlement (Fig. 10). Here, Johnson, who received a grant of several hundred acres, erected a mill and named the site Williamstown, after his late, illustrious father. About 500 emigrants from Knoydart in Glengary, Scotland, arrived in 1786, taking up lands as far back as the third concession in Lancaster and the sixth in Charlottenburg. More members of the same clan, MacDonnell, arrived in 1791. Two years later, 40 families of MacLeods, MacCuaigs, MacGillivrays, and MacIntoshes from Glenelg settled on lands in the rear of Lancaster. These were followed by a large group of

Camerons from Lochiel in 1796 (SS:6,245:113-121,246:44-59).

Early Development: The American Side

The Ten Towns.-- As the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence was being surveyed into townships and settled, efforts were being made by the New York State Legislature to achieve the same result on the American side. Beginning in 1784, in a series of treaties, the claims of the various Indian tribes to the territory were gradually resolved. St. Regis Indians, who remained friendly to the United States, were granted a reserve of six square miles on the St. Lawrence southwest of the 45th Parallel, together with several smaller tracts and meadows along local tributary rivers where they already had mills.

In order to secure the defense of the river frontier, the legislature in 1786 ordered State Land Commissioners to divide a portion of the land along the St. Lawrence into ten towns or townships. Accordingly two ranges of towns, called the "Canadian" Ten Towns, were drawn up on a map (Fig. 12). Each range consisted of five towns. The front five extended along the St. Lawrence for approximately 50 miles, opposite the townships from Osnabruck to Elizabethtown on the Canadian side. The towns were

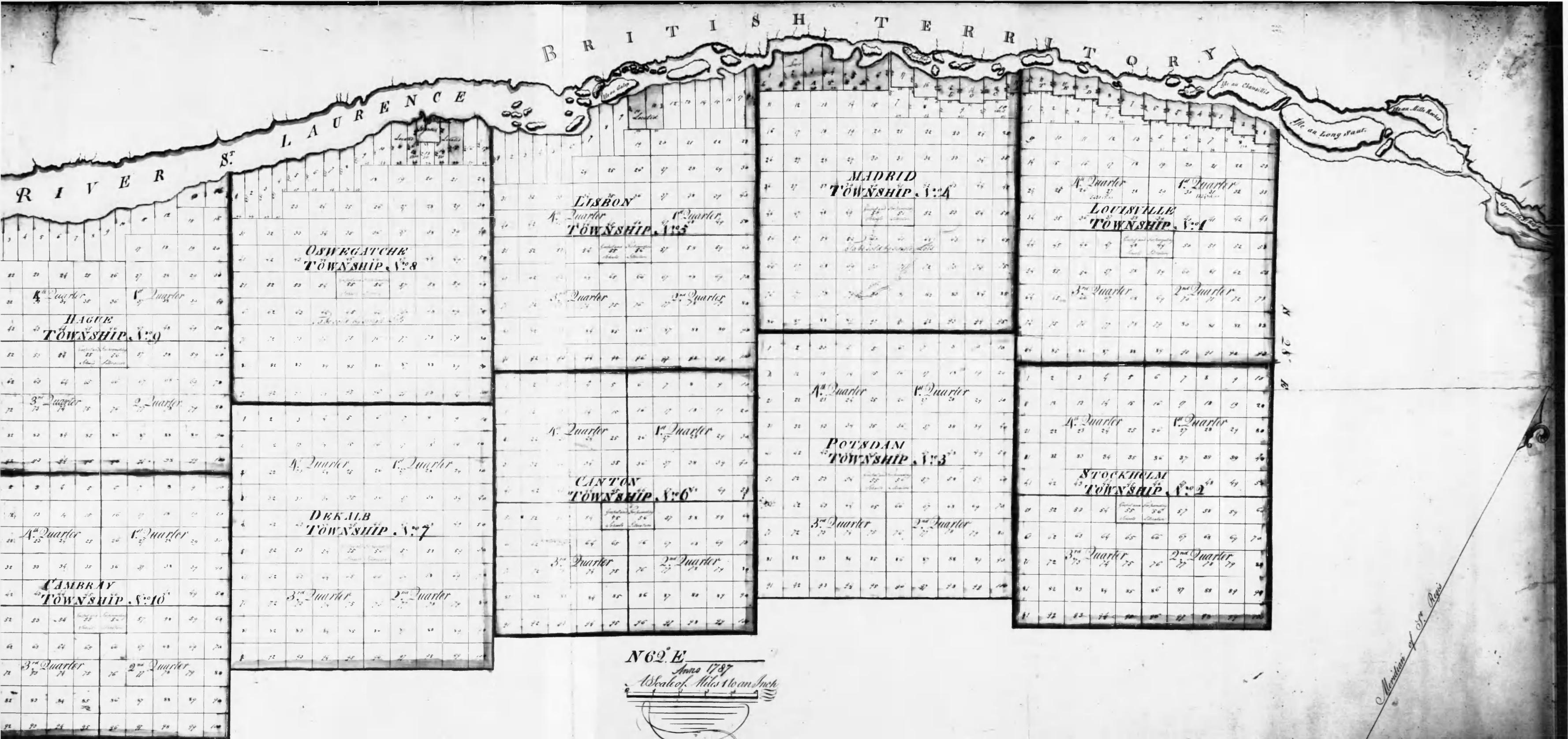


Fig. 12.

numbered and named (239:318-327).

As nearly as possible, each town contained 64,000 acres. The towns were subdivided into lots one mile square, except for river lots which were generally rectangular (Fig. 12). The latter took cognizance, as on the Canadian side, of the importance of river transportation by making access to the water's edge available to as many settlers as possible. Two lots near the center of each town were reserved for the "gospel and schools" of the town and "for promoting literature" within the state. Five acres out of every hundred were reserved for roads. With the exception of every fourth town, which was to be sold in single lots, the towns were to be sold undivided. Actual settlement within seven years was a condition of sale, failure of which the land would revert to the state.

Thus, for reasons of strategy and defense, both the British and Americans were anxious to settle the frontier. But, whereas the British hoped to settle their colony by offering free lands (except for the payment of patent and survey fees), the Americans planned to accomplish the same by selling the land, gaining at the same time an immediate revenue. By offering every fourth town in single

lots, the state government hoped to attract small buyers, who would move north and settle; on the other hand, the sale of towns outright would attract men of wealth, who would be in a position to invest heavily and thereby ensure rapid development. The most striking contrast in British and American policies, however, was in the matter of the reservation of land. The reserves on the American side were designed to assist the settlers in the cost of establishing their own social institutions as well as in the building of roads. As such they would not arouse any opposition among the pioneers. On the Canadian side, the extensive reserves meant an iniquitous effort to make money for the government out of the efforts of the settlers. This policy was dictated by the lessons learned in the American Colonies before the revolution. The Crown reserves would strengthen the financial position of the executive branch of the provincial government while the reserves for the clergy would, in the eyes of British public officials, establish the church and contribute to the spiritual well-being of the colonists. The British Government did not realize that such extensive reserves, either in the form of large blocks in the rear of townships, or scattered over townships in a chequer-board fashion, would

seriously circumscribe the future development of the area and almost result in the loss of the province.

The Macomb Purchase.-- The approach of the New York State Legislature to the settlement of northern frontier, however, was considerably modified beyond their control, when the lands in the Ten Towns were offered for public auction in New York City in the early summer of 1787. A group of powerful individuals, acting in the interest of one man, Alexander Macomb, bought up the towns and shortly after turned the land titles over to him. Macomb, formerly an associate of John Jacob Astor in the fur trade, became the nominal owner of the Canadian Ten Towns.

Land speculation, however, just began. Within four years, Macomb purchased for eight pence per acre practically all of the remainder of northern New York. This purchase constituted a tract of nearly four million acres, extending from the State Military Reservation along the Vermont boundary to Lake Ontario, south to the line of Totten and Crossfield's Purchase and the Salmon River, which flows westward into Lake Ontario about 30 miles south of the Black River¹⁸ (fig. 13). The territory was surveyed into six Great Tracts, Nos. 2 and 3 surrounding the Ten Towns on three sides. The Purchase westward from Great Tract No. 1 fell

Contents of
MACOMB'S PURCHASE

No.1	Contains	321,819
2	Do	553,020
3	Do	158,228
4	Do	150,950
5	Wm. Inman's 1 st Tract	26,250
6	Wm. Inman's 2 nd Tract	74,400
	The Boylston's Tract	317,155
	Peter Chassanis Tract	220,500
	James Watson's Tract	61,433
	John Julius Angerstein	210,000
		1109,733
	Deduct Six Miles Square to be laid out as Sitings for the Indians	369,755
	Acres	3670,715



Fig. 13.

Copy obtained from the Library of Congress

within Montgomery County, created in 1788 out of pre-revolutionary County of Tryon (Fig. 5).

Land Companies and Proprietors.-- Macomb became financially involved before completing his transactions and, as a result, all of his holdings were transferred to a number of influential New York magnates. This development brought to the foreground many of the men who caused the land to be surveyed, subdivided, and settled. Prominent among the early proprietors were William Constable, who assumed title to the greater portion of the original Purchase, Samuel Ogden, and Gouverneur Morris. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, member of a prominent New York family, was also an important proprietor. In 1788, he patented a small tract of land on the St. Lawrence River, southwest of the St. Regis Indian Reserve, which never was a part of the Macomb holdings.

Constable made immediate efforts to dispose of his extensive estate. In 1793, a tract of 210,000 acres in Great Tract No. 5, situated between the Black River and the southern boundary of Great Tract No. 4 (Fig. 13), was sold to Peter Chassanis, a Frenchman, for 25,000 pounds sterling (247:125). A land company, known as the Chassanis or Castorland Company, was formed in France with the intent of settling Frenchmen along the Black River.

Under the direction of the company, some settlers were brought from France and settled along the lower course of the Black River. To encourage contact with the settlers in Upper Canada, a road was cleared through the forest from the Black River (Fig. 13) northwestward to the mouth of French Creek on the St. Lawrence River. Another road led from the bend of the Black River westward to Lake Ontario.

The Chassanis venture, however, was short-lived. Events in France prevented many shareholders from taking an active part in the colonization scheme. Finally, in 1798, the tract was purchased by another Frenchman, James Le Ray de Chaumont, who is responsible for later development. The tract was subsequently surveyed into lots of 450 acres each (Fig. 13).

Situated astride the French road as it traversed Great Tract No. 4 to the St. Lawrence, was Penet Square. This tract of 100 square miles, its northwest corner touching the St. Lawrence at the mouth of French Creek, was not a part of the Macomb Purchase. The tract was granted originally to Peter Penet by the Oneida Indians for his services to them (126:4). The grant was confirmed by the state legislature in 1788 in a treaty with the Oneidas at Fort Stanwix (Fig. 2). Penet selected his tract so that the St.

Lawrence River could be utilized in transporting lumber and agricultural products to Montreal.

However, Penet died in France before he was able to begin development of the tract. The land changed hands and was subdivided several times, resulting in confusion over titles and in delayed settlement.

Great Tract No. 4, with the exception of Penet Square and 30,000 acres in the extreme eastern corner¹⁹ (Fig. 13), was sold by Constable to a group of Belgian promoters who formed the Antwerp Land Company. The tract was surveyed into 1000 lots of 440 acres each (except for lots along Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River). The company, however, soon became defunct and the land was divided between Gouverneur Morris, the company's agent in New York, and Le Ray. The latter took the western half of the tract, while Morris took the remaining eastern half.

The proprietors played a role in the early development of northern New York similar to that of the British Government in Upper Canada. It was not uncommon for them, through their agents, to have clearings made, mills erected, trails cut through the forest, and cabins built for the first settlers. In order to attract buyers, many offered generous credit terms, sending their agents throughout New

England and New York to advertise the land. Competition was keen among the agents, who made efforts to discredit the lands of other proprietors. The activities of Nathan Ford, agent for Samuel Ogden, are typical of the efforts of the land agent in promoting the settlement of the American side of the St. Lawrence.

When Macomb disposed of his holdings, four of the Ten Towns, Oswegatchie, De Kalb, Hague and Cambray (Figs. 12 and 13) were transferred to Ogden. However, until the British relinquished possession of Fort Oswegatchie, Ogden was unable to improve his tract. Moreover, under the protection of the British, certain Canadians from Montreal and the north bank of the St. Lawrence obtained extensive leases from the Oswegatchie Indians and began cutting timber. The old French dam and mill on the Oswegatchie were repaired and a new mill was erected. Lumbering operations were carried on in earnest, the logs being sent across the St. Lawrence to the Canadian settlements or rafted directly to Montreal. Indeed, so rapid was the depletion of good stands of timber that Ogden felt compelled to complain to the Governor of Canada (50:143).

Following the Jay Treaty of 1796 and the evacuation of the post by the British, Nathan Ford arrived

at the mouth of the Oswegatchie, settled the claims of the Canadians, and set about improving the area for settlement. Ford brought his supplies and labor upstream from Montreal and soon had in operation a new saw mill and a grist mill. More trees were felled, formed into rafts and sent to market. Livestock and seed were brought across the river from the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence. By 1793, eight or ten farms were sold in the Town of Oswegatchie (81:390).

During the last decade of the 18th century, only a trickle of the migrating New Englanders found their way into the lands along the American side of the St. Lawrence. Instead, the great mass followed the Mohawk westward to the fertile plain south of Lake Ontario. Such hardy pioneers as did follow the crude trail from Lake Champlain to St. Regis on the St. Lawrence were forced, until 1799, to cross the river to the Canadian side and follow the river road to Johnstown, before arriving finally at their destination in one of the American towns. The surveying and partially opening of a road from St. Regis to the mouth of the Oswegatchie River considerably facilitated travel into the forested wilderness along the American side of the St. Lawrence.

Because of the general inaccessibility of the

region, Ford recognized the urgency of a road to connect directly with the Mohawk Valley. "The present road through the Chateaugay country" i.e., through the northern part of the Military Townships and Great Tract No. 1 (Fig. 13), wrote Ford, "accommodates the few who migrate from the upper part of Vermont, but the immense flood of people who migrate westward go there (to western New York) because they have no choice" (50:152).

The Canadians on the north bank of the St. Lawrence were happy to find that a settlement was to be made near the mouth of the Oswegatchie. Many planned to remove to the American side, either because they thought the land more fertile, or because they desired to take advantage of the credit terms offered by Ford in order to speculate. Ford became aware of this and annexed to the terms of sale 'in case of actual settlement', ensuring, as he wrote Ogden, "that the land should rise in your hands than theirs" (50:152). Indeed, the more he became acquainted with the Canadians, the less he fancied them as settlers. "They are a strange medley, and it is well the river is betwixt us. I am convinced in my own mind that the country will settle, and by our own countrymen, one of whom is worth six of His

Majesty's beefeaters. Let us let our buildings and our business well under way, and if possible get the legislature to assist in cutting a road from the Mahawk, and the country will soon settle by itself."

Elsewhere in the Ten Towns small settlements were also being made. The settlers consisted mainly of Vermonters, but also included some Canadians from Upper Canada. Unlike the inhabitants on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence, the new inhabitants on the American side did not feel the urgency of river locations. This may have been partly the result of the adverse descriptions of the river lots circulated by some of the agents. More likely it was the result of the fact that such lots were more expensive than inland lots.²⁰ Moreover, some of the land along the St. Lawrence was reserved for future sale by the proprietors in the expectation that the value would increase.

Except for the fact that the development of the American side of the St. Lawrence was a decade or more behind that of the Canadian side, settlement followed along similar lines. The proprietor's or settler's mills formed the nucleus of the settlement. Trees were felled and logs were floated down the St. Lawrence and its tributaries to the lucrative timber depot at Montreal.

After the clearing was made, grain was planted, first yields being very high. One settler in the Town of Canton realized more than 60 bushels of wheat from less than an acre of sowed land (Sl:273). The grist mill at the mouth of the Oswegatchie, put into operation on December 1st, 1798, ground 1,500 bushels of wheat by the 22nd of the month. During the first 11 months of the mill's existence, 3,954 bushels of wheat, 1,820 bushels of corn, and other grain were ground (Sl:391). In addition to wheat, corn, other grains and vegetables, flax and hemp were grown, particularly by the French settlers along the lower course of the Black River.

The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence.--

Because of their distance from the large markets of the state, the early settlers of the American side of the St. Lawrence were compelled to trade at Montreal. It was impossible for Britain to enforce mercantilistic controls upon intercourse southwest of Montreal so that practically free trade existed between American and Canadian frontiersmen. However, although there existed an almost unlimited demand at Montreal for timber and timber products, agricultural products, whether Canadian or American, did not always move to a profitable market in Lower Canada. Consequently,



A VIEW of the CITY of MONTREAL in CANADA taken from the Top of the MOUNTAIN.

By James Peachey (In Canada, 1783-1784)
Curtesy of the PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
From Photograph Negative A 1102

there were many dissenters within Montreal's commercial empire of the St. Lawrence. Nathan Ford was one.

"In olden times 'all the world went up to Jerusalem to be taxed'", wrote Ford, "but in modern days all the world go to Montreal with rafts" (225:225). The destruction of this dependence was one of the reasons why he so vigorously urged the construction of a road from the Mohawk to the mouth of the Oswegatchie. In addition, he hoped to interest the Canadians in trading in the Mohawk Valley and at Albany. If the road were built, "the people on the other side (of the St. Lawrence) assure me that they would much rather take their product to Albany in winter than go to Montreal. And they are going to a better market. Over and above this, is that generally speaking, those who have settled upon the opposite side of the St. Lawrence are from the North and Mohawk Rivers, and their connections are there" (50:152).

Summary

Development began on the Canadian side of the upper St. Lawrence River in 1783 when the British Government laid out nine townships southwest of Point au Baudet in preparation for the coming of the Loyalists, refugees of the American Revolution. The rectangular survey was implemented, regardless of the lay

of the land, and extensive grants were made to settlers. The government attempted to establish a unique township plan which, however, was virtually abandoned with the creation of extensive reserves for the support of the local administration and "a Protestant clergy". The reserves constituted two-sevenths of the land of each township, and except where settlement already occurred, were to be scattered chequer-board fashion. The reserved land policy was largely a product of Britain's disastrous experience in the 13 Colonies; it attempted to carve out of the Upper Canadian wilderness a social milieu mirrored in old England.

While settlement was proceeding on the Canadian side, the New York State Legislature caused Ten Towns to be surveyed on the American side. The basic feature of state policy was that the land was to be sold, either in single lots or by towns, in order to gain a revenue and to get the territory into the hands of those who would be in a position to settle and develop it. Small reserves were set aside, but these were designed to assist the settler, not to exploit him. However, through a conspiracy, the Ten Towns passed into the control of Alexander Macomb, who shortly after purchased practically all of the remainder of northern

New York. When Macomb became bankrupt, the extensive tract was divided and changed hands several times, involving both land companies and proprietors. Actual settlement began a decade or more after the original Loyalist settlement on the Canadian side, the migrants coming principally from Vermont. The great exodus from New England which was getting under way at this time, however, by-passed northern New York for the fertile lands in the western part of the state.

Notes on Chapter II

1. The site was also known as Pointe au Baril, New Oswegatchie, Fort Oswegatchie (Canada), and later Swegatchie. Here, the French built two small ships of war out of local timber. The fort was in existence as late as 1785 when the land was occupied by the Loyalists (138:I;281).

2. The island is now known as Chimney Island, and is located opposite the village of Johnstown, Ontario (82:39).

3. In 1783, there were along the upper St. Lawrence about 101 Oswegatchie Indians; 330 Indians, of mixed ancestry, at St. Regis; and 582 Indians, predominantly Iroquois, on Carleton Island (292:B 225-2, 393).

4. The Province of Quebec, or old New France, following the conquest of Canada by the British in 1763, was bounded on the southwest by the Ottawa River. In 1774, the Quebec Act extended the boundary westward and southward to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The Treaty of Paris, 1763, chopped off the territory south of the Great Lakes but the remainder, between the Detroit and the Ottawa Rivers, continued under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Quebec, or Canada.

5. The St. Lawrence River above Montreal was often referred to as the South West Branch of the St. Lawrence (Fig. 2), the river from its mouth to Montreal being considered as the St. Lawrence.

6. Unless otherwise noted, the following description of the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence is based on several early surveys: "The Journal of Lt. Gershom French", and an "Anonymous Report of the Country between the Seigneurie of M. de Longueuil and Isle aux Gallots" (171:14-8;19-21).

7. The Totten and Crossfield Purchase was a grant of 800,000 acres in the north-central part of colonial New York to Sir. William Johnson of the Mohawk (father of Sir John Johnson) in 1773. The grant was not subsequently confirmed by the state legislature, although its imprint is to be found on later county subdivisions. The northern boundary of the tract became the southern boundary of present St. Lawrence County.

8. In spite of the Treaty of 1783, the British continued to retain their forts in American territory (Oswegatchie, Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac) until Jay's Treaty in 1796.

9. The description of the mouth of the Oswegatchie is based on Father Ficquet's notes of 1749 (181:277).

10. Following the invasion of Southern Ontario by the Iroquois and the destruction of the Huron tribes on Georgian Bay in the middle of the 17th century, the Chippewas and their kin, the Mississaguas, moved south and took possession of practically all of the southern part of the province.

11. The allowance for roads was usually 60 feet along the first concession and 40 feet along succeeding lines. At intervals of two or three miles, a space of 40 feet between lots was left for a "side road" running at right angles to the concessions (Fig. 4) (128:28).

12. A regulation of November, 1789, provided for the registration of all persons coming under the description of United Empire Loyalist, "to the end that their Posterity may be discriminated from future settlers in the Parish Registers and Rolls of the Militia of their respective Districts and other Public Remembrances of the Province, as Proper Objects . . . for distinguished Benefits and Privileges" (182:lxxxv).

13. The Highlanders migrated to the Mohawk Valley with the collapse of the Stuart cause around 1750. However, prompting the movement of Highlanders to the New World which increased considerably after 1783 was the rapid depression of the homelands. The union of farms by landlords to create better sheep-runs deprived the small farmer of his livelihood. The only alternative, apart from moving to the industrial slums of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other Scottish cities, was mass migration (219:73-89).

14. The houses were generally small, the largest being not more than 20 feet by 15, built of round logs notched at the corners, and laid one upon the other to a height of seven or eight feet. The roof was made of elm bark; an opening for a door and one for a window were cut; the floor consisted of split logs; the hearth of flat stones; and the chimney of field stone, laid up with hard clay for mortar, as

high as the walls, above which it was made of small, round sticks plastered with clay. The spaces between the logs were "chinked" with small pieces of wood and daubed with clay (243:20-1).

15. It is not unlikely that the Loyalists borrowed the cultivation of peas from the French Canadians. The original Loyalists of the Niagara Peninsula grew none, probably because the pea-bug had rendered the crop uncertain everywhere in the former American Colonies except northern New York. According to La Rochefaucault, the cultivation of peas was introduced at Kingston (Cataraqui) in 1793 (11:99;137:71).

16. The Crown and clergy reserves constitute the most important single item in the historical geography of early Ontario. They had a tremendous effect on settlement, and the social and religious conflicts resulting from the policy were in part responsible for the Rebellion of 1837, known as the Patriot's War to students of American history.

17. Until the middle of the 18th century, or shortly thereafter, the spelling of "Glengarry" contained only one "r".

18. Not included in the great sale to Macomb were the islands of the St. Lawrence River (the boundary between Canada and the United States was not defined until after the War of 1812), the St. Regis Indian Reserve, the Rennselaer Tract (now the Town of Massena) southwest of the reserve, Penet Square, and Tibbett's Point, a tract of 800 acres in the northwest corner of Great Tract No. 4. Because of the extensive nature of the purchase, Dr. Joseph Pomeroy, of Kinderhook, New York, in 1792, stated in the state legislature that he believed that a company had been formed under the direction of Lord Dorchester, Governor of Canada, including Sir John Johnson and other Tories in Canada, with the intention of purchasing a large tract on the St. Lawrence for ultimate annexation to Canada. Pomeroy charged Governor Clinton of New York with being a party to the arrangement. A great storm of criticism arose, particularly as adjoining tracts to the south of the Macomb Purchase had been sold a short time previous for two and three shillings an acre, more than Macomb paid for his tract. A legislative investigation resulted in complete vindication for the

governor but it was agreed that the lands had been sold too cheaply (163:841-3, 44:I;388-9, 97:I;89).

19. In 1800, Constable deeded the 30,000 acres to Chassanis; the tract was subdivided into 27 lots and conveyed later to Le Ray (80:50).

20. In the Town of Madrid (Fig. 12), for example, lots on the St. Lawrence River sold at \$2.50 and inland lots at \$2.00 an acre. All early sales involved the condition that the purchaser clear a certain portion of the land and erect a house. One quarter of the total cost down and the rest in three equal annual instalments was the ordinary stipulation (81:342).

CHAPTER III

THE ST. LAWRENCE COMMUNITY (1800-1805)

The settlements that have been made in Upper Canada, since the coming of the Loyalists, do not extend inland to any considerable distance from the lakes and rivers, which constitute the southern boundary of the province (Fig. 14). To the north the forest is virtually untouched. Even within settled districts, the land is three-quarters covered with trees and, in general, little developed. Nevertheless, the extent of clearing is gaining steadily with ever-increasing numbers of settlers entering from the United States. The westward movement of population from New England and eastern New York onto the fertile plain south of Lake Ontario, into Ohio, and into the Valley of the Mississippi, is also contributing to the growth of the British province. Indeed, politics are overlooked in the quest for cheap, fertile land. Within a short period of time, it seems reasonable to assume, Upper Canada will be as strong and as populous as any of the regions being developed in the neighboring states - and possibly more republican than British.

PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA.

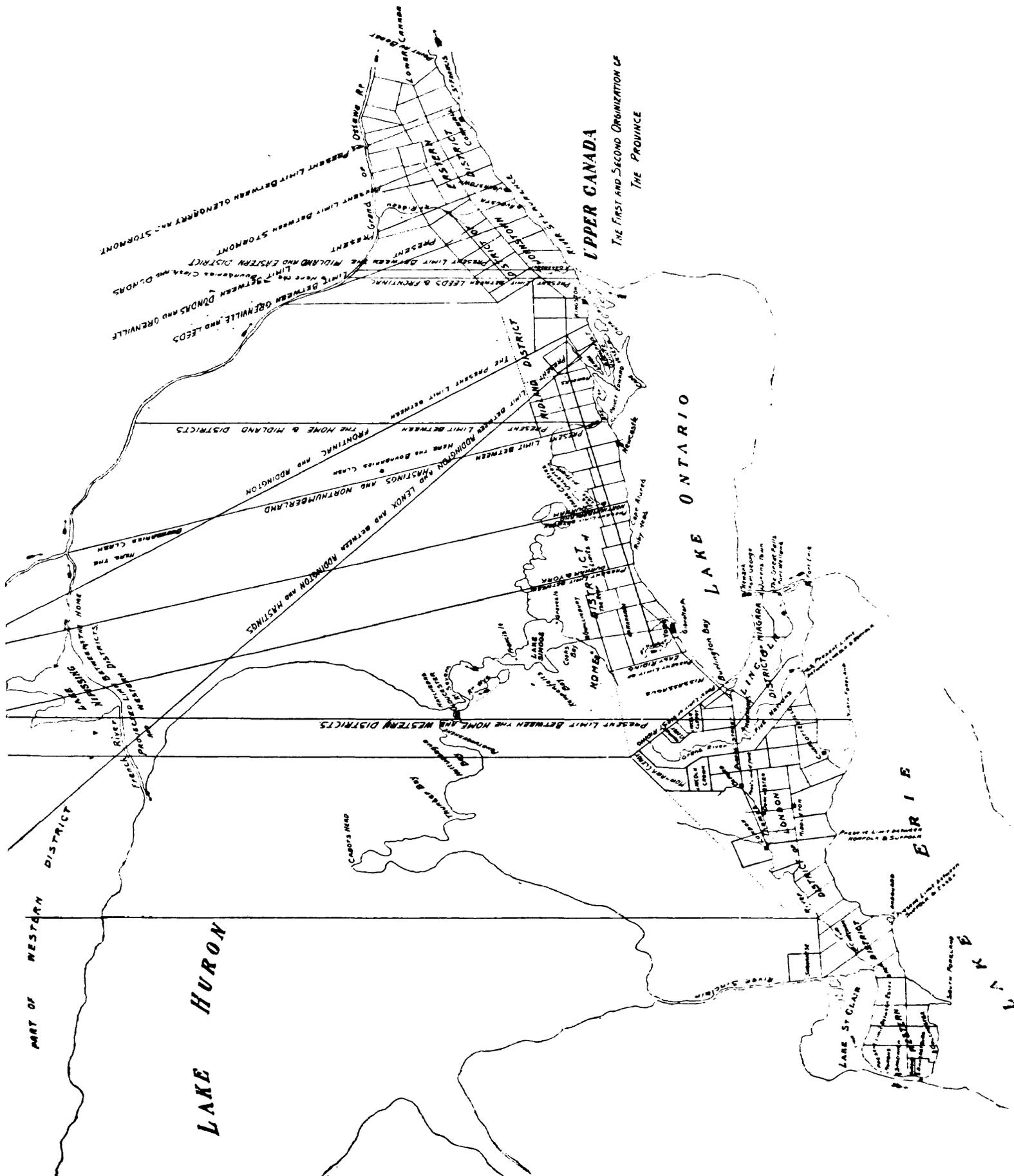


Fig. 34.

From Original in Ontario Bureau of Archives, Toronto.

It is estimated that Upper Canada presently contains no more than 35,000 inhabitants (96:2, 15). Of these, approximately 12,000 are of Loyalist stock, the largest concentration being along the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence. Westward from the Bay of Quinte, except for several small Loyalist communities, the majority of the population is of non-Loyalist stock who have entered the province since 1792 (96:18).

In spite of different allegiance, the settlers along the waterways which separate the United States from Upper Canada are part of one great frontier community. Intercourse between the inhabitants of either side is frequent, and Americans and Canadians share directly or indirectly in the success or failure of neighboring enterprise. A striking incidence of this communal spirit is to be found along the upper St. Lawrence where Canadians cross to the American settlements to join in celebration of the 4th of July.

Some Natural Traits

The fertility of the soil of the lands along the upper St. Lawrence is well known. According to one observer, the soil is unquestionably of the first quality and is sufficiently varied by swells and swales to relieve the monotony which would result

from a dead level country (169:9). The climate is generally believed to be extreme, but the winters are not unbearable and are certainly milder than those of Lower Canada. Considerable snow falls east of Kingston and the St. Lawrence is frozen at least five months of the year. Since snow and ice form an excellent highway in winter, this factor is partly responsible for the slow development of roads on the Canadian side.

The low temperatures of winter do not prevent activity. Indeed, this is the season of logging, of making staves and potash, and of squaring oak; it is the occasion for social activity. Over the frozen surface of the St. Lawrence, horse-drawn sleds follow each other in a continuous stream to the Montreal market. With the coming of spring, 'sugaring' becomes an important activity. Summer, following soon after the disappearance of the snow, brings with it warm, sometimes hot, weather. Rainfall is variable, and drought has been known to occur.

It has been observed by a surveyor for the British Government that the clearing of the land by settlers on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence has resulted in the drying up of some of the small tributary streams (294:Q 290-1;27-36). Settlers who live

inland from the St. Lawrence are compelled to wait for a spring freshet or an increase of water by rains, in order to conduct logs and rafts to the St. Lawrence. It likewise happens that the freshets are not sufficiently high for safe travel, forcing the farmers to cart their products over rough trails to landings on the main river.

The low, poorly drained lands, especially those along the St. Lawrence on both the Canadian and American sides, are sometimes conceived of being unhealthy for habitation. This is undoubtedly true, but the fevers which are associated with damp lands, are also prevalent in drier areas. Indeed, the situation seems to be that during the first season of newly-cleared fields fevers are not as common as they are several years afterwards. According to one theory of the time, the cause is to be found in the decay of the organic content of the virgin soil. In Lower Canada, where the soil has been virtually exhausted in old settlements, these fevers are unknown (129:282; 158:224).

Land Development on the Canadian Side

In its state of development, the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence presents a striking contrast with that of the American side. This is understandable

since the Canadian settlements were begun more than a decade before the American. Indeed, according to travellers on the river, the Canadian side presents a rather pleasing appearance. From Point au Baudet in the northeast to the Cananoque in the southwest, a narrow strip of land along the bank of the river has been cleared of trees. In their short occupancy, the settlers have cleared as much land as the French in Lower Canada who have possessed their land for more than a hundred years (25:123-4). It is believed by observers that, in contrast to the French, the settlers along the Canadian side of the upper St. Lawrence have been urged to industry by their free tenure and the relative ease with which land is acquired from the governor. Proximity to Montreal has also been an advantage. Within recent years, additional markets have been provided by the new settlements on the American side of the St. Lawrence.

The actual number of inhabitants along the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence is not known, but the population has steadily increased since the original settlements were made. In 1794, for example, five battalions of 1,947 men between the ages of 16 and 60 could be mustered from the five counties; the corps now contains 2,443 men (170:II;293). Assuming

a family of three for each male, the present population is approximately 7,000.

Since 1792, over 850,000 acres of Crown lands have been alienated. This figure includes instances of large grants to single individuals, fraud and favoritism being of common occurrence (294:Q299;4, Q302;424, Q305;25). However, most of the accounts of travellers describing the extent of development on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence overlook the serious discrepancy between the numbers and distribution of the population and the extent of land alienation. A close examination of maps showing the disposition of Crown lands (Figs. 15 and 16) reveals that at least 75 per cent have been granted by the government. Except for the scattered Crown and clergy reserves (Figs. 15, 16, 17 and 18), which are available only for lease, few extensive tracts remain to be alienated. However, the clearings made along the St. Lawrence are not contiguous inland for any considerable extent, the bulk of the population being concentrated to within less than eight miles of the river. Thus, the maps (Figs. 15 and 16) suggest that the policy of encouraging settlement through free grants has been more lavish than productive of actual development. Consequently, new migrants entering the

LEEDS & GRENVILLE COUNTIES

DISPOSITION OF LAND
-1805-

- ALIENATED
- RESERVED
- CROWN LANDS



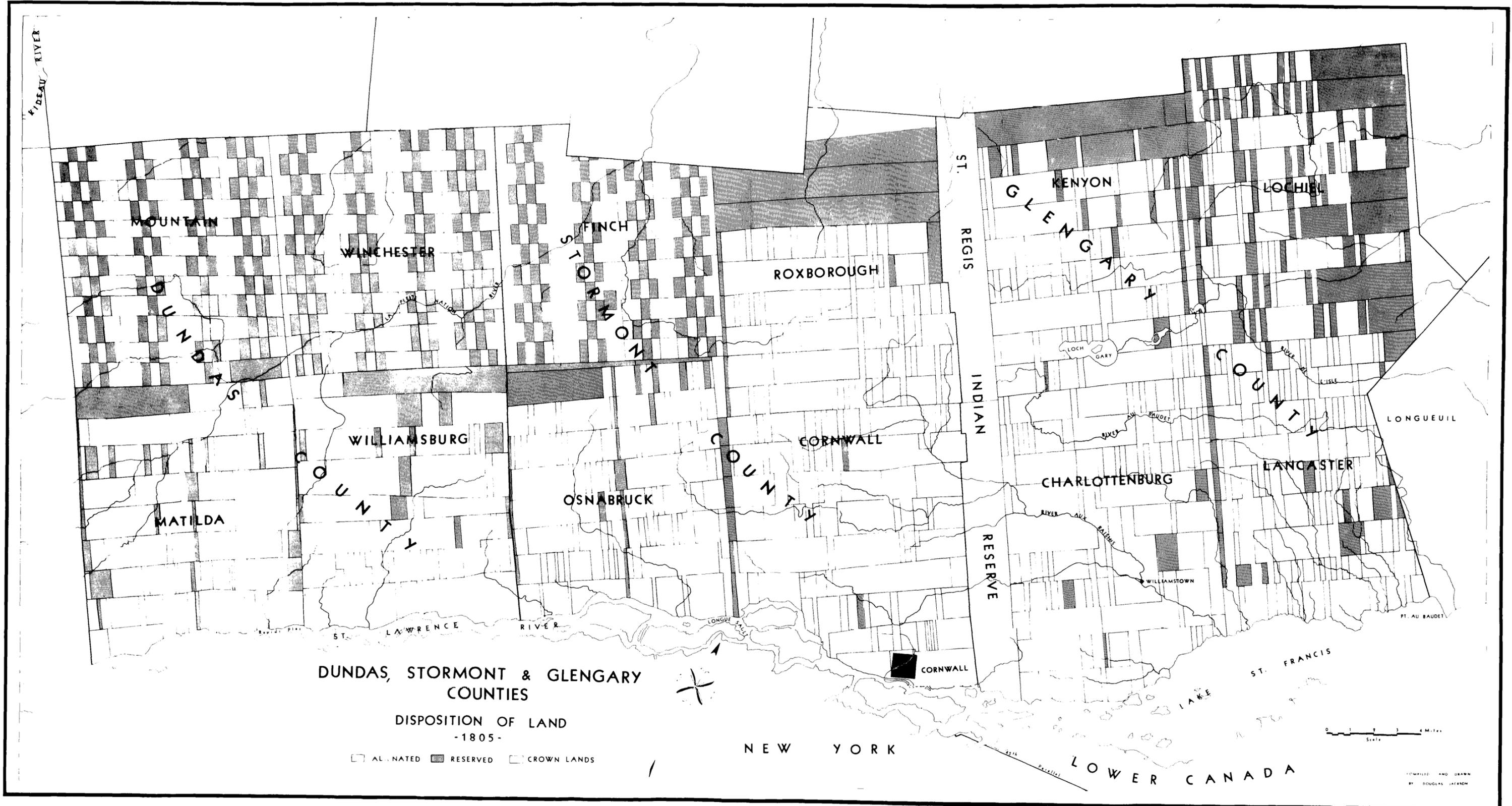
NEW YORK

COMPILED AND DRAWN BY
DOUGLAS JACKSON

the area will be compelled either to purchase from present landlords, or accept from the government tracts of land less advantageously located in relation to the St. Lawrence.

The densest settlement on the Canadian side occurs in the townships of Glengary County, where several waves of Highlanders have taken up and settled most of the land. The population is relatively dense in most of Lancaster and Charlottenburg Townships, and in the first two concessions, i.e., the southern part, of Lochiel and Kenyon (Figs. 15 and 16). Settlement throughout the remaining concessions is relatively sparse. Consequently, alienated lands in the southern part of Glengary County are also, to a considerable extent, actually occupied by settlers (Fig. 16).

Most of the southern part of Lancaster Township, however, is only now beginning to take on a settled appearance. The increase of population with the arrival of the Glengary Fencibles from Scotland (in 1802) has contributed greatly to this development. The Fencibles, as a group, possess 160,000 acres in both Glengary and Stormont Counties. In Charlottenburg, the banks of the aux Raisins River, known locally as the Avon Du, are rather densely occupied, particularly



DUNDAS, STORMONT & GLENGARY
COUNTIES

DISPOSITION OF LAND
- 1805 -

ALLOTTED
 RESERVED
 CROWN LANDS

NEW YORK

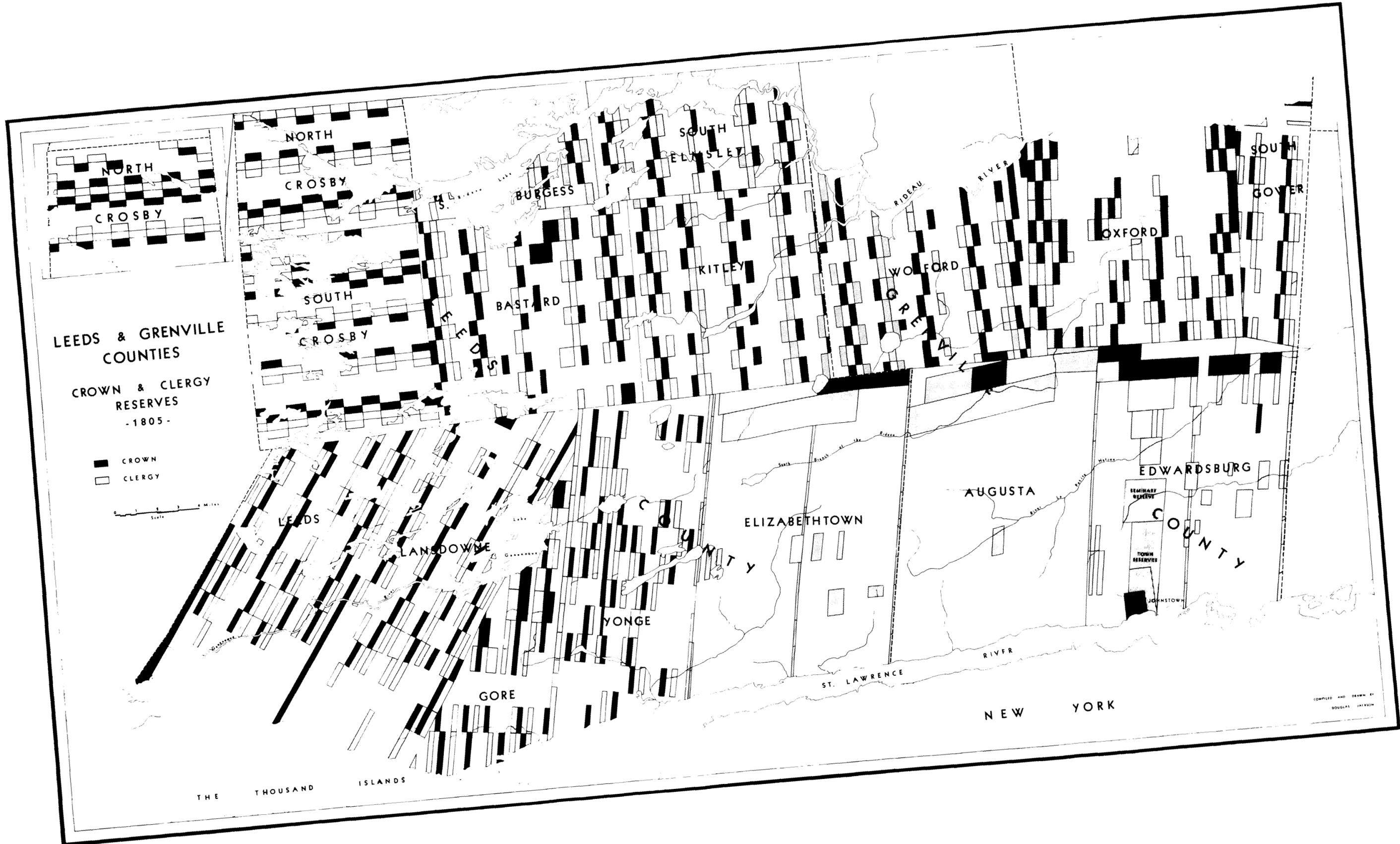
LOWER CANADA

0 1 2 3 4 Miles
Scale

COMPILED AND DRAWN
BY DOUGLAS JACKSON

in the vicinity of Williamstown (Fig. 16). The land in this section, however, has been reported poor on several occasions (293:106).

The effect of the Crown and clergy reserves on contiguous settlement is clearly evident in the case of Lochiel and Kenyon Townships. The reserves are either scattered between alienated lands or grouped in large blocks (Figs. 16 and 18). Indeed, these townships are extensively endowed with reserves. This is a result of the fact that they contain, in addition to their own reserves of two-sevenths of the land, most of those for Charlottenburg and Lancaster, which were partly settled when the policy was first instituted. Rather than distressing the settlers in the river townships, by removing them from their farms to make way for the Crown and clergy allotments, the government set aside a comparable acreage in the inland townships. However, even in the latter townships the government was forced to contend with alienated lands. Consequently, unable to establish the chequered pattern, as in the inland townships of Leeds, Grenville, and Dundas Counties (Figs. 15, 16, 17, and 18), the government reserved lands wherever it could, either in single 200-acre lots or in large blocks. Although the reserves in Kenyon are entirely



LEEDS & GRENVILLE
COUNTIES

CROWN & CLERGY
RESERVES
- 1805 -

- CROWN
- CLERGY

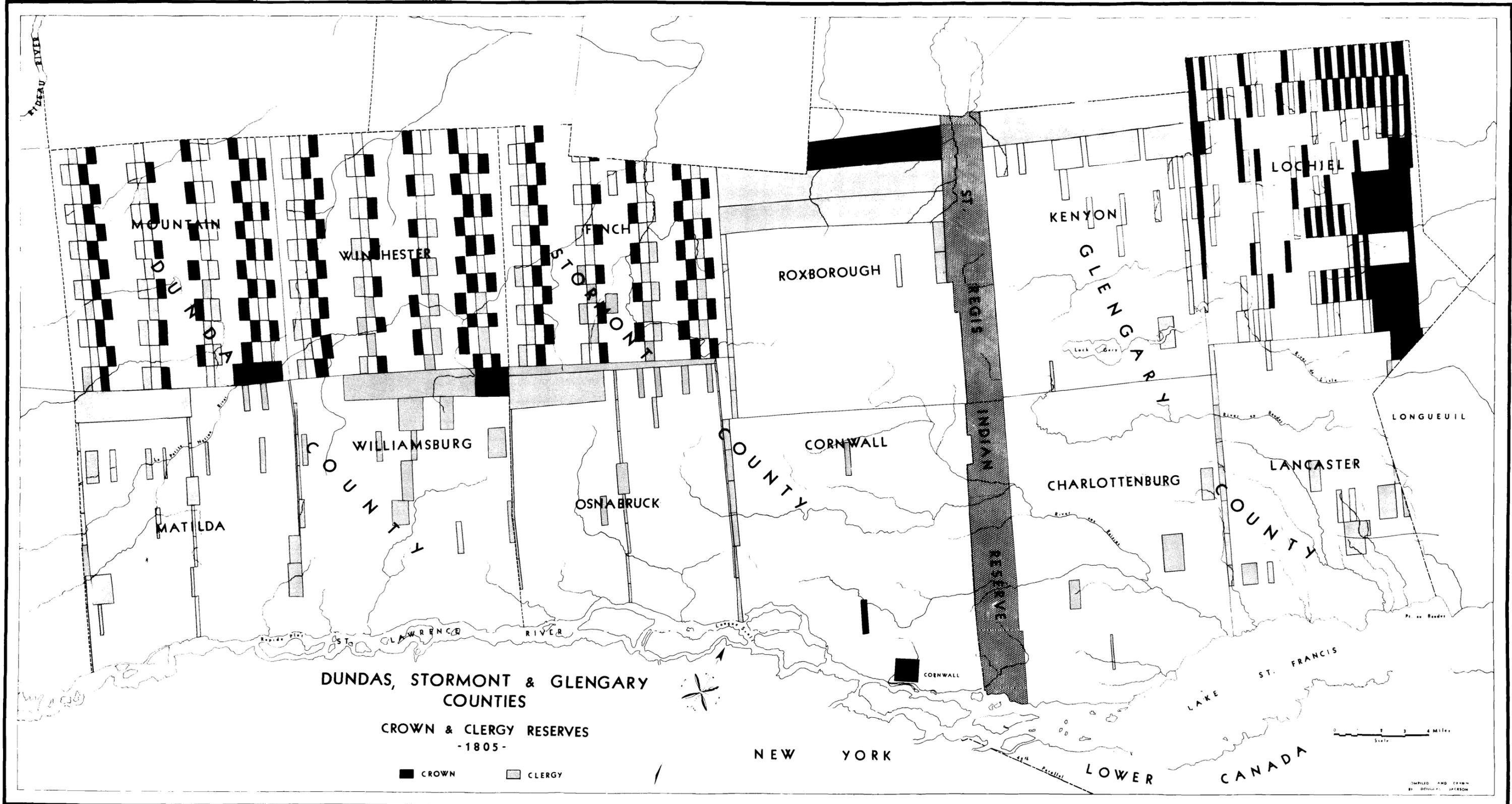


COMPILED AND DRAWN BY
DOUGLAS JARVIS

for the clergy while those in Lochiel are largely for the Crown (Fig. 18), no special significance is attached to this division.

Clan membership and religion largely determine individual locations in the Scottish counties of Glengary and Stormont. Moreover, the collective presence of this national group, with their Gaelic tongue and Highland customs, operates effectively against the entry of settlers of other nationalities.

The population remains fairly dense in the front concessions of the river townships along the St. Lawrence as far as Elizabethtown. There, because the land becomes rocky and uninviting, settlement is sparse. Inland from the river, in Elizabethtown, the soil is more fertile and as a result, settlement occurs as far back as the ninth concession (19:32). Crown and clergy reserves occupy the remaining two concessions of the township (Figs. 15 and 17). The remaining river townships of Leeds County are also undergoing development, but they are far behind the other townships along the St. Lawrence. According to one observer, much "good land" is to be found, especially inland from the St. Lawrence in Yonge and the adjoining "Gore", where are now established "many good farmers" (19:33).



Except in Glengary County and in Finch, an inland township in Stormont County (Fig. 16) which recently received 120 Scottish emigrants, the inland townships are generally undeveloped. It is reported that some second generation Loyalists have settled inland, but the trend is not a general one. Mills have been erected on the south bank of the Rideau River at Merrickville and Burritt's Rapids (Fig. 15), but little settlement has occurred. All in all, there cannot be more than 400 settlers in the inland townships west of Finch, with Wolford (Fig. 13) containing 135 and Oxford, only 14 (99:133).

The slow development of the inland townships is to be explained primarily in terms of the large and extensive holdings of absentee landlords, i.e., the Loyalists, the Crown, and the clergy. The system of endowing the Loyalists and their children with extensive grants of land is not producing the results originally anticipated. Only a very small proportion of the land given them is occupied and improved; indeed, with such vast estates it can not be otherwise. Moreover, there being ample employment on the farms along the St. Lawrence, there is little inducement for the second generation to move inland. At the same time, these Loyalist rights have become a

staple article of commerce, and are readily bought up by speculators. Such unimproved land generally fetches from five to ten shillings per acre (approximately \$1. to \$2. per acre) although some of the Loyalists sell their holdings, unseen and unevaluated for less (26:176). The new landlords, in turn, make little effort to develop their lands, preferring to wait until they can secure a handsome profit from increased value. Since the taxes on wild or unimproved lands are negligible, the speculation is bound to be profitable (128:99).

The Crown and clergy reserves total approximately 490,000 acres, about one-third of the total area of the five counties along the St. Lawrence¹ (101:3). However, since settlers were taking up lands in the front concessions along the St. Lawrence when the policy was introduced, the reserves for each township were grouped in blocks at the back of the township, or partly included with the reserves of inland townships. Southwest of Elizabethtown, in the Townships of Yonge, the "Gore", Lanádowne and Leeds (Figs. 15 and 17), however, since there were few settlers, the reserves were scattered in chequer-board fashion throughout. This is true, also, of course, of the inland townships from Finch to North Crosby (Figs. 17 and 18).

It is possible for impoverished settlers, should they desire, to lease the reserves. Indeed, this course is often forced on the poor Scottish Highlanders, especially if they are faced with a crop failure after having accepted a grant. In this case, a lease of a reserve is much less burdensome than a 'free' grant from the Crown. During the first seven years of a lease, rent amounts to only ten shillings with wheat being acceptable in lieu of cash, the value of a bushel being set at four shillings. On the other hand, the patent and survey fees on a 'free' grant of 200 acres amount to £8 4 1 (293:110, 128:66, 101). The only disadvantage of leasing a reserve, however, is that title does not pass and the pioneer expends his energy on land which he does not own. At any rate, very few reserves have been leased, and it is conceivable that those that are, are valued more for their timber than for purposes of agriculture.

Land Development on the American Side

To the observant traveller in a St. Lawrence bateau, the American side of the river appears to be less well developed than that of the Canadian. Indeed, for a considerable distance along the bank of the river, particularly southwestward from Ford's settlement at the mouth of the Oswegatchie to Lake

Ontario, the forest remains little disturbed. North-eastward toward the Indian village of St. Regis, settlements are more numerous and the clearings more extensive, but none can equal the Canadian in size.

Through the efforts of the land agents, particularly in cutting trails and roads through the forest, the lands in the inland tier of towns appear to be selling as rapidly, if not more rapidly, than those in the towns on the St. Lawrence. The Oswegatchie, Grasse, St. Regis and Raquette Rivers (Fig. 19) are sizeable waterways and, in addition to being navigable for considerable distances throughout their courses, have numerous mill sites. Consequently, settlers find no disadvantage in being located inland from the St. Lawrence River.

The east half of the Town of Louisville, which is subdivided among various proprietors (Figs. 19 and 20) illustrates this development. Although over half of the St. Lawrence River lots are occupied, lands along both the Grasse and Raquette Rivers are also being improved.

Although the influx of migrants from New England and other parts of New York is steadily increasing, there are probably no more than 1,100 people, exclusive of Indians, in the whole territory from St. Regis to

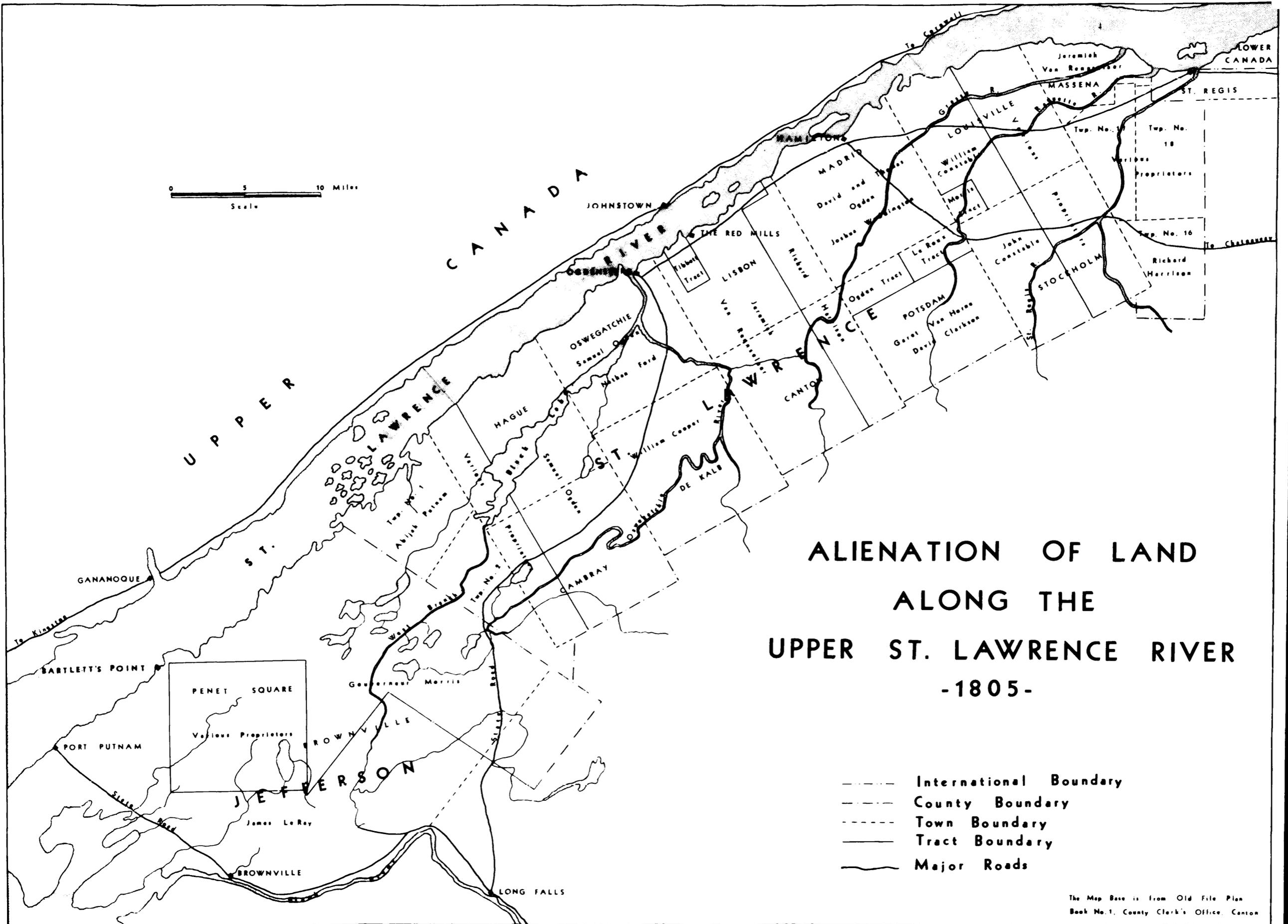


Fig. 19.

the lower course of the Black River. Of these, over half are settled in the old Chassanis Tract, near the mouth of the Black River, as well as in the southern part of Great Tract No. 4, organized as the Town of Brownville² (Fig. 19) (Table 3). The remainder of the population are scattered over the Ten Towns and adjoining townships of Great Tract Nos. 2 and 3³ (Fig. 19).

Table 3

Population on the American Side (1900)*

Town	Males	Females	Slaves	Others
Leyden (Brownville)	344	278	-	-
Oswegatchie*	90	64	1	4
Lisbon	76	54	1	4
Canton*	6	-	-	18
Madrid	6	7	-	-
Louisville	6	7	-	-
Stockholm	3	1	-	4
Massena*	58	44	-	-
Total	589	455	2	30

*Source: 289:45. Oswegatchie includes the Towns of De Kalb, Hague, and Cambray, and Townships Nos. 1 and 2 (Hammond and Somerville); Madrid includes the Town of Potsdam; and Massena (the Rensselaer Tract), Townships Nos. 16, 17, and 18 (Chesterfield, Grange and Crumack).

The most flourishing community on the American side of the St. Lawrence is to be found near the village of Brownville (Fig. 19). Some of the inhabitants

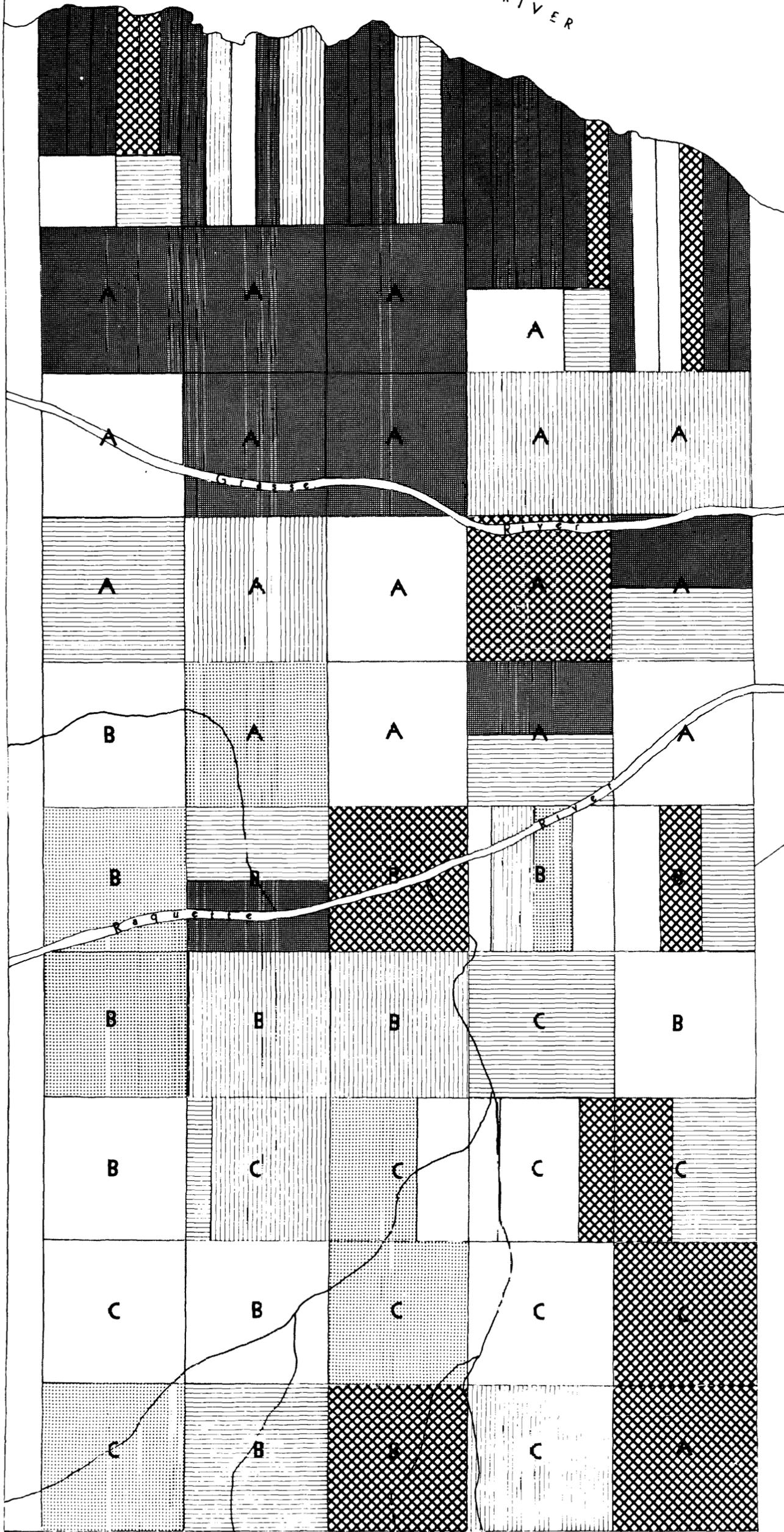
ST. LAWRENCE

RIVER

TOWN OF LOUISVILLE

(EAST HALF)

1805



-  Occupied Lands
-  E. Watson Tract
-  N. Low Tract
-  J. DeLafield Tract
-  W. Laight Tract
-  J. Lamb Tract

- A** First Class Land
- B** Second Class Land
- C** Third Class Land

0 2640 5280 7920 Ft.
- Scale -

Based on an Original
in County Clerk's
Office. CANTON

include the original French settled along the lower course of the Black River by the Chassanis Company. The village is growing annually, and a brisk trade is carried on with Kingston, Upper Canada. The village itself, however, is small, consisting of no more than six frame and four log houses, in addition to the saw mill about which the dwellings are grouped. A state road runs northward from Brownville to Port Putnam on the St. Lawrence where a ferry crosses regularly to Kingston.

Between Brownville and Port Putnam, there are few inhabitants. Some lumbering is carried on along the embayed shore of Lake Ontario, but the activity is not extensive. Many Canadians have been attracted to the area because the fisheries are very productive (30:205). Port Putnam contains only a few cabins, although it has been surveyed on an elaborate scale in anticipation of future expansion (30:149-150). Indeed, from its location near the mouth of the St. Lawrence, opposite Kingston, it promises to become an important commercial center.

Between the bend of the Black River and the southwestern boundary of the Ten Towns, the country is almost entirely a wilderness (Fig. 19). A road, however, runs from Long Falls on the Black River to

Ford's settlement, or Ogdensburg, at the mouth of the Oswegatchie. Along the course of the road, several mills are in operation and settlement is taking place. The uninviting nature of the terrain over which the road passes attracts few settlers. Indeed, the journey from the Black River Valley northeastward to Ogdensburg is tedious and unpleasant, the road cutting through dense forest. It is with a feeling of great joy that the traveller arrives at Ogdensburg. "The prospect that opened upon us," wrote Washington Irving, following such an experience, "was delightful after riding through thick woods for several days where the eye is confined to a narrow space and fatigued with a continual repetition of similar objects. The sight of a beautiful and extensive tract of country (i.e., near the mouth of the Oswegatchie) is inconceivably enlightening" (191:37-8).

With the exception of the French settlers near the mouth of the Black River and some well-to-do Scottish, from Roxburghshire, in the Town of Madrid, the population of the American side is predominantly American and New England in origin. The characteristics of independence, industry, and economy for which the New Englanders are noted, ensure their success. Already, in spite of their small numbers,

they have been granted a political organization permitting greater self-government. The Ten Towns, along with the adjoining townships of Great Tracts Nos. 2 and 3 (five townships in all) now form the County of St. Lawrence⁴ (figs. 19 and 21). In order to secure the effective functioning of the town meeting, a long established New England tradition, the county is divided into four large towns: Oswegatchie, Lisbon, Madrid, and Massena (Fig. 21). Ogdensburg is the county seat.

The greatest weakness of the land disposal system on the American side lies in its entirely speculative nature. Since the transfer of the Macomb Purchase to Constable, Ogden, Morris, and others, additional small land jobbers have purchased tracts for speculation (Fig. 19). Most of these proprietors are anxious for a quick return from their investment. This factor, as a result, creates a serious hardship for many settlers who are tempted, through the encouragement of the land agent, to buy more land than they can profitably manage. Thus, with a title to a large area the settlers also have the burden of mortgages and indebtedness. Moreover, in many instances, the new farm consists of land, the quality of which, under forest, is entirely

Surveyor General
Contracted from his large Map of the State
1804



Copy obtained from the Library of Congress

unknown. Having title to a wretched piece of land makes the settler's task even more difficult, since he must earn enough to pay the mortgage. Cursory surveys by the proprietors, as in the eastern half of Louisville (Fig. 20), will provide the new settler with some indication of the nature of the terrain before he becomes involved in debt.

The impoverished state of the American settlers along the American bank of the St. Lawrence is apparent to travellers to the area. The former are often under the necessity of crossing in their log canoes (even during ice floes in spring) to the Canadian side for their supplies. Their houses are similar to those of New England pioneers in western New York as well as along the north shore of Lake Ontario, in Upper Canada. In general, these log shelters are crude affairs, pinned up with slips of wood to make them secure against winter winds. Although usually consisting of only one room, the huts require enormous fires to combat the draughts which come through the walls (293:101, 191:24).

The Villages on the St. Lawrence River

Ogdensburg, the seat of St. Lawrence County on the American side, and Johnstown and Cornwall, the capitals⁵ of the five counties on the Canadian side,

are the main villages along the upper St. Lawrence (Fig. 21). None of them, however, are growing very rapidly.

The village of Cornwall is a straggling, dirty village, containing about 15 houses (70:62). However, being the capital, and the residence of several families of high respectability, it is a place of considerable consequence. A wooden court house and a jail form the center of the community. The village also, in the opinion of one English traveller, is fortunate in having a settled clergyman of the Church of England resident there, "a circumstance of great importance in a new country" (19:26). A grammar school is to be opened, being one of the four provided for the province by the British Government in 1797.⁶

Because of its situation on a commodious bay at the foot of the Longue Sault (Figs. 10 and 16), Cornwall seems destined to become a place of considerable commercial importance. The local saw and grist mills attract many of the farmers for miles around and a great deal of lumber is shipped from this point. Ferries connect regularly with St. Regis, while others are available for conveyance on Lake St. Francis. Although the road northeastward along the lake to the

boundary of Lower Canada is marked by cedar posts, it is virtually impassable across marshy, southern Lancaster Township.

Johnstown, the other capital, is similar in many respects to Cornwall. It, too, consists of a town plot one mile square, containing 15 or 20 houses. In addition, there are the old jail and court house (erected about 1790), now in a ruinous and almost irreparable state (184:260-1). Johnstown, however, is not centrally located within the Johnstown District, being only a few miles from the eastern boundary of Grenville (Fig. 15). As a result, its effectiveness as a political capital seems circumscribed. At present, there is a desire to abandon Johnstown and build a new court house near the mill at Snarlingtown, or Elizabethtown (Fig. 15), about 12 miles up the St. Lawrence.

Nevertheless, because of its location at the head of the rapids, Johnstown has become an important stopping point for bateaux, proceeding from Kingston to Cornwall. In addition, it is the lowest point on the St. Lawrence to which lake schooners may be navigated with safety. It does not seem likely, however, that Johnstown will ever replace Kingston as the depot or trans-shipping point for supplies brought up the St. Lawrence for the western parts of the province.

Kingston, in addition to having an excellent location and harbor, a base from which the British control Lake Ontario, is also the largest village in Upper Canada, with a population over 500.

On the bank of the St. Lawrence, a few miles southwest of Johnstown, an excellent view may be obtained of Ogdensburg (Fig. 21). According to one enthusiastic traveller, Ogdensburg is a "handsome settlement", growing up around the old British fort (19:31). A closer inspection of the embryonic village, however, reveals that many of the buildings of the fort are tumbling into ruin, although two or three are kept in repair by Nathan Ford (191:37). On the west bank the Oswegatchie River is a remarkably fine grist and saw mill, while nearby are also a tannery, a fulling mill, and kettles for making potash. A court house is also under construction. At present, the village contains no more than ten families (52:190).

The slow development of Ogdensburg, however, seems to cause little concern to Ford. "Although our sales are not rapid," he writes, "we shall ultimately do better than those who are pressing off their lands at the price they are, and upon so long a credit, for the rise of the lands is much more advantageous to us than their interest will be to them" (81:397).

Saw and Grist Mills

With the expansion of lumbering and the development of agriculture, the number of saw and grist mills are now more numerous than formerly. Indeed, some of the mills are of a considerable size, capable of handling a sizeable quantity of timber and grinding several hundred bushels of grain a day.

On the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence from Point au Sautet to Kingston there are approximately 80 mills, according to the estimate of a traveller (73:127). The best, by far, are those located at the falls of the Gananoque River (Figs. 15 and 19). On the west bank of the river is the "Dutchmill", belonging to Joel Stone. Logs for the mill are floated down the Gananoque from South Crosby and northern Leeds and Lansdowne Townships. The area is being exploited extensively by lumbermen. On the bank opposite the "Dutchmill", are Sir John Johnson's small grist and saw mills. Until recently the mills were leased, but they are now in a bad state of repair and not in operation. The general barrenness and unsettled state of this area make the operation of ordinary grist mills unprofitable, although a person with capital might carry on "merchant mills" to great advantage (293:91-2). Much of the grain exported to

Lower Canada might be ground here before proceeding down the St. Lawrence.

The little community at the falls of the Gananoque, apart from the consideration of commercial grain milling, seems destined to achieve considerable importance. In addition to possessing good water power, it also has an excellent harbor. The place has already gained a reputation for the schooners, scows and other boats which are built here.⁷ The Cornwall-Kingston Road (Fig. 19) crosses the Gananoque at this point and, although there is no bridge, a ferry is in regular operation. Connection may also be made here by ferry with Bartlett's Point, at the mouth of French Creek on the American side of the St. Lawrence, where there is a small saw mill.⁸

In northern Lansdowne Township, on a tributary of the Gananoque, is Furnace Falls (Fig. 15). The latter contains some mills, but it is more important for its iron works, which consist of a blast furnace and bloomery. Castware is made, including potash kettles, but the bar iron is of brittle quality. Local ore, however, is of inferior quality, necessitating, at great expense, the transportation of ore up the St. Lawrence from Montreal. The activity has given an impetus to settlement in this section of the township (Fig. 15) (99:61-2).

The American side of the St. Lawrence, in comparison with that of the Canadian, is inadequately endowed with mills. This is largely due to the fact that settlement is neither as extensive nor as contiguous as on the Canadian side. However, the Canadian bank of the St. Lawrence contains many more streams than the American bank, which in spite of earlier adverse reports, have proven capable of turning small mills.

Many of the Americans, particularly those settled northeast of Ogdensburg, generally cross to the Canadian side to have their grinding done. However, two important mill centers on the American side, apart from Ogdensburg itself, stand out. The "Red" mills, in the Rennselaer Tract, several miles northeast of Ogdensburg, are the most impressive. The structure, housing the mills, stands three stories high, and is clearly visible from the Canadian side. The village of Hamilton, 15 miles northeast of the "Red" mills, also contains both saw and grist mills. There are also several saw mills along the lower course of the Grasse River, to the east. Indeed, there is a considerable amount of lumbering carried on, with rafts of logs being sent in a steady stream to Montreal.

Agriculture

General Characteristics.-- The crops grown on both sides of the upper St. Lawrence are similar to those raised in New England and in Lower Canada. Winter wheat is the chief staple, yielding on an average of 20 to 30 bushels per acre. It is claimed by observers that the grain of the upper St. Lawrence is heavier and more plump than any that is raised in other parts of the United States or in Lower Canada (169:9). Indeed, according to Mrs. Simcoe, the grain that she saw on her journey along the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence as early as 1792 was even finer than any that she had seen in England (188:105). However, the grain is often injured by frost, drought, and the Hessian fly.⁹ In order to maintain the quality of Upper Canadian grain, the legislature at York, the provincial capital, provides for inspection before allowing any to be exported to Montreal (89:30). Presumably the same order affects American grain sent into Upper Canada and trans-shipped to Montreal as a Canadian product.

Corn is commonly grown. On the Canadian side, the Turkey variety is preferred, yielding about 20 bushels per acre and ripening about a fortnight earlier than other varieties. There is little or no

harvesting equipment, corn being generally cut by scythe. This may be an inefficient method, but the corn left in the fields serves as feed for hogs (137:73).

Flax and hemp are also raised. Because of the steady demand for hemp at Montreal, it is a highly valuable crop. However, its cultivation requires a considerable amount of attention, which most pioneer farmers are unable to give. Consequently, on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence, its growth is encouraged by government bounties (244:389, 128:92, 168:128).

On the Canadian side, the raising of livestock for market is of considerable importance. Annually large quantities of beef and pork, as well as some live cattle, are shipped to Montreal. The numbers of livestock are being gradually increased through imports from Lower Canada and the Mohawk Valley. In general, New York cattle are preferred to those brought in from the French province. Though smaller in size, they are much better milkers. There are as yet no fine bulls on the Canadian side, since the farmers are not sensible to the advantages to be derived from cattle of a good breed. Sheep thrive well in the area, though they are high legged and of a very

indifferent shape (137:73). They yield neither good mutton nor fine wool.

On the American side, the numbers of livestock remain small in comparison with those of the Canadian side. Indeed, most of the cattle on the American farms have been imported from the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence. Increasingly, however, livestock, particularly sheep, are being driven overland from Vermont and the Mohawk Valley.

During the warm summers, both the Canadian and American farmers turn their cattle into the woods and natural meadows. Throughout the long winter, they are fed on dry fodder. This usually consists of the straw of wheat, rye or peas, and hay cut from the meadows. The low land in southern Lancaster Township is considered excellent for raising cattle. Not only does the damp land yield a fine crop of natural grass, but being poorly drained is least liable to drought. Moreover, the farmers of the area are so near the Montreal market "that they can with the greatest facility throw their produce into the market at the most advantageous moment" (19:24).

The Farms of the Scottish.-- On the Canadian side, striking contrasts exist between the farmers

and the agricultural practices of the various national groups. Most interesting is the Scottish settlement. The inhabitants of Glengary, a great many of whom are either Scottish Highlanders or military men, i.e., Glengary Fencibles, are rather indifferent farmers. Though laborious and economical, they prefer a life in the woods rather than one at agriculture. Farms are allowed to revert to the bush, while deeds to the farms are mortgaged to the local storekeeper, for the food and other articles which they refuse to produce themselves. The big merchants, who now largely control the lumber industry, promise great wages of \$25. per month to their employees. But, according to an observer, "they pay in goods at their own valuation, so that they make their labour cheap enough" (293:101).

Thus, although the younger Scottish are as expert as any with an axe, they cannot equal settlers of New England origin in establishing farms. The Scottish are said to be more assiduous at work than New Englanders and allow themselves less indulgence. Yet from want of habit and their interest in lumbering, they have not accomplished the work on their farms that they might have. This is, perhaps, due to

the fact that they live together in clans, their lack of contact with other groups denying them the opportunity of learning quickly techniques adapted to a pioneer area.

Nevertheless, the original settlers here are comfortably lodged. They have no frame houses, but cabins of good, squared logs, well fitted and tight. In the northern part of the county, many of the inhabitants have improved their living, so that they now occupy new houses, the original cabin housing livestock. These accommodations appear rather shabby to settlers who have come from New England, but they are a wonderful advance from the hovels of Highland Glengary. The advance in cleanliness seems to keep pace with that of the houses, also. Though known for their hospitality, the frugal Scottish have rendered themselves comfortable and independent.

The common run of clearings on old-established farms in Glengary is no more than 30 to 40 acres. This is much less than the acreage improved on the farms of settlers from New England. The banks of the aux Raisins River in Charlottenburg, although one of the first areas to be settled along the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence, contain a considerable amount of unimproved land (293:106). The infertile soil is,

doubtlessly, partly responsible for the slow development here.

Most of the improved land is used for pasture. The average Glengary farmer raises about 50 to 100 bushels of wheat annually for sale, which subtracting his own modest requirement, involves no more than five to ten acres in wheat. However, oats and potatoes, which are largely for home consumption, are raised in large quantities. Some peas are also grown. Three or four fat hogs, several cows, a pair of horses, some oxen and sheep are kept. Generally, the farmer consumes the beef produced but takes salted pork to market. Butter, for which the Scottish are noted, and maple sugar, of which they make a large quantity, are also sent to Montreal.

The "High Dutch".-- Quite dissimilar to the Scottish in habits are the Palatines, or "High Dutch" as they are often called. Excellent frontiersmen, the latter have carved out for themselves attractive farms in the southern parts of the Townships of Williamsburg and Matilda, in Dundas County (Fig. 16). Many are highly respectable farmers. The "High Dutch" are noted for their sociability, particularly in assisting neighbors in logging bees. In this respect, they are better than New Englanders who, according to

observers, do nothing but for hire (293:99). The settlers from New England sometimes give their assistance only for the sake of the "Frolic - dinner and drink &c - which takes place in the afternoons, but if they can persuade a man to give the dinner early they are off presently" (293:99). The "High Dutch" have neat, attractive houses, often with stoops attached, but their concern for comfort is often ridiculed by the settlers from New England, who consider it rather effeminate.

A description of a farm, owned by a "High Dutch" settler living a few miles east of Johnstown, provides an interesting contrast to the average Scottish farm in Glengary (293:96-7). On a lot of 100 acres, the Palatine farmer has cleared 80 acres, with 27 set aside for meadow. On ten acres of the meadow - which is only three years from the forest - the farmer reaps two tons of hay. On an eight-year old meadow, however, the yield is now only three-quarters to a ton of hay. This is the common experience of the farmers on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence. Following general practice, this meadow will soon be ploughed up.

Of the crop land, approximately 20 acres are in wheat, which have yielded in the past about 17

bushels per acre. On land which has been cultivated for many years, the yields are falling off considerably. Few other grains are sown. Peas are grown but not always successfully.

As a rule, land is kept in tillage by most farmers about eight or nine years, restoring the soil occasionally with a crop of peas. This Palatine farmer, however, cultivates a field no longer than three or four years before putting it into grass. Thus, his rotation after wheat is: grass, peas, wheat, grass (for two or three years, the last being fallow), then wheat again. The farm is worked by father and son, with no hired hands. Four horses are kept, along with a herd of 11 cows and nine other cattle.¹⁰ Many of the farms of the "High Dutch", also, generally contain a small apple orchard (12:77).

Advantages of Canadian vs. American Settlement

It is the impression of more than one observer that a settler will do better on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence rather than on the American side. This opinion is based largely on the ease of obtaining land (158:234-5). Moreover, the land being free, except for certain fees, it is believed that the

settler on the Canadian side can establish himself more rapidly than the settler on the American side. Indeed, an astonishing discrepancy exists between the amount paid out in patent and survey fees on the Canadian side with the prices charged by the proprietors for their lands on the American side. For a 200 acre lot, the settler on the Canadian side must pay ~~£~~ 8 4 1, or a little over \$32.¹¹ On the American side, depending on location near or inland from the St. Lawrence, a similar lot costs between \$400. and \$500. (81:342).

Over and above this, the American settler is confronted with taxes, which are considerably higher than on the Canadian side. In Upper Canada, the tax on cultivated land amounts to only one penny per acre. One farmer on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence has paid only 60 cents in taxes on a 500 acre farm in the past five years (12:77). Ford, at Ogdensburg, is aware of the deviation and its possible effect on settlement. "People will be drawing a parallel," he writes, "when they find the taxes upon this side (i.e., the American side) of the river to be so much higher than upon the other side. I fear it will be difficult to explain away the effects which may be produced. The taxes last year were

three times as high on this side of the river as they were on the other" (81:394).

Closer analysis of the situation, however, reveals that the advantages of settling on the Canadian side are more apparent than real. Without doubt, the prices asked for land by the proprietors on the American side are exorbitant. Nevertheless, in most cases, the land agent is near at hand materially assisting the new settler through the first years of hardship. Taxes may be higher than on the Canadian side, but the New York State Legislature is able to provide, from its fuller treasury, improvements which the Upper Canadian Government can not. This is immediately borne out in the matter of the construction of roads.

A free lands policy can not provide revenue for the government. Land fees, however light, may partially mitigate the situation, but in Upper Canada, the greater portion of the land fees serve to provide an income for government officials. At the same time, since only a nominal land tax is imposed, little revenue can be expected from this source. The government anticipates an income from its Crown reserves endowment, but very few reserves are presently under lease. Consequently, the settler

on the Canadian side can expect little assistance from a distant and relatively impecunious government at York (Toronto). The burden of local improvement, therefore, falls on his shoulders.

Roads

This basic difference in the financial organization of New York and Upper Canada is readily apparent in the construction of roads. Considerable sums of money are appropriated by the state legislature for the extension and improvement of state roads into the area along the American side of the St. Lawrence.¹² At present, four state roads facilitate access to the region. Two commence at Long Falls on the Black River (Figs. 19 and 21), and lead to the St. Lawrence. Of these, one follows the Black River to Brownville, thence northwestward to the Kingston ferry at Port Putnam; the other leads northwestward across "a most intolerably swampy and ridgy ground" to Ogdensburg, at the mouth of the Oswegatchie (49:152). The other two roads enter St. Lawrence County from the east making a junction in the old Town of Madrid (Figs. 19 and 21).

In Upper Canada, few roads connecting the major settlements have been constructed by the government. Along the Canadian side of the St.

Lawrence, the road from Kingston to the boundary of Lower Canada is a provincial road, but it is scarcely passable during the summer. Although the government allocates some money, every male settler is required to assist (in road maintenance) by working from three to 12 days. Owners of carts and teams must work at least six days (128:105, 76:109).

The lack of good roads is a serious obstacle to the more rapid development of the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence. Fortunately, the great bulk of the population are centered within eight miles of the river. Once the settlers arrive at the St. Lawrence - although the journey over the crude inland trails is not an easy one - they can then find facilities for transporting their products to Montreal.

Travel on the St. Lawrence

Travel, whether by bateau or Durham boat,¹⁸ is a tedious affair, although considerably more pleasant than on most of the roads, whether Canadian or American, in the region of the Upper St. Lawrence. The trip from Montreal to Lake Ontario generally requires about 12 days.¹ The bateaux, capable of carrying 20 to 25 barrels, move in brigades of five or more, the crews assisting each other over and around the succession of rapids. At the larger rapids, the passengers and

merchandise are put ashore to be carted in wagons to the head of the rapids. Then the crews, composed mainly of French Canadians, set to work. The boats are propelled upstream by means of long setting poles, towed up along the bank or pulled over the rocks on small logs. Small locks, built by the French and British at several of the rapids below Lake St. Francis and at the Longue Sault, assist the smaller bateaux up the St. Lawrence part of the way. However, the locks are in need of repair and too small for the newer bateaux and Durham boats.¹⁴ The journey down the St. Lawrence is made in less than half of the time required to ascend; it is more exciting, demanding the skill of the crewsman over the wild cascades. The Longue Sault is estimated to be nine miles in length, but a boat usually descends it in about 20 minutes - which is at the rate of 27 miles an hour. No effort is made to provide for the comfort of the traveller; he must look after himself by carrying his own bedding and provisions (119:175, 158:257).

The Montreal Market

Although Montreal is a sizeable place with a population of approximately 14,000 (148:80), the "Montreal market" extends far beyond the confines

of the town. At Montreal (as well as Quebec) are loaded the vessels carrying the products of the Canadas to Great Britain and other overseas possessions. Moreover, at Montreal are outfitted the expeditions and trading parties, destined for the far northwest, which require large quantities of bread and salted pork.

Many thousand barrels of flour, quantities of salted pork and beef, butter and cheese, potash, and numbers of live cattle are conveyed annually from Upper Canada to Lower Canada. In addition, large quantities of timber and lumber, including staves, pine planks, masts, oak and pine logs, are exported, coming largely from the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence.

The settlers on the American side of the St. Lawrence rely heavily on Montreal for supplies (254:24-5, 144:IV;549-50). Indeed, they have no choice in the matter. Albany and Boston are the nearest American markets of comparable size. A trip to either place requires a long wagon journey at prohibitive freight rates, or a round-about water carriage necessitating, at great expense, several transfers of cargo. In comparison, the expense to Montreal is small.¹⁵ Moreover, American

products assume all the privileges and benefits of Canadian products at Montreal. This is of particular importance when it is recalled that Canadian products are afforded a preference in the British market over imports direct from the United States (254:24-5). On the other hand, the Americans can purchase articles from the British merchants in Montreal more cheaply than they can in their own cities.¹⁶

The main products which the Americans send to Montreal are timber and lumber. Indeed, rafts are dispatched for Montreal from as far distant as Brownville, on the Black River. Although American lumbermen look favorably upon the preference they enjoy in the Canadian market, yet many of the farmers on the American side would prefer to trade in American markets. This is because the Montreal market, due to the freezing of the lower St. Lawrence for half of the year, is seasonally sluggish. Even many of the settlers on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence share this dissatisfaction with Montreal.¹⁷

The New York State Legislature is attempting to destroy the dependence on the Canadian market of the inhabitants on the American side of the St. Lawrence. The building of roads northward into the

area is but one aspect of the policy. In addition, improvements have been made on the Mohawk and Oswego Rivers, so that along with the building of a canal to link their upper courses, through navigation is now possible from Lake Ontario to Albany (Fig. 21). However, little change in trade is reported.

Since American vessels are denied the free navigation of the St. Lawrence below Montreal, the river is essentially a Canadian waterway. This is virtually true, also, in the upper section where Canadian bateaux and Durham boats dominate the traffic. For the State of New York, the St. Lawrence River is little more than a back-door. However, with the growing importance of the northwest, the waterway is assuming major importance. In the eyes of the Montreal merchants, the St. Lawrence is an entrance to the whole continent, and the natural channel for the export of the products of the great interior. From the long range point of view, the inhabitants of the Canadian-American sides of the upper St. Lawrence will be directly affected, and their development and prosperity will be strongly conditioned, by the outcome of the competition which is now developing between the British

and Canadian mercantile interests in Montreal and the American interests in Albany and New York, for the control of the commerce of the Great Lakes and, perhaps for a greater prize, the vast territory that lies beyond.

Summary

Settlement and land development are much further advanced on the Canadian side than on the American side of the upper St. Lawrence River. However, the weaknesses of British land policy are readily apparent. The extensive grants to Loyalists are not yielding the results originally anticipated. At least 75 per cent of the land is alienated, but settlement is confined in most townships to within eight miles of the St. Lawrence. Settlement on the lands of inland townships is negligible. The extensive reserves for the Crown and clergy, constituting about one-third of the total area of the five counties, are presenting an obstacle to contiguous settlement, especially in Lochiel Township. Few reserves are leased, except by impoverished Scottish immigrants, and little income is obtained by either the Crown or the clergy. Fees imposed on 'free' grants and land taxes are not high, but because the government lacks a revenue, the burden of local

improvement falls on the shoulders of the settlers. This retards the progress of the settler and the general development of the whole community. This is particularly apparent in the construction and maintenance of roads.

On the American side, the small population is scattered from the lower course of the Black River to St. Regis; development is slow. This is partially a result of the high prices asked by the proprietors for their land. In addition, taxes are considerably higher than on the Canadian side. However, in the long run, the American side has the advantage of a wealthier state government, able to provide extensive improvements. The land agent, too, in many instances, is known to assist the settler, considerably facilitating his establishment. Thus, the advantages of settlement on the Canadian side are more apparent than real.

Saw and grist mills form the nucleus of a settlement, although the major villages on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence, Cornwall and Johnstown, are also local administrative centers. Agriculture is the basis of the economy, with flour, salted pork, and some live cattle being sent to the Montreal market. Striking contrasts in farming exist among the national groups on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence. Among

the Scottish settlers, agriculture is rather backward, being neglected by many for a life in the woods. Considerable quantities of timber and lumber are floated down the St. Lawrence to Montreal, both sides of the river sharing in this lucrative trade. Montreal has the advantage over the large American markets in southern New York because of proximity to the upper St. Lawrence and the lack of expense involved in transporting products on the river. However, many settlers, particularly on the American side, are dissatisfied with the commercial supremacy of Montreal, since the market is seasonally sluggish. The New York State Legislature is attempting to integrate the economy of the American side more closely with that of the whole state, by building roads and improving the Mohawk-Oswego route from Lake Ontario to Albany. However, at present, the St. Lawrence is the main waterway into the heart of the continent and Montreal commands the entrance.

Notes on Chapter III

1. A curious error in the assigning of the clergy reserves took place. Every seventh lot was reserved, under the impression that by such means the specified one-seventh would be obtained. Actually, this made the reserves about one-sixth of the whole! Consequently, the Crown and clergy reserves together finally constituted about two-sixths of the land, not two-sevenths (128:176).

2. When the area was first settled, all north of the Black River was included in the Town of Leyden, Oneida County. In 1802, the Town of Brownville was erected from Leyden, its boundary on the southeast forming the approximate limit of the present study. In 1805, Jefferson County was created, embracing all of the Town of Brownville and the western portions of Great Tracts Nos. 5 and 6, south of the Black River.

3. About the turn of the century, Great Tracts Nos. 1, 2, and 3, were divided into townships.

4. In 1801, the Ten Towns were formed into one town, called Limbon, and annexed to Clinton County, the county seat being at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain. The settlers, along the St. Lawrence, found that they were too distant from Plattsburg in order to transact business, and consequently in 1802, petitioned for the creation of a separate county. The boundaries of the County of St. Lawrence, as defined in 1802, correspond with the limits of the present study in that area.

5. In 1801, the Counties of Leeds and Grenville were taken from the Eastern District to form the District of Johnstown, with the village of Johnstown as district capital. Dundas, Stormont, and Glengary Counties continued to constitute the Eastern District, with the capital at Cornwall.

6. The Cornwall Grammar School was one of the most famous in Canadian history. Presided over by John Strachan, later Bishop Strachan of the Church of England in Canada, the school turned out a number of students who became very prominent in Canadian life (173:I;17-25).

7. "A scow is a vessel with four sides, an oblong square, in length forty to fifty feet, in breadth thirty to forty, and from four to five feet deep, flat-bottomed. The sides are not perpendicular; they

are inclined outwards, for the purpose of carrying a greater weight.... A large one will carry 500 bbls. of flour and costs about £ 50" (or about \$200.) (63: 202; 293: 91).

8. The chief significance of Bartlett's Point, however, lies in the fact that it was a smuggler's cove.

9. The Hessian fly appeared along the lands of the upper St. Lawrence around 1795, coming in from eastern Pennsylvania, New York, and New England (163: 74; 11: 95-6, 238).

10. This particular farm was valued at \$8. per acre, as compared with only \$3. per acre for farms with unimproved land in the neighborhood. The Palatine farmer, mentioned in the text, had purchased a nearby lot where he had cleared 30 acres, with half in meadow. Since he had only his son to assist him, there was very little likelihood that this second generation Loyalist would be able to settle on his own land.

11. Prior to 1804, the land fees on a grant of between 100 and 500 acres amounted to £ 3 4 2, or about \$12. However, even at this rate, it was often found difficult to collect the second half of the fees (128: 52-54, 101, 105).

12. In 1804, for example, the state appropriated \$12,000. for the alteration and improvement of the road from Long Falls to Ogdensburg.

13. The bateau, built at Lachine, was a flat-bottomed boat, about 30 to 40 feet long, five to eight feet wide at the center, with the sides four feet high and nearly perpendicular. Both bow and stern usually came to a sharp point about a foot higher than the rest of the boat. A lug-sail with about 15 feet of hoist was part of the equipment of the bateau and was used on the open sections of the river and on the lakes. The Durham boat, introduced on the St. Lawrence River above Montreal, during the first decade of the 19th century, was also flat-bottomed, but larger than the bateau. It had a slip-keel, and a center board, rounded bow and square stern, and a long rudder. It had a capacity of 100 barrels or more. A Kentucky boat, built at Kingston in 1801, was seen several times on the St. Lawrence,

but it never became popular. However, it had a larger capacity than the Durham boat (65:416-8, 60:67).

14. Between 1779 and 1783, locks, to be used by bateaux only, were built to overcome the various rapids between the head of the Longue Sault and Montreal. The locks were 40 feet long by six feet wide, and two and a half feet deep. By 1800, the locks were in need of repair, and in general were found to be too small to handle the larger boats that were beginning to appear on the river. Some improvements were made between 1800 and 1804 (60:79, 294:Q290-1;27-36).

15. Some indication of the comparative costs may be obtained from the following: "To carry a barrel of potash from Ithaca to Schenectady cost \$6.50 and from thence to Albany 50 cents more. Further expenses of transportation, storage, and commission at New York via Albany made the final cost of transportation at New York \$7.75. A barrel of potash could, however, be sent from the mouth of the Genesee to Montreal for 20 s" (121:82-3). The cheapest rate at which transportation had been performed within the ten years preceding 1811 between Kingston and Montreal was \$1. per hundred weight ascending and half as much descending (136:27).

16. ". . . The British merchants not only can convey their goods from (Montreal). . . to the lakes for one third less than what it costs to convey the same goods thither from New York, but they can likewise afford to sell them, in the first instance, considerably cheaper than the merchants of the United States. The duties paid on the importation into Canada of refined sugar, spirits . . . are considerably less than those paid on the importation of the same commodity into the United States: and all British hardware, and dry goods in general, are admitted duty free into Canada, whereas, in the United States, they are chargeable on importation from Europe with a duty of fifteen per cent on the value" (158:280-1).

17. The settlers of Glengary County often found the Montreal market dull. In 1802, they petitioned the local government for the establishment of a public market to be held at Williamstown. The petition pointed out that they experienced "many

inconveniences from the want of a market for several articles of produce which will hardly bear the expense of transportation to Lower Canada where similar articles are already abundant. . . . That young as the country is it now yields some few superfluities which might be turned to greater advantage by being sold or bartered within itself than by being disposed of even at a higher price in the Lower Province, considering the loss of time consequent upon going thither, and the perpetual drain of money which the country suffers by depending solely upon the Montreal market" (163:257-8).

CHAPTER IV

THE EMERGENCE OF TWO NATIONS: PATTERNS AND PROBLEMS OF LAND DEVELOPMENT (1830-1835)

Underlying the development of both sides of the upper St. Lawrence River are basic differences in the political and social environment. The American side is essentially democratic and unrestricted. The Canadian side, in contrast, is governed by an 'unresponsive', land-rich oligarchy and saddled with an aristocratic church. In addition, it is part of a large and diverse empire, with direction in most matters coming from abroad and seldom reflecting the interests of the colony. Many of the striking divergences between the Canadian and American sides of the upper St. Lawrence, therefore, are to be read in the light of this fundamental discrepancy. On the American side the restless spirit of the times is finding an outlet in the expansion of agriculture and manufacturing; on the Canadian side, it is burgeoning into unrest, which threatens the very foundation of the colony.

Factors in the Growth of the Population

The population of the entire upper St. Lawrence region totals over 123,000. More than half, or approximately 65,000, live on the American side. Indeed, the growth of population on the American side as compared with that on the Canadian side has been particularly rapid. In fact, as early as 1820, the American population was larger than the Canadian (Table 4).

Table 4
The Growth of Population in the Upper
St. Lawrence Region*

	1810	1820	1835
Canadian	18,000 (est.)	23,643	57,723
American	9,954	24,855	65,661
Total	27,954	48,498	123,384

*Sources: Canadian; 10:191, 282:IV;83. American; 50:99, 80:357, 284, 290.

The Canadian Side.-- Prior to the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States, there were approximately 18,000 inhabitants on the Canadian side. They were concentrated chiefly within eight miles of the St. Lawrence, the density of population in most inland townships being very low.

The changes in the numbers and distribution of the population in succeeding years were largely a result of the war. The weakness of Upper Canada, evident throughout the conflict, was impressed upon British officialdom. Many despaired that the province would be saved, particularly since the population was predominantly American in origin. Indeed, by 1812, at least eight out of ten inhabitants in Upper Canada were born in the United States, with only a quarter of these being Loyalists (96:74). When, however, the settlers indicated their loyalty by opposing the invasion, it was believed that with a predominantly British population, the province might forever remain connected with the Mother Country. Consequently, the British Government decided to strengthen the colony by promoting British settlement.

The conclusion of the war left many in British official circles believing that peace with the United States was only temporary. Indeed, it was an article of faith of the British negotiators at the Treaty of Ghent (1814) that "the conquest of Canada and its permanent annexation to the United States was the declared object of the American Government" (124:65-6). In order to forestall this possibility, the British Government planned military settlements in Upper

Canada, particularly along the course of the Rideau River (Fig. 22). In addition, they intended to canalize the Rideau and link its upper waters with those of the Cataragui River system in western Leeds County. In the event of another war, the Rideau Canal would supplant the upper St. Lawrence River as a secure artery of communication between Lake Ontario and Montreal.

Therefore, beginning with the first settlement in 1816, various regiments which served in both the Napoleonic and American Wars were granted Crown lands near the Rideau (Fig. 22). Military settlements south of the Rideau were less extensive than those to the north. However, they did provide an impetus for development in the Townships of Bastard, Kitley, and South Elmsely in Leeds County, and Wolford and Oxford in Grenville County. Smaller settlements were made in Finch Township, in Dundas, and in Lochiel in Glengary County (300). No settlements occurred in Williamsburg and Mountain since these townships were considered too distant from the established Military Depots at Perth and Cornwall (Fig. 22). The lands in Roxborough were practically all alienated to Loyalists. Consequently, no settlers were placed there. Indeed, in several of the townships, because

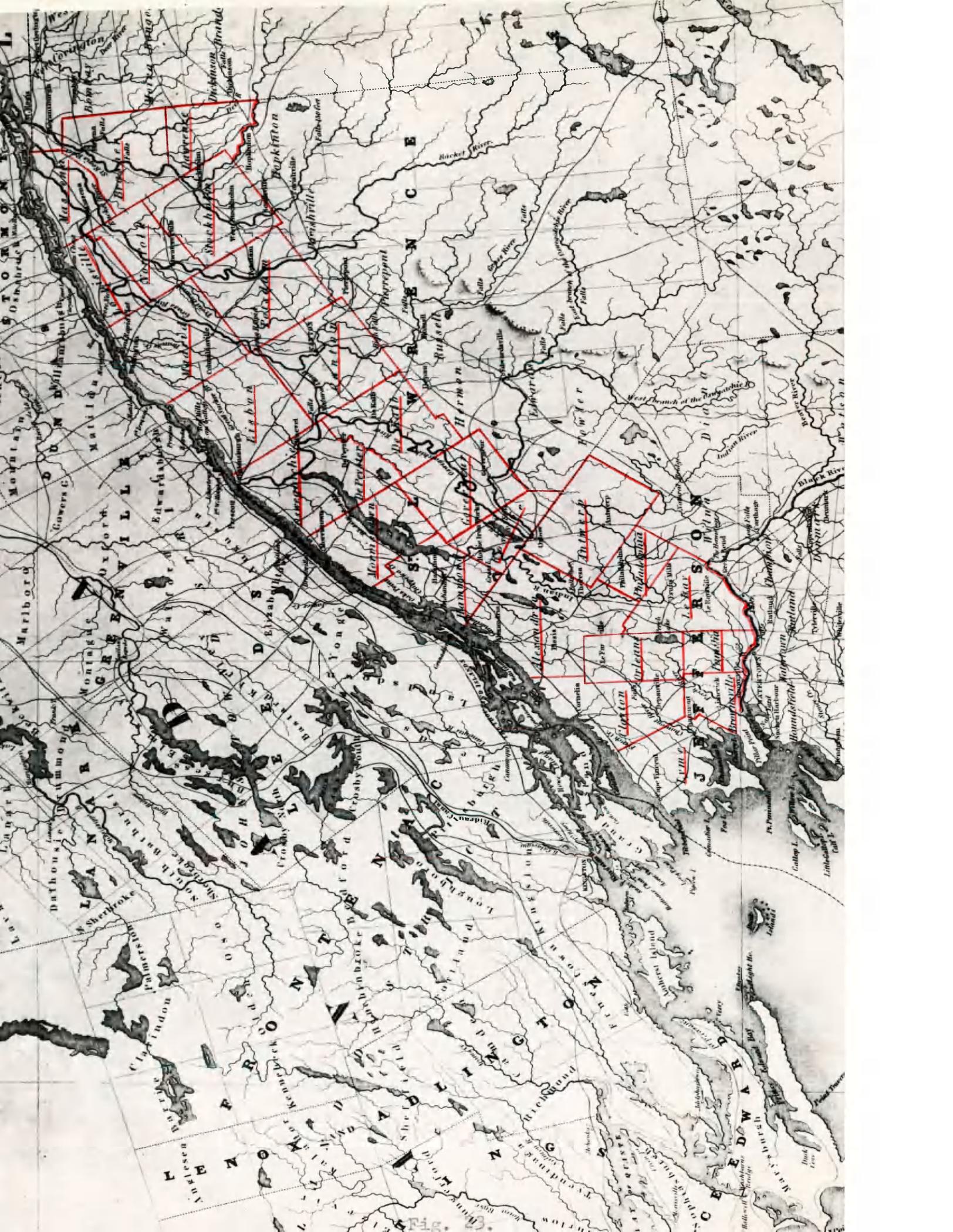
Crown lands were alienated to Loyalists, the military settlers were placed on Crown reserves. This involved 11,200 acres in Lochiel, 1,200 acres in Finch, and 600 acres in South Elmsley, considerably reducing the Crown endowment in these townships (Figs. 17, 18, 27 and 28). The average grant to the military was 100 acres, but like the earlier Loyalists, they also received supplies and equipment.

In addition to the military settlers, a large number of Scottish migrants were given lands near the Rideau River. Perth, north of the Rideau (Fig. 22), was the center of the settlement. These settlers were mainly unemployed textile weavers, part of a great migration assisted to Upper Canada by various Scottish organizations to alleviate the distress of the workers. At the same time, there was a considerable unassisted emigration to the Canadas, consisting of English, Irish, and well-to-do Scots (88:193). On the other hand, the influx of Americans into Upper Canada declined abruptly. Members of the executive branch of the provincial government at York made it difficult for Americans to qualify as land owners and to become citizens (128:113), a policy vigorously opposed by the assembly. Thus, the province was deprived of the most capable settlers available, who above all were most

capable of buying the lands held by the assemblymen.

The American Side.-- The War of 1812 did not arouse the fears of Americans, as it did those of the British and Canadians, and consequently the New York Legislature did not embark on an extensive defense program, involving the settlement of Americans along the St. Lawrence frontier. When the peace treaty was signed and the international boundary finally determined along the upper course of the St. Lawrence, any element of insecurity that the local American population entertained was removed. Immigration increased considerably, the settlers coming principally from New England. With such a large source of possible migrants from which to draw, the American side quickly became more populous than the Canadian side, which relied principally on distant Great Britain for its settlers. The construction of several turnpikes by companies of proprietors improved travel and opened up remote sections of the area for settlement (Fig. 23).

However, several deterrents operated to prevent more rapid settlement and development. Among these was the prejudice, entertained by many migrating New Englanders, that the soil on the American side of the St. Lawrence was not fertile. Another factor was the high price of land. Indeed, according to a study



Reproduced from a "Map of the State of
New York", by David H. Burr, 1834

Scale 1" = 5 miles

Map obtained from the
Library of Congress

made at the time, it was discovered that the settlers in the region did "not raise sufficient to pay their annual taxes" (41:11). Finally, after 1825, a more important element in turning New Englanders away from the American side of the St. Lawrence was the opening of the Erie Canal (238:96). From Albany to Buffalo (and, of course, from Buffalo to Cleveland and Detroit), water transport was available, permitting easier travel than did the roads to the St. Lawrence.

Nature and Distribution of the Present Population

The Canadian Side.-- At present, the population on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence is basically British in origin. However, descendents of the Loyalists, as well as of the Americans who followed the Loyalists, are a prominent element in the population. In spite of this homogeneity, the inhabitants among themselves show little of the spirit of co-operation necessary to pioneer life. One observer speaks of the "total separation which exists between the various people who compose the scanty population. Thus, the Americans, Scotch, English, and some Dutch and Germans (the "High Dutch") have no other interest in common than thwarting each other as much as possible" (9:116).

In spite of the growth of population, several inland townships, particularly in Dundas and Stormont Counties (Fig. 22), are only sparsely inhabited. Many factors are responsible for the low density of population. In part, it is due to the distance of these townships from both the Rideau Canal and the St. Lawrence River. In Roxborough and Winchester Townships (Fig. 22), in particular, there are extensive swampy tracts. However, the main cause lies in the fact that virtually all of the lands, apart from the Crown and clergy reserves, are held by absentee landlords. Settlers seeking lands from the Crown, therefore, must look elsewhere. The very small population in the inland townships of Dundas County, consequently, is reflected in the county's total population. Of all the counties, Dundas is the only one containing less than 10,000 inhabitants (Table 5).

Table 5

Population of the Counties on the Canadian Side*

County	1815 (est.)	1825	1835
Leeds	5,900	9,456	16,994
Grenville	3,000	5,810	11,510
Dundas	2,500	2,238	5,518
Stormont	4,000	5,186	11,547
Glengary	5,000	8,100	12,154
Total	20,400	30,790	57,723

*Source: 61:I;565,612, 282:IV,83.

The American Side.-- In the towns on the American side of the St. Lawrence, the present population is overwhelmingly American, originating in New England, other parts of New York, and eastern Pennsylvania. However, among the inhabitants are some settlers of other nationalities. According to the Census of 1835, the number of aliens resident on the American side is 3,438 (284). Of these, 1,103 are located in Jefferson County;² the remainder form significant minorities in the Towns of Hammond, Rossie, Louisville, Lisbon, Madrid, Massena, Morristown, and Oswegatchie in St. Lawrence County (Fig. 23).

Scottish settlers constitute the largest group of non-Americans. They are concentrated principally in the Towns of Rossie (formerly Somerville Township, or No. 1 of Great Tract No. 3) (Figs. 19 and 21), Hammond, and Madrid, where a Scottish community has existed since the turn of the century (81:314). Many of the Scots migrated with the intention of settling Upper Canada, but on arriving at Johnstown and Prescott, on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence, they were induced by the favorable terms offered by land agents to settle on the American side (37:80).

Other British groups are also among the aliens on the American side, including a large number of

Irish in the eastern part of Madrid, and English in the Town of Morristown (formerly Hague) (Figs. 21 and 23). Inhabitants of French origin, mainly Napoleonists, are an important element in north-western Jefferson County, particularly near the village of Cape Vincent on the St. Lawrence (Fig. 23). Indeed, the French, as a group, constitute the largest number of overseas immigrants in Jefferson County.

The 17 towns of St. Lawrence County (Fig. 23) contain well over half of the total population on the American side (Table 6). This is understandable since they cover a larger territory than do the nine towns of Jefferson County. However, in the latter county in recent years, the rate of increase in the population has been declining noticeably as compared with that of St. Lawrence County. This is due to the fact that practically all of the good land is occupied and in farms.

Table 6

Population of the Counties on the American Side*

County	1810	1825	1835
St. Lawrence	7,142	22,953	40,666
Jefferson	2,812	18,154	24,995
Total	9,954	41,107	65,661

*Source: 50:99, 80:357, 284.

Development of the Area: Extent of Land Clearing

The Canadian Side.-- If the Canadian side of the upper St. Lawrence were viewed from aloft, it would appear to be wooded to a very great extent (Fig. 24). Indeed, according to a survey made of the area in 1828 (Fig. 24), the major clearings are few and distant from each other.

The most extensive stretch of cleared land follows the St. Lawrence River from the boundary of Lower Canada southwestward to the beginning of the rocky, granitic tract a few miles beyond the river community of Brockville (formerly Elizabethtown) (Figs. 1, 15 and 24). In the northeastern section, inland from the villages of Moulinette and Cornwall (Fig. 24), the clearings are much more extensive and contiguous than elsewhere along the Canadian side. Development is particularly noticeable along Dundas Street, crossing from the village of Moulinette on the St. Lawrence through the center of the Townships of Cornwall, Charlottenburg, and Lancaster (Figs. 22 and 24). A considerable amount of cleared land also exists in Lochiel, along the Military Road running northward to the Ottawa River. In striking contrast to thatral and northern Clengary County, the southern section along the St. Lawrence, including the Indian

reserve, has ragged appearance (Figs. 22 and 24). Being low, flat, and poorly drained, the area, though long settled, is little improved. "Fertility, shelter, health, and peaceful retirement," writes one observer, "so dear to a Scottish farmer (i.e., of southern Scotland), and almost invariably the attributes of the streamlets of his country, belong not to the St. Lawrence in this part of its course, where the low-lying, and in many places, reed-growing, margins suggest pestilence and privation. . . ." (143:129).

In general, this section of the Canadian side, which constitutes the old Scottish settlement, though rather extensively cleared, is not a thriving agricultural area. This is largely due to the fact that the settlers are little interested in agriculture, although in some areas it is a result of the stoniness and infertility of the soil. However, in the opinion of one traveller through the area, "the habits of imprudence, of apathy, which former hopelessness and constant distress perhaps have caused, are long continued, and it is not to be expected that those who have never experienced the decencies of life . . . should suddenly acquire tastes and habits totally unknown to them. . ." (73:29).

Though not as extensively cleared as the area inland from Cornwall, the land along the St. Lawrence in southern Dundas County has a much neater appearance (Fig. 24). Substantial farm houses, surrounded by 20- acre fields, generally free of stumps, line the river road (130:169). The intensive agricultural practices of the "High Dutch" are clearly visible on the landscape in this section. In the central and northern sections of Dundas County, the banks of the Petite Nation River (South Nation) are settled, principally by the "High Dutch", and there are several extensive clearings (Fig. 24).

The clearings in southern Grenville County are largely confined to the banks of the St. Lawrence, but in Leeds County near Brockville, they again extend inland for the most part along the road leading from Brockville to Rideau Lake. Along the St. Lawrence, to the southwest, the clearings are very small, scattered, and hardly noticeable on the map (Fig. 24). Development is slow here, in part a result of the rocky nature of the land. The major settlement in the western inland part of Leeds County is around the shores of Gananoque, or Whitefish Lake. Indeed, along the whole chain of rivers and lakes between Rideau Lake and the mouth of the Gananoque are numerous



Andrew's Tavern and Neighborhood, above
Brockville

From: The Shoe and Canoe in the Canadas, Vol. II,
facing page 50, by John J. Bigsby, M. D.
Curtesy of the PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
From Photograph Negative 6453

small settlements, grouped around such mill centers as Chaffey's, Jones', Davis', Stone (Beverly), and Brewer's Mills (Fig. 24).

The clearings along the Rideau Canal are less extensive than along the St. Lawrence. The major settlements, however, are east of the granitic area (Fig. 1) between Smith's Falls and the mouth of the South Branch of the Rideau (Kemptonville Creek), and include the old communities of Burritt's Rapids and Merrickville, as well as such new centers as Clothier's Mills (Fig. 24).

The American Side.-- There is no map available showing the extent of clearings on the entire American side of the St. Lawrence. However, the survey of the Canadian side does show a narrow strip along the American bank of the river. From this, some general conclusions can be drawn.

Most travellers on the St. Lawrence River contrast the extensive clearings along the Canadian bank with the forested appearance of the American bank. Indeed, this appears to be true. Clearings are not as extensive along the American bank as on the Canadian (Fig. 24). In fact, they are confined to several scattered points and do not extend inland any distance. One of the most extensively settled areas, however, lies between St. Regis, at the 45th

The Harrison Tract

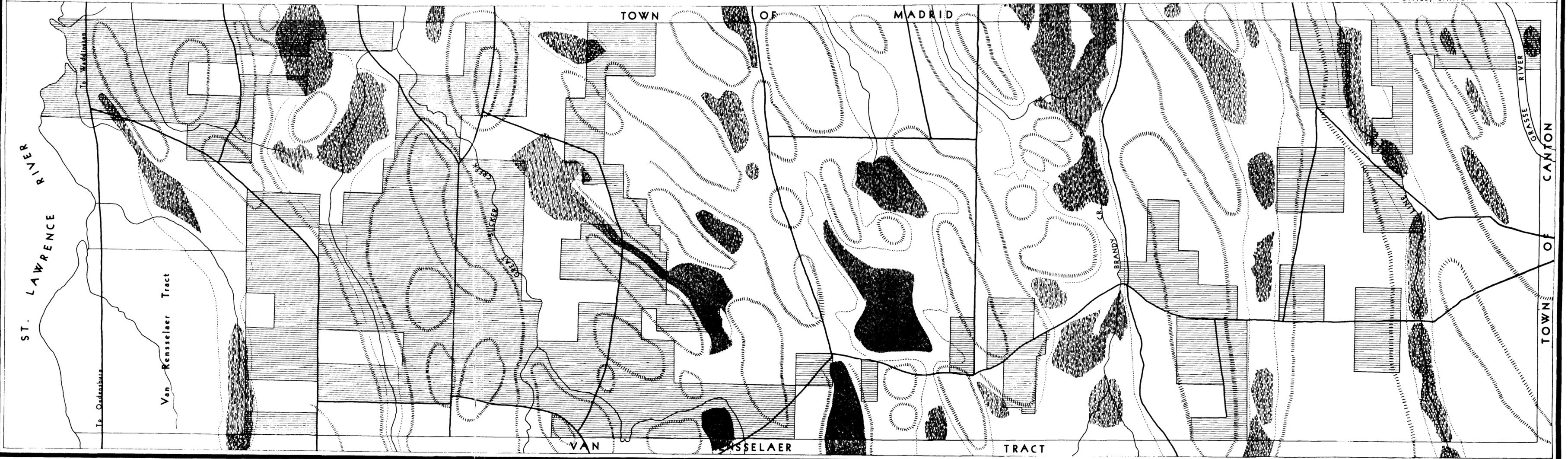
in the
Town of Lisbon

1833



 OCCUPIED LAND
 ROADS

BASED ON AN "ACTUAL AND
PARTIAL SURVEY", BY R. TATE
AND SON, OGDENSBURG, 1833.
MAP NO. 46, B1, COUNTY CLERK'S
OFFICE, CANTON



Parallel, and the village of Waddington (formerly Hamilton) (Fig. 24). A substantial clearing also surrounds the village of Ogdensburg. To the southwest, however, the clearings are smaller in area since the river communities of Morristown, Alexandria, French Creek and Gravelly Point (Cape Vincent) are of less importance.

Although the map does not show it, it is known that the interior sections of the American side are more highly developed than the area nearer the St. Lawrence. This is particularly true of the towns in Jefferson County. According to the Census of 1835, the latter county contains 113,770 acres of improved land, as compared with the larger county of St. Lawrence which has only 123,749 (284). However, even in some inland sections of St. Lawrence County, such as in the Harrison Tract in the eastern half of the Town of Canton (Figs. 19 and 26), considerable acreage is occupied. Indeed, Canton, which has no frontage on the St. Lawrence, is more highly developed than the corresponding tract in the Town of Lisbon (Fig. 25). According to one observer, this comparatively populous region inland from the St. Lawrence, "which thirty-eight years ago, heard only the splashing paddles of the fur

The Harrison Tract

in the

Town of Canton

1833



 OCCUPIED LAND
 ROADS

BASED ON AN "ACTUAL AND PARTIAL SURVEY" BY R. TATE AND SON, OGDENSBURG, 1833, MAP NO. 46 A, COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE, CANTON



traders navigating its streams, now trembles under the wheels of rolling stage-coaches, and resounds with the mirth of rural feasts and games and the voice of polite assembly" (149:149).

The Problems of Land Development

The Canadian Side.-- At present, in the five counties on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence, except for the Crown and clergy reserves, there are less than 9,000 acres of unalienated Crown land (128:156). About 8,000 acres are located in Leeds and Grenville; the rest are in Dundas, Stormont and Glengary Counties. However, although virtually all of the area has been granted (except for the reserves), settlement is sparse in many extensive tracts, particularly in some of the inland townships. This discrepancy between the alienation and the settlement of the land is to be explained, largely, by the lavish 'free' land grant policy instituted by the British Government at the beginning of settlement.

Although there is no fault, per se, in granting 'free' lands, nevertheless to be effective it must entail some responsibility on the part of the grantee. However, since many of the grants are extensive or scattered throughout remote sections of

the area, many landholders either can not improve the land, or do not wish to do so. Certain settlement duties accompany a grant, but these have not been, and are not now, strictly enforced. Even the imposition of a tax (one-eighth of a penny per acre) on undeveloped lands is unable to accomplish the desired end. In fact, since 1825 no more than \$1220 have been paid in such taxes in the five counties. An eight-year period is allowed the landholder in which to pay the tax, but it merely permits him to sit out the allotted time, and then transfer or exchange land titles with other large landholders (174:78-9, 128:128-130).

The slow development of the Townships of Mountain and Winchester in Dundas County, and Roxborough and Finch (the latter township to a lesser degree) are primarily the result of large tracts of land being held by absentee landholders. For example, a survey of Winchester Township reveals that, although in part poorly drained, it is essentially fertile (129:125-6). However, the township has only 11 or 12 settlers. The greater portion of the land belongs to the heirs of the Hon. Richard Lunan and Thomas Fraser, both prominent Loyalists. The same situation is true of Mountain Township.

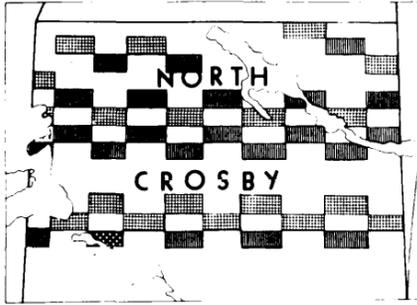
Another weakness of the policy retarding development on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence lies in the imposition of patent and survey fees on each grant of land. According to one observer, "it is much to be regretted, that where land is said to be gratuitously bestowed, any fees should be deemed necessary; as the boon, when accompanied by this demand, is calculated to produce discontent rather than gratitude, especially where the emigrant finds that his fees amount to one-half the sum at which he could select and buy the same quantity of land, without the delay attending the grant, and unshackled with any conditions or clearing dues" (78:I;46).

Indeed, it is generally agreed among most observers that it is to the advantage of a settler to buy land from the Crown rather than to accept a grant. Since 1819, for example, patent and survey fees have risen from £ 8 on a 200 acre grant to over double the amount (although less than the all time high, in 1823, of £ 30, approximately \$120.) (128:130-141, 151:II;171-2). At the same time, the price of Crown land along the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence fetches only five to six shillings per acre, or approximately £ 50 (\$200.) for a 200 acre lot,

with no settlement duties to be performed.³ And, of course, the settler is able to select his land for himself when he buys. However, since little Crown land is currently available for sale in this part of Upper Canada, no general change is possible in the financial aspect of the situation.

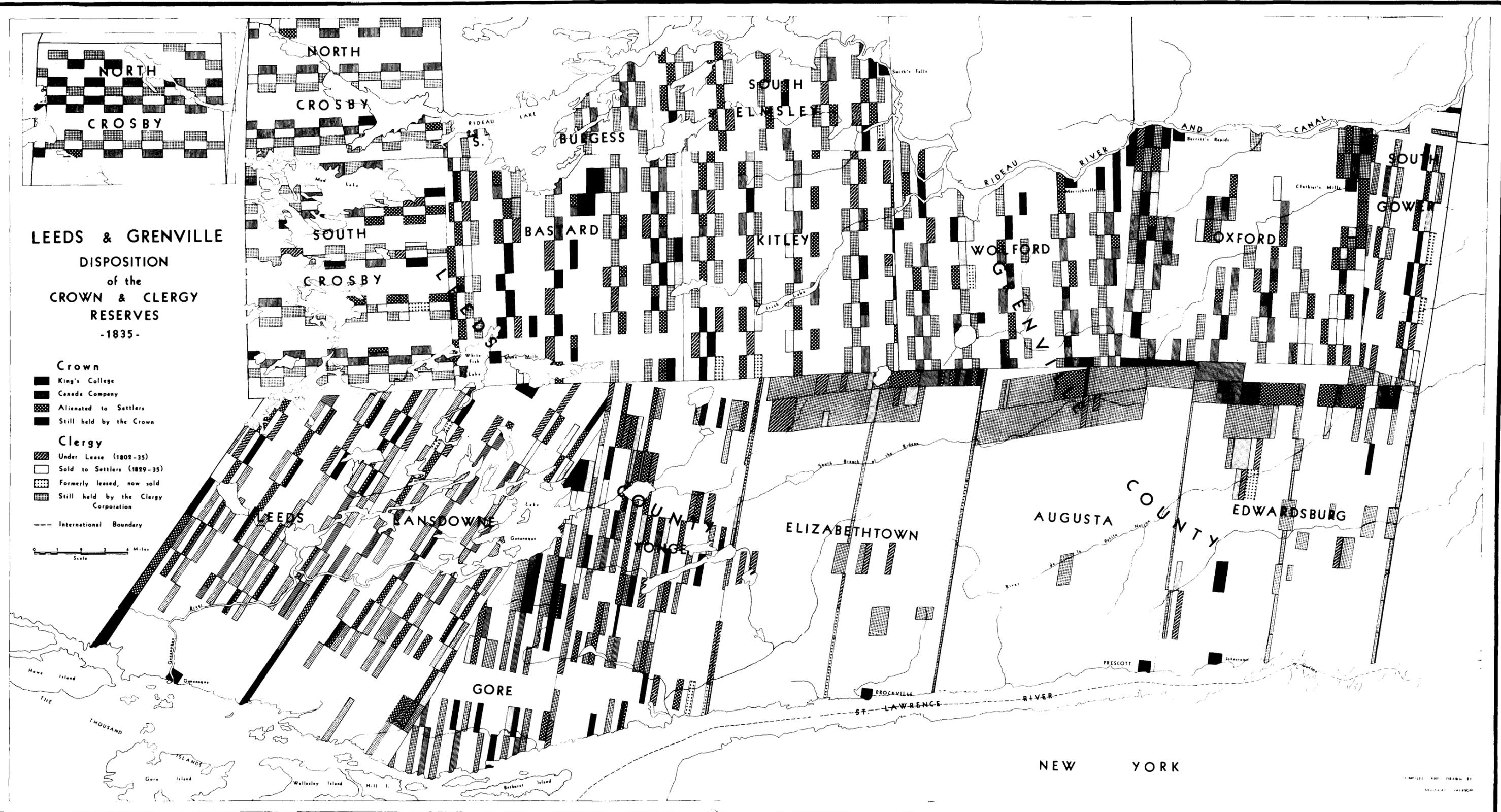
The Crown and clergy reserves are another feature of the original British policy which delay development. Fundamentally the reserves are an obstacle to contiguous settlement and general improvement. The clergy reserves, in particular, are responsible for a bitter struggle between the various Protestant sects, each of which demands, in opposition to the claims of the Church of England, a share of the endowment.⁴ (128:206-7).

According to a report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons (1828), "these reserved lands as they are presently distributed over the country retard more than any other circumstance, the growth of the colony, lying as they do in detached portions of each township and intervening between the occupations of actual settlers who have no means of cutting roads through the woods and morasses which thus separate them from their neighbours" (88:215, 162:8). At the same time, the Upper Canadian Assembly feels that the



LEEDS & GRENVILLE
DISPOSITION
of the
CROWN & CLERGY
RESERVES
-1835-

- Crown**
- King's College
 - Canada Company
 - ▨ Alienated to Settlers
 - Still held by the Crown
- Clergy**
- ▨ Under Lease (1802-35)
 - Sold to Settlers (1829-35)
 - ▨ Formerly leased, now sold
 - ▨ Still held by the Clergy Corporation
- International Boundary

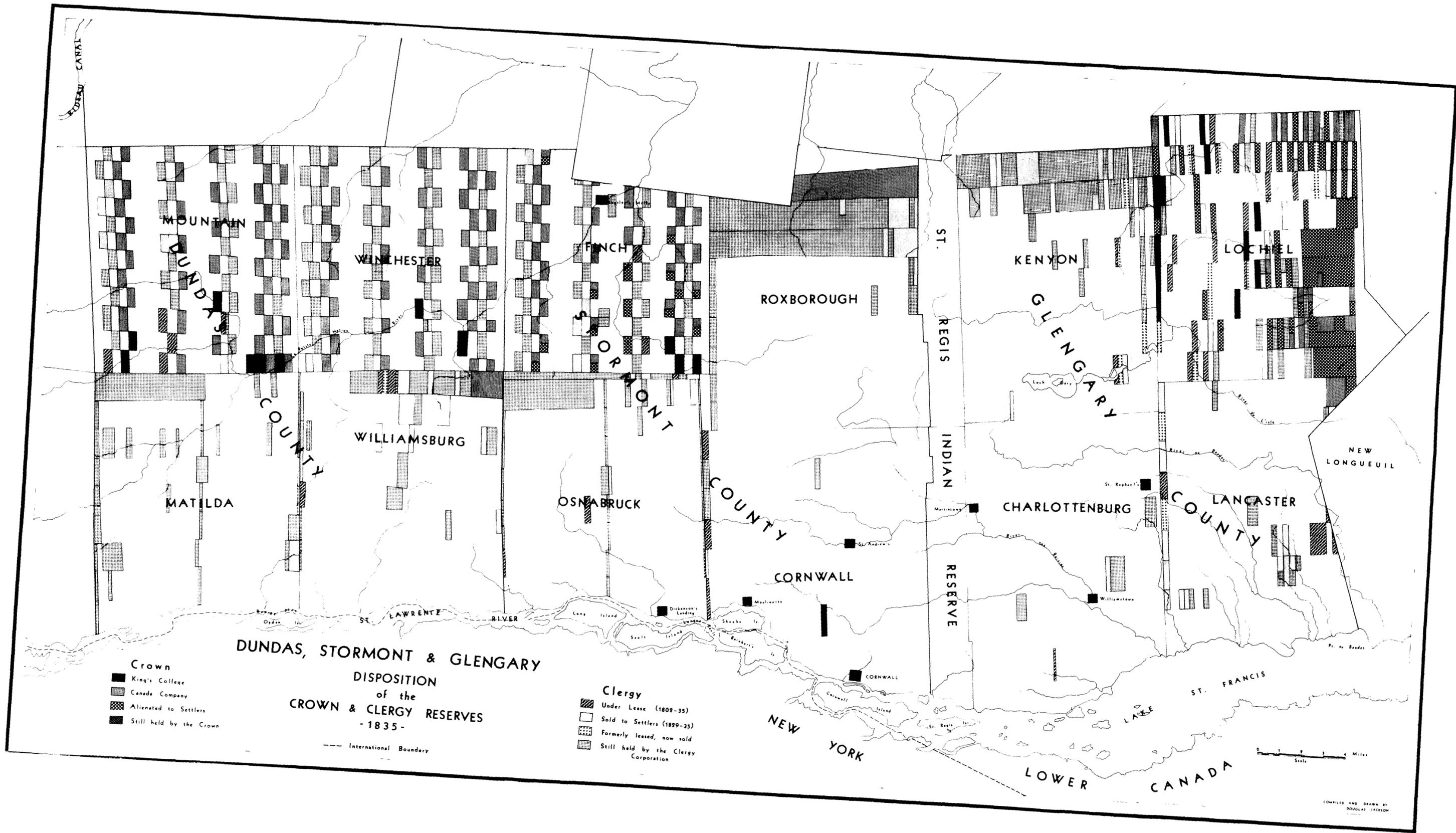


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GEOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTION

reserves hold out "great inducements to future wars with the United States, by affording the means of partially indemnifying themselves or regarding their followers in the event of conquest" (128:208). At any rate, among the settlers in Upper Canada the reserves are the symbol of an oppressive and unpopular government as well as of an aristocratic church.

The policy of leasing reserves, originally considered a means of promoting development, is a complete failure. Indeed, since the beginning of the century, no more than about 175 clergy reserves (115 in Leeds and Grenville, and 60 in Dundas, Stormont and Glengary) have ever been leased (Figs. 27 and 28) (298:42;2, 43; 2, 44;6). The number of Crown reserve leases probably does not exceed the clergy reserve leases.

The weakness in such a system is that few settlers, except those in impoverished circumstances, will rent land when they might own land through a grant or a purchase. Indeed, it is the desire to own land in the Canadas, as well as in the United States, that constitutes one of the features compelling the tremendous migration of Europeans across the Atlantic. Nevertheless, the policy does permit energetic farmers, on adjacent lots, to expand their operations without the considerable expense involved in buying land.



DUNDAS, STORMONT & GLENGARY
 DISPOSITION
 of the
CROWN & CLERGY RESERVES
 - 1835 -

- Crown**
- King's College
 - ▨ Canada Company
 - ▤ Alienated to Settlers
 - Still held by the Crown

- Clergy**
- ▨ Under Lease (1802-35)
 - Sold to Settlers (1809-35)
 - ▤ Formerly leased, now sold
 - ▨ Still held by the Clergy Corporation

--- International Boundary

0 1 2 3 Miles
 Scale

COMPILED AND DRAWN BY
 DOUGLAS JACKSON

Moreover, such lessees are permitted (since 1823) to purchase the reserve, if it is a Crown reserve.

In short, the basic weakness of the whole reserved land policy is that these undeveloped patches of land scattered throughout the area are an obvious hindrance to development. The construction and maintenance of concession roads is rendered extremely difficult, since such roads follow the straight lines of the original rectangular survey. Consequently, roads in the townships where the reserves are scattered chequer-board fashion are virtually non-existent. At the same time, the Crown reserves, in particular, constitute an effort to create a revenue for the local government based on the efforts of the settler: and the government at York is in no way responsible to the people. Because the reserves fail to provide a revenue, the government is unable to provide improvements such as might make the lot of the farmer an easier one.

These numerous difficulties, however, are being resolved. Although many Crown reserves are occupied by military or other settlers, and some are set aside for local schools, the great bulk are now divided between King's College (University of Toronto)

and the Canada Land Company. The government, at present, therefore, possesses only a few scattered Crown reserves (Figs. 27 and 28). The land endowment for the college constitutes 4,350 acres in Dundas, Stormont and Glengary Counties, and about 13,000 acres in Leeds and Grenville Counties (173: 1;205, 303). The Canada Land Company have title, by purchase, to 29,198 acres of Crown reserves in Dundas, Stormont and Glengary Counties, and about 50,000 acres in Leeds and Grenville Counties (303). Actually, the land company owns 1,384,413 acres of Crown reserves scattered throughout the province, including the Huron Tract, an extensive tract of over 1,000,000 acres along the southeastern shore of Lake Huron⁴ (128:200).

Since the Canada Company, like most land companies, is interested in making money, it is currently conducting surveys of its lands along the St. Lawrence in order to determine an adequate price. However, being the largest organization of its kind in the history of Upper Canada, it is arousing considerable criticism. It is charged by many in the province that the company is less anxious to settle the country than to make a profit from its transaction with the government. Indeed, according to documentary evidence (111:145-6), the company is

asking \$4. per acre for lands of comparatively little value along the Rideau Canal because of the impetus to settlement which the Rideau Canal is affording.

In contrast to the disposition of the Crown reserves (Figs. 27 and 26), the clergy reserves are virtually intact. Indeed, at present, they constitute approximately 109,000 acres in Dundas, Stormont, and Glengary Counties, and 140,000 acres in Leeds and Grenville Counties (128:212). However, some of the reserves are now available for sale, as directed by an Act of the British Parliament in 1827; in fact, some already have buyers (Figs. 27 and 28). The remainder are in the possession of the Clergy Corporation (set up in 1819) which directs their administration. Of the explosive religious problem there seems no solution, the sale of the reserves only aggravating the struggle over the spoils.

The American Side.-- In contrast to that of the Canadian side, there is no great disproportion between the purchased (i.e., by settlers) and the improved land. As a result of the rapid increase in population, a considerable extent of land is occupied. However, the major obstacle to general development appears to be the physical landscape itself. Indeed, the maps of the Harrison Tract in the Towns of Lisbon and

Canton (Figs. 19, 25 and 26) show that most of the occupied land consists of the higher, better drained tracts, and that the unoccupied areas are, in many instances, actually in swamp. This type of swell and swale topography is common throughout much of St. Lawrence and Jefferson Counties. However, in the granitic area, west and south of Black Lake (Figs. 1, 23, and 29), the land is considerably more rugged with steep, rocky ledges alternating with poorly drained depressions. Because of the nature of the terrain, settlement here, as on much of the granitic area on the Canadian side, is rendered difficult. Indeed, the history of the Scottish settlement in this section of the American side, is one of hardship and indebtedness. Most of these settlers were attracted there, without foreknowledge of the area, by the moderate terms of the land agent (in preference to paying the high land fees on the Canadian side) (37:80). However, through assistance from the land agent, they are gradually becoming securely established. In general, improved drainage facilities will render a considerable extent of the land capable of utilization. This applies equally to the region outside of the granitic area.

Since the state legislature did not reserve large tracts of land on the American side when the

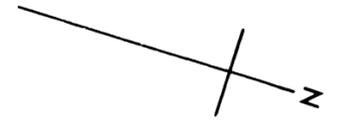
A SURVEY OF THE P. KEARNEY TRACT (1507 ACRES)

in the Town of Hammond

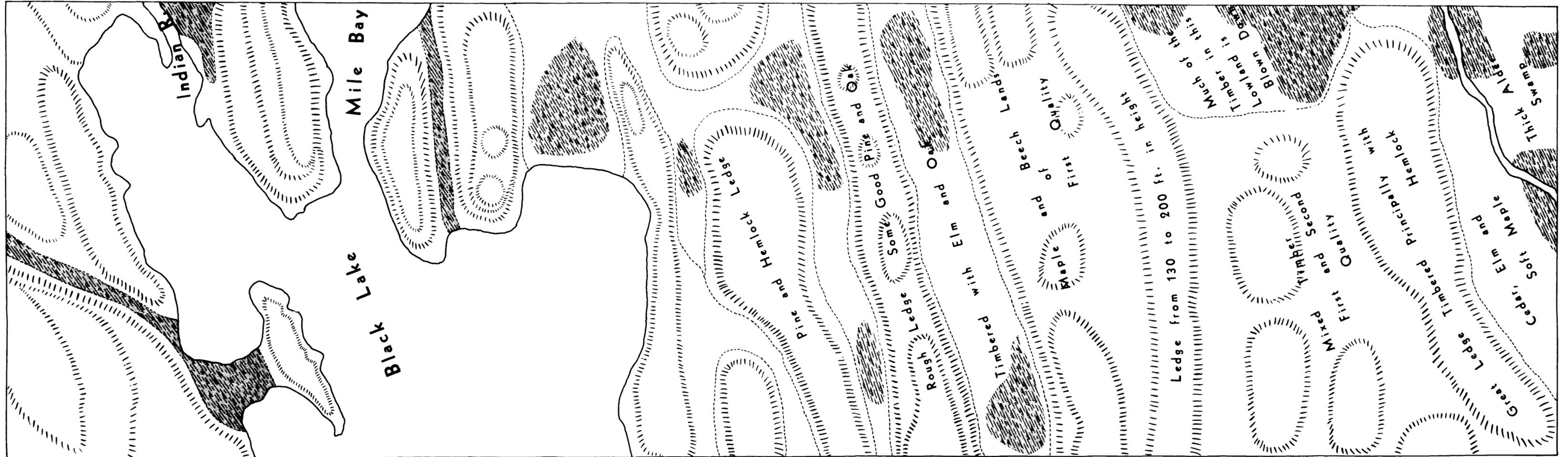
Belonging to George Parish

ROBERT TATE, SURVEYOR

1830



COPY OF A MAP IN
COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE,
CANTON, BOOK NO. 2.



Ten Towns were first laid out (Fig. 12), the area is not plagued by the problems of the Canadian side. The two, mile-square lots set aside in each town are for education only. Consequently, the present social environment on the American side is in striking contrast to that in Upper Canada. Since 1825 the "gospel and school" lots have been offered for sale, while the "literature" lots form the endowment of several of the state colleges.

It is possible that the American side of the St. Lawrence might now be more highly settled and developed than it is. Apart from various prejudices entertained by some New Englanders concerning the area and the effects of the Erie Canal in diverting settlers to the west, two local factors seem largely responsible for this, namely the high prices of land, resulting in debt, and the burden of taxes.

In general, the proprietors have always been anxious for a quick turnover of their lands. Tracts are subdivided and sold, with prices often rising as high as \$5. and \$6. per acre.⁵ Many of the new settlers seem to have little concept of value, and perhaps care less. As a result they buy more than they can effectively manage. Soon they are in debt and unable to fulfil their engagements. Some give up the land and move west; others hold out for some

compensation for their improvements but sink more deeply into debt, their selling price often being too high to attract buyers (135:3-8). Moreover, taxes are burdensome. According to one Canadian farmer, ". . . who would stand about a choice for a house on this side (i.e., the Canadian side) or on that, when there (i.e., on the American side), half of your profits must be given away in taxes. We haven't hardly a trifle to give and have everything clear. . . ." (149:153).

Major Settlement Forms

Although there is much to be desired in the general development of the area, whether on the Canadian or the American side of the upper St. Lawrence, the major villages bear the marks of an advanced civilization. Well-built churches, schools, hotels and taverns are characteristic of most communities. Literary and agricultural societies, newspapers, and academies are indicative of a cultural life. Practically all, even to the smallest gristmill hamlets, show evidence of considerable economic activity. Saw and grist mills, tanneries, establishments manufacturing potash, carding and fulling mills, and distilleries are the usual enterprises. Some centers

with special advantages, particularly on the American side, have iron works and cotton factories.

In many respects, the American village is similar to the Canadian. However, the tendency of the former to have broad, tree-lined boulevards, village squares, and white-framed or stucco houses, presents a pleasant contrast to the Canadian village. Moreover, the mansions of the resident proprietors add a degree of elegance lacking in the Canadian community (61:II;111). Canadian villages, on the other hand, including the originally planned communities of Cornwall and Johnstown, are often straggly in appearance. Rutted dirt roads, grey stone dwellings, and log cabins are common. In short, the Canadian village lacks the invested wealth of the American counterpart. Moreover, according to most observers, the Canadian villagers lack an enterprising spirit. In contrast, "they (the Americans) have that restless activity which they call shove, which makes everybody active" (234:378).

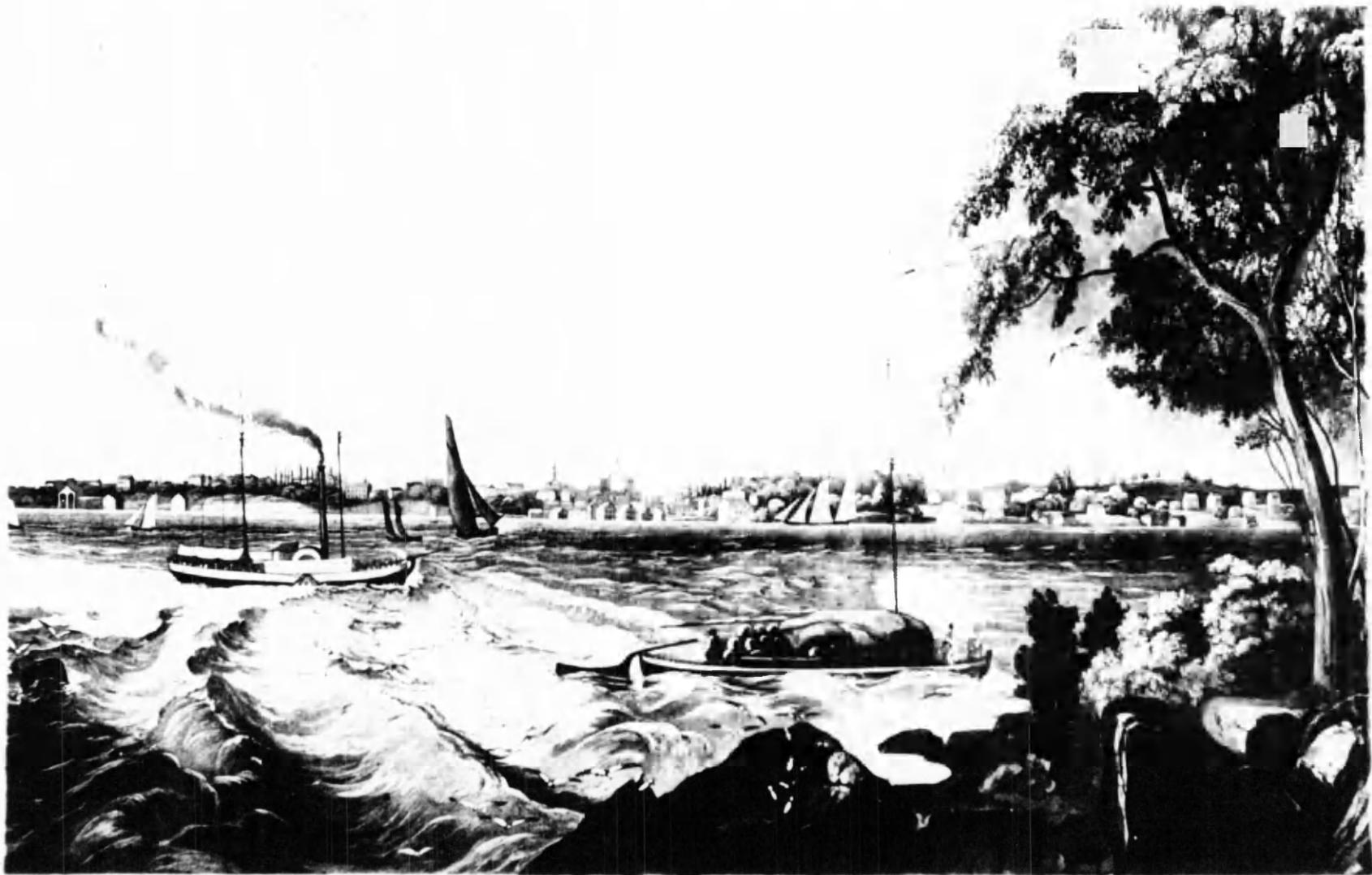
Prescott, like so much of the development on the Canadian side, owes its origin to the War of 1812 (Fig. 22). Indeed, Fort Wellington, which now stands to the east of the village, provided the impetus for the early growth of the community. At

present, with a population of about 500, Prescott is a place of considerable commercial importance. It completely overshadows old Johnstown, three miles down the St. Lawrence. Sharing the same locational advantages as Johnstown at the head of the rapids, Prescott, in addition, possesses a bolder shoreline and a better anchorage. Situated at the foot of lake navigation, the port is an important forwarding point, in competition with Kingston at the foot of Lake Ontario (Fig. 22). Justly famous, too, are the shipyards of Prescott. Steamers built here regularly ply the waters of Lake Ontario as well as the St. Lawrence above the rapids. Many of the immigrants, proceeding to the settlements along the Rideau Canal, stop at Prescott before beginning the long journey by stage northward. Yet, as a commercial center, the future of Prescott is seriously circumscribed. The opening of the Rideau Canal (1832) is beginning to divert the Montreal-Kingston carrying trade from the St. Lawrence to the inland route. Although the route from Kingston to Montreal by way of the Rideau Canal and the Ottawa River is a distant and round-about one, insurance rates are considerably lower than on shipments down the St. Lawrence. Moreover, now that steamers are so constructed to descend with safety the rapids as far as the Longue Sault, Prescott no

longer has the advantage of being at the foot of steamboat navigation on the upper course of the river. At the same time, because it lacks adequate power, the village does not seem destined to become an important manufacturing center. At present, its major works consist of a steam foundry and engine factory, a coach and sleigh-harness factory, and a pottery.

About 11 miles up the St. Lawrence from Prescott, on the Canadian side, is the progressive village of Brockville (Fig. 22), the district capital of Leeds and Grenville Counties, with a population of approximately 1,000 (18:1;75). Brockville is the St. Lawrence outlet for a rich and well settled hinterland (Fig. 24). In addition, it is situated opposite the American village of Morristown, and the turnpike which leads southward to Carthage and the Mohawk Valley (Fig. 25). A considerable amount of trade, therefore, crosses the St. Lawrence here. Indeed, the extent of trade is reflected in the large stores and wharfs which line the river front of Brockville. Some shipbuilding is also carried on here.

Of all the Canadian villages along the St. Lawrence, Brockville is, without doubt, the most attractive (215:81). The land forming the bank of the river is here arranged in a succession of ridges,



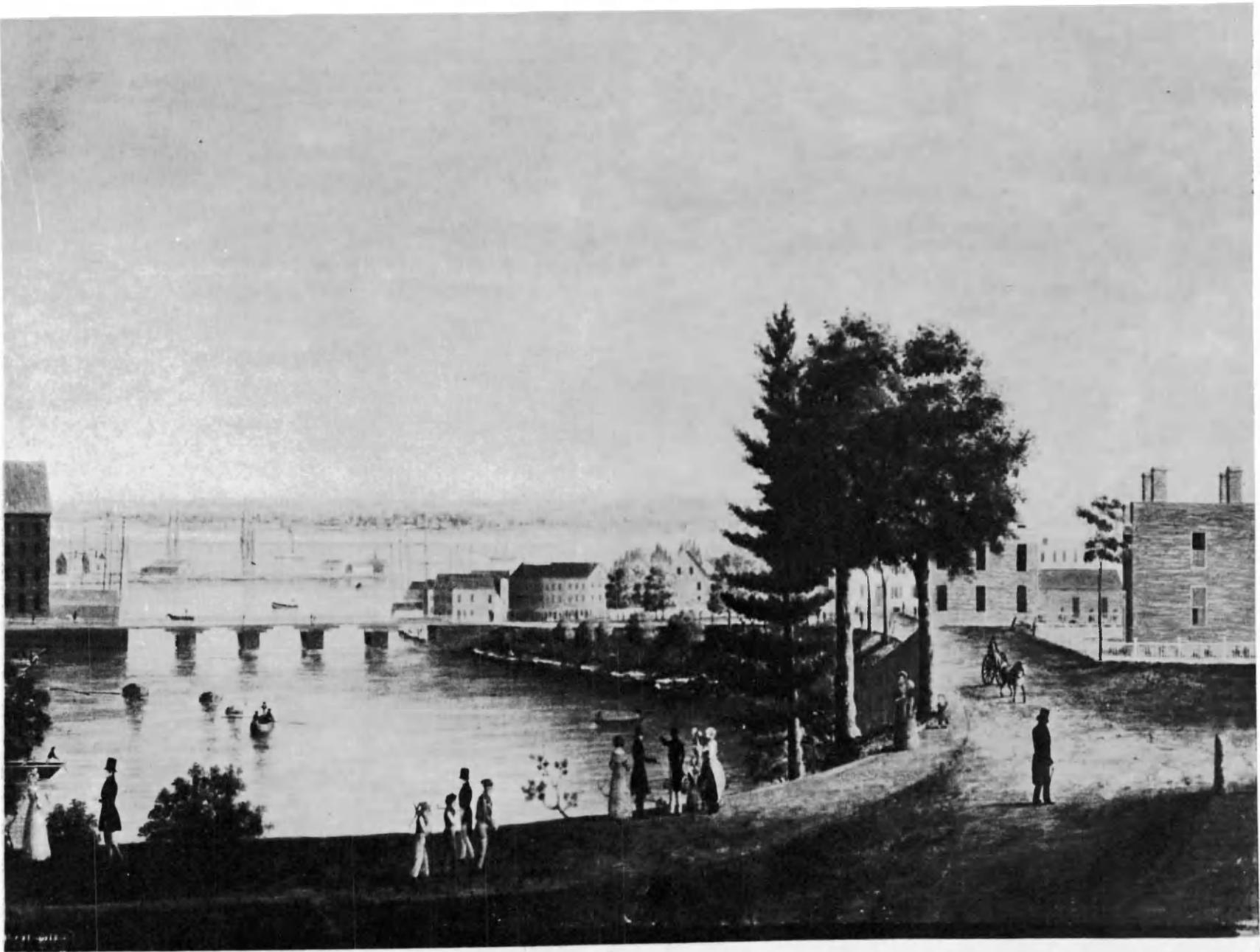
BROCKVILLE (1828)

By James Peachey (In Canada c. 1828)
Curtesy of the PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
From Photograph Negative A 1099

rising gradually one above the other up to 30 feet above the water's edge. On the first of these ridges is the main street of the village, while on the one above are the court house, jail and other public buildings.

Johnstown, one of the two villages laid out by the British before the turn of the century, is no longer of importance. Indeed, as early as 1817 it was in eclipse. The transfer of the district capital to Brockville (Elizabethtown) before the War of 1812 and the rise of Prescott, three miles to the west, rendered blows to the historic community from which it has not recovered. The reserves for the Crown, the park lots, and the tract set aside for a seminary (Fig. 8) have lapsed, and some of the lots are occupied. The elaborate plan for the village plot has also been abandoned (Fig. 6). Indeed, the same is true for Cornwall, the counterpart of Johnstown, situated below the Longue Sault. Cornwall, however, is an important commercial center, containing over 1,000 inhabitants.

Of all the Canadian villages, Gananoque, at the mouth of the Gananoque River, ranks as the leading milling and manufacturing center. Its importance, in fact, far outweighs its insignificant



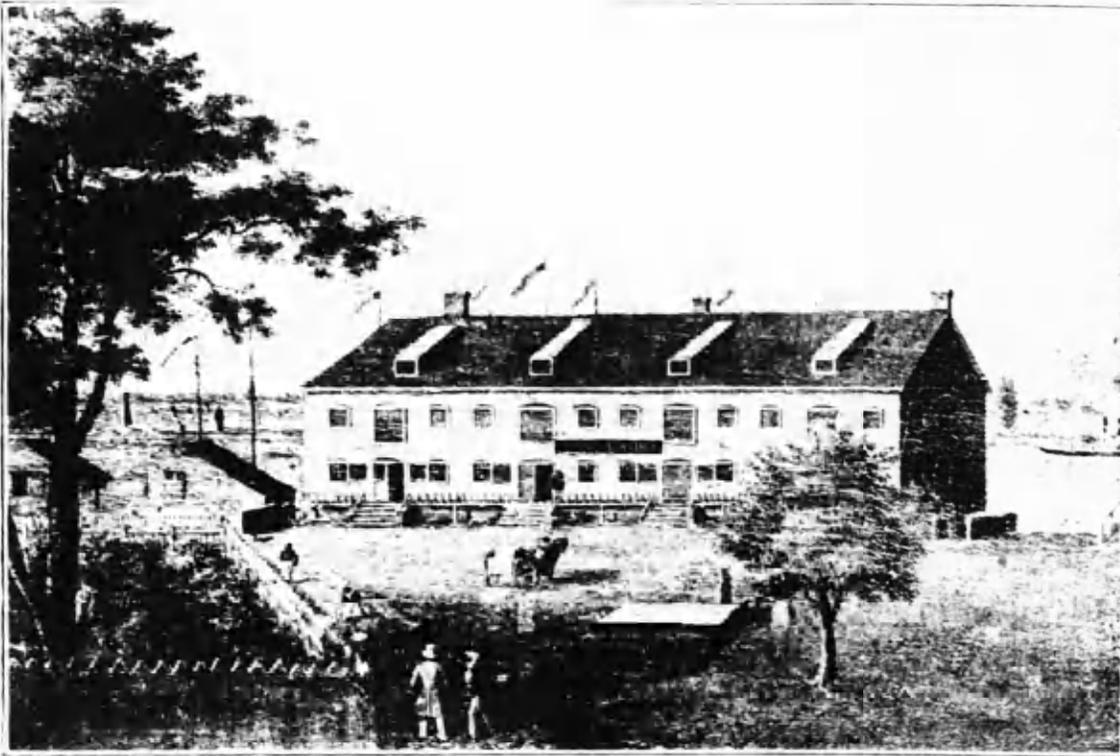
OGDENSBURG

Author unknown

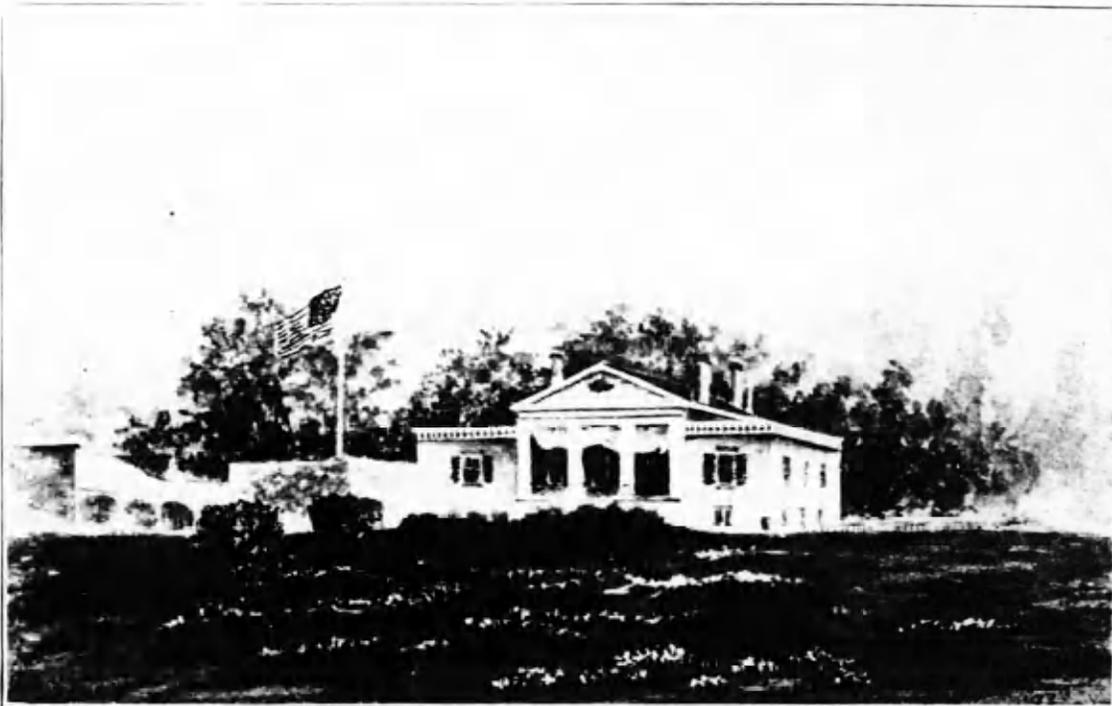
Obtained from the Harry Shaw Newman Gallery
of the Old Print Shop, 150 Lexington Ave.,
New York 16, New York. No. 1997cdc.

size. Its outstanding advantage is abundant water power, and the McDonald "merchant" flour mills are its major attraction. Operating six run of stones, the mills draw supplies of wheat from various parts of Upper Canada and the United States. Indeed, with a capacity of 250 barrels per day, the mills are the largest in the province, and supply about one-quarter of all the flour received at Montreal (99:126). Annual production is about 30,000 barrels of the finest flour Upper Canada can produce (147:II;296). An important lumber trade is also carried on from Gananoque, with large quantities of staves and other pieces of lumber sent annually to Lower Canada. Supplies for the government shipyards at Kingston also come from Gananoque. In addition to having good shipyards of its own, Gananoque has a foundry, a pail factory, fulling and carding mills, and a cloth factory.

On the American side of the St. Lawrence are five important villages, all but one situated in St. Lawrence County. Jefferson County, in general, lacks adequate water power, and consequently most of its communities are small gristmill hamlets, similar to those scattered throughout many of the inland townships on the Canadian side.



ONE OF FIRST WAREHOUSES ON ST. LAWRENCE RIVER—Constructed by the Pioneer Joseph Rosseel for the shipping interests of David Parish—Old Lithograph in possession of the descendants—The ancient "stone store" is still conducting trade with Lake Ontario and Montreal—Reproduced by permission of Frank R. Rosseel, Buffalo, N. Y.



HOMESTEAD OF A PIONEER ON THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER—Built by Joseph Rosseel, the financial agent of David Parish whose mansion stood on the opposite side of old Washington Street in Ogdenburg, New York—Painting by Frank R. Rosseel, grandson of the builder—This view shows the back piazza which faced the St. Lawrence

From: First Fortunes in the American Republic, page 732,
by Frank A. Mosseol, in the Journal of American History,
ed. by Francis T. Miller, Vol. 1, No. IV, 1907. Page
obtained from the Library of Congress.

Ogdensburg, with a population comparable to that of Brockville, is the most important American port on the St. Lawrence (Figs. 22 and 23). Regularly laid out, its orderly development evokes the praises of most travellers (Fig. 30). Particularly impressive is the large white-pillared mansion, built by Joseph Rosseel, an agent of David Parish who purchased the village from Samuel Ogden.⁶ Situated on the banks of a commodious bay at the mouth of the Oswegatchie River, Ogdensburg has an excellent harbor (Fig. 30). A considerable amount of trade is carried on with Montreal and the American ports on Lake Ontario. As a commercial center, its future seems assured, particularly if the proposed canal is constructed around the rapids, several miles up the Oswegatchie. Locks at this point will create a navigable waterway for steamers as far upstream as the important Iron Works, on the Indian River, southwest of Black Lake in the Town of Rossie (201:667) (Fig. 23).

Because of its excellent water power, Ogdensburg is a place of considerable industry. Among its more important enterprises are a furnace for castings, a large distillery, a brewery, three establishments manufacturing potash, two tanneries, carding and



OGDENSBURG IN 1812.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Rushbed, or Sand Bar. | 7. Saw Mill and Dam. | 13. Court House. |
| 2. Lighthouse Point. | 8. Nathan Ford's House. | 14. Morristown Road. |
| 3. Railroad to Ferry. | 8. Parish Stone Store. | 15. Black Lake Road and Bridge. |
| 4. French Fort and Buildings. | 10. American Hotel. | 16. Flume to Grist Mill. |
| 5. French Burying Ground. | 11. Parish Dwelling. | 17. Oswegatchie Fort, or Redoubt. |
| 6. Early Grist Mill and Store House. | 12. Hasbrouck House and Barn. | 18. Indicate Batteries. |

Dotted lines show recent survey for wharf lines.

From: Our Country and Its People: A Memorial Record of St. Lawrence County, New York, Part Facing page 144, by Gates Curtis. Copy obtained from the New York State Library, Albany, New York.

fulling mills, a brick factory, and a machine shop. Steamers are also built here.

Waddington, formerly Hamilton, situated on the St. Lawrence to the northeast of Ogdensburg (Figs. 22 and 25), is the American counterpart of Gananoque. Power for its large mills is obtained from a dam constructed between the bank of the St. Lawrence and Ogden's Island, a few hundred feet offshore (81:343). In addition to its large flour and saw mills, Waddington also has carding and fulling mills, a paper mill, a blast furnace, a tannery, and numerous smaller enterprises.

The villages of Canton and Potsdam, in towns of the same name, are situated in the midst of fine agricultural districts. Both are important manufacturing and educational centers. Canton, situated on the banks of the Grasse River, which affords excellent power facilities. In addition, relying on local bog ore, Canton is important for its furnace which turns out the famed "Jethro" plough. Indeed, practically all of the ploughs in use in St. Lawrence County have come from Canton. The Natural Canal, which connects the Grasse to the Oswegatchie River a few miles north of Canton (Fig. 23), provides a convenience (though obstructed) water route to

Ogdensburg and the St. Lawrence River.³ Canton is also the seat of St. Lawrence County (since 1828) and supports an academy. It contains about 150 dwellings.

Potsdam, in particular, is noted for its bloomery, yielding 20 tons of bar iron annually. Mill irons, ploughs and stoves are also made (190:121).

Brownville, near the mouth of the Black River in Jefferson County, is the remaining important village of the American side. It is a major textile center because of its excellent power facilities. Its outstanding enterprise is the Brownville Cotton Factory, with 1,300 mule spindles and 36 looms, producing 300,000 yards of cloth annually (190:48-9).

Agriculture

General Characteristics.-- Throughout most of the Canadian-American region of the upper St. Lawrence, particularly in older settled regions, agriculture is advanced well beyond the pioneer stage. The log farm houses, so characteristic of an earlier period, are being replaced with structures of brick, stone, or frame. Well-cleared fields, split-rail or stone fences, large orchards and gardens are common features of the older farms. The introduction of agricultural machinery, the development of improved breeds of livestock and types of seed, and the formation of agricultural societies are indicative of progress in farming.

In general, there are few basic differences between the agriculture of both sides of the St. Lawrence. The same crops are grown and the same kinds of livestock are raised. Wheat, corn, oats, and rye are the principal grains, while peas, potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables are also important. Most farms have apple orchards. Since the climate, soils and topography are similar on either side of the river, the same natural difficulties are experienced. The problems of drought, poor drainage, frost, and plant disease and insects are shared by both Canadian and American farmers. This is especially borne out in the case of wheat culture. Although winter wheat continues to yield well on fresh soils, its harvest on old fields is considerably less than formerly, the fertility of the soils being reduced through constant cropping. Secondly, in order to avoid the ravages of the Hessian fly, the farmers are forced to sow the grain later in the fall. But then, being less well rooted in the soil, it becomes subject to winter kill. The alternative is to sow spring wheat, and many farmers are doing this. However, along the upper St. Lawrence, spring wheat is affected by both rust and the grain worm. Neither is it as highly regarded for

milling purposes as is winter wheat. Thus, nature disregards the international boundary. Economic forces, however, generally commence at the boundary. On the American side, therefore, major changes occurring in the agriculture are largely a result of transportation costs and the problem of market supply.

The Canadian Side.-- Because of the characteristics of the various national groups on the Canadian side, there is more diversity in agriculture there than on the more homogeneous American side. Although the Scottish farmers are distinguished as hard workers, their living standards remain low. One cause, in particular, for their low agricultural productivity is that many of them combine lumbering with agriculture. Indeed, it is reported in a provincial survey that "if the farmers of the Eastern District (i.e., Dundas, Stormont, and Glengary) in general, and more particularly those of Highland Scotch descent, (who perhaps are the most numerous class) would pay but a little more attention to agriculture, and a proportionately less attention to the speculative undertakings of the lumber business, many a good farm would be released from the death grasp of a mortgage" (89:115).

Travellers through the Scottish area frequently comment on the neglected state of agriculture. Rotting fences, blackened stumps scattered over the fields, and tumbled - down shacks are all too prominent. Many of the inhabitants still live in old log houses. An example of their lack of care is reported by one observer in southern Lancaster Township. There, excellent wheat is raised on narrow clay ridges, but "other crops are indifferent, and nearly choked with perennial thistles" (143:129).

The immigrants who have come from the south of Ireland also practice a slovenly agriculture. Like the Scots, according to one observer with perhaps a little prejudice, "they . . . never were a steady, industrious set at home: an intermixture with the lowland Scotch who are an educated people, and the English who are like them, industrious and orderly, would be of great advantage to all parties" (75:29).

The English, like the "High Dutch", have a love of well-cleared, neat farmsteads. However, it is doubtful if this intensive type of improvement is best suited to the needs of a relatively new country. At any rate, their agricultural practices are in distinct contrast to the extensive type of approach to land development, characteristic of Americans.

The American Side.-- As a result of the opening of the Erie Canal, the American farmers of the St. Lawrence are subject to considerable competition from western wheat growers. The reduction of transportation costs enables the western farmer to ship his wheat and other products to Albany more cheaply than can the American farmer of the St. Lawrence. This factor, consequently, is forcing the development of stock raising along the American side. Indeed, this is a satisfactory solution to the problem, since wheat culture is subject to many hazards, and the area is well adapted to grazing. The gently undulating lands, in part poorly drained, are known to yield fine natural meadows.

Of the livestock, sheep are the most numerous and most important. The raising of sheep is particularly rewarding, since wool, in addition to finding a growing local market, brings good prices in Albany and New York. At present, there are over 110,000 sheep on the American side, the greater concentration per area being in Jefferson County (Table 7). Cattle have also increased on the American side, numbering slightly over 75,000. Indeed, in comparison with the larger, but only slightly less populous Canadian area, the raising of livestock in the agricultural economy of the American side is considerably

more important than it is on the Canadian side (Table 7). Since the farmers on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence are not affected by the cheap grain of the American west, there is no compulsion to modify old techniques and practices. Consequently, the relatively small numbers of livestock kept on Canadian farms satisfy home consumption and local market demands.

Table 7

Livestock on the Canadian and American Sides
of the St. Lawrence*

	St. Lawrence		Jefferson		Leeds & Gren.	Dundas, Stormont, Glengary
Live- stock	1824	1835	1824	1835	1835	1835
Sheep	25,274	66,856	15,299	44,213		(no data)
Cattle	16,308	45,237	10,591	31,628	12,828	11,888
Hogs	-	27,225	-	29,380		(no data)
Horses	2,462	8,890	1,607	6,886	3,925	5,148

*Sources: Canadian; 283:IV;119. American; 209:31-142,284.

Roads

Good roads are essential to agricultural development and prosperity. In this respect, the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence is less well off than the American side. While taxes may be higher on the American side, at least the farmer gets the benefit

of state-constructed roads. In addition, many of the local roads were built by proprietors as an inducement to settlement. On the Canadian side, in contrast, the burden of local road construction and maintenance falls directly on the farmer. Provincial aid, except in small appropriations, is not available.

In general, because of the nature of land disposal and the lack of a uniform rectangular survey, American common roads follow the lay of the land wherever possible. On the Canadian side, however, local roads generally follow the concession lines. Where settlement is relatively dense, therefore, the network of concession roads is fairly adequate. Where settlement is sparse, as in the inland townships of Dundas and Stormont Counties, concession roads extend only for short distances and are little better than trails through the bush. Moreover, following the concession lines the roads cross all types of land, including swamps. Lacking adequate provincial assistance, the burden of attempting to maintain such roads is indeed heavy; consequently few roads are passable in summer.

On the American side, all major settlements, either on the St. Lawrence or in the interior, are linked by roads, the most important of which are

maintained by the state government (Fig. 23). On the Canadian side, the network is considerably less dense in spite of several concentrations (Figs. 22 and 23).

In Leeds and Grenville Counties, most of the roads extending from the St. Lawrence to the settlements in the north are government roads. Opened originally to assist the immigrants in reaching the Rideau River, the roads are also largely responsible for the considerable development in the inland townships, particularly to the east of the granitic area (Figs. 1 and 22). The Military Road, in northern Glengary County, is also an old government road, constructed to provide access to the interior settlements by way of the Ottawa River. Finally, the road paralleling the St. Lawrence from Kingston to the boundary of Lower Canada, including the more passable Dundas Street branch in Stormont and Glengary Counties, was originally surveyed and opened under the jurisdiction of the government. In general, however, none of these roads can compare with those on the American side. Indeed, travellers by stage from Montreal to Upper Canada often prefer to cross to the south bank of the St. Lawrence in order to take advantage of the American road from St. Regis to Ogdensburg. At Ogdensburg, they cross the St. Lawrence again where

they may board a steamer for Lake Ontario. An interesting description of the Canadian road from Cornwall to Prescott is provided by one who ventured to take the Canadian stage. According to the traveller, the road is "merely a green field, stripped of its grassy surface, cut up by various ruts and mud holes, and crossed by swamps and hollow channels, impassable except by means of loose planks and timbers", which, of course, hop and bound under the wheels of the stage (114:102).

Because of the lack of an adequate governmental revenue, a consequence of the land policy, Upper Canada must go without good roads. Development of the province, therefore, is seriously impeded. However, for the Canadians of the St. Lawrence the river and the Rideau Canal to the north, afford convenient lines of communication to both the southern and interior parts of the area.

Steam Navigation, Canals and Trade

The use of steam in navigation has greatly improved travel on the St. Lawrence. Although bateau and Durham boats are commonly used for freight, ordinary travel is by steamboat. Along both sides of the upper St. Lawrence, a steamboat-and-stage line of



THE RIDEAU CANAL AT BYTOWN (Ottawa)

By W. H. Bartlett (1809-1854)
Curtesy of the PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
From Photograph Negative A 2001

conveyances operates the whole distance from Lake Ontario to Montreal. The journey, however, though more comfortable than in a Durham boat, is slow and tedious. It is generally the rule for passengers on the Canadian line, proceeding the whole distance of 150 miles, to transfer from boat to stage at least five different times (5:II;329). However, since some steamboats are constructed to navigate successfully the rapids downstream to the head of the Longe Sault, much of the inconvenience involved in transferring is removed.

Steamboats also operate regularly on the lower Ottawa River and the Rideau Canal (Fig. 22). Indeed, this route to the interior settlements on the Canadian side is much preferred to the St. Lawrence. A considerable amount of trade between Kingston and Montreal moves through the canal. Transportation on the Rideau and the lower Ottawa is safer than on the St. Lawrence and freight rates are lower, but passage is slower. In fact, a round trip between Montreal and Kingston requires nearly 14 days, whereas by way of the St. Lawrence it takes much less time.

Although a costly undertaking the Rideau Canal, essentially a British military project, is a remarkable

achievement.⁷ However, many in Upper Canada, including members of the local government, are unconvinced of its advantages. With the United States directing its energy to the settlement of the west and with continually improving relations between Britain and the republic, there appears to be little threat of invasion. Indeed, with the danger of war removed, the expense involved in the construction of the Rideau Canal may prove to have been misappropriated. According to one Canadian newspaper, the money spent for dubious military purposes, might more profitably have been used to construct roads or possibly a railroad, with the balance going toward the improvement of navigation on the St. Lawrence (315).

However, some observers believe that the canal will have some economic importance. In the opinion of one American writer, the canal will cause "a revolution in the affairs of trade, that will open to the far west" (308:IV;{1833+328}). An examination of trade statistics reveals, on the contrary that the Rideau will have no such future. In spite of the preference afforded to Canadian grain in the British market, most of the wheat^h passing downwards through the Welland Canal goes through the Oswego Canal for the New York market (312:185). Only a very

small quantity of either Canadian or American grain passes through Montreal. Nevertheless, regardless of the military or economic significance of the Rideau Canal, much of the interior development on the Canadian side is due to the project. It affords, at the same time, a convenient route of access for the farmers of the area to the growing 'shanty' markets on the Ottawa River.

The upper St. Lawrence River, southwest of the Lake St. Francis, is seriously impeded by rapids at three points: the Longue Sault, the Rapide Plat, and the Galloe (Gallops) (Fig. 22). Surveys from time to time have been carried out to determine the nature and size of canals required to pass the rapids (Fig. 22), but nothing was accomplished. More recently, a strong campaign under the direction of many individuals, including the builder of the Welland Canal, has been underway for immediate improvement of the St. Lawrence (174:171). As a result, one canal, which will pass the Longue Sault above Cornwall, is now under construction. Advocates of the St. Lawrence Canals feel that this is the only possible way, while retaining the British preference, that the St. Lawrence will be able to compete with the Erie Canal.



THE LONGUE SAULT RAPIDS

On the American side of the upper St. Lawrence, there is considerable discontent among the inhabitants concerning their position in relation to the Albany and New York markets. Being within the orbit of Montreal, and distant from the large American markets, the farmers of the area feel that they are at a considerable disadvantage, particularly with the lowering of freight rates on the Erie Canal. At the same time, the imposition of duties on the importation of agricultural products into the Canadas, though far from prohibitory, is affecting markets. Thus, according to the Americans of the St. Lawrence, the solution of their dilemma lies in the construction of a canal between Ogdensburg and the Black River, which will afford a convenient link with the Erie Canal (179:23, 159:I;506-510, 106:I;189). Surveys are being conducted, but construction is not yet underway.

However, in spite of these disquieting trends, trade between the American and the Canadian sides of the St. Lawrence remains high. Timber rafts, formed on the American side, move to Montreal, often bearing a few yoke of oxen and several hundred pigs aboard (84:31). Potash and salted meat which are not included in the tariff are also sent in large

quantities down the river. Indeed, there is considerable export of beef and flour to the Canadian side which evades the customs officials (39:45). Canadian exports to the American side are considerably less in value, most of the Canadian products going to the lower Ottawa valley or to Montreal.

Summary

Because the area is nearer to the source of most of its immigrants, the American side is more populous than the Canadian. Indeed, the population might even be larger but for the Erie Canal channeling the great bulk of the migrants to the west. Most of the settlers entering Upper Canada are from Great Britain, many of whom are slow to adjust to the conditions of a new and relatively undeveloped country.

On the Canadian side, practically all of the land, except for the Crown and clergy reserves, is alienated. However, the development of several inland townships is retarded because much of the land is held by absentee owners. At the same time, the extensive reserves are a serious obstacle to contiguous settlement and development, preventing particularly the construction of concession roads. Although the original British land policy intended to create income for the local government through the

imposition of patent and survey fees on alienated Crown lands and the renting of the reserves, neither source is capable of producing an adequate revenue for general improvement. The burden of local development still falls on the farmer. This is readily apparent in the nature and extent of roads on the Canadian side as compared with those on the American side.

However, measures are now being implemented to improve the land situation. Through a large sale, the great bulk of the Crown reserves are held by the Canada Company, a land company which plans to settle the lands. A smaller quantity forms the endowment for King's College. Consequently, along with the alienation of some reserves directly to settlers, few reserves remain in the hands of the government. Similarly, but in a more gradual fashion, the Clergy Corporation is relinquishing its reserves. Social and religious problems remain, however, and along with political dissatisfaction with the 'unresponsible' government at York are creating pressures for reform.

On the American side, in contrast, there is no serious land problem. Lands are occupied and developed as immigration and settlement continues.

High land prices and the Erie Canal are primarily responsible for preventing even more rapid settlement. Most of the 'good' land is occupied, leaving poorly drained areas for future reclamation and development.

The major communities of the entire region reflect a considerable advance beyond the pioneer stage. This is evident also in agriculture, especially in older settled areas. A livestock industry is becoming increasingly important on the American side, in the face of competition from western wheat growers. Travel and communication by river and canal are much improved, although the Rideau Canal on the Canadian side, a dubious military venture, is unable to provide much competition for the Erie Canal, in spite of preferences afforded colonial products in the British market.

Notes on Chapter IV

1. That the land agents had a difficult time in combating the aversion of many new Englanders for the land along the St. Lawrence is born out in the following excerpt from a letter of an agent to his employer. "I find," he writes, "that wherever I come across persons who have visited your country, they give a bad account of it, which is well circulated where they live; it is useless to make any attempts to eradicate the idea" (253:151).

2. Whenever and wherever the county names are used to denote the area on the American side, they refer only to those sections of the counties included within the present study. All statistics for the American side are based on town data taken from state census.

3. The prices of land in Upper Canada do not compare favorably with the price asked by the United States Government for land in the Public Domain. After 1820, the American price was set at \$1.25 per acre (for fertile prairie land); in Upper Canada, the prices ranged from approximately \$1. per acre for ungranted, and generally undesirable lots along the St. Lawrence to about \$2. per acre for land in southwestern Ontario (128:146).

4. In its negotiations with the government, the Canada Company hoped to obtain most of the clergy reserves as well as the Crown reserves, but because of the conflict among the various Protestant sects over the lands, the Company purchased the Huron Tract in place of the reserves (297).

5. The prices asked by David Parish, however, averaged about \$4. per acre. Parish was one of the proprietors who became interested in northern New York after the first major subdivision of the Macomb Purchase. In 1808, he purchased 200,000 acres in St. Lawrence and Jefferson Counties, including the Towns of Rossie and Antwerp, both of which lie in the granitic area. In 1809, he acquired Ogdensburg from Ogden, and in 1814 the Town of Hammond. Parish originally paid \$1.50 per acre for his lands, so that his profit was not as large as some of the proprietors who charged more (316).

6. The white-pillared mansion now houses the Ogdensburg Public Library.

7. The Rideau Canal was begun in 1826, opened in 1832 and finally completed in 1834. It was 126 1/2 miles long, with 47 locks, 134 feet by 32 feet, and five feet deep. Associated with the Rideau project were the Ottawa River canals around three serious rapids, Carillon, Chute a Blondeau and Grenville, all occurring between the mouth of the Rideau and Montreal. Although the Ottawa canals were six feet deep, they were uneven in other dimensions.

CHAPTER V

AN ERA OF TRANSITION: FACTORS AFFECTING THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UPPER ST. LAWRENCE (1850-1855)

The lands along the upper St. Lawrence River are undergoing a remarkable transformation. The characteristics of the pioneer era no longer so dominate the scene as to indelibly impress the traveller from England, accustomed to the gentle landscape of his homeland and the 'civilized' manners of his countrymen. Populous villages, large farmsteads, and railroads are indicative of the advance. The changes that are taking place are also apparent in the spirit of the population, whether Canadian or American. It is reflected in the newspapers and agricultural journals. It is evident in the comforts of the house, in the improvements about the farm, and in the cutting of the trees. However, while these developments are characteristic of both sides of the river, striking divergences are apparent. These variations are largely the result

of new, but differential, pressures exerted by the expanding economies of the two Anglo-American nations.

The People

Out of a total of approximately 190,000 inhabitants in the region of the upper St. Lawrence, a little more than 97,000 live on the Canadian side (Table 8). For the latter, this represents an increase of population of 68 per cent since 1835 as compared with an increase of only 38 per cent for the American side. The rapid growth of the Canadian population is a result, in part, of the large British immigration which continues to enter the area; it is also based on the large proportion of native-born which stay on in the area. On the American side, immigration, particularly from other parts of the United States, is also an important feature, yet a much larger number of native-born migrate from the area. Therefore, on the American side, immigration tends to balance emigration, whereas on the Canadian side it supplements the native population.

Table 8

Population of the Upper St. Lawrence Region*
(1851-1855)

Area	1835	1851- 1855	% Increase	Native Born	Born Out- side the Area
Canadian	57,723	97,037	68	66,163	30,874
American	65,661	91,018	38	50,687	44,051

*Sources: Canadian; 282:IV;83, 279:I. American; 284, 286

The Canadian Side.--- The average density of the population on the Canadian side is approximately 36 persons per square mile (Table 9). Dundas and Leeds Counties, however, fall below the average, while Grenville County is considerably above. The difference in the county densities, however, are more readily appreciated following an analysis of the population of the townships.

Table 9

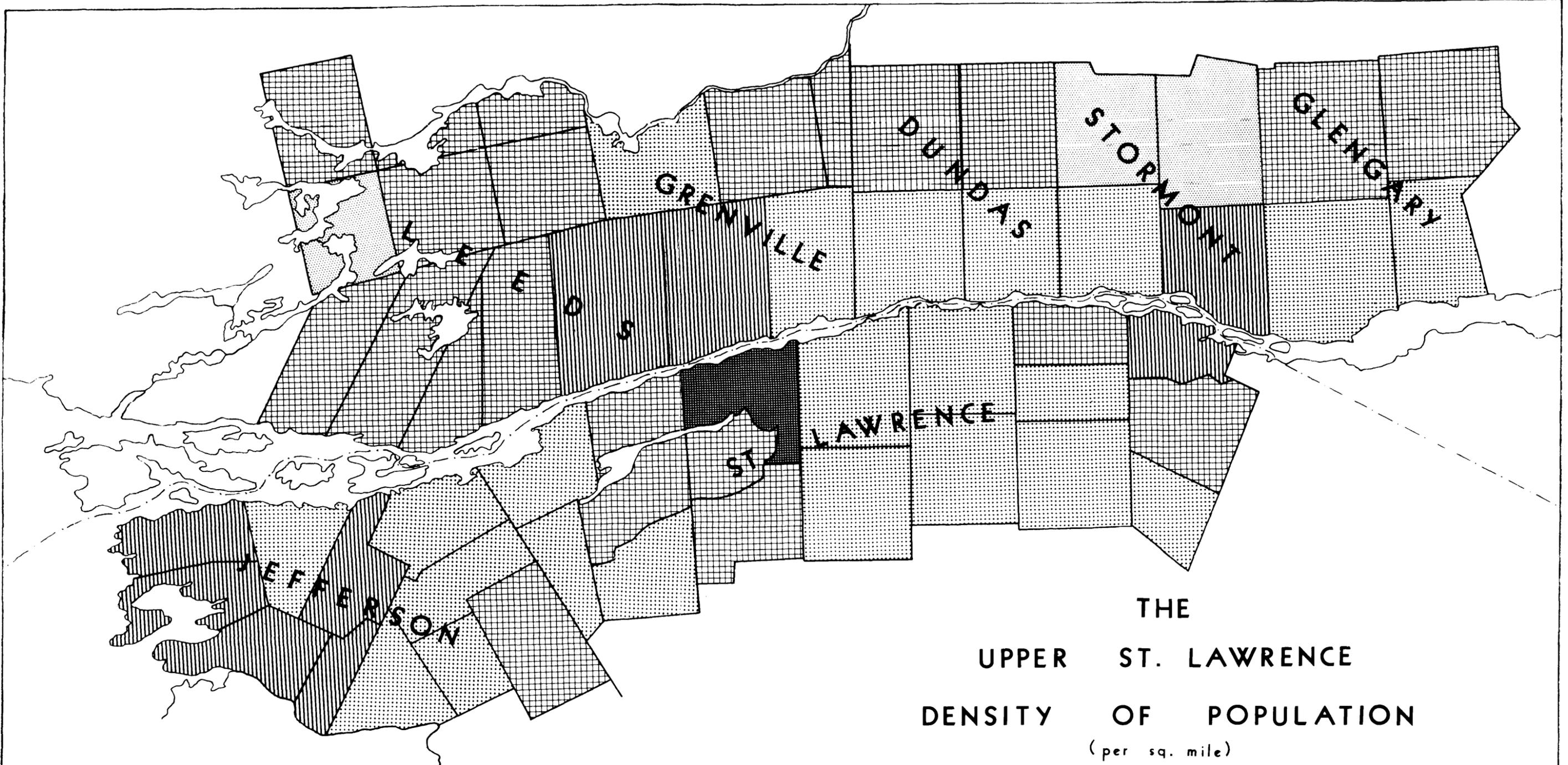
Density of Population on the Canadian Side*
(1851)

County	Population	Area (Sq.Miles)	Density
Leeds	30,280	897.2	33.6
Grenville	20,707	459.5	45.0
Dundas	13,811	378.2	31.2
Stormont	14,643	407.5	35.9
Glengary	12,154	462.3	38.0
Total	97,037	2,602.7	Ave. 36.8

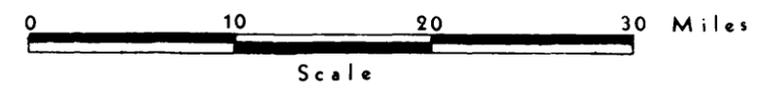
*Sources: 279:I, 282:II.

All of the townships along the St. Lawrence, except for the western townships of Leeds County, have a population density of over 40 per square mile (Fig. 31). These townships, from Lancaster to Elizabethtown, are the ones which were first surveyed along the St. Lawrence by the British in 1783 (Figs. 3 and 10). The four river townships in Leeds County have a population density considerably less than 40 persons per square mile. This area was left unsurveyed in 1783 because of the rocky, uninviting nature of the terrain. The effects of the topography, therefore, are evident in the scattered and relatively sparse population here at present. The three river townships which contain more than 60 persons per square mile reflect the large villages of Brockville (3,500), Prescott (2,000), and Cornwall (1,000) (Fig. 31).

The density of the inland townships is less than that of the townships along the river, the average being less than 40 persons per square mile. Distance from the St. Lawrence and absentee land-ownership are the general causes for the lower density. However, considerable variation exists. Three townships, South Crosby in Leeds County, and Finch and Roxborough in Stormont County have less



THE
 UPPER ST. LAWRENCE
 DENSITY OF POPULATION
 (per sq. mile)
 1850



than 20 persons per square mile. In South Crosby, the sparse population is a result of the rugged nature of the topography (the Pre-Cambrian) and the presence of many lakes (Figs. 1 and 31). In Finch and Roxborough, distance from both the St. Lawrence River and the Rideau Canal, as well as the fact that considerable acreage is still held by absentee owners, are the causes. Wolford Township in Grenville County shows the highest density of the inland townships. However, this is due to the relatively large population of the village of Merrickville, on the Rideau (Figs. 31 and 32).

Of the inhabitants on the Canadian side, approximately 68 per cent are native of the area. The remainder, with the exception of a small number of migrants from Lower Canada, the United States, and the British Maritime Provinces, are almost entirely from Great Britain (Table 10).

Table 10

Origin of the Population on the Canadian Side*

County	Native Born	Lower Can.	U.S.A.	Gr.Br.	Total Pop.
Leeds	19,685	478	1,430	8,636	30,280
Grenville	12,874	311	860	6,638	20,707
Dundas	10,260	231	499	2,802	13,811
Stormont	10,570	758	376	2,919	14,643
Glengary	12,774	1,627	110	3,075	17,596
Total	66,163	3,405	3,275	24,070	97,037

*Source: 279:I.

Migrants from Ireland are the most numerous of the present British-born population, totalling approximately 16,000 (279:I). Poor harvests in the homeland, coupled with political dissatisfaction, are responsible for the striking increase in the Irish settlement in the Canadas. Indeed, it is reported that upward of 50,000 Irish entered the Canadas during the year 1847 alone (308(1847)78). The Irish are most numerous in the inland townships, particularly in Dundas, Leeds and Grenville Counties, where they are settled on lands of the Canada Company. Scottish settlers constitute the next largest group, being located principally in Glengary and Stormont Counties, the counties which are inhabited by people largely of

Scottish stock. The small number of English, approximately 2,200, are scattered, though considerably less numerous in Glengary County than in Leeds and Grenville Counties.

The American Side.--- The population density on the American side is higher than on the Canadian side. An average of nearly 50 persons per square mile on the American side represents approximately 14 more persons per square mile than on the Canadian side. On a county basis, Jefferson County stands out as more densely populated than St. Lawrence County, yet the latter county itself has more people per square mile than any of the Canadian counties (Tables 9 and 11).

Table 11

Density of Population on the American Side*

County	Population	Area (Sq. Miles)	Density
St. Lawrence	55,834	1,196.5	46.6
Jefferson	35,184	634.4	57.7
Total	91,018	1,830.9	Ave. 49.7

*Source: 286.

Like the townships on the Canadian side, there is considerable variation in the densities of the

towns of the American side. None of the towns, however, has less than 20 persons per square mile, although the Town of Oswegatchie contains more than 80 (Fig. 31). The populous village of Ogdensburg (7,000) is the cause of the latter density. The relatively high density in western Jefferson County, in general, reflects the large agricultural population. South and west of Black Lake, the influence of the Pre-Cambrian is apparent in lower town densities (Figs. 1 and 31). In short, the variations in density on the American side are the result of the presence of large villages or are related to local variations in topography and soil.

However, in spite of variations, the inland towns on the American side are more densely populated than the inland townships on the Canadian side (Fig. 31). This discrepancy is readily understandable. Before the advent of the railroad, the inland towns on the American side were crossed by several important roads, many of which were planked, leading southward to the markets in the Mohawk Valley (Figs. 23 and 36). Consequently, where soil and topography permit it, the population growth has been rapid. On the Canadian side, the townships throughout most of their history have been plagued by a land problem. Though many of

them are situated near or along the Rideau Canal, which gave impetus to early development, the canal has not been successful in replacing the St. Lawrence as the major route of travel between Kingston and Montreal. Consequently, except for providing a route to the 'shanty' markets in the lower Ottawa Valley, the canal serves no significant function. Furthermore, the markets in the Ottawa Valley can in no way compare with those in southern New York State. Thus, general development has been considerably delayed.

Of the present population on the American side, only slightly more than 50 per cent are native born. The remainder is made up of immigrants from other parts of New York and the United States, and from beyond the limits of the republic (Table 12). The relatively smaller number of native-born remaining in the area indicates, as compared with the Canadian side, a greater mobility in the population. Indeed, few of the early pioneer families remain on the American side, most of the farms having been sold several times to successive migrants.

Table 12

Origin of the Population on the American Side*

County	Native Born	Other New York or U.S.	Gr.Br.	Can.	Total Pop.
St. Lawrence	13,472	15,515	8,271	5,316	61,032
Jefferson	19,215	9,727	2,039	1,608	33,706
Total	50,687	25,242	10,310	6,924	94,738

*Source: 286.

British groups constitute the largest number of aliens living on the American side (Table 12). Of these, the Irish, approximately 7,000, are most numerous, showing a slight concentration in Oswegatchie and Lisbon Towns, where many of them arrived from Montreal. The small number of Scottish settlers are principally in the Towns of Bossie, Hammond, Madrid and Oswegatchie, which have long contained a Scottish element.

Inhabitants of Canadian origin form the second largest group of non-Americans. To a considerable degree, the Canadians are of British stock, although an increasing number of French-Canadians are moving across the 45th Parallel into the United States. The village of Ogdensburg, always a favorite stopping

place for French-Canadian boatmen, contains a considerable number of them. A few hundred Germans and French form a small minority in the Towns of Alexandria, Cap^t Vincent, and Orleans in Jefferson County, and in Canton in St. Lawrence County (Fig. 23).

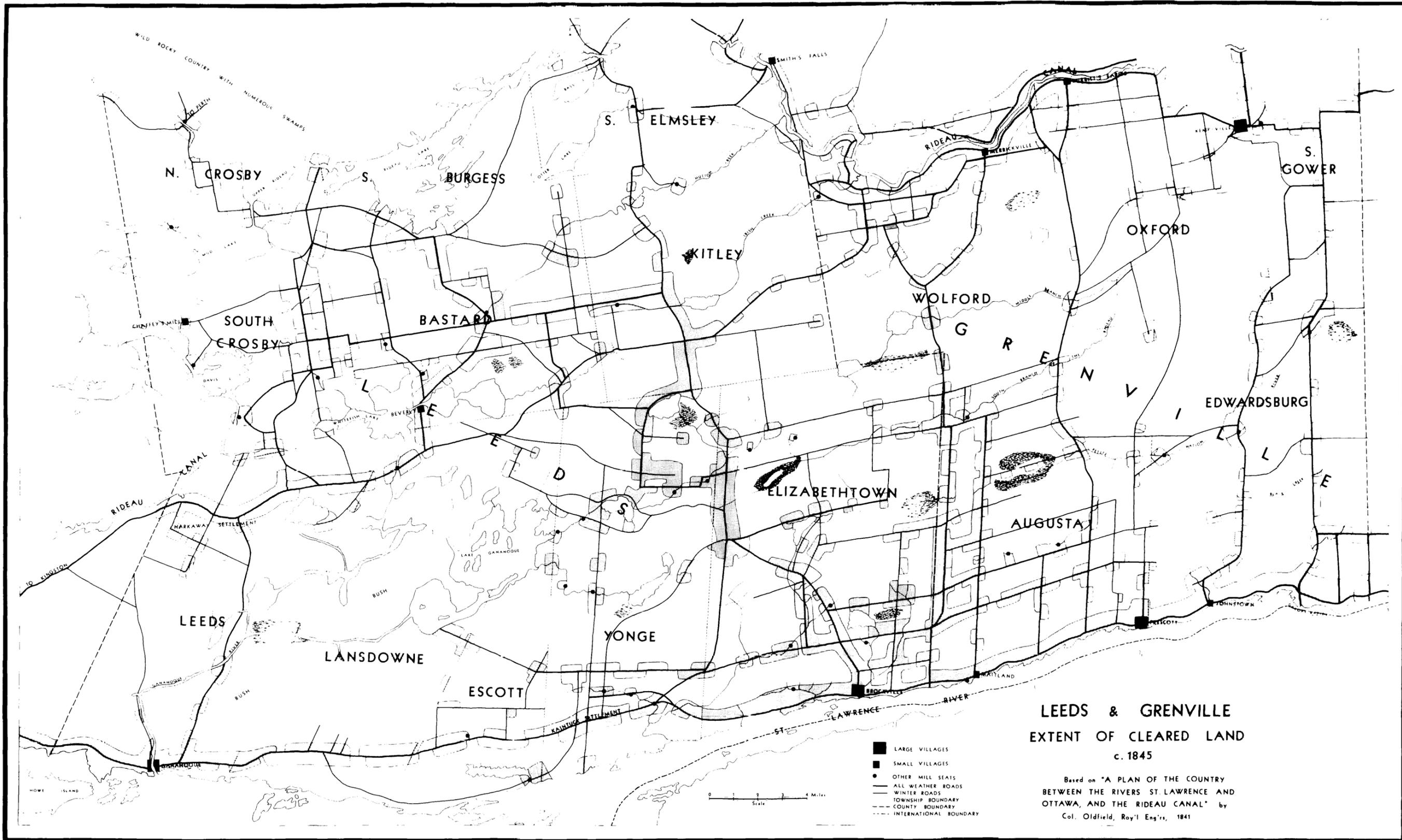
Land Development

The effects of the increase in the population appear in the extent of land which is improved and undergoing development. In fact, because farmers are cutting the trees at a rapid rate, few extensive tracts of forested land remain. Nevertheless, each farm contains a sizeable wood-lot, which supports a growth of maple and beech. These stands of timber afford winter occupation to the farmer in cutting cord-wood, and hauling it to village markets, railway depots, or steamboat landings on the St. Lawrence. Maple sugaring is important in some areas, and helps to supplement farm income. However, most of the choice market timber, such as oak and pine, has long since disappeared. The stumps in the fields, especially of pine, remain a convincing and lasting monument to the dimensions of the huge denizens of the early forest.

The Canadian Side.-- In general, the Canadian side does not possess the well-settled appearance

of the American side. But a traveller along the river road on the Canadian side may form a different opinion. Indeed, the contrast between the Canadian and American banks of the St. Lawrence "is very remarkable. On the left (i.e., the Canadian) bank extensive farms . . . are of frequent occurrence, while the right bank is clothed by the unbroken primeval forest, which comes down to the water's edge" (157:121).

A less cursory survey, however, reveals a different picture. While the Canadian bank of the St. Lawrence may seem to indicate great agricultural progress, in many instances after a short journey inland from the river, the traveller is confronted with bush and 'wild' land (Figs. 32 and 33). For example, let one follow the concession road through the old Indian reserve north of Martintown in Glengary, where the last remaining evidence of pioneer conditions exist¹ (Fig. 33). If he continues along the road, he will venture "into a different world. The forest loses its conquered appearance and dominates everything. There is forest everywhere. It lines up close and thick along the road, and here and there quite overshadows it. It crowds in upon the little farms and shuts them off from one another and from the world outside. . . ." (34:42).



**LEEDS & GRENVILLE
EXTENT OF CLEARED LAND
c. 1845**

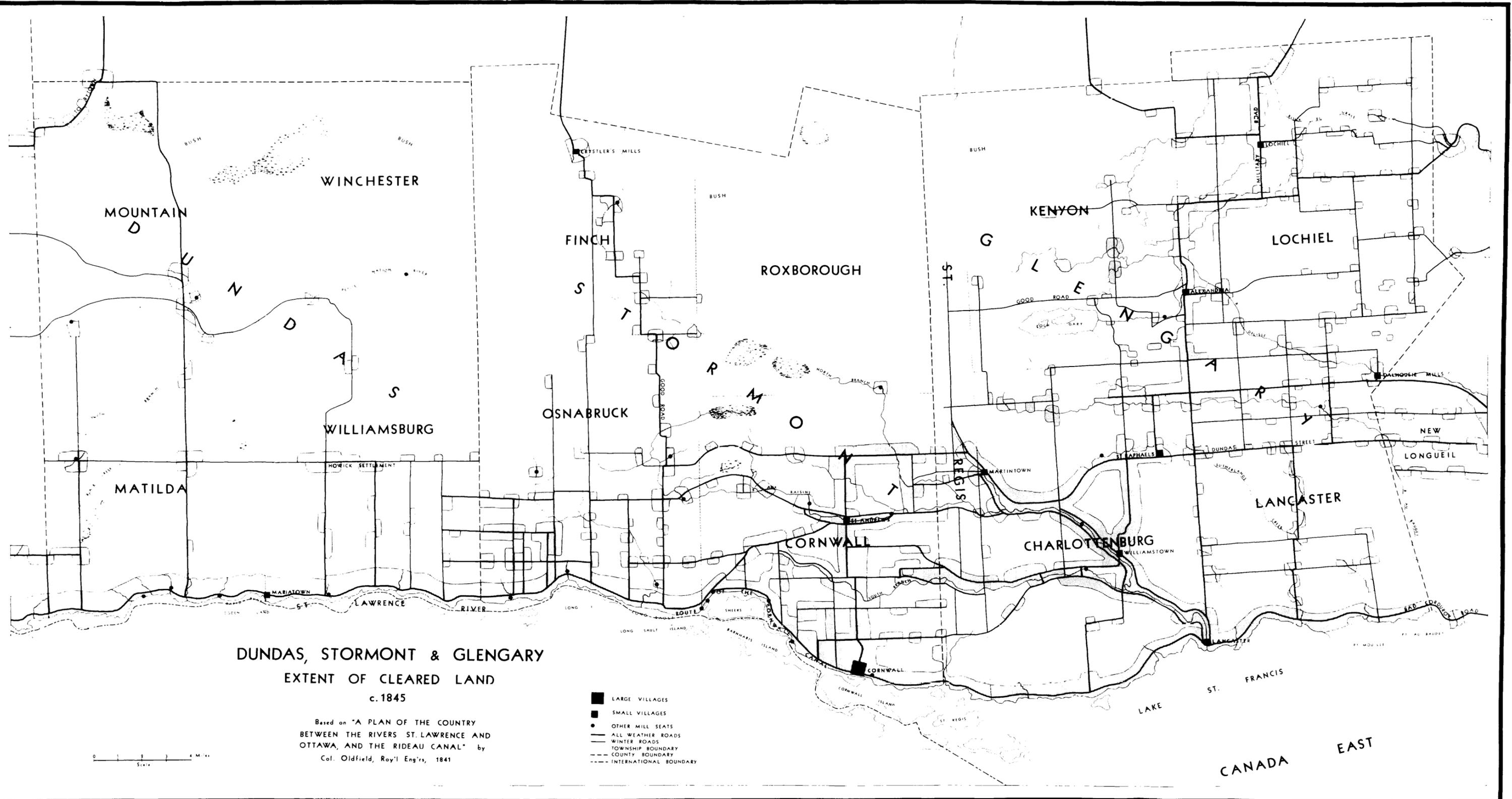
Based on "A PLAN OF THE COUNTRY
BETWEEN THE RIVERS ST. LAWRENCE AND
OTTAWA, AND THE RIDEAU CANAL" by
Col. Oldfield, Roy'l Eng'rs, 1841

- LARGE VILLAGES
- SMALL VILLAGES
- OTHER MILL SEATS
- ALL WEATHER ROADS
- WINTER ROADS
- TOWNSHIP BOUNDARY
- COUNTY BOUNDARY
- INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY

Scale 0 1 2 4 Miles

Similarly, let the traveller take the Bytown and Prescott Railroad from its terminus on the St. Lawrence at Prescott to the village of Kemptville (formerly Clothier's Mills) in northern Grenville County (Figs. 32 and 36). Throughout most of southern Grenville County, the traveller crosses an area both timbered and swampy. Only after he comes within a few miles of Kemptville does he see extensively cleared fields (269:11).

A survey of the roads and major clearings on the Canadian side during the 1840's illustrates, generally, the nature and extent of Canadian development (Figs. 32 and 33). Naturally enough, the most extensive clearing follows the St. Lawrence River from the northeastern boundary of Glengary County to the edge of the Pre-Cambrian, a few miles southwest of the village of Brockville (Fig. 1). Other less extensive clearings are along the Rideau Canal in Wolford and Oxford Townships. Still others parallel the major roads leading from the St. Lawrence River to the Rideau Canal, or as in the case of the northeastern counties, to the Ottawa River. Because of the nature of the original land survey, the small clearings on the relatively narrow farms, especially those along the inland



**DUNDAS, STORMONT & GLENGARY
EXTENT OF CLEARED LAND
c.1845**

Based on "A PLAN OF THE COUNTRY
BETWEEN THE RIVERS ST. LAWRENCE AND
OTTAWA, AND THE RIDEAU CANAL" by
Col. Oldfield, Roy'l Eng'rs, 1841

- LARGE VILLAGES
- SMALL VILLAGES
- OTHER MILL SEATS
- ALL WEATHER ROADS
- - - WINTER ROADS
- - - TOWNSHIP BOUNDARY
- - - COUNTY BOUNDARY
- - - INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY



concession roads, assume a rectangular shape.

The Townships of Lochiel, Lancaster, and Charlottenburg in Glengary County, and Cornwall in Stormont County contain the greatest extent of cleared land within the eastern counties. Particularly noticeable are the clearings along the River aux Raisins and its several branches, along Dundas Street through the center of Charlottenburg, and along the Military Road in Lochiel (Fig. 33). In contrast, the Townships of Kenyon, Roxborough, Finch, Mountain, and Winchester have a more wooded appearance. In fact, in Mountain Township, it is estimated that there are only 28 assessed properties (70:84). The effects of distance from the St. Lawrence, of the land problem, and in some areas of swamps are clearly evident in the delayed development.

The survey reveals that the Counties of Leeds and Grenville, in general, appear to be more highly developed than Dundas, Stormont and Glengary. Indeed, except for parts of the Pre-Cambrian area in western Leeds, the area is more extensively improved, as indicated in the Census of 1851 (Table 13) (279:1). In Leeds and Grenville Counties, the improved land,² totalling approximately 190,000

acres, constitutes about 35,000 acres more than improved land in the remaining counties.

At present, the total improved land on the Canadian side amounts to 347,409 acres, an increase of over 100 per cent since 1835. However, this constitutes only 20 per cent of the total area (Table 13). This, indeed, indicates why the Canadian side does not have a well-settled appearance. However, in fairness to the farmers, the census reveals that of the land occupied approximately 31 per cent of the area has been improved (Table 13).

The influence of the old British land policy is apparent in the relatively slow development of many of the townships and explains, to a large extent, why much land is completely unimproved. Although very little Crown land remains to be disposed, large tracts of land are still not occupied by farmers (71:19). Allowing for rocky land in western Leeds and swampy land in various other parts of the area, much of the unoccupied land is held by absentee owners, descendants of Loyalists or heirs of past speculators. In addition are the lands held by the Canada Company, King's College, and the remainder of the clergy reserves. All of the latter are for sale, the clergy reserves, in particular, being held by the municipalities since

secularization.³ The income from the reserves will provide the counties with funds to assist in local improvement.

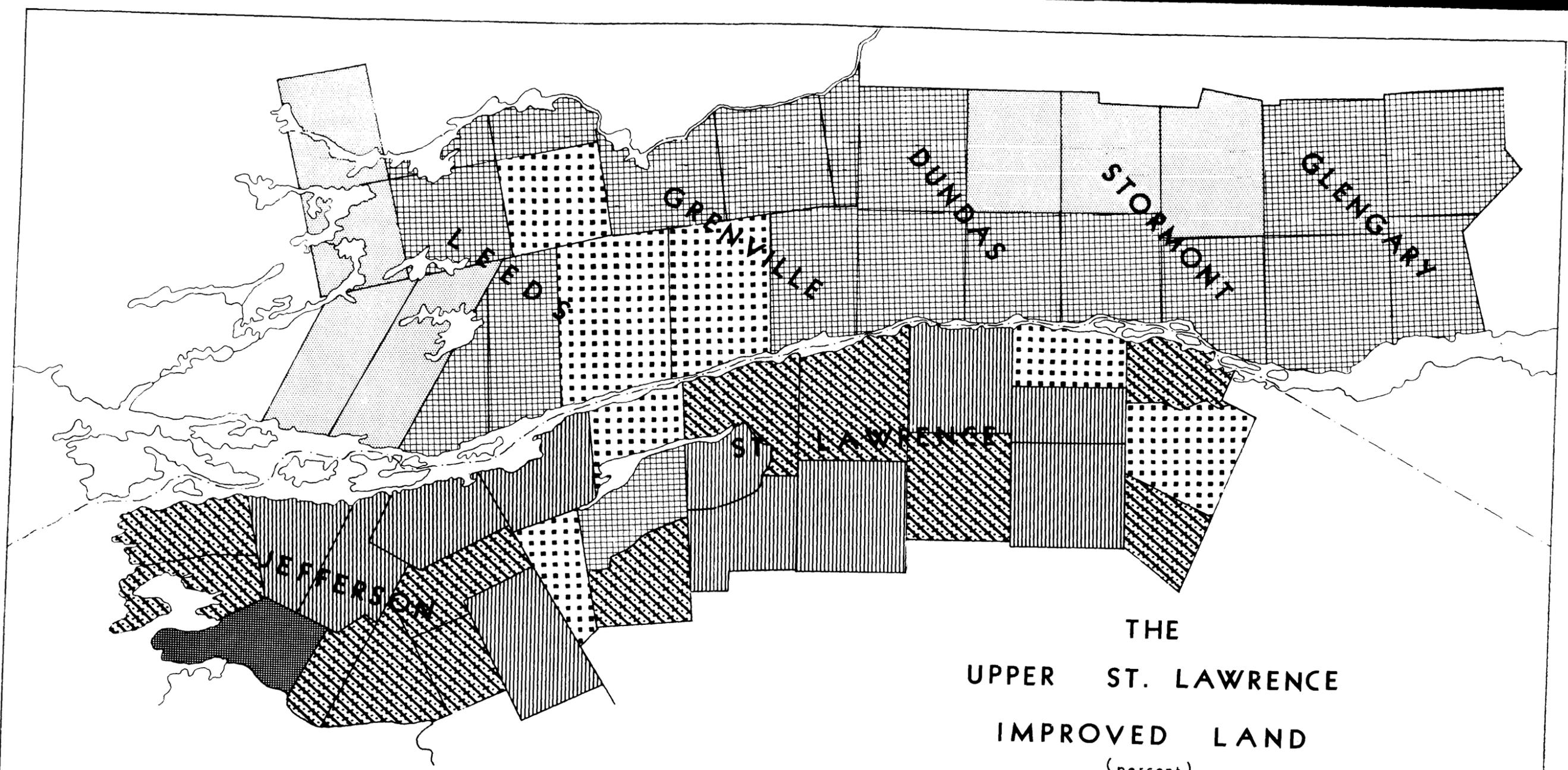
Table 13

Extent of Improved Land on the Canadian Side*

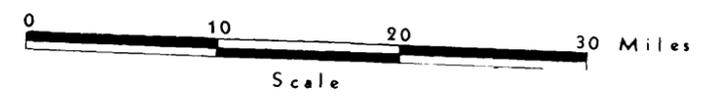
County	Area	Acres Held	Improved Land	% of Land Improved to Acres Held	% of Land Improved to Total Land
Dundas	242,004	157,717	43,645	28	18
Stormont	260,838	167,633	44,951	26	17
Glengary	295,894	251,596	68,018	27	23
Leeds	574,265	347,613	120,923	34	21
Grenville	294,132	198,146	69,872	34	23
Total	1,667,133	1,119,705	347,409	31	20

*279:I.

The American Side.-- The land on the American side is much more extensively improved than on the Canadian side (Tables 13 and 14) (Fig. 34). Indeed, more land is improved in St. Lawrence County than in all of the Canadian counties combined. At the same time, the percentage of improved land to the total area of St. Lawrence County is approximately two and a half times greater than the ratio for the Canadian counties. In Jefferson County improved land constitutes an even



THE
 UPPER ST. LAWRENCE
 IMPROVED LAND
 (percent)
 1850 - 1855



	under 15		45-60
	15-30		60-75
	30-45		over 75

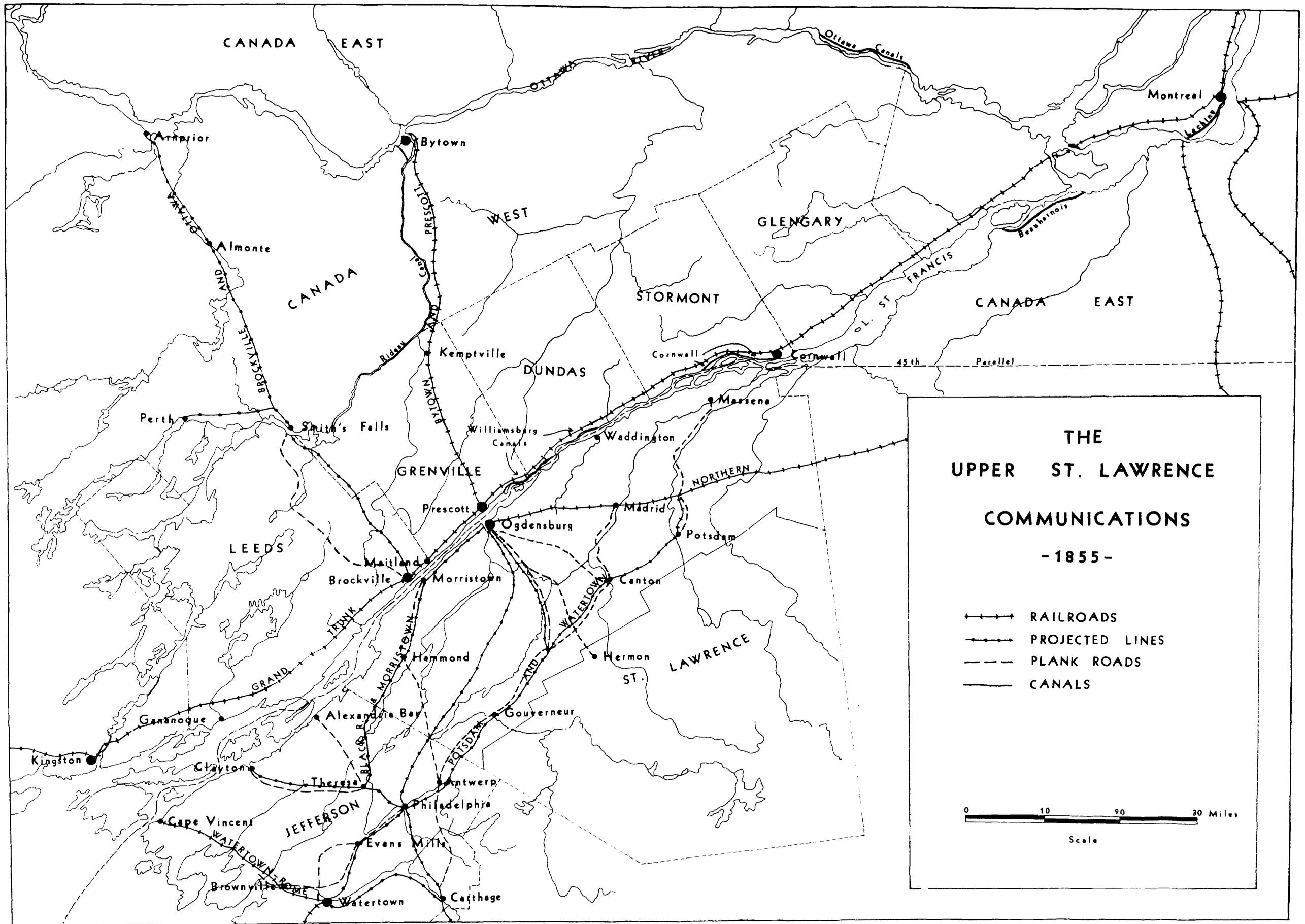
higher percentage of the total area, accounting for approximately 64 per cent (Table 14) (Fig. 34). This greater improvement in the towns of Jefferson County is the result of their being nearer the markets of the Mohawk Valley than those of most of St. Lawrence County. With increasing drainage of swales a greater acreage of land is continually being brought into cultivation. Moreover, with improved rail transportation facilities, resulting in rising land values, it is anticipated that more land will be improved throughout the area, and particularly in St. Lawrence County. Indeed, the effects of the railroads on the lands through which they cross are already apparent, in more extensive improvement than in neighboring towns (Figs. 34 and 36).

Table 14

Improved Land on the American Side*

County	Area (In Acres)	Improved	% Improved
St. Lawrence	765,770	398,679	53
Jefferson	406,023	261,194	64
Total	1,171,793	659,873	56

*286.



THE UPPER ST. LAWRENCE COMMUNICATIONS

- 1855 -

- +—+—+— RAILROADS
- +—+—+— PROJECTED LINES
- - - - - PLANK ROADS
- CANALS



Agriculture

General Trends.-- Within recent years, agriculture has given ample evidence of undergoing a slow, but significant transformation. This involves not only the improvement of land, increasing crop acreages, greater numbers of livestock, and more interest in modern farming techniques, but also a change in the basis of the region's agriculture.

The most important trend is a shift from the production of wheat, the old pioneer staple, to livestock raising and dairying. In placing greater emphasis on livestock, the farmers on both sides of the St. Lawrence have the advantage of a lowland which is ideally suited for pasture and the production of hay crops. Moreover, the heavy demand for wool, meat and dairy products, and the high prices received for them in the growing urban markets of both Canada and the United States is making the development a financially profitable one. At the same time, with the rapid expansion of the grain trade on the Great Lakes, the farmers along the upper St. Lawrence, especially those on the American side, find that they can no longer produce wheat to compete in price and to compare in quality with western wheat. Declining fertility

of the soil, resulting from excessive cropping, is responsible for lower yields, while blight is rendering the culture of wheat there increasingly hazardous.

In terms of the total number of livestock, sheep are predominant on both sides of the St. Lawrence (Table 15). However, on the American side the proportion of sheep to other livestock is not as great as on the Canadian side. Though sheep remain important, the American farmers are placing less emphasis on them than on cattle and dairying. In fact, there are approximately 35,000 more cattle on the American side than on the Canadian (Table 15). However, on the Canadian side, while dairying is less advanced the raising of hogs plays a more important role in the farm economy than on the American side.

The growing divergences in livestock raising between the Canadian and American sides of the St. Lawrence are to be explained largely in terms of market orientation and different transportation facilities. On the American side, the extensive development of railroads provides excellent connection with the large urban markets in New England and in southern New York. Moreover, the improvement

of roads facilitates the carting of products from the farm to the railroad depots. This factor is particularly advantageous to the development of dairying.

On the Canadian side, while a railroad crosses the southernmost sections of the counties and leads to Montreal, it does not open up new markets for the area but merely tends to supplement the present traffic through the St. Lawrence canals. Moreover, it has little affect on the farmers in inland areas. The other railroad, which leads to the Ottawa Valley, facilitates transportation to the 'shanty' markets, but the latter markets are relatively small. Consequently, as a result of inadequate transportation facilities throughout most of the area and the lack of such large markets as the American farmers have, Canadian farmers have retained many of the traditional aspects of their agriculture and, in particular, have not ventured to any considerable extent into dairying.

Table 15

Livestock along the Upper St. Lawrence*

County	Sheep	Cattle	Bulls & Oxen	Hogs	Horses
Leeds	34,851	23,869	6,250	14,633	7,741
Grenville	15,790	13,340	2,804	6,788	4,462
Dundas	15,298	10,459	1,543	6,740	3,836
Stormont	15,790	11,979	1,082	8,803	4,415
Glengary	23,683	15,656	1,037	13,600	6,095
Total	105,212	75,283	12,716	50,564	26,549
			(Oxen Only)		
St. Lawrence	70,122	72,333	3,755	19,671	16,763
Jefferson	39,546	42,327	1,366	12,954	9,220
Total	109,668	114,660	5,121	32,625	25,983

*Sources: Canadian; 279:II. American; 286.

Sheep raising.-- For several decades, sheep raising, combined with wheat culture, was an important aspect of the agriculture along the upper St. Lawrence. The markets for wool both among local woolen manufacturers as well as those in the larger urban markets outside the area, have been the major stimulus. Indeed, it is the continuance of a market demand that retains the importance of sheep raising on the Canadian side. On the American side, on the other hand, the growing competition of western

sheep raising areas, is making the industry less profitable there than formerly. In order to produce a fine quality of wool and thereby make sheep raising financially worthwhile, many farmers are giving considerable attention to the breeding of French and Spanish Merinos (311:XII;549).

Cattle and dairying.-- With the decline in wheat culture and the competition afforded in the sheep industry, many farmers on the American side have begun to shift to dairying. This is particularly facilitated by improved means of transportation. Moreover, in addition to the large eastern American markets, there is also the very important British market to serve, made available to the world when Britain abandoned protection in 1849. Already cheese produced in St. Lawrence County enjoys a favorable reputation among the British. Consequently, in response to these market and transportation facilities, the production of cheese and butter on farms has reached considerable proportions (Table 16). Indeed, for one eleven month period (January to November, 1853), 11,549 packages of butter and 6,542 packages of cheese, a total of 1,457,598 lbs., were exported from the Madrid depot of the Northern Railroad to

Boston (Fig. 35). This represents an increase of 91,397 lbs. over the previous season, a fair index of the growth of the dairy industry (311:XIII;600-1). Increasing attention is given to methods of production, to sanitation in the barn, to feeding, and to improved breeds. Cattle are imported from Canada in large numbers because they are believed to be better milkers than native breeds.

On the Canadian side, in contrast, dairying is relatively unimportant. Indeed, in Dundas County, there is only one farmer who devotes himself exclusively to dairying (310:IV;†1860-3†22). Nevertheless, progress in dairying is being made. Cheese is regularly exported from the southern sections of the counties to Montreal, and to a lesser extent to Great Britain. However, methods of production are less efficient than those of American farmers in general, and Canadian cheese has difficulty competing abroad with American cheese.

Table 16
 Production of Butter and Cheese*
 (1851-1855)

County	Butter (lbs)	Cheese (lbs)
Dundas	358,488	15,918
Stormont	534,305	20,508
Glengary	345,451	97,586
Leeds	753,606	120,720
Grenville	518,624	65,184
Total	2,510,474	319,916
St. Lawrence	3,388,575	1,183,875
Jefferson	2,246,543	1,291,726
Total	5,635,118	2,475,601

*Sources: Canadian; 279:II. American; 286.

Hog raising.-- Varying market advantages account for the differences in the importance of hogs on both sides of the St. Lawrence. Canadian pork is marketed in the Ottawa Valley, at Montreal, and to some extent, in Great Britain. As a result, the raising of hogs is an important feature of Canadian farm economy. On the American side, however, the numbers of hogs have been declining; indeed, there are now about 23,000 less than in 1835 (Table 15). This decline is reflected throughout most of the northeastern states of the United States (11:437-9).

This diminishing importance of hogs in the economy of the American side of the St. Lawrence is largely the result of the competition afforded by corn-fed hogs from western American states. Furthermore, the prevalence of blight on potatoes, an important feed for hogs, is reducing the supply of available feed. This factor also operates on the Canadian side, but there the production of other types of feed is found to be profitable.

Land utilization.-- The increasing importance of livestock is reflected in the basic land use pattern. However, because of the divergences of Canadian-American development, differences are also apparent in the use of the land and in the acreages devoted to crops.

Crop land constitutes approximately 60 per cent of the improved land along the upper St. Lawrence. However, the actual amount of crop land varies considerably from side to side. On the American side, crop land occupies nearly twice as many acres as on the Canadian side in spite of the smaller population and smaller area. At the same time, however, the land devoted to cereals on the American side is comparable to that on the Canadian

side. The great bulk of the remainder of the cropland, therefore, is given over to the production of hay, yielding approximately 170,000 tons per year (286). Although no data is available for either the acreage or production of hay on the Canadian side, it is, undoubtedly, much less.⁴ Thus, the Canadian livestock industry relies to a considerable extent on pasture, whereas the American industry is based on an extensive use of hay feeding. Indeed, it is a well known fact that cattle usually stand the severe cold better on hay than when fed on any other crop (272:104).

Table 17
Cropland along the Upper St. Lawrence*

County	Cropland (acres)	% of Improved Land in Crops
Leeds	78,081	64
Grenville	44,491	63
Dundas	23,280	53
Stormont	31,072	69
Glengary	36,930	54
Total	213,854	59
St. Lawrence	249,406	62
Jefferson	160,922	61
Total	410,328	62

*Sources: Canadian; 279. American; 286.

Of the grains grown along the upper St. Lawrence, spring wheat is still the most important in terms of acreage. Although it occupies a little over 50,000 acres on both sides of the river, it is relatively less important on the American than on the Canadian side. The demand for wheat in the 'shanty' markets of the Ottawa Valley is primarily responsible for its continued high production on the latter side. The spring variety is universally grown, but in some seasons, and particularly on freshly cleared land, winter wheat is sown to some extent. Sowing wheat in spring overcomes the handicaps of winter kill and the Hessian fly, but it also has produced difficulties of its own. In fact, the prevalence of stem rust and the attacks of the wheat midge have completely wiped out wheat production in some areas along the St. Lawrence.

Various explanations are offered for the causes of blight. The most comprehensive observation attributes them to a number of interrelated factors. "In the wheat midge we have the alleged cause of the failure of the wheat crop, and its ravages have been truly disheartening. But many serious failures occurred before this injury became

general - failures from poverty of soil, caused by sowing wheat after wheat or other exhausting crops - from want of drainage, and consequent winterkilling, or rust - from late sowing on imperfectly prepared ground, also inducing light and rust, and from poor management generally. All these causes prepare the wheat plant for the attacks of the midge" (207:89). Dusting the seed with lime before planting and other devices, including the selection of new and better varieties of grain, are suggested as a means of avoiding rust and the insect pests, but results are not satisfactory (153:58, 152:31-6).

Oats constitute the second most important cereal. Like wheat, the absolute and relative acreage of oats is greater on the Canadian than on the American side (Table 18). In fact, in the Counties of Stormont and Glengary, with their predominantly Scottish populations, oats occupy a greater acreage than wheat. Here, of course, oats form a basic staple in the diet of the inhabitants. Some, however, are also used for feed for livestock at home while a surplus is exported to the American side of the St. Lawrence (89:181). Of the other cereals, the acreage devoted to corn

is the most extensive. However, its total acreage is not large as compared with the major grains (Table 18). On the American side, corn for fodder is assuming greater importance, particularly as it is known that the stocks when well cured, provide an excellent feed for cattle (272:112).

Peas and potatoes constitute the major non-grain crops. The former have long been grown on the Canadian side for fodder for hogs and as a fertilizer for the soil. At present, the acreage in peas is small, although relatively more important among the Scottish farmers than elsewhere on the Canadian side. Potatoes are by far the most important root crop. Not only are they consumed locally in large quantities, but they are also used to some extent in the manufacture of starch. Some potatoes are exported annually over the Northern Railroad to Boston to assist in feeding the large Irish population, but with the increasing occurrence of blight, less potatoes are grown now than formerly. Indeed, according to observers, in some years much of the crop is lost by rot, with scarcely enough left to provide seed for the following year (216:51).

Table 18

Major Crops Grown in the Upper St. Lawrence Region*

County	Wheat	Oats	Corn	Peas	Potatoes
Dundas	7,308	6,654	1,003	1,983	1,435
Stormont	6,710	9,203	1,005	2,917	1,720
Glengary	10,007	12,667	488	4,062	1,505
Leeds	20,666	11,384	2,404	4,180	2,986
Grenville	8,891	8,542	1,715	1,257	2,641
Total	53,582	48,450	6,615	14,399	10,287
St. Lawr.	31,183	23,492	8,747	4,479	7,315
Jefferson	24,197	13,579	5,578	2,289	2,343
Total	55,380	37,071	14,325	6,768	9,658

*Source: Canadian; 279. American; 286.

In association with the various modifications occurring in the basis of the region's agriculture, is the growth of interest in the science of farming. "Although we have no well-educated, scientific farmers in our midst," states one American, "there are many who are arousing from the lethargy of the past and looking with much anxiety to the present and future interest of science in agriculture" (311:XII;425).

Agricultural societies, fairs and exhibitions, and periodicals are making the farmer more and more aware of the advantages to be gained from

crop rotation, including summer fallow, the use of fertilizers, drainage, improved breeds of livestock, and modern agricultural machinery. "To crown these efforts of enterprise," one American farmer writes, "a better spirit is coming over the farmers of our section; they all seem eager for improvement, and are trying with each other who shall do most to promote the great interests of agriculture and contribute something to the welfare of the county. They begin to see that something can be learned from books as well as from practice. The agricultural papers circulating all over the land are doing much to bring about this change, and persuade farmers that the old system of skinning the land should be abandoned, as degrading and destructive of their own interests" (272:113).

However, the extent of the progress must not be overestimated. Not all farmers are anxious to experiment with new techniques and practices. More than one report of an agricultural society, on the American side as well as on the Canadian, complains of the lack of interest in fairs (311: XVIII;471, 310:III;113). Nevertheless, if the farmer wishes to improve his living, by providing

himself with a larger income, he will improve his methods. And when large markets are made available through improved rail facilities, few farmers hesitate to take advantage.

Roads

The American side.-- From the beginning of settlement, the inhabitants on the American side of the St. Lawrence have had finer roads than the Canadians. This factor, alone has contributed greatly to the general development and, in particular, to the agricultural prosperity of the American side. Whether under the direction of the state or of the proprietors, roads were early built northward from the Mohawk Valley and northwestward from Lake Champlain to provide access to the resources and products of the area and to allow contact with national markets. Whether covered with logs or graded and macadamized, the roads on the American side have generally rendered travel more pleasant than on the Canadian side. And now with the construction of plank roads, the American farmers have a considerable advantage over Canadian farmers (Figs. 35 and 36). Practically all of the roads linking the major villages on the American side are

planked, and at Watertown and Carthage on the Black River they connect with other plank roads leading southward to the major centers along the Mohawk.

"Plank roads are the Farmer's Railroads. He profits most by their construction, though all classes of the community are benefited by any such improvement The peculiar merit of plank roads is, that the great diminution of friction upon them makes them more akin to railroads, than to common roads, with the advantage over railroads, that everyone can drive his own wagon upon them" (59:249).

The advantage of plank roads over other types is readily apparent. It is estimated that a farmer with a wagon and a horse can draw six times as much on a plank road as on a macadamized road (308:XXVII; 41852-508). Speed is also greater. The peculiar advantage to the whole community, however, lies in the fact that the plank road continues for many years in perfect order and affords undiminished facilities for travel at all seasons. The common or concession road, on the other hand, is rendered impassable by the continued rains of autumn, the occasional thaws of midwinter, or the "break-up" of spring. The farmer is thus permitted to carry his products

to market whenever he so desires. Moreover, in all localities where these roads are laid, land values rise (59:249-253).

The Canadian side.-- Though plank roads were first introduced to North America when the Kingston Road east of Toronto (old York) was planked for several miles in 1834, the extent of Canadian construction is far behind that of American. Indeed, it is presently estimated that in New York 2,106 miles of road are planked, whereas in the Canadas, only 442 miles are planked (308:XXVII(1852+508)). Along the St. Lawrence, the contrast between the Canadian and American sides is even more striking. As compared with the extensive planking on the American side, only small sections of roads are planked on the Canadian side, and these are found principally in the neighborhood of Brockville. The road from Brockville to the Rideau which is now being planked represents the largest project of its kind on the Canadian side. Several of the main roads throughout the area are macadamized, but this improvement is handicapped by the lack of stone in some areas, particularly in Dundas County (29:69).

Another serious weakness of Canadian roads is their straightness. This is particularly true

of the concession roads. In adhering to the original rectangular survey, such roads were laid over the area with little or no consideration for the lay of the land. Consequently, many of the roads cross swamps, rugged topography, and creeks, when they might more easily have been constructed around. Moreover, since the burden for their maintenance still falls heavily on the shoulders of the local inhabitants, little attempt is made to correct them. At the same time, many farmers are unwilling to allow a road to run through their farm in a winding line. Concession roads, in short, are in rather striking contrast to common roads on the American side. Most of the latter, built by the early proprietors, tend to avoid irregularities and consequently are rendered more passable at all times of the year (Fig. 35).

Railroads and Canals

Although the main artery of travel throughout the early history of the Canadian-American region was the St. Lawrence River, this is not the case at present. A considerable proportion of the trade of the area now moves, in general, at right angles to the river. This is the result of the building of railroads. On the American side, two railroads

connect the area with other parts of the republic. The Northern Railroad is the most important. With its terminus at Ogdensburg on the St. Lawrence, it runs eastward to Rouse's Point on the northern end of Lake Champlain and then southeastward to Boston. Actually the railroad represents an attempt on the part of the Boston mercantile interests to gain a share of the trade of the lower Great Lakes, diverting it from both Montreal and New York. Indeed, according to an analysis of statistics, it is proving a success. In 1843, the value of imports into Ogdensburg from Canada was \$8,341; the repeal of the British Corn Laws boosted the figure to \$46,464 in 1848; and in 1851, a year after the railroad opened, the value rose to \$214,520. (275:68). Much of this trade consists of lumber from the Ottawa Valley which descends the Bytown and Prescott Railway through Grenville County on the Canadian side. At Prescott, the lumber is transferred by ferry to Ogdensburg and to the Northern Railroad. In fact, this growth of trade through Ogdensburg is the chief factor in the village's rapid development and the cause of its sizeable population.

The ambitions of the Boston merchants, however, do not stop on the St. Lawrence. Indeed, they

have already financed a survey of the territory from Prescott to Georgian Bay and contemplate construction of a railroad which will tap much of the trade of the west before it reaches Buffalo and the Welland Canal (21:8-15, 257:75).

Not to be outdone by Boston, the rival port of New York is also involved in the construction of railroads into the area. In fact, the answer of the New York interests to the Boston group is the Watertown-Rome Railroad, and its extension to Cape Vincent, opposite Kingston at the foot of Lake Ontario (Fig. 56). The latter railroad has an even more advantageous route than the Northern, because it is able to intercept the movement of trade before it is able to descend to Ogdensburg. Moreover, now that the Grand Trunk is completed on the Canadian side, it will be able to tap the Canadian railroad at Kingston, thus diverting more of the St. Lawrence trade. In addition, other branch lines are under construction or projected for the area. The most important, undoubtedly, will be the Potsdam and Watertown designed to provide an outlet for the products of the inland towns of St. Lawrence County.

On the Canadian side, before the advent of the railroads, the building of canals along the St.

Lawrence River largely occupied the imaginations of the inhabitants. In fact, it was believed that when the canals were completed, considerable competition would be provided the Erie Canal, especially as products shipped from Montreal enjoyed a preference in the British market. However, as the canals were nearing completion, Britain abandoned her preferences and embraced free trade. This struck a severe blow at the St. Lawrence route, and ruined many Montreal merchants who demanded annexation to the United States. Finally, with the opening of the St. Lawrence to American shipping and the establishment of reciprocity with the United States, the commercial empire of the St. Lawrence lay in ruins. As a result, the American railroads with termini at the International boundary have been able to prosper. Although the Grand Trunk Railway parallels the river from Kingston to Montreal, it will do little more than supplement, as well as compete, with river transportation.

It is a sad commentary on canal construction on the Canadian side of the river, that in spite of the tremendous expense involved, the canals have scarcely been successful. This is applicable to the Rideau project as well as to the several canals

along the St. Lawrence. Indeed, the money might better have been appropriated for the construction of roads throughout the area than in such expensive undertakings. Such an outlay of funds "would have furnished Canada with excellent roads, traversing her forests in every direction, and giving her hard-working yeomanry a chance of bringing their now-often-useless products to market" (15:II;308-9).

Summary

The period of 1850 to 1855 represents an era of transition in the development of the lands along the upper St. Lawrence. This is reflected in the greater extent of developed land, in the changing basis of agriculture, and in improved means of transportation. However, striking differences exist on both sides. On the American side, the density of population is considerably higher than on the Canadian side. This, in turn, is reflected in the extent of improved land. On the Canadian side, a large percentage of land is still unoccupied - large tracts being in the hands of absentee owners. General improvement and agricultural progress are accordingly retarded.

With the decline of wheat culture, livestock raising is becoming increasingly important. How-

ever, on the Canadian side, sheep raising plays a relatively greater role in the economy than on the American side, a result of continued demand and good prices in Canadian markets. On the American side, sheep raising is declining because of competition from western sheep raising areas. As a consequence, American farmers are converting to a dairy economy. This is facilitated by the heavy demand for dairy products in the large expanding American markets and improved transportation to those markets. The changes occurring in the basis of agriculture are reflected in the land use pattern. Owing to the development of dairying, a considerable acreage on the American side is devoted to the production of hay, with relatively less emphasis placed on the traditional cereals. On the Canadian side, wheat and oats occupy a large percentage of the improved land because of local market demand in the case of wheat and a regional preference in the case of oats.

Significant contrasts exist between the two sides in relation to transportation facilities. This is evident in both plank road construction and in railroads. On the American side, both the roads and railroads tend to work for the farmer and assist him to get his products to the large urban markets

on the Atlantic seaboard. On the Canadian side, plank roads are virtually non-existent, while the railroads serve a limited area. Moreover, the major Canadian railroad, paralleling the St. Lawrence River, merely tends to supplement the river traffic.

Because of modifications in British trade policy, and in spite of both the canals on the St. Lawrence River and the Grand Trunk Railroad, the dominant movement of trade is across the International boundary, rather than along it. Thus, the commercial empire of the St. Lawrence is in ruins.

Notes on Chapter V

1. Although the St. Regis Indians (who had remained friendly to the Crown) were granted the narrow tract of land between Glengary and Stormont Counties in 1783, the Indians themselves made little use of the area. Until 1849 various lots were leased to 'white' settlers particularly near the St. Lawrence. However, in 1849 the Indians surrendered the tract and by 1855 practically all of the land had been sold to settlers (291).

2. The Census of the Canadas for 1851 uses the term 'cultivated' to denote improved land. The term 'improved' land is used throughout the chapter to retain uniformity with New York usage and avoid confusion.

3. Because of the serious conflict between the various religious groups over the final dissolution and financial settlement of the clergy reserves, the problem was dramatically solved in 1854 by secularization. The lands were turned over to the municipalities for sale, the revenue to be used for local improvements.

4. Although there is no data in the Census of the Canadas for 1851 showing acreage of land devoted to hay, or the volume of hay production, the Census of 1861 reveals that no more than approximately 93,000 tons of hay were produced in that year (280:II).

CHAPTER VI

AGRICULTURAL SPECIALIZATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF DAIRYING (1870-1875)

Each period in the history of an area has some significant feature which, in a sense, characterizes the development of the area. Thus, in the early days of settlement, the saw and grist mills denoted a pioneer way of life. Later, carding and fulling mills, tanneries, distilleries, and iron works symbolized more diversified activity. During the present period, the railroad depot and the cheese factory suggest an economy totally unlike that of any preceding era. The old water mills which lined the banks of the streams have been replaced by steam mills. The forest has been cut and so little land remains to be cleared that the area begins to present a naked look. Small farms have grown into large farms, while the log cabins have been replaced by substantial brick, stone or frame houses. Pioneer life, with its tedious, hard work, has yielded to one of considerably more refinement, pleasure and prosperity. In short, as one observer

states: "Privation has given place to comfort and abundance. The . . . farmer wheels . . . to market and church in a modern and handsome vehicle drawn by a fine team of horses, instead of jumbling slowly along in an ox-cart. The mower and reaper do the work of the back-breaking scythe and cradle . . . The railroad whistle, whose shrill sound means near markets, can be heard in almost every rural home-stead" (283:306).

The People

The entire population of the upper St. Lawrence region totals 213,000 (Table 19). This figure represents an increase of approximately 11 per cent since the period 1850-1855. However, more significant is a decline in population since the early 1860's of approximately two per cent. Since immigration has virtually ceased, the decrease reflects a general emigration.

Table 19

Population of the Upper St. Lawrence Region*

	1850-5	1860-5	1870-5	% Change 1855-75	% Change 1865-75
Canadian	97,037	118,034	116,206	19.8	-1.5
American	94,738	97,607	97,138	2.6	-0.4
Total	191,775	215,641	213,344	11.2	-1.7

*Sources: Canadian; 279:I, 280:I, 282:I. American; 286, 287, 288.

The Canadian side.-- The approximate total population of 116,000 on the Canadian side represents an increase of 19.8 per cent since the period 1850-1855 (Table 19). However, a loss of 1.5 per cent of the population since the early 1860's corresponds to the general trend for the whole region.

An analysis of county and township data reveals some significant developments on the Canadian side. In the decade between 1850 and 1860, a sizeable growth occurred in the population of all the counties. It was most pronounced in Dundas and Stormont Counties, however, where increases of 36 per cent and 24 per cent respectively were reported (Table 20). The population changes in these counties is largely the result of the development of the inland townships. For example, the townships of Roxborough and Finch in Stormont County and Mountain in Dundas County (Fig. 33) gained over 56, 88, and 59 per cent, respectively. Similarly some of the townships in Leeds made rapid strides. This is especially true of the river Townships of Leeds and Lansdowne (Fig. 32) which increased by 72 per cent. In the following decade (1860-1870), though none of the counties as a whole report sizeable gains (Table 20) small increases continued to be made by the Townships of Leeds, Lansdowne and Finch.

Table 20

Changes in the Population of the Canadian Side*

County	1851	1861	1871	% Increase or Decrease		
				1851-61	1861-71	1851-71
Dundas	13,811	18,777	18,777	35.9	0.0	35.9
Stormont	14,643	18,129	18,987	23.8	4.7	29.6
Glengarry	17,596	21,187	20,524	20.4	-3.2	16.6
Leeds	30,280	35,750	35,502	18.0	-0.9	16.5
Grenville	20,707	24,191	22,616	16.3	-0.7	9.2
Total	97,037	118,034	116,206	21.6	-1.5	19.8

*Sources: 279:I, 280:I, 282:I.

Throughout most of the history of the inland townships, the land problem, i.e., absentee ownership, and the Crown and clergy reserves, delayed development considerably. Indeed, the effects of these factors are apparent as late as the middle of the century. However, with the alienation of the reserves and the gradual sale of other unoccupied lots the townships began to develop. When it was discovered that the soils in the area were comparatively fertile after drainage, the movement of settlers into the area was accelerated. In Leeds and Lansdowne Townships, early settlement was inconsiderable because of the rocky nature of the terrain. The small population was confined largely to the more extensive pockets of clay, leaving large tracts of land in bush (Fig. 32). The clearings on

the clay pockets were more conducive to livestock raising than to the production of wheat. Consequently, as the townships were rather well suited for pasture and hay crops, settlement increased, particularly when the raising of livestock became more profitable than wheat growing.

Except for Leeds County, the population is evenly distributed throughout the Canadian side (Table 21). In Leeds, only the townships within the Frontenac Axis, including North and South Crosby, Leeds and Lansdowne, and Escott (Fig. 32), have relatively low densities; the remaining townships conform more favorably to the average density for the whole Canadian side. (Table 21).

Table 21

Density of Population along the
Upper St. Lawrence *(per sq.mile)

County	
Dundas	49.6
Stormont	46.5
Glengarry	44.2
Leeds	39.6
Grenville	49.2
County Average	44.6
St. Lawrence	56.4
Jefferson	46.7
County Average	53.0

*Sources: Canadian; 282. American; 288.

Of the population, 85 per cent are of Canadian birth. In some counties, however, the percentage exceeds the overall average. For example, the Canadian-born constitute over 96 per cent of the population in Glengarry County. Leeds County, which has received more immigrants in later years, has a smaller Canadian-born population of 71 per cent. Although the inhabitants are predominantly of British stock, French-Canadians form a minor group. This is particularly true in Glengarry and Stormont Counties, adjacent to the provincial boundary. The expansion of French-Canadians southwest along the St. Lawrence is part of a general movement out of the Province of Quebec.

The American side.-- In contrast to the increase in population on the Canadian side, the number of people on the American side has hardly changed within the past two decades. A slight increase in St. Lawrence County is almost balanced by a decrease in Jefferson County (Table 22). At the present stage of economic development, it is apparent that the American side can not support a larger population.

Table 22

Changes in the Population of the American Side*

County	1855	1865	1875	% Increase or Decrease		
				1855-65	1865-75	1855-75
St. Lawr.	61,032	64,565	67,496	5.3	4.5	10.5
Jefferson	33,706	33,042	29,642	-2.0	-11.4	-13.7
Total	94,738	97,607	97,138	3.3	- 0.4	2.6

*Source: 286, 287, 288.

While the density of population is slightly higher on the American side than on the Canadian, it is also more evenly distributed throughout. Only in some of the towns in the Pre-Cambrian area in western St. Lawrence County, does the population become less dense, but the density there is higher than in the inland townships on the Frontenac Axis on the Canadian side. The population of the American side is predominantly native born, constituting 81 per cent of the total. Approximately ten per cent of the remainder are of Canadian origin, including some French Canadians.

Land Development

The increase in population, the general clearing of the bush, the excessive cutting of wood-lots and, more recently, drainage are responsible

for the greater acreage of improved land along the upper St. Lawrence. At present on the Canadian side improved land constitutes approximately 41 per cent of the area. While this is considerably less than the more extensive development on the American side, it is a striking advance over the period 1850-1855 (Table 23). Indeed, according to township surveys carried out by the Canadian Government in 1868, a considerable contrast exists between the present appearance of the landscape and that of 1855 or 1835 (Figs. 24, 32, 33, 37, 38, 39 and 40). Unimproved areas are retreating rapidly as new and better roads are opened through the townships.

Table 23

Improved Land Along the Upper St. Lawrence*

County	1860-65	1870-75	% Improved	
			1860-65	1870-75
Leeds	180,235	228,912	31	39
Grenville	106,998	138,478	36	47
Dundas	76,700	112,633	31	46
Stormont	80,071	100,598	36	38
Glengarry	99,880	113,686	31	38
Total	543,883	694,307	32	41
St. Lawr.	464,688	547,532	66	70
Jefferson	291,356	313,491	71	75
Total	756,044	861,023	64	73

*Sources: Canadian; 280:I, 282:I. American; 287, 288.

2216
1868
DEC 10 1868

1868
DEC 10 1868

2216-37.



Light Areas Indicate
Extent of Improved Land (1868)

**PLAN OF ESCOTT &
YONGE CO'S LEEDS**

RIVER ST. LAWRENCE

W. H. Jones
by the High Court
Dec. 1868

W. H. Jones
Dec. 1868

DEPT OF THE INTERIOR
BLAZED 1868



Light Areas Indicate
Extent of Improved Land (1868)

STATISTICS for 1868

Location	Acres	Improvements	Value
AULTSVILLE	250	20	25
DICKINSON'S LANDING	600	40	50
FARRAN'S POINT	170	20	30
OSNABRUCK CENTRE	80	10	15

EXPLANATION

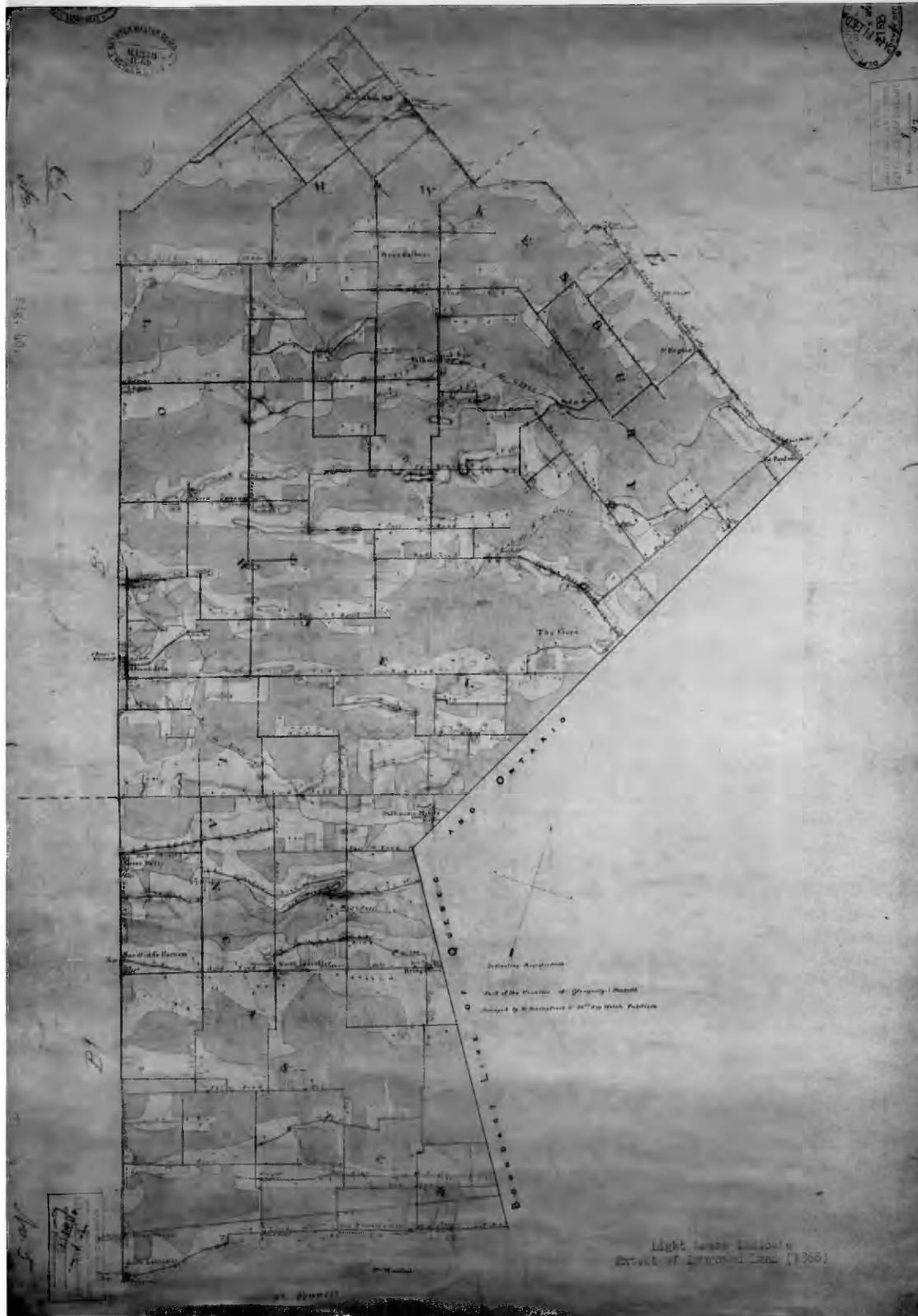
BC.	Baptist Church
EC.	Church of England
FC.	Free Church
PC.	Presbyterian Church
REC.	Roman Catholic Church
WMC.	Wesleyan Methodist Church
FGM.	Fine and Great Mill
SM.	Stone Mill
SM.	Small House

II

Fig. 3.

2132

DEPT OF THE INTERIOR
SURVEY DIVISION
REPORT OF SURVEY
REFERENCE: 3
PAGE: 42
W. G. G. L. 1868



Light Lease Division
 District of Toronto, Ont. (1908)

Since the more readily cultivable soils have long been cleared and cropped, current efforts are directed toward developing those areas which, though not swampy, require considerable drainage to make them productive. The County of Dundas, on the Canadian side, best illustrates the effects of improved drainage facilities on land settlement and population. In fact, the soils in this county, particularly in the inland townships, become, when drained, some of the most fertile on the Canadian side. It is estimated that improved farms in Dundas County are worth about \$50 to \$60 per acre. This is approximately \$20 to \$30 per acre more than the farms in most of the other counties (212:36). On the American side, considerable attention is also being given to drainage. Indeed, extensive improvements have been made in the northern part of the Town of Canton, near the so-called Natural Canal (81:281) (Fig. 35). A large section of the reclaimed area now provides excellent grazing while part is even satisfactory for cultivation.

Agriculture

In the region of the Upper St. Lawrence, dairying is the principle agricultural activity.

Its development, however, is more pronounced on the American side than on the Canadian. Differential market outlets and transportation facilities are largely responsible for contrasts. Nevertheless, on both sides of the river, with the establishment of the factory system, the production of cheese and, to a lesser extent, of butter has reached considerable proportions.

Dairying on the American side.-- Dairying on the American side has made a significant advance over earlier decades, with large quantities of butter and cheese being sent by rail to Boston and New York. Whereas formerly the tedious work of making cheese was done on the farm, resulting in variations in quality, most of the cheese is now produced in factories. In 1865, for example, 4,645,000 lbs of cheese were produced on farms; at present, only 979,000 lbs are a non-factory product (287, 288). Though no census data are available, some idea of the extent of the industry can be gained from the fact that there are more than 30 factories on the American side (204:574). One factory in Canton is capable of producing more than 100,000 lbs of cheese annually (199:95). In the case of butter, most of the production is still on farms (7,000,000 lbs).

Some towns, particularly Lisbon, Madrid, Norfolk, and Waddington, devote almost all of their activity to the production of butter. This is the result of satisfactory rail transportation, these towns being able to send butter either via the Northern Railroad to Boston or via the Potsdam and Watertown Railroad to New York (Figs. 35 and 36).

Evidence of the importance of dairying on the American side is reflected in the increase in the number of cattle by over 50,000 head since 1855 (Table 24). Specialization is also apparent in a changing land utilization. Since 1855, the production of hay has increased approximately 80,000 tons. Greater care is also given to the improvement of pasture by more frequent ploughing and reseeding. In particular, clover and superior grasses are used to provide better nourishment for livestock.

Table 24
Cattle on the American Side*

County	1855	1865	1875
St. Lawrence	72,333	82,895	115,670
Jefferson	42,327	43,104	51,984
Total	114,660	125,999	167,654

*Sources: 286, 287, 288.

In addition to possessing expanding national markets, the dairy farmers on the American side profit also from the availability of a lucrative cheese market in Great Britain. St. Lawrence County cheese gained a reputation for its quality soon after the market developed when Britain abandoned protection in 1849. It still demands a high price (306:39).

Dairying on the Canadian side.-- The factory system of making cheese is an important feature of Canadian dairying also. However, the development of the factory has not been as rapid or as extensive on the Canadian side as on the American. Indeed, there are only about 24 cheese factories in the area. Of these, all but two are located in Leeds and Grenville Counties. In fact, Leeds and Grenville Counties stand out above all others in the numbers of cattle kept and in the production of butter and cheese. Non-factory cheese production for the whole Canadian side amounts to about 340,000 lbs, or about 600,000 lbs less than that produced on the American side. Since the creamery is only beginning to make its appearance on the Canadian side, farm production accounts for practically all of the Canadian production of 4,300,000 lbs (282:I). Brockville and Cornwall are important butter exporting centers, the product being

sent by rail to Montreal less than 100 miles away (Fig. 36).

The rapid development of dairying in Leeds and Grenville Counties is partly related to the rail transportation facilities which they possess. In addition to the Grand Trunk paralleling the St. Lawrence, the counties are crossed from north to south by the Brockville and Ottawa and the Bytown and Prescott Railroads, which enable farmers in the inland townships to get their products to the St. Lawrence and the Grand Trunk. In this respect, the area has a definite advantage over the other counties which are served only by the Grand Trunk. At the same time, Leeds and Grenville Counties enjoy a growing overseas trade with Great Britain, providing keener competition for American producers. This competition is an outgrowth of factory methods of cheese production on the Canadian side. Also, the soils of the area, particularly on the Pre-Cambrian, are suited for the production of hay crops. In Leeds County, for example, approximately 45 per cent of the crop land is in hay, a much higher ratio than in any of the other counties.

No census data are available for the number of cattle on the Canadian side; however, a reasonable

estimate would place the total at 116,000, about 50,000 less than on the American side. Although dairying is becoming increasingly profitable where transportation is adequate Canadian farm economy still contains important elements of diversification. This results from the fact that a demand exists for the other products they can produce. From 1854 to 1866, agricultural diversity was fostered by reciprocity between Canada and the United States and by the American Civil War. Reciprocity permitted Canadian products to move unhindered across the International boundary, while the war created an added demand for Canadian oats, livestock, meat and wool. Although the re-establishment of American tariffs works to the disadvantage of the Canadian farmers, some products, particularly barley for the breweries and mutton for the urban markets, continue to move freely across the boundary.

Sheep and Hogs.-- The raising of sheep for wool or mutton is relatively unimportant in the farm economy of the American side. However, its decline has occurred only within recent years. In spite of the competition of western sheep raising areas, the Civil War resulted in a tremendous demand for sheep products. Consequently, the numbers of sheep on

American farms remained high until the conclusion of the conflict. However, since then the same factors which made sheep raising unprofitable for American farmers along the St. Lawrence prior to the war have taken effect. On the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence, sheep raising has retained its importance. Markets for wool in Canada and for mutton in the United States and Great Britain are still satisfactory. A slight increase in hogs has occurred on the American side, where it is found that the raising of hogs in conjunction with dairying is relatively profitable. Continued British and Canadian market demands for pork are responsible for the continued importance of hog raising on the Canadian side.

Crops.-- On the American side, the cultivation of wheat, whether spring or winter varieties, has been practically abandoned. Indeed, it occupies no more than five per cent of the crop land. On the Canadian side, wheat has been relatively more important. As late as 1861, wheat occupied about 25 per cent of the total crop land. However, with dairying becoming increasingly profitable, wheat now occupies considerably less acreage than formerly. Its continuing cultivation on the Canadian side is in response to the small Ottawa Valley market.

Oats are more extensively grown than any other grain. Indeed, on the American side, they are becoming an important feed crop. On the Canadian side, considerable acreage has always been devoted to oats, particularly in Stormont and Glengarry Counties. During reciprocity, export to the United States accounted for a sizeable volume of the harvest. However, since 1866 with the imposition of tariffs, the trade between Canada and the United States has virtually ceased in oats, and consequently a considerable decline in acreage has occurred on the Canadian side (Table 25). Barley is a relatively important grain in Dundas County, (9 per cent of the crop land) where its growth and fine quality are induced by the fertile soils. At the same time a ready market exists in the breweries of Canada as well as in the United States, where beer consumption is on the increase with the growing German population.

Table 25

Grains Grown Along the Upper St. Lawrence*
(per cent of crop land)

County	Wheat		Oats	
	1860-65	1870-75	1860-65	1870-75
				(approx)
Leeds	29	12	18	10
Grenville	27	9	23	12
Dundas	29	9	26	17
Stormont	24	13	31	16
Glengarry	20	12	31	19
St. Lawrence	7	4	15	18
Jefferson	9	6	13	22

*Sources: Canadian; 280, 292. American; 267, 288.

Transportation

Underlying the agricultural prosperity of the region of the upper St. Lawrence are improved land communications. Railroads are necessary to get products to long distance markets, while good roads are vital in movement from the farms to the railroad depot. In general, the advances in dairying made on the American side reflect these important factors. Indeed, in this respect the American farmer has an advantage over the Canadian. On the American side, farmers are afforded connection with two large urban markets, Boston and New York. The Northern Railroad provides an outlet in Boston for most of northeastern

St. Lawrence County. The western and southern parts of the American side are adequately served by the the Potsdam and Watertown, and the Rome-Watertown-Cape Vincent Railroads, which link them with Albany and New York City (Fig. 36). Other lines are now under construction, particularly from Ogdensburg eastward and southward through Morristown and Philadelphia to Carthage on the Black River. Consequently, within a short time, few sections of the American side will be remote from rail transportation.

Although the Canadian side has witnessed road improvement and the construction of railroads, its transportation facilities are still inadequate. Many of the Canadian roads have become all-weather roads as a result of extensive macadamizing but their weakness lies in the fact that they follow the concession lines, which extend across the area regardless of topographic features. Two railroads provide transportation through Leeds and Grenville Counties from the Rideau to the St. Lawrence, but the inland sections of the remaining counties are without rail. The Grand Trunk, paralleling the St. Lawrence affords connection with Montreal and the western cities of Ontario. But its effectiveness is enhanced only by the existence of the American tariff.

However, as a result of the barriers, the early 19th century movement of trade between the lower Great Lakes and Montreal is being re-established.

Summary

The population of the upper St. Lawrence region, having gained steadily until the 1860's, is now declining. This is a result of emigration in excess of immigration. The area, at its present stage of development, is unable to sustain a larger population. The improvement of land has also continued, the clearing of the bush and the cutting of wood-lots going on at a rapid pace. More extensive drainage is making agriculture possible in new areas.

Dairying forms the basis of the economy on the American side. On the Canadian side, although dairying is important, greater agricultural diversity exists. Factors of market orientation and transportation largely explain the continued mixture in the Canadian agricultural pattern as compared with the more specialized American economy. However, factory production of cheese is now more important than farm production on both sides of the river. On the American side, cheese is exported by rail to seaboard cities in the United States, while some is also marketed in Great Britain. On the Canadian side, factory production is centered chiefly in

Leeds and Grenville Counties, the product being marketed in Montreal and in Britain. Practically all of the butter of the entire region is produced on farms, but the bulk of the production occurs in those centers lying short distances from railroads.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The settlement and development of the lands along the upper St. Lawrence River during the 19th century offer some striking contrasts in technique and approach. Differential land policies adopted by the New York State Legislature and the British Government had a decided effect on the nature of development, on the rate of progress, and the general welfare of the inhabitants. As late as the middle of the century many of the divergences between the two sides can be explained in terms of these early policies. However, during the latter part of the century, other factors played a dominant role in the changes in the area. Some of these factors are physical, but more important are trade policies, market orientations, and transportation facilities.

The determining factor in the formulation of a land policy in the years following the American Revolution, both in the United States as well as in

the British Colonies to the north, was the desire for rapid settlement. But whereas the British expected to settle the Canadian side by making lavish grants to Loyalists and offering free lands to others who followed, the Americans planned to achieve settlement by land sales, gaining at the same time a revenue. However, the system of endowing the Loyalists and post-Loyalists with extensive tracts of land did not produce the results anticipated. Only a small proportion of the land given them was actually occupied and improved. In time, Loyalist 'rights' became an article of sale and extensive tracts passed into the hands of speculators who were not interested in development. On the American side, the original scheme of the government collapsed when title to the Ten Towns passed to Alexander Macomb, who subsequently purchased practically all of the remainder of northern New York. The state obtained a revenue, albeit smaller than the land warranted, but henceforth proprietors were largely responsible for settlement. Many of the latter were more interested in a quick turn-over and a substantial profit, however, rather than in the success of the settlers.

On the Canadian side, settlement was by no means the sole end of the British policy. Above all, they wished to secure the territory so that effective control would be assured over future settlement and development. Consequently, extensive reserves for the Crown and clergy were instituted. The reserves constituted an effort to make money for the government and "a Protestant clergy" out of the efforts of the settlers. The Crown reserves were designed to strengthen the financial position of the executive branch of the local government while the clergy reserves would establish the Church. However, since there was not sufficient pressure on the land from immigration to force the leasing of the reserves, they failed to provide a revenue. Moreover, they stood out on the landscape as a block to contiguous settlement and general development. The clergy reserves, in particular, resulted in a vigorous religious squabble which kept the colony in turmoil until the 1840's. This was in striking contrast to the American side, where small reserves were designed to promote future education.

Most of the settlers that entered the virgin territory on the American side of the St. Lawrence were from New England or other parts of New York.

In general, they were frontier folk who knew pioneer life. With the assistance of the proprietor, and aided by both state and proprietary roads, they soon became established. The great bulk of New England migrants, however, by-passed the area for the fertile tracts in western New York and Ohio. On the Canadian side, until the War of 1812, many of the settlers were also from New England and New York. However, there were, in addition, a large number of Scottish Highlanders and Military Claimants. Neither group made good pioneers. The Scots in particular were little interested in cutting a farm out of the wilderness on the American model; in fact, many actually preferred more lucrative employment at lumber camps. After 1812, settlers from Britain were predominant, most of whom were slow to adopt to the techniques of a new country.

Land surveys in Upper Canada generally preceded settlement, the rectangular system of townships, lots and concessions being spread across the colony. Such a system paid little or no attention to the lay of the land. Concession lines ran across ridges, swamps, rivers and streams. Roads which followed concession lines were, consequently, difficult to construct and maintain. Since no land tax was imposed on the settlers in Upper Canada, the

clearing of roads through the forest generally fell on the shoulders of the inhabitants who were required to do statute labor. In inland areas, where there were few settlers, and often every other lot was a reserve, the construction of even crude trails was almost an impossibility. Without roads, the inland townships were virtually unoccupied until after the War of 1812. Along the front of the townships, roads were not much better, but the St. Lawrence River provided an artery of travel and facilitated transport to market at Montreal.

On the American side, although the original state survey in the Ten Towns was rectangular, the proprietors generally divided their lands to conform to the lay of the land. Thus, roads, and in particular the common road, followed the natural contour and were easier to maintain than the concession roads on the Canadian side. Unlike the Canadian settlers, the Americans did not cling to the banks of the St. Lawrence. Partly because of the higher price of land along the river, and partly because of the rather adequate roads in the interior, the inland towns settled as rapidly as the river towns. Furthermore, several large rivers traversed

the area and provided satisfactory transportation for small boats while occasional falls made available water power for grist and saw mills.

The War of 1812 was responsible for many changes. Britain, which had feared the loss of the North American colonies to the United States during the conflict resolved to strengthen them through British settlement. Military settlements along the Rideau, and eventually the construction of the canal itself, did much to promote development in the western inland sections of the Canadian side. In the eastern inland sections, distance from both the St. Lawrence and the Rideau delayed settlement, particularly as much of the land was held by absentee landowners. Some Crown reserves were alienated to settlers during this period, but the great bulk of the clergy reserves remained intact. Few reserves of either class were leased. Efforts to make money out of frontier lands created only grievances. Consequently, the reserves became looked upon as a symbol of an oppressive government at York, particularly as the government was in no way responsible to the people. Finally, the reserves provided much of the background for the Rebellion of 1837.

It was the changing political environment in Great Britain, coupled with a realization that the reserves were not satisfying the purpose for which they were originally intended, that brought about the abandonment of the system. A fair evaluation of the reserves is difficult. On the surface, and at the time, they seemed iniquitous. Indeed, they were a hindrance to development. However, they were not valueless. When later sold by the government and the Clergy Corporation they brought a sizeable revenue into their respective coffers. However, the association of the reserves with the old colonial system and with a corrupt Family Compact at York destroyed their usefulness. Had they been associated with local improvement, as were the small reserves on the American side, they may have been tolerated by the settlers. In addition, careful administration by both the government and the corporation might have removed the disadvantages of such a reserved land system.

This land problem on the Canadian side is in striking contrast to the situation on the American side. Following the War of 1812, New Englanders settled in large numbers in northern New York. Rapid clearing of the land ensued. However, the

opening of the Erie Canal diverted more migrants from the north to the west. Other factors also tended to operate against settlement in northern New York. Apart from rumors circulating concerning the unhealthy nature of the area, the high prices of land were the most important feature. Indebtedness often resulted, which was made more burdensome with the relatively high taxes imposed by the state. However, the American settler did receive the advantage of state constructed roads, which enabled him to reach markets in the Mohawk Valley, leaving him less dependent on a rather seasonally sluggish market at Montreal.

While Canadian development of the upper St. Lawrence was strongly circumscribed by an earlier British land policy, it was only slightly less affected by British trade policy. Until the middle of the century, the colonies were bound to Great Britain by the old laws of mercantilism. Generally this worked to the advantage of the mother country. However, in the matter of wheat production and timber, the colonies were afforded a privileged position in the British market. In the St. Lawrence region, however, the culture of wheat was hampered by blight while lumbering on a grand scale had moved up the Ottawa Valley. For Canadians, the Montreal market was 'dead' during the winter, while trade with the

United States was hampered by tariffs.

The Rideau Canal, designed to afford a secure artery of communication between the Canadas in the event of another war with the United States, was a complete waste of money. Apart from opening up some of the inland townships and ⁴aversely affecting the prosperity of some of the Canadian communities along the St. Lawrence, it did not cause the reorientation of Great Lakes trade which many in the Canadas anticipated. Indeed, it would have been better had the money been spent on roads. However, due to the failure of the project it was only natural that a strong demand should arise among Canadians for the improvement of the St. Lawrence. While the Rideau Canal could scarcely be a success in capturing the western trade, because of its northern and distant route, the St. Lawrence Canals might have provided more vigorous competition for the Erie Canal. However, the abandonment by Britain of protection destroyed the opportunity; products from the west continued to flow out through the Mohawk Valley to New York City. While the collapse of the commercial empire of the St. Lawrence was a serious blow to Canadian milling and commercial interests, it was not so vital as far as agriculture was concerned. Nevertheless, it did force Canadian farmers to stand

on their own feet and compete for markets wherever possible. Reciprocity between Canada and the United States and the American Civil War facilitated the transition in Canadian agriculture. A livestock industry developed, though continued demand in Canadian, as well as in American markets, for grains forced the retention of an older land utilization.

Meanwhile, the Erie Canal had its effect on the development of the American side also. Wheat from western lands was able to move easily and cheaply to New York markets thus providing considerable competition for wheat growers along the St. Lawrence. As a consequence, a significant shift to livestock, in particular sheep raising, occurred. Within a few decades, however, the Erie Canal forced another change. The American farmers found that they were unable to compete with western sheep lands. Consequently, facilitated by the advent of railroads, and the existence of large urban markets in Boston and New York, dairying became of increasing importance. However, the raising of sheep continued on a large scale until the end of the Civil War when the factors inducing an expanding dairy economy forced its ultimate decline. The lowland of the St. Lawrence was found ideal for pasture and for the production of hay crops, so that eventually wheat culture too, was virtually

abandoned. Rapid conversion to the factory system in cheese production coupled with an important market in Great Britain made the new dairy economy a very profitable one.

Dairying on the Canadian side was much slower to develop, largely because of the lack of a large Canadian market, the inadequacy of the transportation facilities, and the continued demand for other livestock products and grains. However, when the cheese factory was introduced to the Canadian side, dairying became more extensive, particularly in Leeds and Grenville Counties. In that section, north-south transportation was available by two lumber railroads, while the Grand Trunk paralleling the St. Lawrence provided an outlet in Montreal. In response to the needs of dairying, a considerable modification in land utilization occurred.

In short, the divergences on the two sides of the St. Lawrence in the latter part of the 19th century were related to the different regional orientations being forced on the lowland as a result of the International boundary. Although somewhat isolated by the Adirondack Mountains from the rest of the United States, the American side of the St. Lawrence, nevertheless, was still a part of a larger community of interests than was the Canadian side. Every depot on American railroads was for

American farmers a potential Boston or New York market. Even the Canadians realized this when they were able to penetrate the tariff which appeared after the Civil War. On the Canadian side, in contrast, the Canadian railroads were less able to pull the area into a Canadian community, because that community was young, very small, and poorly integrated. In spite of the St. Lawrence canals and the Grand Trunk. It was more to the economic interest of Canadians to trade and communicate across the International boundary rather than along it.

In many respects, around the end of the 19th century, there was little to distinguish the Canadian from the American side of the St. Lawrence. The physical environment was similar; climate, soils and topography did not change with political boundaries. Dairying was the dominant agricultural activity. The agricultural population had begun to decline, primarily because at that stage of development the area could no longer support a larger population. Wheat lands which had formerly supported several small family groups now were part of a large dairy pasture, providing the income for one family

only. The crossroads, which had once seen the shops of the blacksmith, cooper, and tanner, now featured the cheese factory.

Today, at the middle of the 20th century, a great future awaits the lands along the upper St. Lawrence. Endowed with stretches of level land, plenty of water, good communications, proximity to large markets and above all, a great potential of undeveloped hydro power, the region has considerable potentiality for both Canada and the United States. Perhaps, one day when the St. Lawrence Seaway is a fact rather than a dream a great industrial empire will rise on the land of the Iroquois, the Loyalist, the Glengarrian, the proprietor and the hardy New Englander.

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SOURCES OF DATA FOR COMPILED MAPS

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VITA

William Arthur Douglas Jackson

Toronto, Canada

Doctor of Philosophy; June, 1953.

Date of Birth: November 25, 1923

Place of Birth: Toronto, Canada

Secondary Education: Bloor Collegiate Institute, Toronto

Collegiate Institutions
attended

	Dates	Degree	Date of Degree
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University of Toronto	1946-48	M.A.	June, 1949
University of Wisconsin	1948-49		
University of Maryland	1949-52	Ph.D.	June, 1953

Positions held:

Teaching fellow, University of Toronto, 1946-8;
Research Assistant, University of Wisconsin, 1948-9;
Graduate Assistant, 1949-51; Research Fellow, 1951-52,
University of Maryland. Research Economist, Department
of Natural Resources and Industrial Development, Regina,
Saskatchewan, 1949.

Prospective Occupation:

Post-doctoral studies, Russian Institute, Columbia
University, 1952-1954.

MAP of the LAWRENCE Between KINGSTON and LAKE ST PETER



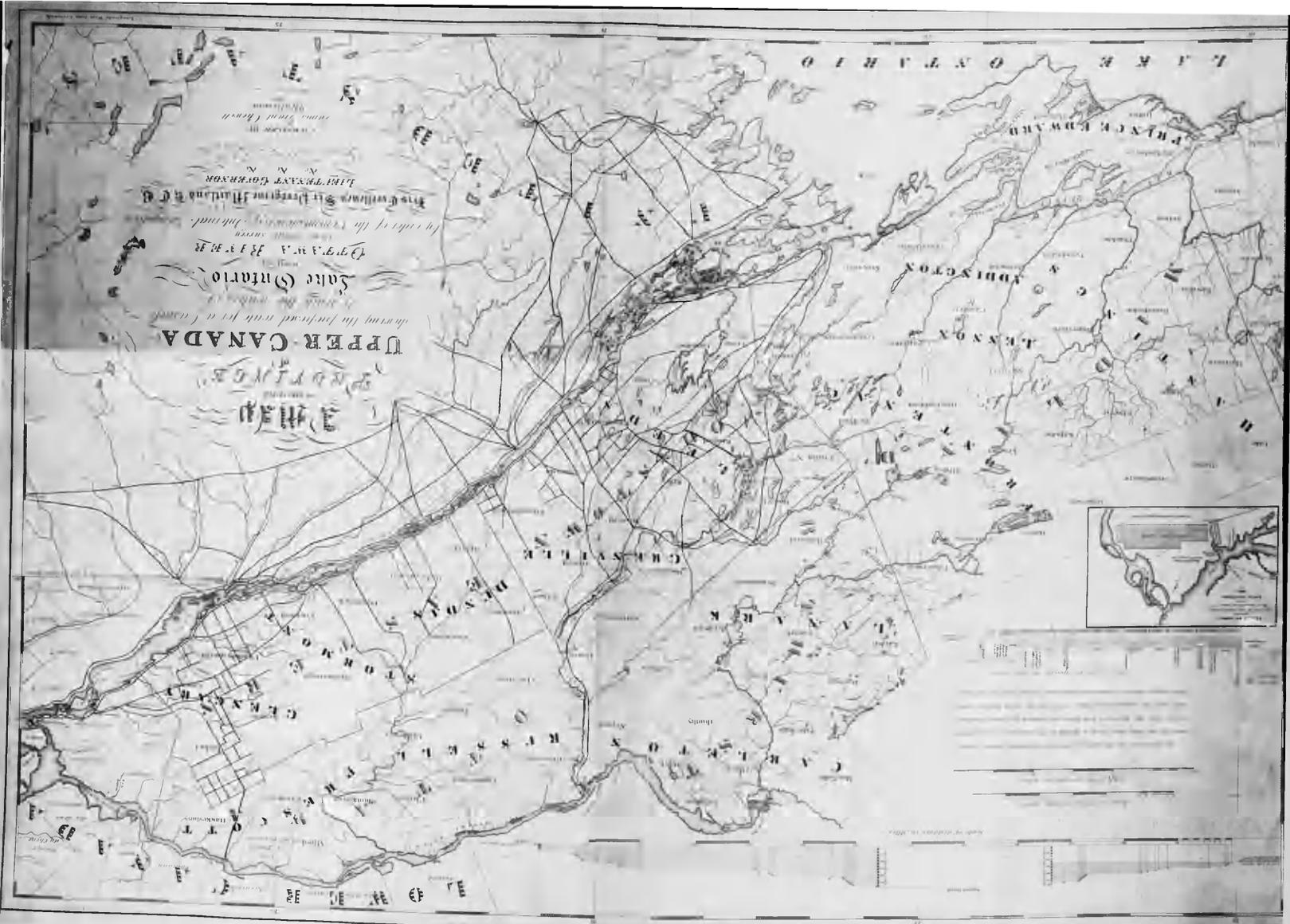
*Shewing the back water communication proposed on the
RIDEAU & OTTAWA RIVERS
also the Frontier towards Lake Champlain on each side of the Richelieu
in the Report of the committee appointed to assemble in Canada, & formed according to the 12 Article of Instructions
dated 27th March 1828.*

*Drawn from Bouchette's Map of Lower Canada, The Canada Company Map of Upper Canada, and filled in from Sketches and information by
of Engineers employed in Canada. The S^r Lawrence from Lake Ontario to Lake St Francis is reduced from the Survey of the Commissioners to settle
the boundary line.*









UPPER CANADA

Lake Ontario

Upper Canada

by order of the Government

of the Province of Ontario

1857

Wm. H. Fisher

Geographical

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