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The Beasley Wharf Complex: A Study of Frontier Interaction in the Lower Great Lakes in the Late 18th Century

Trevor Ryan Carter
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THE BEASLEY WHARF COMPLEX:
A Study of Frontier Interaction
in the Lower Great Lakes in the Late 18th Century

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

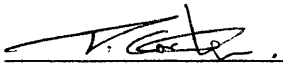
Trevor Ryan Carter

1999

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

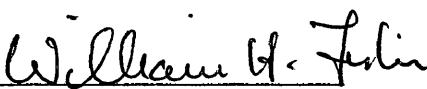
Master of Arts


Trevor R. Carter

Approved, December 1999


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Dr. Kathleen J. Bragdon


Dr. William H. Fisher

DEDICATION

To my father and grandfather, who would have wanted to be a part of this,
and to my mother, who was.

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to compare the nature of cross-cultural interaction at frontier and post-frontier sites. Current researchers suggest that frontiers are foci for interaction between cultures, and that this interaction endures after the frontier has passed by.

Research focused on the fur trading site of Loyalist Richard Beasley, who settled at the western Head of Lake Ontario in the late 18th century. Beasley's initial settlement was found to lie at a frontier isolated from other centres of European culture. In these surroundings, Beasley engaged in fur trade exchanges with local Six Nations Iroquois and Mississauga Native groups.

By comparing the frequency of trade goods recovered archaeologically with documentary accounts of fur trade activity, it was demonstrated that Beasley's involvement in the fur trade was brief. Although he was the first settler in the region, Beasley was soon joined by other European settlers who drove the fur trade further inland and northward.

Additional archaeological and historical evidence indicated however that the cross-cultural interactions that had characterized the earlier frontier fur trade period were maintained among the Six Nations Iroquois, Mississauga, and Europeans in this post-frontier environment. Archaeological and documentary sources suggest that the persistence of this interaction was a result of the continuing need to reconcile the divergent interests of the cultural groups in the region. It is proposed that the success of post-frontier groups in interest reconciliation is dependent upon the degree of initial frontier familiarity that each group had with the other.

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INTRODUCTION

Historical archaeology is a discipline that seeks, in many cases, to understand the nature of culture contact. J. C. Harrington, in an early article, initially defines historical archaeology as the "study of the history of peoples of European origin in the area of the United States and Canada, from the time of the earliest explorations to the present day." (Harrington 1978 : 3). Deetz echoes this definition but also expands its scope by claiming that historical archaeology is the "spread of European culture throughout the *world* since the fifteenth century and its impact on *indigenous peoples* [emphases added]" (Deetz 1977 : 5). Even scholars who have found other approaches to the defining of historical archaeology have included the concept of culture contact. Robert Schuyler, while initially asserting that historical archaeology is "the study of the material remains from any historic period" (Schuyler 1978 : 27), later defines this generalization as "ranging from *Colonial* to Industrial Archaeology in America [emphasis added]" (1978 : 28). A more recent article by Barbara Little looks at the dominant themes in historical archaeology since 1982; among the many foci she lists for historical archaeologists, including urban archaeology, gender issues, ethnicity, plantation slavery, landscape archaeology, and the spread of capitalism, she also emphasizes the "effects of colonization on Native peoples (as well as on settlers)" (Little 1994 : 10). Although the purpose here has not been to define historical archaeology as such, an attempt has been made to demonstrate that a central focus of the discipline is the study of the effects of contact between two very different cultures: the European and the Indigenous.

In order to gain the greatest appreciation for the effects of culture contact, we

need to start our investigations at sites where the contact was actually occurring. From the moment that colonies from Europe began springing up at various sites around the globe, a frontier or boundary between the existing Native groups and the newly arrived colonists arose. As the colonial populations increased, the colonies expanded, often pressing the frontier deeper into lands occupied by unknown indigenous peoples. From the time of initial colonization, as well as during the process of expansion, the contacts made by these two peoples would begin at the frontier itself. If, therefore, the discipline of historical archaeology is to attain one of its most important goals, that is the study of culture contact, the focus must rest on the colonial frontier, where daily contact and interaction would be most likely to occur.

As Native and colonist met and interacted at the frontier, they brought divergent interests with them. This paper will examine the ways in which these groups accommodated the interests of the other alongside their own, by looking for such accommodation as it is exhibited in frontier and post-frontier interaction. The focus of the research is a late 18th / early 19th century trading post on the western shores of Lake Ontario.

CHAPTER I

FRONTIERS AND INTERACTION: CONCEPT AND METHOD

TRADITIONAL FRONTIER CONCEPTS

A frontier has commonly been seen as a boundary between two separate cultural groups. In general, the frontier has been viewed as the end result of encroachment by one group into the territory of another, such that a representative from the encroaching group at this frontier would be distant from any concentrations of his or her home culture. When conceived of in this way, the frontier becomes nothing more than a location, being the 'edge', or most remote, area of settlement (it should be noted at this point, however, that the term 'settlement' has rather regrettable Euro-centric connotations. When dealing with North America, as we will be here, it is quite clear that the Americas were fully settled long before European contact; not only that, but frontiers existed between Native cultures long before any European frontier was present. With this in mind then, it must be understood that any definition of a frontier as 'the edge of a settled area' is taken from the point of view of the encroaching group rather than the resident population. Since we are dealing in this instance with a frontier as it applies to the separation of Europeans and Natives, the arrival of European settlement is key in its creation). In other words, the traditional concept of a frontier is exemplified by a region of settlement of one culture group into the territories of another resulting in a degree of initial isolation of the settling groups from their home culture.¹

¹ Robert Paynter states that "a frontier implies at least three cultural forms: the frontier, the homeland, and the aboriginal culture impacted by the expanding homeland culture" (1985:164)

Current researchers have included some of the traditional frontier view in their own studies of frontiers. Leland Ferguson and Stanton Green, discussing the work of Lefferts (1977) and Thompson (1973), found that European frontier communities tend to be (demographically speaking) "a) relatively fast growing; b) relatively young; c) male biased in sex ratio; and d) characterized by incomplete family units." (Ferguson and Green 1983 : 277). All of these traits would indicate an isolated settlement at the frontier (a fast growing community would be initially isolated and spacious; a young population implies a recent occupation in an area devoid of long term residents; and male biased sex ratios and incomplete family units are not the norm in regular communities, implying a temporary societal set up or one in its early stages). Green and Perlman feel that "frontier studies direct their attention to the peripheries or edges of particular societies, and the characteristics of the groups occupying that space" (1985 : 4), an assertion quite in keeping with our definition of a frontier here: from the perspective of Europeans in North America, a frontier would be defined as an isolated settlement at some distance from denser European cultural centres.

There are other traits associated with the traditional view of frontiers, but many do not apply to the initial frontier situations that erupted in North America as colonists and Natives met. For example, a frontier can develop into an unchanging, well-known boundary that is protected and officially delineated. Such frontiers cease to be what we are dealing with here, which are changing and non-formalized frontiers. We are also not dealing with boundaries or frontiers that consist of natural or artificial obstacles; in this class of boundary would be found mountain ranges, gorges, lakes, as well as walls, militarized zones, defended borders, and other physical or political demarcations. When

discussing the early meetings of colonists with Native peoples in North America, the most appropriate traditional frontier view is that which we have outlined here: early isolated European settlements in Native lands.

The definition of a frontier to this point has enabled us to geographically place a frontier in isolated areas at some distance from European centres. However, this quality alone includes a level of imprecision that would be unlikely to permit the location of frontier sites archaeologically. What is needed, therefore, is an understanding of the nature of frontier *activity*, since it is with the remnants of past activities that archaeologists must ultimately contend. Schortman & Urban (1992) and Kent Lightfoot (1995a), claim that in a traditional frontier view, frontier activities involve a competition for resources between the two or more cultural groups along the frontier. In such a scenario, the maintenance of clear boundaries would contribute to the efficiency of resource exploitation, and minimize inter-group conflicts. The frontier in this case would serve to "restrict social interactions, filter information exchange, and limit the movement of some material goods between peoples on opposite sides of the border" (Lightfoot 1995a : 473). In other words, a traditional frontier view holds that a frontier is an isolated *barrier* to interaction between the cultural groups in the area.

PROBLEMS WITH THE TRADITIONAL FRONTIER VIEW

Lightfoot is correct in noting that the traditional frontier, acting as a barrier to interaction, can only exist in truly unoccupied or sparsely populated regions; which may

very well have existed with the arrival of the first Europeans, but at some point, "one person's homeland may have become another's frontier" (Lightfoot 1995a : 473). The European settlers along a frontier may have been isolated from other Europeans, but they were not settling into an area devoid of occupants. The frontier gradually pushed deeper into Native lands, increasing the probability of encounters (whether good or bad) between the Native and the colonist.

The traditional view of a frontier acting as a barrier to all material, social, and information exchange is actually the result of analyses of broad regions rather than a microscale analysis of individual settlements along a frontier (Lightfoot 1995a). Lightfoot feels that the traditional frontier studies of population densities, core-periphery relationships and the like are typically 'colonizer-centric', where the peripheral peoples are seen to give way to the sweeping wave of the dominant culture, usually European. The "apparent uniformity" of core-periphery and other traditional studies can be "misleading", since "frontiers are known to be more varied than this model predicts" (DeAtley 1980 : 9). There is often a false assumption that "colonial populations spread rapidly into relatively empty niches in which contacts with Native peoples were minimal ... Indigenous populations are ignored or marginalized" (Lightfoot 1995a : 475). Schortman & Urban agree, stating that "cultural cores [have been] traditional foci of archaeological scrutiny, while their peripheries are commonly ignored. This division ... is inimicable to interaction studies" (1992 : 238-239). Ultimately, traditional frontier studies wrongly emphasize that "the transmission of most cultural innovations proceeds from the dominant culture center to the passive periphery" (Lightfoot 1995a : 472). These studies marginalize or more frequently ignore the impact of daily face-to-face

interaction between individuals who sought only to forge cross-cultural bonds that would satisfy their individual interests.

The interpretive implications of studies conducted under a traditional frontier view can be seen in Kenneth Lewis' study of agricultural frontier settlements in South Carolina (1985). Lewis uses archaeological and historical data from settlements along the South Carolina frontier from the 18th century to develop a predictive model for frontier settlement. After classifying European frontier settlements according to their economic role, Lewis found that there was a trend through time towards an even distribution of same-settlement types along the frontier. Lewis believes that the resultant pattern was a product of "a functional adaptation to economic conditions created by economic expansion and the need to collect and transport export commodities out of a region of dispersed settlement and low population density" (1985 : 255). In developing his model, Lewis made no mention of settlement interaction with the indigenous population, preferring instead to classify European settlements based solely on their relationship to the homeland. The potential influence of European and Native interaction is not taken into account, with the result that frontier settlement patterns appear to grow exclusively from the "need to collect and transport export commodities OUT of a region" (emphasis added) (1985 : 255). Lewis' focus on broad trends downplays the impact that smaller, less visible activities (such as the simple daily interactions between Native and colonist) could have on his model of frontier expansion, leaving half of the story untold. Daniel Usner may well have been talking about Lewis' study when he wrote that "colonial history has focused for a long time on the external linkages of colonies with

their home countries, to the neglect of internal relationships forged by inhabitants.”

(Usner 1992 : 5).

Similar criticisms are raised against Steffen's frontier, the insular and the cosmopolitan (Steffen 1980). The insular frontier is represented by long lasting agricultural settlements, while the cosmopolitan frontier is typified by short-term colonial outposts that seek to duplicate the homeland (again, these are assuming a frontier from a European point of view). Both of these frontier types are defined according to their relationships to European centres rather than colonist and Native interaction, a view that "privileges homeland-colonial relationships at the expense of colonial-indigenous interactions" (Lightfoot 1995a : 476). These traditional expectations of frontier activities again downplay the role that interaction with the peripheral group may have played in the development of the new dominant culture.

Given examples such as these, it becomes apparent that archaeological interpretations can suffer under traditional frontier views. By minimalizing or (more frequently) ignoring the potential for cross-cultural interaction at the frontier, archaeological research assuming a traditional concept of frontier activities would discount or trivialize Native finds as well as material indicators of cross-cultural interaction at frontier sites. Archaeological interpretation under the traditional paradigm would fail to recognize the presence, role and contribution of cross-cultural interaction as it may be evidenced by settlement patterns, material remains or cultural practices.

Part of the problem with traditional studies is their expectation of clear frontier boundaries in "discrete spatial patterns" (Lightfoot 1995a : 478), the fear being that "the

bounding of human behavior [will] be artificial and ... lead to closed conceptions of culture” (Green & Perlman 1985 : 4). If research is undertaken with the anticipation of clearly delineated boundaries, the smaller scale, daily, local, and individual interactions will be missed or ignored. By turning away from studies that focus on “standardizing behaviour and material culture”, it will be seen that “social systems at all levels of complexity are more open and flexible than they are often considered” (Green & Perlman 1985 : 6-7). Perhaps it is time to reanalyze the typical stance on frontiers, seeing them as foci for interaction rather than interaction barriers.

CURRENT VIEWS ON FRONTIER ACTIVITY

Current views of frontier activity have preserved some of the aspects from the traditional concept of a frontier. Frontiers continue to be conceived as the coming together of two or more cultural groups in isolated areas at some distance from the home culture of the encroaching group. However, the break with the traditional view lies in the added concept that a frontier is *not* a barrier to interaction between these cultural groups, but is rather a culturally permeable boundary. In traditional frontier studies, frontier lines are used to delineate cultures; currently, though, the frontier is being increasingly viewed as a focal point for the interaction rather than separation of cultural groups.

Wolf was among the first to note that traditional frontier views have not seen the frontier as a locus for interaction, stating that “we can no longer think of societies as isolated and self-maintaining systems” (Wolf 1982 : 390). Anthropological studies of frontiers will continue to be flawed if “evaluative prejudgments are added about [their]

state of internal cohesion or boundedness in relation to the external world” (1982 : 18). Looking at the economic history of the world’s cultures prior to, during, and after European contact with the New World, Wolf demonstrates that “human populations [had been] construct[ing] their cultures in interaction with one another, and not in isolation” (1982 : ix) long before European advancement into the Americas took place. Prior to reaching the New World, Europe was in contact with the Orient along the Silk Road (1982 : 26), and both Europe and Islam were actively engaged in trade with African nations (1982 : 40-41); in the Americas, South American groups interacted between differing climate zones of the Andes (1982 : 64) and Mesoamerican influences were felt up to the Mississippi (1982 : 68-69). The later New World contact by Europe was simply a continuation of this ever-present inter-culture interaction as the religions, races, and cultures of Natives, Africans and Europeans met. Through these examples, Wolf emphasizes that “the concept of a fixed, unitary and bounded culture must give way to a sense of the fluidity and permeability of cultural acts” (1982 : 387) and that “everywhere... populations existed in interconnections ... In both hemispheres populations impinged upon other populations through *permeable* social boundaries” (1982 : 71, emphasis added) which, perforce, must be found at a frontier.

Since Wolf’s assertions, other scholars have come forward to advocate a frontier conceptualized as “interaction zones where encounters take place between peoples from diverse homelands” (Lightfoot 1995a : 473), and to see frontier studies as complemented by “boundary studies [that] examine the interactions that occur at these societal edges.” (Green & Perlman 1985 : 4). Paynter agrees that with frontiers, “expansion leads to interaction” and that “the cross-cultural experience [should be] seen as a zone of

interaction” (1985 : 171-172). Usner laments that “for too long, ‘frontier’ has connoted an interracial boundary, across which advanced societies penetrated primitive ones ... frontiers were more regional in scope, networks of cross-cultural interaction ...” (Usner 1992 : 6). He too stresses that it is the daily microscale interactions that demonstrate the complexity of frontier exchange. He states that “[modern scholarship] reflects a new anthropological understanding of economic life among historians, one that takes day to day, informal episodes of exchange as well as the more formal institutions of commerce into account” (Usner 1992 : 191). Other scholars remind us that frontier exchanges and interactions span both the material and social spheres, with ideas and cultural concepts being exchanged as readily as material goods (Schortman and Urban 1992 : 236; Green and Perlman 1985 : 8, Usner 1992 : 278).

Based on the views expressed by current frontier researchers, then, "social change is often most visible ... on the peripheries of social systems" (Green & Perlman 1985 : 9). Rather than seeing a frontier as a barrier, we need to see it as permeable, and investigate how interactions are manifested at a frontier level between groups that border both the colonial and indigenous populations.

These proposed expectations at a frontier level are best emphasized by looking at a frontier type that would traditionally have been viewed as obstructive to interaction; in particular, political and military frontiers between two groups. During the early 18th century, Virginia's Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood began a security program for the maintenance and protection of the then frontier; as he wrote in his letters of January 1714, "I began to build the ffort of Christanna, and to form a Scheme for the

better defending of the Frontiers" (Brock 1882). A visitor from Jamestown named John Fontaine described the fort on April 14, 1716 as " ... an inclosure of five sides ... There are five cannon here..." (Alexander 1972). Fontaine also describes the isolation of the completed fort at the frontier: "In the morning we set out with a guide for Christiana. For this house is the most outward settlement on this side of Virginia which is the south side. We have no roads here to conduct us, nor inhabitants to direct the traveller" (Alexander 1972). Yet at the same time that this fort was being established to maintain and defend the frontier, steps were also being taken on both sides (colonist and Native) to initiate interaction at this isolated outpost. Spotswood decided that "a Company [should be] establish'd for carrying [trade] on, who has ... the Sole benefit thereof for 20 years" (Brock 1882 : Spotswood Jan. 27, 1714). Interestingly enough, while the Company was expected to "keep up the Fort and maintain a constant guard at Christanna for the Security of a Fronteer that lyes most exposed to the incursions of forreign Indians", (Brock 1882 : Spotswood April 16, 1717), it was the duty of this trading company to also build warehouses, clear land for roads, and to construct bridges that would further trade in the area, presumably with the only other inhabitants of the region, the Saponey Indians. The Natives themselves were clearly not deterred from interaction by the presence of this fort, and actually sought out exchanges by settling next to it. John Fontaine mentions a group of Saponey Indians "living within musket shot of this fort" (Alexander 1972 : Fontaine April 15, 1716); and this same Native band took the early settlers on guided tours of the area, often with unexpected reactions to the 'alien' goods

and animals these settlers brought with them.¹ Obviously, there is more going on here than can be cursorily mentioned in this example. But, overall, there is an indication that even at supposed militarized fronts, frontier outposts strove for and attracted interaction between both colonist and Native. A traditional analysis of the region would likely have resulted in a view of this frontier as an impenetrable, one way expansion of European culture; only the microscale analysis of this isolated site, with the expectation of interactive activity, proved otherwise.

Unlike traditional concepts of frontiers, the current view of frontier activity includes the possibility of cross-cultural interaction across the frontier. When research is undertaken with this possibility in mind, the presence and contributions that these interactions make upon frontier communities can be better understood. By realizing the potential for interaction at a frontier level, archaeological assemblages can be interpreted without leaving part of the story untold. Current interpretations of the archaeological and historical record can take into account a greater range of frontier influences than was ever considered by traditional studies like that of Kenneth Lewis. In other words, the current view of frontier activity avoids the marginalization or outright dismissal of cross-cultural activity that typified frontier interpretations under the traditional concept of the frontier.

¹ Writing about a trip near the fort escorted by the Saponey, Fontaine said that "The day being warm and the Indian not accustomed to ride, before we went two miles, the horse threw him down ... by the time we had got a mile further he was so terribly galled that he was forced to dismount and desired the Governor to take his horse, and could not imagine what good they were for, if it was not to cripple the Indians" (Alexander 1972 : Fontaine April 21, 1716).

FRONTIER MEDIATION AND THE POST-FRONTIER ENVIRONMENT

Some researchers have also stressed that these frequent interactions seen at a frontier level continue into the post-frontier environment in a continuing attempt to mediate the different interests of the cultural groups involved. Richard White labeled the frontier's zone of interaction the 'Middle Ground', and characterized it as "the boundaries ... [where] worlds melted and edges merged" (1991 : 50). A significant result of initial frontier interaction was mediation, and the middle ground was the place where "diverse peoples adjust[ed] their differences through ... creative ... misunderstandings" (White 1991 : x). White looked at the history of the Great Lakes region and highlighted the necessity for interaction and mediation; first between the different Algonquin tribes who were forced to scatter and regroup following Iroquois attacks, and later between the Algonquin tribes and the French traders and officials. Initial interactions brought many misunderstandings, but compromises at the middle ground permitted diverse groups to live peacefully in close proximity. White was careful to note that these middle ground interactions "... did not originate in councils and official encounters; instead, [they] resulted from the daily encounters of individual Indians and Frenchmen with problems ... that needed immediate solution", a stance which implies a preference for micro rather than macro scale studies (White 1991 : 56).¹ However, after the French lost their North American colonies to England in 1763, the mediation and interaction now continued between the English and the Algonquin tribes (among others) in an emerging post-

¹ White adds that the English were also forced to learn that the Indians could not be dealt with purely on English terms; as the French had discovered, Native interaction required a mediation at the middle ground that addressed both Native and European interests.

frontier environment. Both of these groups were well acquainted with the other from infrequent interactions during the previous French period, so one cannot view Algonquin and English encounters as ‘pristine’ frontier interaction. Rather, these encounters embodied a continuation of the mediation skills acquired from past frontier interactions.

Daniel Usner expresses similar beliefs concerning post-frontier interaction among slaves, settlers and Natives in Louisiana. Usner looks at colonial Louisiana, and at the multicultural groups that characterize its past and present population. He notes the interaction between the different cultures that occurred from the beginning of colonial settlement; this interaction was both necessary for the colonists’ survival as well as other mutual exchange benefits that all parties enjoyed. However, as the early frontier nature of the settlement began to dissipate, the State tried to reduce these intercultural interactions, finding that they hindered the development of the colony along the desired State plans. For example, the State sought to profit from plantation tobacco agriculture, which was a demanding enterprise for the colonists; many colonists found, to the State’s chagrin, that survival was possible (and much less labour-intensive) by maintaining the interactions between cultures that had permitted survival in the past. As Usner wrote, “... what began as a necessity in an unfamiliar land became a preference over other sources ...” (Usner 1992 : 196). As “colonial officials intensified measures to control interaction among settlers, slaves and Indians, ... ” (1992 : 282) “... inhabitants clung tenaciously to production and marketing activities within the familiar ... frontier exchange economy” (1992 : 285). For Usner, then, the cross-cultural interaction that characterized the early frontier was maintained in the post-frontier Louisiana as well, and for one reason: familiarity. For in post-frontier Louisiana, each cultural group had

separate goals, just as they had had in the earlier frontier Louisiana. Echoing Richard White, Usner states that “in pursuit of their respective goals, they [Indians, settlers and slaves] found plenty of common ground upon which to adapt” (1992 : 8). To mediate each others’ divergent interests, the frontier exchange interaction that had developed in Louisiana’s beginnings was maintained in the post-frontier Louisiana as well.

It should also be mentioned that both Usner and White emphasize that there will be individuals that arise out of this frontier interaction that will act as mediators between the converging interests of the cultural parties involved. As products of the frontier, these individuals are living indicators of the interaction and mediation occurring at a frontier.

The existence of frontier-like interaction in a post-frontier environment has significant ramifications for archaeological interpretations. Often, for example, historical sources might permit a researcher to establish that a site should be considered post-frontier, with the result that later archaeological research is conducted without looking for indicators of frontier-like activity. Once an archaeologist is aware that cross-cultural mediative interaction can persist from the frontier into the post-frontier environment, its presence and influence can be considered in interpretations of post-frontier sites.

It has been shown that frontiers are unlikely to be clearly delineated barriers to exchange and are rather, in reality, isolated yet attractive foci for the initiation of multiple culture contacts. This paper will look at the cultural interaction taking place at a fur trade post on the western tip of Lake Ontario in the late 18th to early 19th century. Loyalist Richard Beasley had established his trading post at these shores (called Burlington Bay)

to presumably carry on the fur trade with local Mississauga and Six Nations Iroquois. However, based on the historical and archaeological evidence (as we will see), Beasley settled into the region just as the fur trade boom came to a close. This study will examine the presence and nature of cultural interaction after the passing of this peak period of exchange. The interests of Native and colonist had met frequently during the fur trade; but with its passing, there would still be more meetings to come. How did the cultural groups at Burlington Bay interrelate in a post-frontier environment?

METHODS FOR ANALYZING FRONTIER ACTIVITY

The direction of this paper must now shift to a discussion of the impact of interactions on the historical and archaeological record. Studies of frontier interaction can only be undertaken if there is a way to read these exchanges in the documents and material remains. The types of interactions that actually typify an isolated frontier site are those which are very individual, personal, and visible mainly at a local level. With this in mind, then, we need to examine current research and the ways in which it has extracted interaction information from the documentary and archaeological record.

Historical documents, albeit often written by and for Europeans, can elucidate the types and extent of interaction occurring at a frontier site. This rich resource, unavailable to prehistoric archaeologists, would contain evidence of interaction that would be invisible in material culture. McGuire echoes these limitations of the archaeological record, claiming that "because the archaeological record consists only of the material

remains of the past, we cannot directly observe or measure the social variables we wish to study ... Historical documents provide a means for such reconstruction independent of the archaeological data" (McGuire 1982 : 162). To Lightfoot, the types of 'social variables' that would be likely to exhibit these cross-cultural frontier interactions include intermarriage, exchange partnerships, and other "activities deliberately undertaken to cement alliances" (Lightfoot 1995a : 484).

One example will suffice here to demonstrate the effectiveness of documentary information for interaction studies. Kathleen Deagan found it possible to hypothesize on the nature of the interaction between Spaniard and Indian by looking at the historical documents concerning the mestizo settlements near 18th century St. Augustine, Florida. Turning to the parish records, she found that the women in mixed marriages were predominantly Native, while the males were predominantly Spanish. From this discovery, Deagan predicts that "since food preparation is an area generally tended to by women ... it would be expected that on sites of mixed Indian-Spanish occupation, food preparation ... technology [and therefore artifacts] would be predominantly aboriginal..." (Deagan 1973 : 62), while "... material culture normally associated with male activities would be expected to show little aboriginal influence" (1973 : 63). Using the documents, one can not only make predictions concerning retrievable material culture, but also come to some conclusions concerning the actual nature of multi-cultural interactions. These conclusions become all the more evidenced once the material culture is integrated into the analysis.

While the documents are certainly of great help to archaeological interpretation,

they will "often stress unusual and major events, seldom discussing the mundane, everyday processes of social relationships ... Archaeological data, on the other hand, result primarily from everyday processes" (McGuire 1982 : 161). Again, Lightfoot has already mentioned that frontier research needs to find ways to get at individual and personal interactions; using the material culture in this analysis, therefore, provides the researcher with concrete remains from those very 'everyday processes of social relationships' that are under study. To understand how material culture can be used as evidence of interaction, the work of various researchers on the topic of acculturation can be examined, since the acquaintance of one culture with the ideas and goods of another (the process of acculturation) is clearly the result of interaction in one form or another.

Work by Heinz Pyszczuk (1987) has shown that the presence or absence of interaction may be visible in an archaeological assemblage. Records of goods purchased at Hudson's Bay and Northwest Company outposts in western Canada in the early nineteenth century denote not only the goods purchased but also who the purchaser was. The name of the purchaser, sometimes accompanied by place of birth, permitted the ethnic origin and cultural grouping of the purchaser to be identified. When Pyszczuk looked at the purchases of various European or Native groups, he found distinct differences in the patterns of purchased goods not only between European and Native but also between European groups (i.e.: Scotsman versus Frenchman). Although each group had purchased items indicative of their own as well as other cultural groups, the overall item purchase pattern was unique per group. This implies not only that ethnic origins can be identified using only artifacts, but also that interaction does not necessarily cause acculturation, since these different ethnic groups had managed to work and live together

without losing their own particular group identity.

Some of the most well recognized studies of interaction and acculturation focused on colono-wares and colono-pipes. First identified by Ivor Noel Hume (1982) and further researched by James Deetz (1993) and Leland Ferguson (1992), colono –wares and –pipes are ceramic artifacts made by either Native Americans or African-Americans (depending on the sample and the interpretation) in imitation of European forms, using local materials (rather than European-style clays) and cultural-specific techniques (rather than European manufacturing methods). However, in some cases, culture-specific traits were retained in the final product (Ferguson (1992) notes the presence of African elements in African-American colono-wares). Colono-artifacts are therefore excellent evidence for the cultural interaction and mediation that occurs when cultures meet.

During the process of frontier interaction, "new cultural traits were adopted, modified, and created to fit within the underlying ideological structure of both non-European and European peoples" (Lightfoot 1995b : 206). This integration of multiple culture traits in material objects was investigated early on by George Quimby and Alexander Spoehr in an article on acculturation and material culture. Examining museum specimens from contact sites and periods between Natives and Europeans, Quimby and Spoehr attempted to generate a typology of contact artifacts based on "regular changes in form, material, use, and technological principles" (Quimby & Spoehr 1951 : 107). If the underlying feeling of 'progress' or 'evolutionary stages' can be ignored,¹ the actual classificatory scheme itself can be quite useful. The first major class (A) is made up of *new* artifacts that have been *introduced* through contact, while the second major class (B)

¹ "We have here scrutinized a number of *sequences of progressive alteration* in culture elements [emphasis added]" (Quimby & Spoehr 1951 : 107))

includes *Native* artifacts that have been *modified* through contact. Each of these major classes have subclasses; for example, A-1 includes objects *imported but unmodified* through contact, A-2 contains artifacts that have been produced locally from *Native materials in imitation of imported goods*, A-3 incorporates *introduced forms that are modified*, made and/or decorated partly with Native materials and partly with introduced ones, and A-4 includes introduced forms that are *made locally but with imported materials and imported techniques* (or at least a Native technique that is very similar). Subclass B-1 includes Native artifacts that are *modified by the addition of what are seen as superior imported materials*, B-2 contains Native artifacts *made with imported material substitutes and different technologies* to reach the same end and B-3 includes Native artifacts *modified by the introduction of new subject matter*, such as European decorative elements.

Although the classification may seem overly rigid and somewhat artificial, it does manage to incorporate some of the artifacts that have been unearthed in current acculturation research. For example, the colono-wares and colono-pipes mentioned above are ceramics and pipes that were made in imitation of European forms using local materials and techniques, placing them into class A-2 in Quimby & Spoehr's scheme. Quimby & Spoehr's model also allows for idea exchange (as seen in the classifications based on the introduction of new technologies) as well as the development of new ideas as a result of exchange and interaction (one of Quimby's specimens from A-3 included an imported bellows that had been decorated with Native motifs and used to blow a whistle rather than a fire). Finally, while it is evident that Quimby and Spoehr developed their model from a rather ethnocentric point of view (assuming a one-way interaction based in

Native importation of European goods or modification of their own goods due to imported European ideas), the scheme can still be used to include a two-way interactive model. One example would be glass trade beads, manufactured by Europeans from their own native materials (glass) in imitation of the introduced forms (wampum). In other words, even European glass beads can be fit into the Quimby & Spoehr model (class A-2). In truth, all of the artifacts from recent acculturation research, including the work by Deetz, Ferguson, Pyszczyk and Deagan, can be accommodated by the Quimby & Spoehr typology; therefore, while the Quimby & Spoehr classification may seem initially outdated, it can actually be used to accommodate artifacts that are currently held to indicate acculturation and, by force, interaction.¹ In some ways, the Quimby & Spoehr typology may be beneficial to such studies: by relying solely on the presence or absence of 'foreign' content in an artifact or assemblage, the typology helps to reduce subjectivity and standardize the classification of possible interaction artifacts.

A note of caution, however, is necessary. The danger with any classification scheme is that it tends to oversimplify, with the result that "many archaeologists treat the meaning of artifacts as a constant that can be understood independent of the context in which they are used" (Preatzellis, Preatzellis and Brown 1987 : 47). The Quimby & Spoehr typology claims to account for acculturation and hence interaction; however, unless the artifacts classified in this scheme are contextualized, there is a risk that their

¹Pyszczyk's findings have important ramifications for the use of the Quimby & Spoehr classification scheme, which was developed in a search for indicators of acculturation (as were the colono-ware and colono-pipe studies previously mentioned). Although Pyszczyk found that interaction could take place without leading to acculturation, the implication was that acculturation could not occur without some form of interaction. Since the artifacts included in the Quimby & Spoehr typology are supposed to be representative of acculturation, they must perforce represent interaction as well. This distinction is necessary since our study is dealing solely with interaction, whether or not it leads to acculturation.

true meaning will be missed. For example, as will be seen in the following chapters, the Beasley trading post yields an increase in trade goods through time; within the Quimby & Spoehr typology, this might indicate an increase in trade. However, once contextualized within the global fur trade economy, it becomes clear that these trade goods are indicative of discard rather than trade. Without context, the Quimby-Spoehr scheme becomes an "overly simplistic method of interpreting complex historical connections and interactions between culturally diverse men and women." (Orser 1996 : 64).

From the discussion so far, then, it seems that studies of frontier interaction can be performed only with a careful reading of the historical documents and a watchful eye for artifacts that may indicate some form of interaction. As McGuire states, "We must not ignore the full potential of historical data ... When combined with material culture differences, these ... provide a battery of measurements for assessing the degree of boundary maintenance between ethnic groups" (McGuire 1982 : 174).

Ericson & Meighan (1984 : 145) have seen cultural noise as a process called 'boundary arbitration', where people "are more likely to interact with 'foreigners' who are close by than with their own people who are at a greater distance". This interaction should, according to Usner and White, continue into later post-frontier periods. The following pages will anticipate just this type of interaction. As a first step in such a study, we will show that Loyalist Richard Beasley settled into a cross-culturally interactive frontier that was regrettably shortlived. With the passing of the frontier in the Burlington Bay region, we will continue to look for interaction and mediation among the

individuals and cultural groups in the area. Did Richard Beasley and the local Natives find a need to continue interacting as they had during the earlier frontier period? First, however, we will offer an historical and archaeological background of Richard Beasley and the local Natives at Burlington Bay.

CHAPTER II

AN HISTORICAL WINDOW ON LIFE AT THE HEAD OF THE LAKE

Mrs. Elizabeth Simcoe, wife of the late eighteenth century Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada Colonel John Graves Simcoe, was in the enviable position to be able to explore Upper and Lower Canada from 1791 to 1796. From the moment of her and her husband's departure from England, until their return over five years later, Mrs. Simcoe kept a strict diary of all that she experienced in the sparsely settled provinces. It is from her diary that we receive one of the first detailed accounts of the remote fur trade outpost occupied by Richard Beasley. On the 12th of June, 1796, Mrs. Simcoe writes:

"At 8 o'clock we set out in a Boat to go to Beasley at the head of Burlington Bay about 8 miles ... When we had near crossed the Bay Beasley house became a very pretty object. We landed at it ... there are no settlements near it. Beasley the Indian trader [i.e.: settler], can scarcely be called such, trading being his whole occupation ..." (Innis 1965 : pp. 182-183). She even included a sketch of the Beasley residence, reproduced here in figure 1, and a birch bark map of Upper Canada, figure 2b, showing most of the then-settlements including Burlington Bay, where Mrs. Simcoe made this visit to Richard Beasley in 1796.¹ From Mrs. Simcoe's single account, we are offered a glimpse of the frontier tradesman Richard Beasley and his early settlement on the westernmost shores of Lake Ontario. The location and isolation of his settlement, the nature of his trade, and the exchanges (both material and cultural) that took place between him and the Native residents unfold by delving into the other documents

¹ For a more recent map of the region with the site's location, the reader is referred to figure 2a.

pertaining to the site.

THE NATURE OF THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The majority of the documents pertaining to the life of Richard Beasley have been included here in Appendix A. These letters were assembled through various trips to the National Archives of Canada, the Archives of Ontario, and the Archives at Queen's University. The compilation of these documents began during an archaeological field school in 1994. Under Dr. John R. Triggs, Director of Archaeology at Dundurn Castle in Hamilton, Ontario, the author and fellow student Julia Holland were required to conduct archival research prior to the preliminary excavations pertaining to the earliest settler at the site, Richard Beasley. Since those early archival expeditions, successive trips have discovered a wealth of historical documents; some had already been studied by prior researchers, but the majority were being read for the first time. Only the latter, that is the previously untranscribed correspondences, have been included here in appendix A; all others, such as secondary sources, maps, and previously transcribed or studied primary documents, will be sourced and referenced as usual. In addition to the letters and correspondence uncovered at the archives, Richard Beasley's Account Book dating from 1812 to the late 1830's has also been included in Appendix A. The account book, which had been residing at Dundurn Castle for some time, has only recently been made legible thanks to some long awaited conservation work. Taken together, the letters and the account book provide an excellent window onto that portion of Richard Beasley's life that pertains to his trading settlement at the Head of the Lake.

In transcribing the account book and letters, great efforts were taken to preserve as much of the feel of the original documents in a typed format as possible. Dennis Tedlock, in a discussion of oral narrative transcription (1983), noted the difficulties inherent in this process. The transcriber often finds that a mediative stance must be adopted, entailing some compromise in the final version: a completely literal transcription might be less useful than an annotated one, yet too much 'artistic license' could lessen the accuracy of the final product. In transcribing the Beasley documents, as much of the original content was preserved as was deemed useful. The layout and appearance of the originals was imitated by duplicating the lengths of pages and lines in the transcribed version, which serves to explain why some of the documents seem to have been extended needlessly when they could easily have fit onto a single page. The capitalization of words within the body of the text was also retained, as were any and all spelling errors, including errors made to proper names. Also, the abbreviations used in the originals, including the superscript text, were included. Within the account book, the lines drawn in to separate columns and entries were repeated in the transcription. Even the occasional error in Beasley's calculations has been preserved. However, some additions and changes to the originals were also necessary. Where punctuation was lacking, commas and periods were sometimes added to ease the structure and content flow; the 'f's used in words with a double 's' were also omitted for the same reason. There were also instances when only the addition of a commentary could adequately explain what was seen on the actual document; where such additions are made, they are enclosed in square brackets []. Occasionally, there were some words which could not always be completely discerned, either because of the condition of the document, the condition of

the photocopy, or the illegibility of the handwriting itself. In such cases, the legible portions of the word were transcribed, replacing the missing letters with question marks in brackets; for example, 'Richard Be(??)ley' or 'Richard Be<??>ley'. If any uncertainty was felt about a word, it would be followed by a single question mark in brackets, (?). Even with these modifications, however, it is hoped that an adequate rendition of the original documents, both in feel and fact, has been achieved.

In the historical background that follows, it may be useful to consult Mrs. Simcoe's map of Upper Canada for locating some of the places mentioned.

BEASLEY SETTLES AT THE HEAD OF THE LAKE

Sources from Beasley's early life have been difficult to locate, although current work by Chris Nisan at the New York State Archives (personal communication 1997) is beginning to shed some light on his ancestry, place of birth, and early childhood. Richard Beasley was born some time around July 16th, 1761, based on the inscription on his monument in Christ's Church Cathedral in Hamilton, Ontario: "In memory of Richard Beasley, Esquire, who departed this life on the 16th day of February, 1842, aged 80 years and seven months. The first settler at the Head of the Lake". A second date for Beasley's birth is taken from his descendant Percy Daniel Beasley's application to the United Empire Loyalists in 1936, stating that Richard was born July 29, 1759, although Percy seems to have miscalculated the date of birth from the Cathedral inscription. He was likely raised near Albany, New York, based on the marriage record of his aunt Johanna

Beasley, who married Richard Cartwright Senior in 1745. The record states that "Richard Cartwright Sr., Justice of the Peace and Member of the Land Board married in 1745, Johanna Beasley, a Native of Albany who was born on September 6th, 1726" (taken from Leblovic 1967; originally from the Parish Register, Kingston). Richard Cartwright Junior and Richard Beasley, trading partners later in Beasley's life, would occasionally refer to each other as 'cousin' in their correspondences, testifying to the family ties through Johanna.

Beasley does not surface again in the documentary record until 1777. According to research undertaken by an earlier scholar, Nicolas Leblovic (1967), Beasley enlisted with the Loyalist Rogers' Rangers during the American Revolution and was soon thereafter captured and charged at Peekskill, New York. Leblovic cites a letter dated September 14th, 1777: "Basly went from Fredericksburg, enlisted with the Rogers' Rangers ... was later taken above Tappan ... at Peekskill N.Y. charges were preferred by rebel agents against a loyalist named Basly ... " (Leblovic 1967 : 5). However, either the charges were light, or the young man must have been released or escaped shortly thereafter, because the next reference to his whereabouts state that he was in the province of Upper Canada by the end of 1777. In a petition to Governor Simcoe for a land grant (one of many made by Beasley in response to the policy of Upper Canada to offer lands to Loyalists - Wynn 1997 : 220-221), he writes that " ... Your Petitioner Came in the Province in the year 1777" (Leblovic 1967; taken from the Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, v. 24, p. 26), from which time he served as Assistant Commissariat at Fort Niagara for the next two years (Leblovic 1967 : 3). Richard Beasley, no older than sixteen, was on his own in Upper Canada.

Exactly when it was that Beasley settled on the shoreline of Burlington Bay is still debatable. It is possible that the previous petition in 1777 may actually be an appeal for these very lands, although Leblovic feels otherwise. He writes that it was not until May 22, 1784 that these Head-of-the-Lake lands were purchased by the province from the Six Nations Indian tribes; therefore, if Beasley were to have settled there as early as 1777, he would have been squatting on what was then Native soil. Yet we should not be surprised to find that Beasley might have been settling on lands he did not have full claim to. The Wentworth County Book of Patents claims that Richard Beasley was only given legal tenure of the Broken Front lots on July 8, 1799 (being lots 18, 19 and 21 of both the broken front, that is lots whose full extent lay beneath the waters of the lake, and the first concession, in Barton township). However, looking back to the visit paid Beasley by Mrs. Simcoe, it is clear that he was quite formidably settled on the shores of Burlington Bay in June of 1796, a full three years before the property was legally his; and judging by the substantial nature of his residence, he had been there for some time.

Further evidence that Beasley was squatting on the Broken Front lots can be found in the documents. A map of Burlington heights that may date to 1793 (figure 3) shows Beasley's first home on the shores of Burlington Bay, with what may be cultivated fields, fences, and an orchard upslope on the heights. Another visitor to the site, Major E.B. Littlehale, wrote in his diary on March 1, 1793 that "On account of a severe storm we proceeded no further than Beasley's at Burlington Bay" (Leblovic 1967; taken from Scadding 1889). A dispute that arose over the tenure of these lands also attests to Beasley's 'squatting'. Again, according to Leblovic (1967), the Broken Front lots were initially granted to a Captain Robert Lottridge in 1792 for his service in the Indian

Department during the American Revolution; however, because of the acreage lost to lake Ontario, he applied for a change of grants. But before the exchange could be completed, Captain Lottridge died, leaving the Broken Front lots to his heirs, John and William. Regrettably, Leblovic does not source this information, so its accuracy cannot be verified. However, the Beasley correspondence does mention a contention over land between Beasley and the heirs of Lottridge. On March 12th, 1798, Beasley writes to David W. Smith, the Surveyor General, that " ... the Heirs of Capt. Lottridge and myself have come to an Amiable Settlement with respect to the matter in Dispute between us and the necessary steps have been taken by our Attornies to secure me on the Premises." (3/12/1798).¹ That these lands are the same Broken Front lots is indicated later in the same letter, when Beasley writes " ... in consequence of which I have Contracted for the Building of a Wharf and Storehouse", and again twelve days later on March 26, "I have purchased from the heirs of Lottridge 400 Acres of Land, being those that were in Dispute ... if in your Power you will oblige me much to bring the Business to a Conclusion as soon as possible. Their will be a necessity for me to Commence the Building as soon as the ice leaves the little lake clear." (3/26/1798). Later military maps of Beasley's lands dating from 1813 (figure 4) and 1823 (figure 5) both show the wharves and storehouses along the lakeshore, indicating that the disputed Lottridge lands are indeed the Beasley Broken Front lots. Not only had Richard Beasley been squatting on lands that had been offered to another, but he had even improved upon them with a home, and had made plans for further improvement by contracting for wharves and storehouses.

Seeing that Beasley was far from reluctant to settle on lands he did not own, it

¹ References to the transcribed documents in Appendix A will simply be done by the date of the document; by referring to Appendix A, the full source can be had. Dates are listed as month, day, year.

does not seem improbable to assume that he could have been squatting on Native lands prior to their purchase by the Crown (contrary to the beliefs of Leblovic). With this in mind, then, it can be postulated that Beasley may have been resident at the lands at the head of Burlington Bay as early as 1777. He was certainly present and building upon the lot by the late 1780s, for by 1793 we find him well settled with a permanent residence at the Head of the Lake. These lands, that he may have been squatting on for up to twenty years, and at least for five, were finally granted him in 1799.

THE MISSISSAUGA AND THE SIX NATIONS IROQUOIS

Beasley was settling into a region that, although devoid of any substantial European presence, was occupied by two Native groups: the Six Nations Iroquois and the Mississauga. The history of these two groups around the Great Lakes extends back long before Beasley's arrival, as does their acquaintance with Europeans.

The Mississauga (also known as the Ojibwe or Chippewa) are part of the Algonquin language group; historically, their tribes occupied lands around Lake Superior, the northern shore of Lake Huron, and Southern Ontario. The other major language group in the area was the Iroquois, which included the Huron Confederacy (and their trading partners the Petuns) situated on the southern shores of Georgian Bay, and the Five Nations or Iroquois Confederacy (consisting of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas) residing southeast of the Great Lakes (the Five Nations later became the Six Nations in 1722 with the inclusion of a South Carolina Iroquois group named the Tuscaroras) (Smith 1987 : 17-18).

When the first Europeans arrived, the Five Nations were at war with the Huron, who were allied with the Great Lakes Algonquin. The Five Nations soon dispersed the Algonquin (and Mississauga) and Huron from their original lands to an area south of Lake Superior and north of Lake Huron. For the second half of the seventeenth century, the Five Nations occupied southern Ontario, establishing settlements along the north shore of Lake Ontario for the fur trade with the Dutch and English settlements to the southeast (Smith 1987 : 19). The Mississauga were not able to return to their original Lake Ontario lands until 1700, when disease and skirmishes with the French had sufficiently weakened the Five Nations Iroquois (Smith 1987 : 19).

The Mississauga allied themselves with the French in 1700. At this time, they enjoyed a territory that stretched along the northern shores of both Lake Erie and Lake Ontario (Smith 1987 : 21). Although they fought under Montcalm against the English in the late 1750s, the Mississaugas allied themselves with the English after the defeat of the French in 1763, and joined the English in battles against the Americans during the American Revolution (Smith 1987 : 22-23).

However, the residence of the Mississauga across their extensive territory was again shortlived. After the Revolution, the English Crown sought lands to offer not only to the immigrating Loyalists but also to reward the Six Nations Iroquois for their loyalty. From 1781 to 1788, the Crown purchased the majority of the Mississauga's lands in exchange for cloth and guns. Of these purchases, the Crown offered a large tract of land along the Grand River (just west of Burlington Bay) to the Six Nations; by 1784, two thousand Iroquois had settled there, led by their half-Mohawk chief Joseph Brant. The Mississauga, 5,000 strong in 1784, were left with a narrow strip of land along the

northern shore of Lake Ontario stretching from the Bay of Quinte to York (Smith 1987 : 25-28). Therefore, by the time of Beasley's arrival, outlying areas around Burlington Bay were home to both the Mississauga and the Six Nations Iroquois, who were well already well acquainted with Europeans and interaction with them.¹

RICHARD BEASLEY, THE TRADER

Beasley's primary activities during his early arrival at Burlington Bay involved trade with these local Natives for furs which he exchanged with his cousin Richard Cartwright Jr. in Kingston (called Cataraqui in the documents) and Robert Hamilton in Queenstown, two of the most important merchants around the Great Lakes at the time. Beasley's earliest trading partner is one Peter Smith (Leblovic 1967); references to the two are made in letters addressed to them on the 10th of April 1786, and in letters from Cartwright to his partner Hamilton on June 8th and July 18th, 1786. The first letter from Cartwright to Beasley & Smith offers a glimpse into the range of goods purchased by Beasley at this early period, the "substantial Part" of their order being "Rum, Shrouds & Blankets", the remainder included such items as "Powder & Shott ... Molton ... Ratteen ... Scarlet Cloth ... Silver Works ... Corn, Flour ... Peas ... Pork ... " (4/10/1786). Although little mention is made of the Natives in Beasley's correspondence, Mrs. Simcoe herself called Beasley an 'Indian trader' (Innis 1965), and many of these items would have been

¹ Tensions between the Iroquois and Mississauga persisted throughout the first half of the 19th century. However, in 1848, in response to growing European settlement along the shores of Lake Ontario, the Six Nations offered 6,000 acres of their Grand River lands to the Mississauga (from whom it had originally been purchased by the Crown over 50 years prior – Weaver 1978 : 530).

used by Beasley & Smith to trade with the local Natives for furs, in particular the blankets and silver works, the latter having been found on excavations at the site. To pay for the goods he ordered, Beasley would then sell the furs through Cartwright & Hamilton, although there were occasions when these ambitious new businessmen wanted to try their own hand at fur sales. One particular pelt shipment can be tracked through the documents to illustrate this point. On the 8th of June 1786, Cartwright is excusing himself from a visit to his partner Hamilton: "I am every Day expecting Beasley & Smith with Pelteries of which they have already sent some ..." (6/8/1786). The complete shipment had been received by July 18, but then Smith seemed to prefer to sell the pelts on his own account rather than through Cartwright & Hamilton: "I could not ... attend to any Thing else till I had dispatched M^r Smith who had been awaiting my Arrival here ten Days. He still persists in having the Pelteries shipped on their own Accounts, I shall therefore desire Mess^{rs} Todd & M^cGill to keep their Parcel intirely separate ... " (7/18/1786)¹. The stubborn ambition of the Burlington partners is also evidenced further on in the letter, when Cartwright adds that " ... I hinted to him the taking M^r Dickson as a Partner which he did not seem to relish much." (7/18/1786). Perhaps Beasley & Smith were already feeling the coming fall in fur prices, and they hoped that by cutting out additional expenditures and middlemen, their fur trade enterprise could be spared.

By 1792, the names of Beasley & Smith no longer appear together in the records; their partnership seems to have dissolved. In the same year as his marriage to Henrietta

¹ Other letters make it clear that Todd & McGill, later to become members of the Northwest Co, deliver Cartwright and Hamilton's goods.

Springer¹, Beasley entered into a new business partnership with a man named James Wilson (Leblovic 1967) in building a saw and grist mill "on a creek entering into the Head of Burlington Bay ... in the year 1791" (11/7/1792); by 1792, surveyor Augustus Jones could write to Surveyor General David W. Smith of "The saw mill now Erecting" (11/7/1792). Beasley may have been either fortunate or wise in his decision to build a mill, for soon thereafter, Cartwright begins to mention with increasing frequency the falling prices of furs.

The first of such losses that are documented here occurs on August 23, 1793, as Cartwright tells Beasley that "there will be a very considerable loss on your Parcel of Furs of first year" (8/23/1798); the warning is repeated on November 22nd of the same year. Later, Cartwright warns Beasley that "if a good Price can be had for your Furs on the Spot, it is better to accept it than trust to the London Market, where the Prospects of Sales for the present is very dull indeed" (4/17/1794). As the possibility of war against the United States began to surface, Cartwright continued to warn Beasley, stating that "the Prospect for Furs at Home seems to be worse than ever" (5/9/1794). Warnings and losses on furs continue to plague Beasley through 1794 (10/4/1794, 11/10/1794) and 1795 (5/27/1795), straight through into the early 19th century, when furs sold through Beasley for Daniel Springer "[fell] far Short of his Expectations" (9/25/1800).

Cartwright emphasizes that "This is paying very slowly & I hope he will use his Endeavours to do something better in the Fall." (8/19/1802). Although Beasley was to some degree trading in furs throughout his stay at the Head of the Lake, he likely hoped

¹ There are no sources to document the story of Beasley's encounter with Henrietta, but Leblovic relates a popular and unique accounting of it: "Several years before 1791 Beasley had found Henrietta in the woods after she had been captured and then abandoned by a band of Seneca Indians. It seems that romance sprang from this encounter, and their marriage resulted" (Leblovic 1967 : 4).

that the export of his flour from his 1792 grist mill would help him survive the vagaries of the fur trade (although here, as well, Beasley encountered obstacles; Cartwright wrote as early as the 23rd of August, 1793, that "[I]can be of no use to you [i.e.: Beasley] in providing a Sale for your Flour" (8/23/1793)).

A TRADER'S GROWING DEBT

With the price of Beasley's main export, pelts, dropping rapidly, it should come as no surprise to find Beasley unable to pay Cartwright and Hamilton for the costly goods they had procured him from Montreal, Bristol, and even the West Indies.¹ The effects of the fur trade decline were rapidly felt; as early as September of 1793, we find Cartwright totaling up the unpaid invoices due him, amounting to an incredible 1,650 pounds Halifax Currency (9/24/1793).² Because of the large sum owing, Cartwright may have been trying to curtail business with Beasley a month earlier, when he told him that "I think it necessary to give you this early Notice that you may be prepared for my then withdrawing from the Business" (8/23/1793). Around the same time, Cartwright also begins to list shortages on Beasley's orders (rum and salt on September 24, 1793 and glass a month later on November 22) which in both instances he claims can be borrowed from the shipment sent to his partner Robert Hamilton; apparently, Cartwright had a limited supply of some goods, and preferred to send them to his partner Hamilton, who was most likely to make payment. It would seem that Beasley's business continued to do

¹ Montreal is repeatedly mentioned in the documents, as is Bristol; the West Indies is mentioned 5/27/1795.

² In delivering this note, Cartwright offers some possibly sarcastic advice, warning Beasley "to be cautious in giving Credits, for when once begun there is no knowing where to end."

poorly (or perhaps he was simply taking advantage of family ties to his cousin), for the debt goes unpaid for years following despite Cartwright's repeated requests for payment. By 1794, the total owing amounted to 1702 .. 19 .. 6½ pounds (4/17/1794). Even though by 1795 this amount had been reduced to nearly 1,300 pounds (5/27/1795), Cartwright was forced to keep watch over Beasley's debtors in the hope that he could reap a payment the moment Beasley received any. Cartwright writes that "As I understood you had a stipulation with M^r A. Todd on paying him the money rec^d in N. York last Winter for Bersey's Bills, that you should draw for Part of it this Spring, I took it for Granted that this Reserve was to be applied towards paying off the Debt due me ... " (6/27/1796). Later, Cartwright is forced to stake a claim on the estate of a dying man: " ... and am sorry to learn that M^r Barry is in such a bad State of Health. I do not doubt but that due Diligence will be used in settling the Affairs of M^r Barry's Estate; and any Money that can be remitted by the Express will of Course be acceptable" (2/24/1800).¹ Leading up to the beginning of the 19th century, Cartwright becomes quite blunt with his cousin about the outstanding debt in every correspondence (8/22/1796: "If your Business permits you to profit ... I shall certainly be glad to see you"; 11/1/1796: "I am persuaded of your best Endeavours to collect for me what you can"; 11/1/1797: "I assure you I find my Cost that Delays of this Kind are of serious Consequence"). By the turn of the century, almost *seven years* after it was incurred, Beasley's debt had been somewhat lessened, but still stood at 1075.14.6½ pounds (3/31/1800).

To put this debt into perspective, we can turn to Cartwright's list of outstanding

¹ See also 8/22/1800 where Cartwright repeats a request for some of the payments from the Barry estate, 3/4/1801 where he expresses disappointment that the Estate is unlikely to offer any payment soon, and 1/2/1813 in the account book for the possibly belated auctioning off of the Mr. Barry's goods.

accounts from March 31, 1800: Beasley's debt accounts for 62% of the total amounts owing, and his total is just under eight times greater than the amount owed by the second highest debtor in the list. Another way to look at it is to turn to the list of articles exported from the Port of Quebec in 1801 (12/31/1801), a list drawn up by Cartwright himself through his position as Legislative Councillor of Upper Canada (Innis 1965). From this list, Beasley's debt would be capable of purchasing 10,689 mink or nearly 1,140 elk pelts, almost 4,488 barrels of Indian Corn, over 522 casks of pickled fish, or over 70 horses (assuming that the currencies are the same, which may not be the case). It seems clear that Richard Beasley was in dire financial straits.

Richard Beasley's problems with indebtedness came to a head when Robert Hamilton began making requests for payments. If Beasley had been receiving kinder treatment from Cartwright with regards to debts, he was to receive nothing of the sort from his cousin's partner: Robert Hamilton, by the end of July 1799, had begun proceedings with an attorney to take Beasley to court. Incredibly, Beasley still expected his cousin to bail him out. In a letter to Hamilton, Cartwright states that "[Beasley] had received Intimation from your Attorney that you had directed his Note to you to be put in Suit, *and wishing me to assume it* [emphases added]" (7/29/1799). Although Cartwright quickly adds that he will *not* assume Beasley's debt, and writes to Beasley the same day to tell him so,¹ he does try to take some of the heat off by telling Hamilton that "[Beasley] says he is willing to give you sufficient landed Security; or to give up any other Part of his Property in Satisfaction for the Debt ..." (7/29/1799). In this final statement,

¹ "It is out of my Power without embarrassing my Business to assume your Debt to M^r Hamilton ..." (7/29/1799)

Cartwright was alluding to the sale of Beasley's home.

The mounting pressure from Cartwright, Hamilton and perhaps other unknown creditors forced Beasley to try to sell his property at Burlington Bay. He initially tries to sell it through Cartwright (who seems to have little luck: "M^r Cameron is not here at present, and I believe would not be inclined to purchase a House ... I shall however make inquiry" (8/27/1799)), and later resorts to a newspaper advertisement in the *Canadian Constellation* on June 21, 1800, describing the Burlington Bay property as "under good improvement. there are on the premises a comfortable dwelling house and stables; also a wharf 100' long and 52 wide; a storehouse 30 X 20 ..." (6/21/1800). At this time, the 'house' mentioned by Beasley is no longer the early residence on the shore that Mrs. Simcoe sketched; Beasley has since moved upslope into a brick building (the remains of which can still be seen incorporated into the present-day Dundurn Castle built by Sir Allan MacNab – see figure 6). The shoreline building sketched by Mrs. Simcoe was, as we have already seen, built possibly as early as 1777, but most likely in the late 1780's. In 1798, during the debate with the Lottridges over possession of the Broken Front lands, Beasley proposed the construction of some wharves and storehouses, and it is perhaps at this time that he abandoned his initial abode, razing it in the process (this scenario seems the most likely based on the archaeological finds to be discussed later). The home for sale in 1800 is described as 'comfortable' (which his early home was unlikely to have been) with stables, which are depicted upslope near his brick home in the 1813 military map (with the wharves and storehouses at the shore) (see figure 4). This would seem to indicate that it is this upslope property that is for sale in 1800.

Within this chronology, then, the brick home is definitely present by 1800, but

may date some time earlier, with the original shoreline residence being razed between 1798 and 1800 for the addition of the wharf and storehouse aforementioned. This single wharf and storehouse, as described in Beasley's advertisement, were still present in 1813 as seen in the military map of the same year. This map shows us that the wharf juts out into the lake at an *angle* to the lakeshore. The original storehouse from Beasley's advertisement is depicted at this later time with two others; all three are rectangular in shape and are also oriented at an *angle* to the shoreline. Beasley's original lakeshore abode is nowhere to be seen in this map. It was the sale of his 'comfortable' hilltop brick home (the construction of which, being a rarity at the time, was probably another cause for Beasley's rising debt) that Beasley hoped would alleviate his financial woes.

THE GRAND RIVER LANDS

Beasley was unsuccessful in his attempts to sell his home in 1800;¹ as we will see, it wasn't until 1832 that the property changed hands. However, even if Beasley had sold his property during the 1800's, he would certainly not have been landless. Since his initial arrival in the area, the Beasley correspondence mentions frequent land acquisitions and petitions through the then Surveyor General, David W. Smith (1/9/1796, 9/20/1796, 10/14/1796, 6/18/1797, 9/5/1800, 10/27/1800). The most significant of these purchases, and yet another factor behind Beasley's rising debt (and his seeming reluctance to pay it off), was the Grand River land deal.

¹ In 3/4/1801, Beasley is still searching for a buyer; Cartwright tells him that "I shall certainly do all I can to find a Purchaser for the House; but as our Attorney General is a Bachelor, he will probably satisfy himself with less expensive Accomodations".

The Grand River lies west of Beasley's home, and is visible in Mrs. Simcoe's map of the area (figure 2b). The lands belonged to the Six Nations Indians (marked as Mohawk Village on Simcoe's map), a tribe of 2,000 Iroquois who had moved north of the Great Lakes to occupy the lands awarded them by the Crown for their loyalty during the American Revolution (Wynn 1987 : 220). Their leader was Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, who had risen to his leadership by convincing some of the Iroquois (at this point occupying lands south of the Great Lakes) to help the British during the Seven Years War from 1756 - 1763 (Moore 1987 : 183). The lands purchased by Beasley were offered for sale by the Six Nations in order to "insure the future prosperity of our Tribes and Establish for us a Pensioning Funde" (8/17/1803), and also to attract white settlers into the area, without whom "...how are we to get Roads made, Bridges built, &c. &c." (8/17/1803).

Beasley's involvement with the Grand River lands can be traced through a set of Councils held between the Six Nations and their Executive Council of Trustees in the early nineteenth century (8/17/1803, 6/29/1804, 9/23/1806, 4/14/1807, 5/29/1807). Initially, these councils were called to look into missing payments on the part of some tenants (Beasley included)¹ and to express concerns over a Government proclamation that the Natives could no longer lease their lands.² Later, the councils included an investigation into the misappropriation of funds by the Deputy Superintendant General of Indian Affairs, Colonel Claus. According to a report of the Committee of the Executive

¹ "the cause of delays in payments and our not receiving any benefits from our lands were owing to the unfortunate choice of purchasers" (8/17/1803).

² "One of the causes of our great uneasiness now, is owing to the bad effects a proclamation issued by the Executive Government of this Province has made it bears the date Council Chamber 10th Novem^r 1803. declaring that no Leases which have been or shall be grantede or pretended to be grantede by or under the authority of any Indian Nation will be admitted or allowed of" (8/17/1803).

Council on May 18, 1804, Beasley had originally purchased some of the Grand River lands on the fifth of February 1798 with two others, James Wilson (probably the same Wilson who joined Beasley in his milling enterprise) and Lt. John Baptiste Rousseau.¹ The total amount purchased came to 94,012 acres (5/18/1804) in what was called Block No.2 (7/20/1805). The problems with the purchase began soon enough. "Beasley & Associates" (12/13/1802) wanted to have the mortgage for this huge expanse of land, which began at £ 8,887 pounds (5/18/1804), divided up into separate mortgages for each lot within it, probably for easier sale. Supposedly, separate mortgages were promised at the time of purchase but by 1803 they still hadn't surfaced.² In anticipation of Beasley's purchase and eventual sale of these lands, Cartwright writes to him wishing him "Success in [his] Endeavours to dispose of [his] Grand River Lands ..." (1/7/1798). Beasley must have also expected an easy sale of these lands, for he sent an agent to the United States to look for buyers months before his actual entitlement. Again, Cartwright wishes him luck: "I hope your Agent in the States will meet with Success in his Attempts to dispose of your Lands on the Grand River" (11/1/1797). However, perhaps because of the unsplit mortgage, Beasley had little luck in finding tenants (except for some Mennonites from Pennsylvania (according to Leblovic (1967 : 6)) who arrived in 1799, and many of whom left once they realized that Beasley was unable to give them full deeds and ownership for the lands because they were under mortgage). The Six Nations Council called him and other unpaying tenants to a hearing to decide whether or not they should lose their lands (8/17/1803). Beasley, excusing himself based on the fact that he was unable to get separate mortgages for the lands, is given more time to pay, but others like a M^r Jarvis

¹ Referred to as Lt. John in earlier documents pertaining to fur shipments (9/12/1793, 9/24/1793).

² "separate Mortgages were faithfully promised him by our Trustees ..." (8/17/1803).

are not as lucky.¹ According to the reckonings of Col. Claus (1/3/1803), Beasley had only paid £ 600 pounds N.Y. Currency in the six years since the purchase, although the Trustees reckon £ 3,162 and change when payments to Capt. Brant were included (5/15/1804). Yet even with these payments, the 6% interest rate left Beasley with a balance of just over £ 9,056 pounds.

Problems for Beasley were compounded during the hearings concerning Colonel Claus. The Dept. Supt. General of Indian Affairs was being investigated for mishandling of Six Nations funds, and had to make a reckoning of all funds received (6/29/1804 and again 9/23/1806). However, he could not account for any funds received from Beasley, who had been making his payments to Capt. Brant rather than a member of the Executive Council as originally stipulated. Beasley must have been thankful indeed when the assembled Six Nations representatives agreed with Capt. Brant's reckoning of moneys received, exonerating him of any missed payments (6/29/1804).²

The entire fiasco concerning the Grand River lands was ultimately settled when some of the Mennonites who had decided to stay on lands Beasley had tried to sell them (represented by Trustees Daniel and Jacob Erb, Samuel Bricker and Benjamin Eby) managed to strike an agreement with Beasley on November 28, 1803 to purchase 60,000 acres of Block 2 for the value of the mortgage (Leblovic 1967 : 7, from Upper Canada

¹ Other reasons for Beasley's payment difficulties may have arisen from Rousseau and Wilson pulling out of the affair, leaving Beasley alone to make the mortgage payments (Leblovic 1967 : 6), although a source for this has not been found.

² Claus didn't seem to get off as well as Beasley; although Claus tried to claim that the funds were invested in England (9/23/1806), he seems to have failed to convince the Six Nations representatives of his sincere concern for their welfare. He finishes his tirade with "Brothers, You have used your best endeavours to Rob me of that hitherto unsullied reputation which is the only inheritance I can leave to my Children, and you have done it without regard to truth, and a venomous asperity, to deprive me of both Bread and Honor. But conscious as I am of the rectitude of my conduct ..." (9/23/1806).

State Papers, v. 7, p. 33-49: "The said Richard Beasley for and in consideration of the sum of £ 10,000 ... to be paid by the said Daniel Erb and Samuel Bricker ... [will grant] a certain tract or parcel of Land containing 60,000 acres lying ... on the Grand River"). The Six Nations and their Trustees in their turn allowed Beasley to pay off the mortgage on the 60,000 acres earlier than stipulated (by May 1805) (5/15/1804), the mortgage and interest accumulated to that point being £ 10,920:17:4 (Leblovic 1967 : 8). By this stroke of luck, Beasley was able to escape further problems with the Six Nations by selling the majority of his lands held with them; he was, however, not so lucky with his other debtors, who continued to hound him.¹

WAR THREATENS BURLINGTON HEIGHTS

The final significant event during Beasley's stay at the Head of the Lake was the War of 1812. The first inklings of troubles south of the border are expressed by Cartwright in a letter to a Major MacKenzie on the second of November, 1808, when he writes that there have been "Some movements of Troops and other Transactions ... taking Place on the American Frontier ... Within a few weeks more than 200 Regular Troops have been Stationed ..." (11/2/1808). Cartwright goes on to describe the Americans' attempts to land at Kingston, under pretence of foul weather, with the "Purpose of informing themselves of the different Entrances to this Port" (11/2/1808). By 1812, the

¹ As an interesting aside, the documents tell us that after this deal had gone through, Beasley receives word from surveyor Richard Cocknell that the original lands he had purchased were incorrectly measured at 94,012 acres: they actually came to 91,112 acres, and Beasley had paid for an additional 2,900 acres of land that did not exist (6/10/1805). The Trustees calculated this deficiency equivalent to £ 669-3-6 NY Currency (7/9/1805). After pressing for either monetary compensation or additional lands next to his remaining Grand River tracts (7/20/1805), Beasley received 3,000 acres from the Six Nations on the 4th of April, 1807, bringing his Grand River holdings to 34,112 acres.

battle had begun, and the military began to view Burlington Heights as a strategic position (with the loss of Fort Malden and the capture of Fort George and Fort Erie, Burlington Heights was the last secure foothold in the west of Upper Canada (Triggs 1996)). They occupied Beasley's home and lands from June 1st 1813 to either September 1st, 1815 (Claim No. 46, 6/24/1823) or the 9th of January 1816 (6/12/1816). The maps from 1813 and 1823 attest to their presence, displaying Beasley's residence and the wharves and storehouses in relation to the barracks, magazine and earthworks constructed during the occupation.

Beasley, who had been a fur trader and most recently a land dealer, began supplying the military that had settled at his home upslope on Burlington Heights. His account book, while still noting land deals, makes very little mention of furs or pelts. What is mentioned, with a startling frequency, are the storage and shipment of spirits and wines, presumably from his wharf and storehouses downslope. Regrettably, it seems that the recipients of the goods are only identified as military men when they are men of rank (for example, General Vincent and Lieutenant John Ryckman surface frequently in the accounts). Yet, even if only those who can with certainty be identified as members of the military are considered, it can be seen that the majority of the trade involves them. Plates, china vessels, cutlery, blankets and linens, soap, tea, paper, buttons and lengths of fine coloured cloth are frequently mentioned, although the most popular item by far seems to be spirits, wine and rum. One shipment on the 16th of June, 1814, is especially large: Thomas Meen, a merchant in Montreal, and Beasley bring two boat loads of spirits, or 1398 ½ Gallons, to Burlington Bay, at a cost of over £ 751 pounds. It is interesting to note that Cartwright is not mentioned anywhere in their 'adventure'; perhaps Beasley

decided to bypass him altogether because of his ever-present debt.

Any returns Beasley may have enjoyed during the military presence were likely offset by the damages he claims to have incurred. Damages to and acquisitions of his property, listed in the account book on the 2nd and 15th of October 1813 and again on the final undated page, were summarized in 'Claim No. 46' submitted to the Board of Claims in 1823 (6/24/1823). The claims included damages to his fencing that was burnt by the troops, wagons used, grains and hay taken from the barn, rent owing on his occupied home, as well as wear and tear to the building itself. Earlier, Beasley had taken care to insure that the occupying troops were aware of any rents and payments due him. At an assembly in Kingston in April 1815, Beasley is listed under claim no.9 with money owing for the "Losses & use of his house" (4/15/1815). Goods consumed by the military were accounted for in another claim on January 17, 1816. He even has the Captain of the 19th Light Dragoons, G. A. Moultrie, sign a statement that his 40 horses were "turned on [Beasley's] grass" (1/20/1816), and has General Vincent sign a document attesting to the 11,000 rails of wood his men destroyed (6/12/1816). In the final reckoning, however, Beasley's claim of £ 3,007-2-5 in damages was awarded only £ 1,330-1-0 (6/24/1823). Perhaps the Board of Claims felt that Beasley exaggerated some of his losses.

A GROWING COMMUNITY

Apart from merchantman, Beasley was also an integral part of the growing community in his role as Magistrate in 1796 (Leblovic 1967 : 8)¹ and as member of the

¹ Leblovic cites a letter from Robert Hamilton to E. B. Littlehales in which Beasley is recommended as Magistrate on June 15, 1796 (Nelles Papers).

Legislative Assembly of the Parliament of Upper Canada in 1791 (Leblovic 1967 : 8) and in 1800 (in a letter to Robert Nelles on 7/5/1800, Beasley wonders whether they should run together to pool the votes from their districts). The letters note his duties in these positions, ranging from the petitioning of lands for widowers (11/5/1794, 12/15/1794, 4/7/1809), petitioning for millstones for the benefit of local millers and farmers alike (8/4/1798), helping new settlers understand the land grant process (10/16/1798, 2/14/1802), and expressing the concerns of his district in community matters (on 7/11/1800, Beasley writes to the Surveyor General D.W.Smith to cancel plans for the realigning of the road in Barton Township along the actual concession lines). Although some problems occasionally arose (Beasley and Nelles experience some confusion over the appointment of pathmasters on 10/30/1800 and 11/12 1800), Beasley strove to ensure that "The Public Business of the Country [did not] remain under the gangling of the Magistrates" (11/12/1800). According to the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada in 1903, Richard Beasley was also a member of the Barton lodge of freemasons in 1795.¹

Richard Beasley's presence at the Head of the Lake came to an end in 1832, when Sir Allan Napier MacNab purchased the brick home on Burlington Heights. Beasley may have been forced to sell because of his ever-present debts. During the military occupation, Beasley had lived in a second residence to the south of his occupied brick home, but after the occupation, he returned to his brick residence and added on an exterior summer kitchen (the latter can be seen in the 1823 map). Also, at some point

¹ In a letter to one of the Masonic Brothers (March 22, 1802), there seems to be an indication that Beasley may also have had some African-American slaves (" ... I will give you for the negro woman £ 50 ..." (Royal Society of Canada 1903)).

between 1813 and 1823, Beasley razed the earlier wharf and storehouses seen in the 1813 map and replaced them with three new ones. According to the 1823 map, these later storehouses are in a slightly more northerly location than the earlier 1813 buildings; also, unlike the earlier buildings, these new storehouses are square rather than rectangular with an orientation that is *parallel* to (rather than at an angle to) the shoreline. It is these later shoreline structures that MacNab would have acquired with his purchase of Beasley's property. Between 1832 and 1847, MacNab razed the kitchen (Triggs 1994 : 32), preserved and incorporated Beasley's brick residence into the present day Dundurn Castle (see figure 6), and built a cockpit atop the foundations of Beasley's 'military occupation' residence to the south (Triggs 1994). The original residence, wharf and storehouses at the shore, which had been razed by this time and are not visible in the 1823 map, were likely covered over when construction (described here from an article in the *Western Mercury* on July 7, 1834) on "the section of road on Col. Beasley's hollow" was undertaken. During the road repair, it was "advisable ... to fill up the hollow [to] the hill beyond".

Richard Beasley, the fur trader, land dealer, military supplier and local magistrate, had seen the Barton Township area through its initial settlement to its status as an important economic centre for all of Upper Canada. As the original settler at the Head of the Lake, Beasley and his trading post, wharf and storehouses provide a perfect site to look for frontier and post-frontier interaction. But first, having reviewed the documentary sources, a summary of the archaeological finds from the site is also necessary.

CHAPTER III

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS FROM AN EARLY TRADING POST

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological excavations at Dundurn Castle began in 1991 with the appointment of Dr. John R. Triggs as the Director of Archaeology at the site. In that year, excavations were undertaken within the courtyard of Sir Allan MacNab's Dundurn Castle, uncovering the remains of a gun platform and military entrenchment dating from the 1813 - 1815 military occupation of Beasley's home (Triggs 1993a). Since that time, a variety of projects have been undertaken in and around the Castle and its surrounding parkland. The foundations of an earlier structure beneath MacNab's cockpit, being the remains of Beasley's wartime residence during the military occupation of his brick home, were discovered in 1992. The summer kitchen seen in the 1823 military map of the Heights was also excavated in the same year (Triggs 1994). In 1993, research focused on the military earthworks documented on the Heights in both the 1813 and 1823 map. This work continued in 1994, in what is today called Harvey Park, in search of the first line of entrenchments put up by the military in 1813 (visible to the north of 'Col. Baisley's' home on the 1813 map) (Triggs 1996). However, in the same year, a second project was undertaken downslope, in search of Beasley's first home, wharf and storehouses at the lakeshore. This secondary research was assigned to the author and Julia Holland, both from the University of Toronto. It is these preliminary excavations at the Beasley wharf complex, and further work conducted seasonally thereafter through 1997, that will be

looked at in this study, being the excavations that directly relate to Beasley's first arrival in the area and settlement at what was then a frontier.

LOCATING THE SITE

Mrs. Simcoe's sketch of Beasley's residence at the Head of the Lake was, alone, insufficient for locating the site. In order to determine its location at the lakeshore, the military maps from 1813 and 1823 were used. Both of these maps included Beasley's winged brick residence upslope, which still exists to this day incorporated into MacNab's Dundurn Castle. Using this building as a reference point, then, the approximate location of the complex of structures at the lakeshore was calculated, using the known dimensions of Beasley's home for scale.¹ Problems arose when it was discovered that the lakeshore buildings were not situated in the same position in both maps; ultimately, the location indicated on the 1813 map was chosen as a starting point. Once the general location had been reckoned, a surface walk of the region was undertaken to examine the flora and topography of the area. The excavations began in a level area covered with sumac in the vicinity of the location indicated on the 1813 map.

After a test pitting survey of the area, excavations began in earnest. Initial units begun by the author and Julia Holland were soon added to in subsequent seasons by other students from the McMaster University field school. These preliminary excavations turned up a large amount of 19th century ceramics and a single sleeper trench feature,

¹ In the Western Mercury Newspaper, 1833, is written: "... the handsome and commodious brick cottage on Burlington Heights lately occupied by Col. Beasley will be let for 2 years ... 50 feet long by 40 ft. wide with 2 wings each 20 ft. sq. and a frame kitchen 18 x 30 feet with cellarage under the main body of the building ..."

early evidence for the Beasley storehouses. However, it was not until the field schools in 1995 and 1996 that a much wider area was exposed and additional architectural features were found. The depth of the site due to slope runoff and soil erosion from the steep surrounding Heights was unknown until the larger scale excavations in 1995 and 1996.¹ A total of 37 units were excavated, of which 11 were directly associated with the Beasley occupation. These 11 units ranged between 1 x 2 and 2 x 2 metres, covering a total area of 28 square metres. By the end of the 1997 season, enough evidence had been gathered to confirm the presence of archaeological remains pertaining to Beasley's first home at the site as well as his later storehouses.

STRATIGRAPHIC EXCAVATION AND INTERPRETATION

The excavations at the Beasley wharf complex were conducted by following the 'real' stratigraphy; that is, each layer of soil was excavated as a separate layer, as opposed to a system of arbitrary layer depths. As each student uncovered a new layer or lot, correlations were made with matching layers in other units across the site. A Harris Matrix was developed for each completed unit by combining the depositional sequence from each unit's stratigraphic profiles with the layers encountered only in plan view (i.e.: layers that did not come into contact with the walls). The Harris Matrix is a system for the relative chronological ordering of each individual stratum. Once ordered, the strata can be grouped into phases that represent activities on the site (for example, construction or destruction phases). Analysis of artifacts by phase permits meaningful conclusions

¹ These formation processes made themselves particularly apparent during the 1996 field school, when one day of heavy rain filled two of the units with runoff to such an extent that they had to be abandoned.

and comparisons to be made between activity-related assemblages on a site (for more information on Harris Matrix construction, see the footnote below).¹

PHASE ANALYSIS

The phasing of the combined Harris Matrix for the Beasley wharf complex was performed according to the methods described above. Fortunately, the documentary

¹ The Harris Matrix, developed by Dr. Edward C. Harris (Harris 1989), is a system for the relative chronological ordering of each individual stratum. Every excavated layer is given a number, which is then placed into sequence relative to the other layers according to the order in which they were deposited. However, since these excavated layers represent actual activities on the site, Harris realized that an accurate chronological reconstruction requires that interfaces, or boundaries between layers and features, must also be included, since they also represent events through time. For example, a pit has an interface between its fill and the surrounding deposit: the surrounding layer would place earliest in the sequence, and then the digging of the pit (represented by the interface) would be next, followed by the filling of the pit at some later point in time. The interface, while technically a non-dimensional and non-tangible entity, is crucial for the ordering of strata. Governing this sequential ordering is the Law of Superposition, which states that any strata found above another dates later in time than the one beneath it. The resulting matrix, often resembling a circuit board or flowchart, is the accurate portrayal of a site's stratigraphical history through time. Once the matrix for each unit has been derived, the correlations between the lots in each unit permit a final, combined matrix to be created for the site as a whole.

During the development of the final site matrix, little reference is made to the artifacts; in truth, as Harris instructs (Harris 1989), they should not be used at all at this stage, because the matrix itself is absolute. The date of deposition of an artifact or an assemblage within each layer can never be accurately known, particularly due to the wide range of possible dates of deposition that lie between an artifact's moment of manufacture and the ultimate abandonment of the site. Relying on the artifacts for a site chronology could ultimately result in multiple chronological possibilities. The Harris Matrix however, due to the Law of Superposition, yields an unique *relative* chronology of the site; and it is only within this unique and unalterable chronology that any interpretation of the artifacts will bear any meaning.

The artifacts and the element of interpretation are brought in when the phasing of the final site matrix occurs. A phase is simply a set of grouped layers or strata on the matrix that correspond to a single episode or historical event. In historical archaeology, the documents permit an easier phasing than might otherwise be possible. By looking at the descriptions of each layer, and using the artifacts where necessary, these groups of common event strata are derived. The phase interpretation is usually eased by looking for floor layers, indicating an occupation phase, or builder's trenches, indicating a construction phase, or layers replete with architectural debris, indicating a destruction phase. If anomalies surface, the artifacts within a layer may help to 'slide' that lot up or down into its corresponding phase (when two or more layers are on parallel branches within the matrix, they were not found in physical contact stratigraphically and thus could not be placed into an order relative to each other under the law of superposition. However, Triggs has found that a type of seriation can be performed using the artifacts within these 'branched' layers to place them into a seriated relative sequence (Triggs 1993b)). Once the phases have been determined according to the strata and the artifacts, they can be assigned a date if the activities and events at the site have been well documented; should this not be the case, the final recourse will be the artifacts and their interpretation. Although these phases can also be grouped into periods, representing long-term historical occupations, it is the phases that will be used as the unit of analysis in this research.

sources (as seen in the previous chapter) were detailed enough to permit tentative dating of the phases. The combined Harris Matrix for the site, and the resultant dated phases, can be seen in Appendix B. A description of some of the more striking strata has also been added.

Following the matrix and phase diagrams in Appendix B are summaries of the artifact assemblages per phase. The artifacts were databased according to the scheme proposed by Stanley South (1977), all except the ceramics and the glass trade beads; the former were classified using a ceramic typology developed for Fort Frontenac (by John R. Triggs) while the latter were categorized according to the Kidd Bead Typology (1970). These classification schemes were chosen to conform with the previous excavation databases on site.

The artifact summaries and matrix diagrams in appendix B are offered only for further reading; to avoid creating a miniature site report, only summaries of the artifact and feature finds within each phase, and the rationale behind the phasing, will be discussed. By using the phase as our unit of analysis, the archaeological data pertaining to the site can be summarily related.

The arrival of Richard Beasley at Burlington Heights was preceded by a period of prehistoric and protohistoric occupation, corresponding respectively with phases II and III. The majority of the artifacts from the prehistoric phase were burnt bones, coming from a large midden deposit adjacent to what would later be the rubble foundation for Beasley's first home. No historical period or building related finds were found in this prehistoric phase. Later, during the protohistoric phase, there is some evidence of

European contact among the resident Natives, with glass trade beads surfacing alongside chert debitage and Native ceramics.

The prehistoric phase relates either to the initial Ojibwe groups, or to the late seventeenth century Iroquois occupation, while the protohistoric phase likely relates to the early eighteenth century return of the Mississauga (see the previous section for details). However, based on the lack of postholes and other structural features, the Mississauga must have used the area as a temporary campsite rather than a permanent habitation.¹ However, since only a fraction of the site has been excavated thus far, the possibility for the discovery of features indicative of long-term Mississauga habitation still exists.

Beasley's arrival in phase IV puts an end to the protohistoric phase. The construction of his first residence at the site is represented by phase V in the matrix. This construction phase, likely dating to the late 1780s according to the documents, is characterized by a builder's trench, rubble foundation, floor planking, and a mass of decomposed red brick clay (plates 1-3). The rubble foundation and accompanying builder's trench were oriented, by pure chance, with the site grid system which ran roughly parallel to the lakeshore. Although all of the structure was not exposed by the summer of 1997, these remains were sufficient to attest to the presence of a building.

These structural remains seem to imply a somewhat impermanent initial dwelling. The choice of a rubble foundation rather than dressed stone may have been Beasley's

¹ If the site was characterized by a permanent Mississauga habitation during phase II or III, posthole features from their wigwams would have been found. The wigwams of the Mississauga were large birchbark structures shaped like a walnut shell with an entrance at one end and a smoke hole in the roof (Smith 1987 : 6).

compromise between a post-in-ground dwelling and a more expensive brick or stone foundation building. Such concessions were common in the 18th century; impermanent buildings, while requiring more repair and upkeep, demanded less initial capital and energy in their construction. Similar construction techniques and rationale have been outlined by Carson et.al. (1981) in their discussion on impermanent architecture in the Southern American colonies. They write that " ... for temporary houses homesteaders used inferior materials and methods of construction that were significantly cheaper, quicker, and consequently less durable than those employed in later permanent dwellings" (Carson et.al. 1981 : 118). Beasley may have anticipated his later move upslope into a more permanent brick home, and decided to save expense and trouble on his initial abode.

The red brick mass may be the remains of an initial brick fireplace within the home. During the excavations, poorly made bricks with rounded edges (resembling loaves of bread) were uncovered. These bricks were underfired, brittle, and would slowly revert to their constituent clays if permitted to stay wet for an extended period of time. It would seem that Beasley was attempting to make his own bricks, but may not have had the skill or the heat required to completely fire them. The red clay mound found alongside the floor planking may very well be the decomposed remains of a homemade brick fireplace that was left behind when the building was later abandoned.

With the construction completed, Beasley (in phase VI) occupies his new home. Phase VI was distinguished stratigraphically from the other phases by looking at the types of inclusions and features encountered by the excavators. The construction phase

was characterized by features indicating building activities, while the later destruction layers were full of fragments of brick, charcoal, mortar, and other architectural debris. In between these two phases lies the occupation phase, usually devoid of large quantities of architectural debris or inclusions, and lacking the earlier construction episode features. At some point during this occupation, perhaps even immediately following the construction of the building, a root cellar or sub-floor pit was added. This feature contained many of the diagnostic artifacts relevant to the initial Beasley occupation at the site.

The cellar pit was dug directly into the ground, beneath the projected level of the floor planking. Root cellars were common additions to an English home (Kimmel 1987 : 103), presumably for extra storage space.¹ Excavations at other 18th century sites of both European and African American heritage have repeatedly unearthed cellar pits (Deetz 1993, Ferguson 1992). While many of these were lined with brick or planks (Deetz 1993: 63, 105), Beasley's pit may have been left bare, although there are some indications that the cellar may have been lined with a mortar or clay which subsequently decomposed and formed a thin artifact-rich layer along the root cellar's interface.² The plaster lining may have been added to help prevent infestation, but if so, it seems to have failed: in layers corresponding to the building's destruction, over half a dozen rodent skulls and

¹ Ferguson has a 19th century reference stating that slave cabins had pits beneath the floor "to get clay convenient for filling the hearth and for mortar..." (Ferguson 1992 : 58, from Tattler 1850). Kimmel also mentions the possible initial function of subfloor pits as borrow pits for hearth fill or chimney mortar, to then be used as a cellar storage pit (1987 : 105).

² A paper recently given by Dr. Peter Timmins of the University of Western Ontario (*Taverns I Have Known: The Archaeological Investigation of Three 19th Century Taverns in Southern Ontario*) at the February 1998 meeting of the Hamilton Chapter of the Ontario Archaeology Society made reference to the possibility that cellar pits found beneath 19th century taverns in Southern Ontario may have been lined with plaster. This may correspond to the lowest stratum found within the Beasley cellar pit, which was described by excavators as thick, clay-like, and ash-white. Other excavations at a French Canadian fur trade outpost on the Saskatchewan river have found subfloor pits lined with clay (Kimmel 1987 : 103-104).

associated faunal remains were found at the bottom of the pit.

Considering the state of the building's foundation, brickwork, and cellar pit infestation, it should come as no surprise to find Beasley moving upslope into what must have been a drier and overall more comfortable brick home between 1798 and 1800. Since the advertisement for the sale of his home at this time lists only the upslope residence with a wharf and a single storehouse, it must be presumed that the initial structure downslope had been destroyed. The layers from the matrix allotted to the destruction phases (VII and VIII) were chosen, as described above, based on the types of inclusions encountered; brick, mortar, and charcoal fragments are unlikely to be littering the surface of an occupation layer. The two destruction phases, VII and VIII, were differentiated from each other based on the association of the lots in phase VII with collapse from the rubble foundation. The most interesting characteristic of the destruction strata is the lack of burn layers or large amounts of charred wood and charcoal. This implies that the architectural remains of Beasley's first home were not burnt down, but may have been scavenged and recycled by Beasley for his second home upslope, or perhaps the wharf or storehouse.

The artifacts found in the phases relating to Beasley's first residence agree with the dates and activities specified for the site by the documents. The earliest ceramics found at the site were recovered from the lowest stratum of fill within the cellar pit (plate 4). These sherds included badly burnt fragments of white salt glaze stoneware plates (in the Royal Pattern) and heavily charred tin and lead glazed Majolica coarse earthenware,

heated to a point where the glazes were barely present. South's manufacture dates for our salt glaze stoneware plates range from 1740-1765 (South 1977), while the cross sections of the tin glazed earthenwares seem to match Garner's type B or Lambeth Plate, dating from 1690 - 1780 (Garner 1948). The fact that these sherds were badly burnt although the surrounding strata bore no indication of a burn episode implies that these artifacts were placed here after the damage had been done. The cellar pit may have seen use not only for storage but also for waste deposition.

By far the majority of the artifacts found from this time period were trade items or items that may well have been linked to trade. As displayed in the artifact summaries in appendix B, an incredible amount of monochromatic drawn glass seed beads were recovered from these strata (plate 5), confirming the documentary references to Beasley's 'Indian trade'. Glass beads were used extensively during trading activities between Natives and Europeans (Kidd 1970), beginning as early as the 1580s on the east coast (Fitzgerald et.al. 1995). It has been proposed that the Natives' desire for monochromatic beads may lie in their similarity to the white and dark purple shell beads they wore (Fitzgerald et.al. 1995). Other commonly accepted trade goods found for this period include silver tinkling cones and silver trade brooches or fragments thereof. In addition to these more blatant trade goods, other items (to be described in more detail later) that may have some relation to Beasley's trading activities include modified brass thimbles, trade musket side plates, harness or 'hawk' bells, and copper wire that may be the remains of snare wire. The presence of lead shot, lead pistol balls and spall pistol flints in large quantities may also be evidence for further trade goods, especially considering they were found with the occasional bale seal or barrel hoop.

Beasley's establishment at Burlington Bay, while occupying a locale that was already popular with the Natives, did not displace the Natives from the area. The artifacts from Beasley's initial occupation attest to their continued presence at the Beasley trading post. Apart from the trade goods listed above that may have been modified by the Natives, there is a continued (though lessened) presence of Native ceramics and wampum from the protohistoric phase. In addition, a large number of bone awls, possibly of Native manufacture and use, appear in the record at the time of Beasley's occupation (although some of these awls may be discarded fish spines). Chert debitage, and the occasional tool, also surface from within this period. The implications are that the Natives, seeking out Beasley and his trade, may have camped near his home for a period of time, leaving behind material traces of their stay.

Beasley's initial home was likely razed to accommodate the wharf and storehouse that he began constructing around 1798 (see previous section). However, while his advertisement for his property in 1800 lists only one warehouse and one wharf, the military map from 1813 shows three structures, presumably warehouses, next to the wharf. Therefore, there are two separate building episodes represented by the warehouses seen in the 1813 map. Phase IX is the construction phase for one of these three warehouses, and must therefore date to either pre-1800 or between 1800 and 1813. The lots included in this phase, like the construction phase for Beasley's first home, were chosen based on the architectural features they contained. In this case, phase IX included a sleeper trench feature that ran at an irregular angle to the rubble foundation (a sleeper trench is simply a shallow trench into which would have been placed whole or split log

sills; this type of architecture is also mentioned by Carson et.al, 1981 : 126). While the sill itself was not recovered (it too may have been scavenged long ago), the trench it occupied was still visible. Because of the angle at which the sleeper trench ran, it was surmised that the original structure would *not* have been parallel to our grid system, which ran parallel to the lakeshore. It was this fact that permitted the identification of the recovered structure as one of the three shown in the 1813 map: these structures are shown at an *angle* to the shoreline. Had the trench been parallel to the lakeshore, there would have been a possibility that what had actually been uncovered were the remains of the structures seen in the 1823 military map, in which the three buildings are shown as parallel to the shore. Once the orientation of the sleeper trench was taken into account, the possible date for the construction of this structure had to fall between 1800 and 1813.

Phase X, or the storehouse occupation layer, was defined by the presence of thin, hard packed layers with very few inclusions; spanning multiple excavation units, these layers were taken to represent occupation surfaces. This presumption was supported not only by the lack of brick, mortar or charcoal inclusions, but also by the fact that one excavator remarked that some of the lead shot was following linear patterns that were oriented perpendicular to the sleeper trench feature; it would seem that the lead shot had fallen between some floor boards to rest upon the surfaces that have here been labeled as occupation layers.

Similar to the destruction episode for Beasley's first house, the phase XI destruction phase is characterized by brick, charcoal and mortar inclusions. The destruction of the warehouses must have occurred some time between 1813 and 1823, for by the time of the 1823 military map, the original wharf and three storehouses have

disappeared, to be replaced with three structures of a completely different shape, size, orientation and locale (see previous section for more details).

The artifacts from this second time period vary significantly from those found during the initial occupation. The number of trade goods seems to decline in favour of wine and liquor bottle fragments. Although the count is taken by number of individual specimens rather than minimum number of vessels, the increase may reflect Beasley's sudden interest in the liquor trade with the onset of the military occupation of his home (see the previous section). The ceramic assemblage, while still dominated by undecorated creamware as it was in the previous period, lacks any of the older ceramic types that were found in the cellar pit of Beasley's first residence. After the construction of the warehouse, there appears to be little indication of a Native presence near the site, with few chert flakes or tools emerging in the assemblage. Beasley's growing role in the community by this time may be reflected in the pipe bowl and stem decorations, which include frequent instances of Masonic markings (and, as was already discussed, Beasley was involved in the Masonic order from its outset in the region). This quick survey of the finds from this period serves to demonstrate the differences between the earlier and later phases at the site.

By 1823, Beasley's initial wharf and storehouses had been obliterated, and do not turn up on the 1823 military map. The remaining stratigraphical phases represent episodes dating to the periods after Beasley has sold his property to Sir Allan MacNab. Phase XII was characterized by deep plow scars across all of the units. This agricultural

phase included some very dark organic layers, and would seem to indicate that the site was used for farming purposes. However, it would seem that someone also took time for leisure activities, for phase XII contained hundreds of clay pigeon fragments and many shotgun shells dating to the 1840s.¹ The final phase, phase XIII, represents the deep cobble fill deposit that covers the entire site to perhaps a metre in depth. The phases beyond phase XIII will not be dealt with here, since they are not pertinent to the study of the early settlement at the Head of the Lake.

To this point, the historical and archaeological data have been brought forth to acquaint the reader with the information on hand concerning the earliest settler at the Head of the Lake, Richard Beasley. In the next section, this information will be used to demonstrate that although Beasley planned to settle into a frontier region, that frontier was short lived. Yet, as we will see, the loss of frontier status for Burlington Bay did not bring an end to the cross-cultural interaction that had characterized the earlier frontier period. The need to reconcile Native and European interests in the area persisted, and the lessons learned from previous frontier interactions would continue to be put into service in this post-frontier period.

¹ The manufacture date for these shells was obtained by McMaster University student Joe Parish who contacted the 'ELEY BROTHERS' in England, the manufacturer name stamped into these particular shells. The company is still in operation.

CHAPTER IV

FUR TRADE EVIDENCE FOR A SHORT LIVED FRONTIER

The documentary and archaeological information in the second and third sections of this paper can be used to place Beasley's initial settlement at the frontier. To review, this paper has asserted that a frontier is a focus for, rather than a barrier to, interaction. Peoples living at a frontier will grow accustomed to this cross-cultural interaction. By looking at the post-frontier period in the Burlington Bay region, it can be determined whether these interactions continue long after the initial frontier environment has passed away. However, in order to reach this conclusion, it must first be shown that Beasley's settlement at the Head of the Lake passed from frontier to post-frontier status.

FINDING THE FRONTIER

Beasley settled into an area that was devoid of European settlement. Mrs. Simcoe's map of the lower Great Lakes (figure 2b), dating from some time during her visit to Upper Canada (1791 to 1796), shows the extent of settlement and roads in the region. Kingston, Oswego, Niagara and Detroit were settlements that had built up around their respective forts. Apart from these, as well as Fort Erie and Queenstown, the remaining settlements were proposed (by Lt. Gov. Simcoe) rather than actually present at this time. Beasley, at Burlington Bay, would therefore find himself at some distance from the cultural centres of his fellow Europeans, especially upon his arrival which predates Mrs. Simcoe's map by up to a decade. According to the map's legend, of the

settlements to Beasley (being Norfolk, London, Oxford and York), only York had made a start. Transportation or travel out of the Head of the Lake would have to be by boat, for at this point in time, the only road leading to Beasley's home is again (based on the map's legend) only proposed rather than physically present.¹ It would seem that even up to ten years after Beasley's initial settlement in the area, he was still isolated from his home European culture.

Of course, Mrs. Simcoe may not have included small individual homesteads on her map, so to get a better idea of Beasley's isolation from other Europeans, we need to take a micro rather than macroscale view. The statement on Beasley's tombstone claims that he was the 'earliest settler at the Head of the Lake'. This claim is strengthened by examining the earliest map of the site, shown in figure 3, which places Beasley's first home alone on the shores of Lake Ontario at about 1793. A single road, listed as the road from Oxford to Burlington Bay by the map maker (and corresponding to the same proposed road on Mrs. Simcoe's map), is also depicted passing through what seem to be cultivated fields. A second structure with some farmland is seen on the northern shores of Coote's Paradise; this may also be one of Beasley's other land holdings, although no references have yet been found concerning this neighbouring farmstead. Mrs. Simcoe herself, upon arrival at Beasley's on June 12th 1796, writes that "We landed at [Beasley's house] & walked up the hill ... We walked two miles in this Park, which is quite natural, for *there are no settlements near it* [emphasis added]" (Innis 1965 : 182-183). Although

¹ The road mentioned here as 'proposed' is that stretching from Burlington Bay to York. There may have been a road along the shoreline between Burlington Bay and Niagara, but it couldn't have been very substantial. Mrs. Simcoe writes that "The Gov. thinks the Country will derive great benefit by opening a road on the top of the Mountain (where it is quite dry) from Niagara to the head of the Lake. instead of going a most terrible Road below full of swamps fallen trees etc." (Innis 1965 : 181)

she walked "Further west of this Terrace.." and "saw Coote's Paradise" (Innis 1965 : 183) as well, she doesn't mention the second building seen in the 1793 map. To find the distance to the nearest *known* settlers, we must turn to Mrs. Simcoe's travel accounts before and after her visit to Richard Beasley.

The entries from Mrs. Simcoe's diary from June 11 to 13, 1796 (Innis 1965 : 182-185), coupled with a second map she made of the southwestern end of Lake Ontario (figure 7), summarize the closest European presence to Beasley in the late 1790s. Mrs. Simcoe and her husband left by boat for Burlington Bay from the King's Head Inn, eight miles distant.¹ The day after their arrival at Beasley's, the two *rode* to the home of Adam Green, who along with other settlers (some of whom show up in the Beasley documents like Nelles and Henderson) had established themselves along 40 Mile Creek (Green's home, and others, are labeled on Mrs. Simcoe's map). After a tour of the falls at Stoney Creek and a lunch at the Green's, the Simcoes ride back to the King's Head Inn for dinner and rest. The next day they ride back to Burlington Bay and continue sailing north on the afternoon of the thirteenth. According to the route taken by the Simcoes in 1796, then, the closest building to Beasley's home was the King's Head Inn, eight miles to the southeast. A more substantial settlement lay about twice that distance at 40 Mile Creek, a half-day's ride to the southeast. The only other European residence near Beasley (unmentioned by Mrs. Simcoe) was that of Augustus Jones, a Welsh surveyor who lived on the south side of Burlington Bay near Stoney Creek (more will be said about Augustus Jones later) (Smith 1987 : 3).

¹ Mrs. Simcoe would write: "I breakfasted in a Room to the S.E. which commands a view of the Lake on the S. shore of which we discern the Pt. of the 40 Mile Creek ... From the Rooms to the N.W. we see Flamborough Head & Burlington Bay." (Innis 1965 : 182).

The evidence would seem to indicate that Beasley was fairly isolated from a substantial European presence in the late 1790s. However, settlement was rapidly advancing, for by 1796, the closest body of Europeans was at 40 Mile Creek, a half-day's ride away. Yet, Mrs. Simcoe's descriptions and the 1793 map likely downplay the isolation Beasley first experienced, dating as they do from five to ten years after Beasley's arrival at the site in the late 1780s. The King's Head Inn was built by Governor Simcoe to accommodate travelers (Innis 1965 : 216), and can therefore date no earlier than 1791, when Simcoe was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada (Innis 1965 : 1). The number of houses near 40 Mile Creek must also have been less at Beasley's arrival, for it is difficult to imagine that Mr. Green would not have improved upon his house since the late 1780s considering he was living with "ten Children ... in a House consisting of a Room, a Closet and a loft" (Innis 1965 : 184) in 1796. Clearly, Beasley's isolation in 1796 was all the more so at his arrival in the late 1780s.

As if to emphasize the isolation of Beasley at the Head of the Lake, the documents and the archaeological finds pertaining to the site are replete with evidence of the hardships endured by the early colonist. The difficulties inherent in receiving desired goods at these remote outposts are spelled out in a letter from Cartwright to Beasley & Smith in 1786; Cartwright is unable to furnish them with rum, blankets, powder or shot, and even food was hard to come by ("the whole Country has been at short Allowance of Bread this winter, and cattle have been starved." (4/10/1786)). Cartwright blames these problems on the fact that "no money & no public Works [are] going on to bring [Business]" (2/7/1786) although other factors, like the "Difficulty in procuring a proper Person to charge of the Goods" (4/10/1786), are likely contributors as well. Even if the

desired goods could be obtained and a reliable crew hired to deliver it, transportation would be hampered during the winter by the lack of roads and the frozen St. Lawrence and Great Lakes waterways. Upon receipt, the goods were frequently damaged from their long trip, with one of Beasley's shipments containing wetted tea and broken tumblers (10/4/1794). The archaeological remains of Beasley's first home agree with the documentary scenario of a rigorous frontier. Beasley had to make do with whatever resources were on hand rather than hope for a shipment of suitable building material for his home; he was forced to settle for a dry laid rubble foundation and underfired bricks because of the lack of building resources and skilled labour in the area.

Analyses of the population of the lower Great Lakes have found that Beasley would have been quite isolated from other European settlements at his initial arrival at the Head of the Lake. The rigours of Beasley's existence at Burlington bay, as outlined in the documents and archaeological record, further support the contention that Beasley was at the "edge of a settled area or country". However, Mrs. Simcoe's accounts have also shown us that European settlement quickly followed Beasley's early arrival. Richard Beasley, hoping to settle into a frontier region, was likely disappointed to see European encroachment arrive so quickly, for one main reason: the expanding European settlement in the area was one of the leading causes of the fur trade decline, undermining Beasley's whole reason for settling at Burlington Bay. The global decline of the fur trade in the late 18th and early 19th century has been well documented. By comparing the documentary and archaeological finds from the Beasley material with the fur trade data, it can be seen that Beasley's trading enterprise was far from exempt from these global economic trends.

Tied to expanding European settlement, the decline of the fur trade in the Burlington Bay region is a useful indicator that the frontier had passed on.

THE FUR TRADE

The North American fur trade was carried out in response to fashion trends in Europe; in particular, it was in answer to the demand for fur garments and fur napped felt hats in the early seventeenth century (Lawson 1943 : 4). The term fur is applied to animal skins that have two layers of hair; a first layer of short, soft and curly hairs with barbed ends growing next to the skin, alongside a second layer of longer, shinier, protective 'guard hairs'. Fur garment manufacturers desired the qualities of this second layer of fur, which came to be known as fancy fur. Fancy fur was used with the skin itself in the production of fur garments. The first layer of shorter barbed hairs, called the staple fur, was desired by hat manufacturers. It was first removed from the skin and separated from the longer second layer guard hairs. The barbed ends of the staple fur allowed the short hairs to be pressed together into a piece of felt, which could then be worked over a foundation (often of rabbit's fur) to create the felt hat (Lawson 1943 : 2). Furs suitable for the manufacture of hats include beaver, muskrat (or, as seen in the documents, musquash), and rabbit (Lawson 1943 : 2), although the beaver remained the dominant choice until at least 1820 (Clayton 1967).¹

Trade in furs began with the earliest colonization of North America. From 1497 to 1600, the fur trade was conducted along the eastern maritime coast; however, at this

¹ Other furs and skins, in order of relative importance to beaver from the 1780s to the first decade of the 19th century include deer, otter, bear, raccoon and marten (Innis 1984 : 264)

early stage, the trade was sporadic and irregular, being secondary in importance to fishing (Innis 1984 : 10-12, Wolf 1982 : 158). It wasn't until the later part of the 16th century, as the fashion in Europe for beaver felt hats increased, that the trade in beaver skins began in earnest.

The first half of the 17th century was characterized by a passive European presence in the fur trade. Coastal European trading centres would form associations with local native bands who would act as middlemen between the Europeans and more distant groups who were actually acquiring the furs for trade (Innis 1984 : 16-18, Gilman 1984 : 2). It was the middlemen and the more distant native groups who incurred the costs of the inland trade rather than the European; but for the tribes acting as middlemen, their role also brought great power (Morton 1967). Envious of the privileged position of the middlemen, other native bands tried to wrest control of the trade for themselves through constant tribal warfare. By 1635, the focus of the fur trade had shifted to the Ottawa river and the gulf of the St. Lawrence (Innis 1984 : 28). As the trade moved further inland, the Europeans also had to contend with the middlemen tribes' monopolization of the trade; hoping to lessen the control of these groups, the Europeans encouraged the inter-tribal hostilities, adding European weaponry to the mix (Innis 1984 : 18).¹

In the second phase of the fur trade, both French and English fur interests began to press deeper inland; in doing so, the roles played by the native middlemen now had to be assumed by the Europeans themselves. The latter took over the transportation of

¹ Although it is often believed that the Europeans involved in the fur trade were tricking the natives into giving up their goods for cheap baubles, the truth of the matter was that "both thought they were getting something for nothing" (Gilman 1984 : 5). Gilman notes that one Micmac Indian thought the French must have been poor indeed, for they "glory in our old rags and in our miserable suits of beaver" (1984 : 5) while a Montagnais Indian in 1634 believed that "the English have no sense; they give us twenty knives ... for one Beaver skin" (1984 : 5).

foreign goods inland and brought out the furs themselves, although they still relied on the natives to hunt and process the pelts (Gilman 1984 : 3). The most successful traders were those who adopted native methods of survival and transport in the interior; in this process, it was the French voyageurs who led the way (Morton 1967). The trade slowly became decentralized (except in the northern regions, where the Hudson's Bay Company, established in 1670, still held sway (Innis 1984 : 47)), and the European dealt more and more with the Native as one individual to another. By the early 1700s, " ... essential to the trade under all conditions ... was the personal relationship of the trader with the Indian" (Innis 1984 : 40).

The 18th century saw fierce competition between French and English tradesmen. While English goods were considered superior to the French by the natives, the French traders had a better rapport with the Indian furriers. These rivalries limited British fur imports until 1763, when the end of the Seven Years' War and the signing of the treaty of Paris transferred ownership of Quebec to England; afterwards, North American furs accounted for 95% of all British fur imports, as opposed to 80% beforehand (Lawson 1943 : 66). By the third quarter of the 18th century, the second phase of the fur trade had become "a stable organization ... in which traders in Quebec and Montreal were represented by correspondents at Detroit and other points ... [Following] the inroads of the English, control tended to shift to the hands of the trader" (Innis 1984 : 112). The influence of the Quebec and Montreal traders grew following the American Revolution, when the trading centres shifted from Albany, New York to the island of Montreal (Morton 1967 : 17).

The demise of the fur trade, its final phase, occurred in different regions at

different times. There were many reasons for the trade's decline in any one area; stocks were often depleted, and European demand and prices for the furs could suddenly change.¹ However, the most common cause for the fur trade drop was “settlement, [which] was diametrically opposed to the interests of traders” (Gilman 1984 : 2). As once undisturbed lands became populated by Europeans, competition increased and furs became scarce; such effects were already being felt in southern areas of Upper Canada by the late 18th century (Innis 1984 : 188). Soon, furs could only be obtained at great distances from remote north and west territories. The result was a shift from the individual tradesman to company monopolies that drew profit from the remote fur areas by large scale operations run at levels of efficiency impossible for the individual trader. The Northwest Company, founded between 1783 and 1784, amalgamated with the Hudson's Bay Company on March 26, 1821. The new company would run the fur trade for the remainder of the 19th century and beyond (Innis 1984 : 280).

It should be remembered that the phases described above affected different areas at different times, and that factors in one region could keep it at the second phase of fur trade activity while a neighbouring territory could still be in its first or even its final phase; however, as will be shown below, Richard Beasley found himself languishing in the fur trade's decline by the beginning of the 19th century. Some areas, like the far north, were only profitable under a monopoly like the Hudson's Bay Company, and could thus miss or skip some phases altogether.

¹ According to Innis, the French Revolution brought about a severe drop in fur prices from 1792 until the opening years of the 19th century (1984 : 264).

BEASLEY AND THE FUR TRADE

Richard Beasley would seem to have arrived at Burlington Bay during the second phase of the fur trade around the Great Lakes. Similar to the second phase descriptions given above, Beasley was an independent trader dealing individually with local native fur hunters. Innis also mentioned that the second phase of the fur trade around the Great Lakes was characterized by the presence of individual traders acting as correspondents for traders in Montreal and Quebec, and in this, too, Beasley fits the description, being linked to the Montreal trade through his cousin Richard Cartwright in Kingston.

However, references in the documents to dropping fur prices are frequent enough to merit some attention. It seems as though the profit margin in the fur trade is on the decline from the moment of Beasley's arrival on the frontier. In 1793, initial estimates of the previous years' pelt sales anticipated a £ 250 pound sterling loss (8/23/1793) which was later found to be a loss of exactly £ 262. /8. / sterling (11/22/1793).¹ Cartwright

¹ The currency system of Britain and its colonies was expressed as pounds, shillings and pence. There were 12 pence to a shilling and 20 shillings to a pound. In Beasley's day, there were many accepted currencies in Upper and Lower Canada, including not only the British pound sterling but also the Spanish dollar. Accounts were kept in Halifax currency, which was based on the Spanish dollar and expressed (like the pound sterling) as pounds, shillings and pence; often, when no indication is made as to the type of currency in use, it will be Halifax (McCullough 1984 : 20). However, due to the influx of loyalists, many merchants and account keepers also used New York or simply York currency, while others may also have used Quebec currency; both were expressed in pounds, shillings and pence and based on the Spanish dollar (1984 : 67-75). Because paper money did not exist as such, rates of exchange were based on the amount of precious metals a coin contained. Yet, with precious metal content fluctuating through time, and because of the practice of coin clipping, this 'true par' would be time consuming to deduce for every transaction. Therefore, a nominal or customary par was generally accepted between merchants (1984 : 19). Since the customary par tended to remain constant for longer periods of time, McCullough has managed to derive nominal currency exchange rates from 1760 - 1820 (1984 : 292). From his findings, one pound sterling was equal to 4.444 dollars, or 1.111 pounds Halifax, or 1.333 pounds Quebec, or 1.778 pounds New York. Entries in the account book and documents where conversions are made between specified currencies support McCullough's rates (see 6/29/1804, 1/2/1815, 3/30/1829, 8/26/1830, 12/29/1831, 7/7/1832, where NY to Halifax conversions match McCullough's rate). Conversions found in the documents for unspecified currencies, when compared to McCullough's conversion rates, indicate that most of the unspecified values were actually New York currency (see 3/11/1813, 7/27/1813, 10/2/1813, 3/1/1814, 3/25/1814, 5/30/1814, 7/12/1814, 8/21/1814, 2/26/1814, 1/20/1815, 3/15/1815, 5/3/1815, 7/4/1815, 8/10/1815, 8/14/1815,

advises Beasley that " ... if a good Price can be had for your Furs on the Spot, it is better to accept it than trust to the London Market, where the Prospect of Sales for the present is very dull indeed" (4/17/1794); the situation worsens as war with the United States becomes a very real possibility (5/9/1794). The second shipment mentioned in the documents also suffers a loss of £ 115.2.4 sterling, with an additional loss incurred due to stopped payments on the part of a previous purchaser (10/4/1794, 11/10/1794). Further fur price decline accompanies Beasley's shipments for Springer, leading Cartwright to assert that "this is paying very slowly" (9/25/1800, 8/19/1802). Regrettably, Cartwright is not specific enough as to note the number of furs shipped per parcel, nor even the type of furs they contained. This missing information means that price trends per pelt for Beasley's furs cannot be drawn up for his time at Burlington Bay. Yet, when these references to falling fur prices are taken together with the trends in total fur exports from the Canadas to England for the same period, it becomes apparent that Beasley had joined the fur trade just as its apogee had passed.

By looking at the British imports of beaver pelts (the most frequently traded fur; Clayton 1967) from Canada, the trends impacting on Beasley and his own individual trade can be described. Lawson provides tables showing the amount of beaver, by *weight*, imported by England from the 'Continental Colonies' from 1700 - 1775.¹ Regrettably, the values expressed for the 'Continental Colonies' included not only Canada, but also Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Hudson's Bay, New England,

8/29/1815, 11/22/1815, and 5/9/1837). This means that Beasley and Cartwright, being loyalists, were more likely to leave New York currency, rather than Halifax currency, *unspecified* in their accounts. The McCullough conversion rates permit the different currency entries in the documents and account book to be more meaningfully compared

Newfoundland, New York, Nova Scotia, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland (1943 : 87). In order to separate the Canadian and Hudson's Bay furs from the whole of the Continental Colonies, Lawson's chart of the pounds sterling value of fur *imports per colony* had to be consulted (1943 : 108). From this chart, the pounds sterling value of Canadian and Hudson's Bay furs could be expressed as a percentage of the total pounds sterling value imported from the Continental Colonies. These percentages could then be applied to the earlier chart displaying the total weight of beaver imported from the Continental Colonies to determine how many pounds of each import came from Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company. Finally, the pounds of beaver fur imported from Canada and Hudson's Bay by England had to be converted to number of skins. Innis (1984 : 2) claims that there are, on average, 1½ beaver skins per pound; using this ratio, then, the number of beaver skins imported by England from Canada and the Hudson's Bay from 1700 to 1775 was determined and plotted in figure 12.

Figure 12 offers an overview of the trends in beaver fur consumption in England. From a low point in 1710, the number of furs imported rises and then remains fairly steady from 1720 to 1739, increasing only slightly during those nineteen years. Between 1739 and 1750, however, the number of furs imported into England makes a significant drop that lasts until 1760. An incredible rise in imported furs between 1760 and 1765 is explained by the 1763 treaty of Paris, which transferred control of the Canadas from France to England. Immediately after the rise in 1763, however, fur imports continue to decline; it is possible that had the treaty of Paris never been signed, the fur import decline noted from 1739 to 1760 would have continued unabated.

¹ Lawson's data was taken from the Inspector-General's Ledgers of Imports and Exports, 1696 - 1780 for Great Britain

Overall, and mostly due to the acquisition of the Canadas by Great Britain, the number of furs imported by England from Canada and the Hudson's Bay from 1700 to 1775 were on the increase. Prior to Beasley's settlement at the Head of the Lake, the fur trade certainly seemed like a profitable venture. However, once Beasley was firmly settled on his Burlington Bay lands, the fur trade seemed to take a turn for the worse. Figure 13 is a chart showing the number of beaver pelts exported from Canada to England from 1793 to 1808, taken from Innis (1984 : 265).¹ The number of furs exported in 1793, being 182,346, is certainly higher than where the previous chart left off; in 1775, the number of British fur imports was at 152,342. Therefore, from 1775 to 1793, an increase in Canadian furs exported to England had occurred. However, the high point of 1793 quickly drops for the remainder of the years under study. From 1793 to 1797, there is a dramatic drop in beaver exports. Fluctuations in the number of exports characterizes the next six years, from 1797 to 1802, but the average for these fluctuations falls near the value reported for 1798 (the average fur export from 1799 to 1802 inclusive is 129,090, close to the 1798 value of 127,440). After 1802, the number of fur exports drops once again, approaching levels in 1803 and 1805 (93,778 and 92,003 respectively) that hadn't been seen since 1739 (86,444). By 1805, the number of furs exported from Canada to England had reached a low unmatched for over 60 years. This decline in beaver furs is echoed by Wolf who writes that "the beaver declined in importance after the first quarter of the nineteenth century" (Wolf 1982 : 178). White feels that "the great crisis of the trade in the years just before the War of 1812 was political", brought about

¹ Innis took his data from the export records for Quebec; Innis' number of furs exported in 1801 (119,965) match those that Richard Cartwright copied into his letter book on 11/24/1801, and the validity and source of Innis' data can further be seen in 1808, where the number of pelts exported (126,927) matches the value given by Hugh Gray, a visitor to Upper and Lower Canada at that time (Gray 1971 : 383 (written in 1809)).

by British losses in the continental market (White 1991 : 484). Beaver pelts were to be replaced by buffalo taken from the interior (Wolf 1982 : 178), as well as sea otter and seal from the coast (Wolf 1982 : 159), and muskrat taken from regions northwest of the Great Lakes (White 1991 : 489).

When the English imports of Canadian beaver pelts from 1793 to 1808 are compared with the archaeological and documentary information from Beasley's trading post at the Head of the Lake, some interesting contrasts are seen. Looking at the number of such trade items from each phase (figure 9), they increase in frequency from the moment of Beasley's arrival at the site (phase IV) up to the construction of the storehouse overtop of his first home (phase IX). A more meaningful analysis is found in figure 10, where the percentage of trade items in the assemblage is plotted per phase (taken from the number of individual finds rather than minimum number of vessels). In this case, the peak trade items percentage is found at phase VI rather than phase IX. However, turning to the artifact summaries for each phase, it can be seen that there is a huge rise in lead shot (LS) in phase IX, to a degree that is unmatched in any other phase. Returning to the database and field notes, it was found that phase IX's sudden rise in lead shot came from a single unit, and may therefore be the result of a single localized spill. When the percent of trade items is calculated for each phase without including the lead shot, as seen in figure 11 (again, as taken from the number of individual finds rather than minimum number of vessels), the graph remains relatively unchanged save for a dramatic increase in trade goods in phase IX. The general rise in trade good frequency seen in figure 9, then, is confirmed in figure 11 by three peaks, each a little greater than the last; the first

corresponds to the protohistoric phase (III), the second to the occupation of the first residence on site (phase VI), and the last to the construction of the warehouse (phase IX). From the site chronology previously developed with the help of the documents, it was shown that the storehouse could have been constructed any time between 1799 and 1813, meaning that our final peak from figure 11 (the largest) would date to some time within that range. Yet, during this time range where we find Beasley's trade items at a peak level, the documents seem to indicate a drop in fur trade activity.

Cartwright's letters warning of falling fur prices have been indicated on figure 13 according to the year in which they were written, and they tend to agree with the fur export trends discussed previously. When the archaeological finds of trade goods per phase (figures 9 to 11) are examined against the export trends from 1793 to 1808, there seems to be an inverse relationship between falling beaver pelt prices and rising numbers of trade goods. For our purposes here, only figures 9 and 11 will be examined. In figure 9, showing the raw trade item count per phase, there are two prominent peaks in the distribution: phase VI and phase IX. Although figure 11, showing the percent of trade goods per phase, has three peaks, being phase III, phase VI and phase IX, only the last two will be included here, since the dates for phase III are too early to be compared with Innis' data for Canadian fur exports.

Phase VI has been shown to date from at least 1792 up to and including 1798, while phase IX has been found to date from post-1800 to 1813 (see appendix B). Turning to figure 13, the average fur exports from the Canadas can be calculated for these date ranges. From 1793 to 1798 inclusive, the average beaver pelt exports comes to

144,293 (corresponding to phase VI); from 1801 to 1808¹ the average export drops to 115,297 (corresponding to phase IX). Between these two date ranges, then, there is an export decrease from 144,293 to 115,297 or 20.1%. Turning to figure 9, the trade item count for phase VI is 342, while for phase IX it is 1268, which is an increase of 271%. Therefore, for the years in which a decrease of over 20% is evident for Canadian beaver pelt exports, there is an increase of 271% in the number of recovered trade goods from the Beasley site. Looking at figure 11, a similar yet less drastic scenario is seen when the trade goods are expressed as a percentage of each phase's assemblage. While the Canadian fur exports decrease over 20%, the percentage of trade goods per phase rises from 18.54% in phase VI to 23% in phase IX, an increase of 24.05%. The presence of an inverse relationship between trade good frequency and furs exported can also be graphically demonstrated by plotting these two variables against each other, as seen in figure 17 (for the assumptions involved, see the footnote below).² From 1793 to 1801, on

¹There is no data available from 1809 to 1813.

² Since values for 'furs exported' were annual, trade good frequencies also had to be expressed annually if the latter was to be plotted against the former. The problem, however, was that the values for trade good frequencies were taken by phase rather than year. Since a phase represents a time span rather than a point in time, our trade good frequency values per phase could represent an accumulation over time rather than a set annual value. Therefore, to convert our phase trade good values into annual figures, some estimates were made.

The trade good frequencies from phase V, VI, VIII and IX were assigned specific years based on the documentary references for those phases (phases I-IV were not included, since they represent time ranges before Beasley's settlement in the area; phases X-XII were not included, since by these time ranges Beasley had abandoned active involvement in the fur trade and trade good frequencies were negligible; and the destruction event of phase VII was included with the destruction event of phase VIII). Phase V was the first phase to be assigned a date: according to the documents, Beasley settled in the area by the late 1780s; therefore, phase V (the construction of his first residence) was assigned to the year 1789 to remain within this time range but also to approach as closely as possible the years of the first recorded visits to his home in the early 1790s. The documents affirm that Beasley had moved upslope by 1800, which means that phases VIII and IX (the destruction of the first residence and the construction of the subsequent storehouse, respectively), must straddle this date. To remain conservative, phase VIII was assigned to 1799, and phase IX was placed at 1801. The final phase, phase VI (the occupancy of Beasley's first residence), had to perforce lie between the dates for phase V and phase VIII: 1790 and 1798. Ultimately, the mean of this date range, 1794, was chosen for phase VI. By plotting the trade good frequencies for these phases at these

average, when there is a drop in fur exports, there is an indication of a trade good increase.

The results related above are important if the nature of Beasley's residence at the Head of the Lake is to be characterized. Since the trade goods are found to increase at a time when the fur trade is on the decline, it becomes very unlikely that the trade goods are representative of exchange or interaction. On the contrary, the increased trade goods per phase indicate an increased *lack* of exchange through time; rather than expressing

chosen dates and drawing a curve between the points, as seen in figure 16, trade good frequency estimates for all of the years from 1789 to 1801 could be established.

With a trade good frequency estimate for each year from 1789 to 1801, the furs exported from the Canadas (taken from Innis, figure 13) could be brought in for comparison. In the table below, the dates and their corresponding trade good frequency estimates along with their corresponding value for furs exported are listed.

YEAR	# Estimated Trade Goods	# Furs Exported
1789	96	??
1790	153	??
1791	200	??
1792	247	??
1793	306	182346
1794	342	155599
1795	387	144945
1796	440	130820
1797	526	124612
1798	630	127440
1799	797	117165
1800	1020	135043
1801	1268	119965

The values listed above were used in figure 17, where the estimated annual trade good frequencies are plotted against the furs exported annually from the Canadas between 1793 and 1801 (since Innis lacked data for furs exported between 1789 and 1792, these years were not included in figure 17). A best-fit regression curve was chosen for the data points such that each point was as close to the curve as possible when all of the other points are taken into account. The resultant curve has a negative slope, confirming an inverse relationship between the two variables. The correlation coefficient, or R-Square, for the curve was 0.56, where a value of 1 indicates a perfect relationship between the two variables, and 0 indicates no relationship (the value for the correlation coefficient represents the degree of deviation of all the data points from the best-fit curve). It can therefore be claimed that there is an inverse relationship between trade good frequency and furs exported for the Beasley assemblage from 1793 to 1801.

It should be noted that the fur export decrease / trade good increase relationship is strongest from 1793 to 1797 (according to figure 17), which lie within the first decade of Beasley's residence at the Head of the Lake.

interaction, they are indicative of discard. While there was still some cultural interaction occurring between Beasley and the local natives, as evidenced by the documentary references, the frequency of fur trade related exchanges between these two contact groups was on the decline from the moment of Beasley's arrival at the frontier.

The trade goods found at Richard Beasley's trading post at Burlington Bay, when taken in concert with the fur trade trends to which they are inextricably linked, do *not* indicate a frequent exchange between both parties, and may even imply a *decline* in exchange through time. Therefore, although Richard Beasley has been shown to have settled in a region that was certainly a frontier at his arrival, that frontier region was shortlived, with encroaching European settlement driving the fur trade inland and northward. Beasley was left 'holding the bag' of trade goods as the frontier passed him by.

It might be argued that perhaps the only reason Beasley was left with all of these trade goods was because they were no longer popular. This scenario, however, is unlikely in light of other contemporary excavations. Neal Ferris et.al. report an assemblage very similar to our own being recovered from a contemporary 1790 Mississauga community (1985). The types of artifacts retrieved included silver brooches and earrings, trade musket fragments, copper kettle pieces, Jew's harps, spall gunflints, and a bead assemblage strikingly similar to our own, composed predominantly of white, blue or black drawn beads of cylindrical or seed form. If this contemporary Mississauga site (located just west of Beasley at the Bellamy site on the northern shore of Lake Erie)

included artifacts similar to those found at Burlington Bay, then it cannot be due to a change in preferences that left Beasley holding these trade goods; instead, the culprit is a shift in the location of the fur trade and hence the frontier.¹

The continued presence of trade goods in each phase of the site indicates that Beasley was always prepared and hoping for a return of the fur trade. The initial and continued investment in the failing fur trade that these increasing trade goods represent are likely the cause for Beasley's early yet overwhelming debt that strained relations with his cousin Cartwright for decades. However, his later activities, including the Grand River land deal and his shift towards supplying liquor and other goods to the military presence at his home, show that Richard may have been aware of the passing of the frontier. Beasley realized that his initial intent to carry on the trade with the local natives

¹ Further evidence should be brought forward to substantiate the fact that these Beasley trade goods are actually indicative of a shifting frontier interaction. One argument against this stance is the possibility that Beasley actually *was* continuing his trade with the natives at this time, but with perishable goods that would not survive archaeologically (like alcohol or blankets). Although documentary data for the Mississauga has not been found concerning non-perishables, Pyszczyk (1997 : 71) has used Hudson's Bay Company records to show that among the Plains Indians of Central and Southern Alberta in the early nineteenth century, the relationship between the acquisition of glass trade beads to perishable goods (blankets, cloth and brandy) was very similar. In other words, where there was "a substantial increase in beads ... per household, there [was] also a substantial increase in blankets, brandy and cloth per household" (1997 : 69). If Pyszczyk's results are applicable to native groups near Burlington Bay (which of course is still a tenuous comparison), then as demand for Beasley's glass beads and silver trade goods waned, the demand for his blankets, cloth and alcohol also decreased. Beasley's remaining trade goods can therefore be legitimate indicators of a shift in the frontier rather than a shift in trade good preference.

Further examples can help to demonstrate that the desire for glass trade beads was unlikely to have waned. In a study a little closer to Burlington Bay, Mason (1986) found that the most prevalent bead types encountered in grave goods from the Rock Island II site in the northern Lake Michigan basin were Kidd (1970) types Ia2, Ia5, IIa13/14, IIa26, and IIa55/66. All of these beads are small, drawn, and monochromatic black or white, just like the majority of beads found at Beasley's trading post. The cemetery under study dates between 1760 and 1770, which approaches the date of Beasley's arrival at Burlington Bay. Of course, we have already seen that the Bellamy site (Ferris et al. 1985) had a very similar bead assemblage to our own, with a site date of 1790. But for additional evidence for the continued popularity of black or white monochromatic seed beads, one need only turn to any of the accounts of the Councils held between Colonel Claus and the Six Nations representatives; repeatedly, we read that black or white beads are offered by both Europeans and natives.

was not to be, and new survival strategies were adopted.

The demise of the fur trade was brought about, for the most part (as described above), as a result of increased settlement. These same factors pushed the frontier beyond Burlington Bay, leaving Beasley and his trading post behind. Figure 14 supports this contention; this map of southern Ontario shows that generally the shoreline of Lake Ontario was well settled by the beginning of the 19th century. Between 1800 and 1825, settlement had pushed inland beyond the immediate shoreline. When the Simcoes had first come to Upper Canada in 1791, the number of settlers in all of Upper Canada was estimated at 10,000. By the time they left, only five years later in 1796, that number had swelled to 25,000 (Innis 1965 : 1). By 1812, the settler population had again grown to 80,000 (Wynn 1987 : 221). Hugh Gray's contemporary letters also support these population growth figures. He wrote that the population of Upper and Lower Canada (with Lower Canada obviously representing the bulk of these numbers) had risen from 75,000 in the late 1760s to 300,000 in 1808, nearly doubling every twenty years (1971 : 366, written in 1809). The Six Nations council members offer a glimpse into the encroaching settlement during the 19th century, stating that "Should we be deprived of leasing our Lands, how are we to subsist. our Tract of land is now surrounded by white people so that our hunting is done away. Many in our Nations persist Strangers to farming ..." (8/17/1803). The increased European presence destroyed both the fur trade as well as the frontier, and the fur trade related interaction that had graced Beasley's doorstep in the early stages of his settlement had passed on before Beasley could reap any of its benefits.

Using fur trade export data alongside the frequencies of recovered fur trade artifacts, it has been shown that Richard Beasley settled into Burlington Heights just as the fur trade apogee had passed. It has also been shown that the fur trade declined due to population increases and over-hunting. The implication, therefore, is that the rise or fall in fur trade activity for a given area is related to a region's population. Since it has been shown that Beasley's fur trade enterprise was rapidly swept into the fur trade decline, it can be surmised that shortly after Beasley's settlement at what had been an isolated frontier, that frontier passed on due to increased European settlement in the area, taking the fur trade with it. However, as will be seen in the next chapter, the cross-cultural interactions developed in the earlier frontier period were maintained in this post-frontier environment, as the region's inhabitants found a continued need to reconcile each others' divergent interests.

CHAPTER V

INTERACTION CONTINUES IN THE POST-FRONTIER PERIOD

This paper has thus far shown that Richard Beasley settled into a region which was initially a frontier in geographical terms. The trading post on Burlington Heights was geographically isolated from other European populations at the time of Beasley's initial settlement. However, it should be mentioned that the cultural groups residing in the area were *not* typical frontier populations. The Six Nations Iroquois had settled along the Grand River after centuries of interaction with British colonists; the League had first dealt with British fur traders in the 17th century (during which time they also encountered the French) and by the close of the 18th century most of the Iroquois had left their ancestral lands as Loyalists after the American Revolution (Tooker 1978a). The Mississauga had also been involved in French and English trade for some time. As for Beasley, he too was certainly familiar with Natives, having grown up along the frontier; he could further acquaint himself with Native interaction through his elder cousin Richard Cartwright, an experienced trader in Kingston. Therefore, although Beasley initially settled into a frontier in geographical terms, it was not a frontier in terms of its inhabitants. Both the Natives and the Europeans at the Head of the Lake were familiar with the modes of exchange, interaction and mediation of the other. This familiarity would serve both sides well once the geographical frontier had passed by, which, as we have already seen, occurred but shortly after Beasley's settlement in the area. The continuing need to mediate the interests of many groups was eased by the familiarity each group had gained of the other through earlier frontier activities; these cross-cultural

frontier interactions would continue into the post-frontier period of Burlington Bay.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF POST-FRONTIER INTERACTION

The documentary sources point to frequent interaction between Beasley and the indigenous population at Burlington Bay. However, the majority of it is qualitative rather than quantitative: the portions of the letters that indicate interaction are important for their descriptive rather than quantifiable evidence. By looking for instances of interaction mentioned in the correspondences, the nature of the post-frontier interaction at the Head of the Lake will be understood.

The frontier and post-frontier frequency of Richard Beasley's contact with the Natives can be seen by looking at the number of fur shipments sent out from the Head of the Lake. Beasley carried on his fur trade with Natives in the area, probably the Mississauga or even members of the Six Nations Iroquois nearby. For the Mississauga, contact with the trading posts was a seasonal enterprise: "with the arrival of spring the families again returned to the sugar bush and then brought their furs to trader Beasley's store on their way to the Credit River" (Smith 1987 : 8). Mrs. Simcoe, as has already been mentioned, describes Beasley as "the Indian trader ... trading being his whole occupation" (Innis 1965 : 183). An earlier traveler in 1792 also noted the presence of "the house of a Mr. Baisley who keeps shop at the head of Lake Geneva [Ontario] and trades with the Indians in Peltry" (Leblovic 1967 : 4, taken from Patrick Campbell's Travels, The Champlain Society, p. 160). The Natives were as aware as the Europeans

were of Beasley's trading post, and would congregate there for extended stays when trading pelts. On their way to visit Beasley, Mrs. Simcoe and her husband met a Native encampment near the King's Head Inn (Innis 1965 : 182); upon their arrival at the Head of the Lake, they were greeted by quite a spectacle: "The River & Bay were full of Canoes, the Indians were fishing, we bought some fine Salmon of them" (Innis 1965 : 182). Three days later, riding on the beach along Burlington Bay, they passed another more substantial Native encampment with a "Hutt & Dogs among the fine Oak Trees (Innis 1965 : 184). These same Natives, forming temporary campsites around Beasley's trading post, were the likely source of furs for Beasley the 'Indian trader'.

Having seen that Beasley was trading furs with the local Natives, the extent of his interaction with them may be reflected in the frequency of fur shipments sent from his outpost. The letters and the account book list some of the pelt shipments received by Cartwright in Kingston. The first packs of pelts are mentioned on June 8, 1786, during the partnership between Beasley and Smith. This letter follows one in which Cartwright notes Beasley's interest in 'silver works', which were common goods exchanged with the Natives for furs (4/10/1786). The shipments must have been made only once in any given year, for Cartwright frequently refers to packs of pelts as being from this or last year (8/23/1793, 11/22/1793, 10/4/1794). Although the documents do not allow for a year by year account of furs shipped, perhaps due to missing letters between Beasley and Cartwright, the final fur shipment is listed on July 29, 1799. Subsequent packs are mentioned up until the 19th of August, 1802, but it seems that these pelts belonged to a Dan Springer, and that Beasley was a middleman for Springer's pelts.¹ Based on this

¹ The account book makes a final mention of furs on May 21, 1815. But, again, these last furs were not a 'Beasley' shipment, but belonged rather to a Peter Hogaboom for whom Beasley was again the middleman.

information, Beasley's fur trading activities would have kept him in frequent contact with the Natives from his arrival at the site in the late 1780s up until and likely beyond 1800, after which point, as we have seen, the fur trade began to drop off.

This cross-cultural frontier interaction continued after the fur trade decline. To understand the nature of these encounters, we can look to the Councils held with the Six Nations concerning Beasley's Grand River Lands, attended by the same. A blend of the expectations of both cultures regarding custom and formality can be seen during these proceedings, as each side mediates their desires and expectations with those of the other. Each of the Councils (8/17/1803, 6/29/1804, 9/23/1806) are held around a Council Fire, a Six Nations rather European practice. The importance of the Council Fire for the Six Nations can be seen when Superintendent Claus describes a 'secret' council held at Buffalo Creek; rumour had it that at this council the Six Nations had "permanently fixed [their] council fire at the Onondaga Village Buffaloe Creek and [were] now perfectly reunited and nothing is hereafter to be done but by the consent of the whole" (9/23/1806). In order to make their Councils authoritative, then, the Europeans were forced to include the Council Fire at their meetings. These same three Councils also saw the European adoption of the Native practice of Wampum offerings during Council, an example of which (with Council Fire) can be seen in figure 8. The Six Nations used wampum as a gift that accompanied all important statements, acknowledging the sincerity of two parties in a discussion (Tooker 1978a : 422). However, strings of black and white wampum are offered between the speeches given not only by the Six Nations council members but also by the European Executive Council speakers. For example, after

Claus' opening speeches on 6/29/1804, he proceeds to offer a Bunch of Wampum; also, at the third council meeting, the Executive Council members "[delivered?] the Wampum sent by the Depy. Supt. Genl. (Claus) to call them together" (9/23/1806). The Six Nations considered Belts of Wampum as important as "a written instrument" (8/17/1803) was among the Europeans. It would seem that the Englishmen of the Executive Council were quickly forced to adopt the trappings of Six Nations authority if they wanted their Councils to have any authority.

However, the results of interaction on the European newcomers can be seen not only in their adoption of the material components of Six Nations meetings but also in the new behaviours that came with them. Superintendent Claus' opening speech at the second Council (6/29/1804) contains statements that are clearly Iroquois and not European. Claus greets the Six Nations Chiefs by hoping that their "friendship ... will continue as long as the waters run", wishing them "a serene Clear Sky so that [they] may be able to see [their] Brethren from the Sun rising to the Sun setting" (6/29/1804). He then performs a traditionally Native act by taking "this wampum [and making] this Council Room clean from every thing offensive and hope that you will take care that no Snake may creep in among us..." (6/29/1804). The English form of a council meeting has apparently taken on some of the Six Nations Iroquois traditions as well. The inclusion of Native ways at Council is even more evident when we read that at the end of the second Council, "the aforesaid Sachems, Principal War Chiefs, Warriors and *Principal Women* [emphasis added] of the Six Nations ... set our hands and affix our Seals" to the Council proceedings; this statement is followed by "his mark" and "her mark" next to the name of the signee (6/29/1804). The Six Nations Iroquois include women in their government,

and though foreign to English practice, it is permitted (if not mandated) at the Council meetings. The European ideal of a Council has become intertwined with that of the Six Nations; in other words, European Council members have learned how to (and the need to) mediate their assumptions of how a Council should be held with those of the Six Nations.

The Six Nations Indians for their part also adopted some of the customs of the Europeans perhaps in an attempt, like the English, to make the Council decisions binding. The Chiefs desire a written contract after Councils, claiming that " ... we were however much surprised that you would not allow us a copy of it, as we consider a written Instrument with you the same as Belts or Strings of Wampum are with us", and "It has generally been customary to receive your speeches in writing, as well as Wampum" (8/17/1803).¹ They also, as we have seen, took part in the signing of the contracts, which was clearly alien to them based on the crosses and X's that substituted for their signatures (6/29/1804). The Councils provide an excellent example of the learned mediations that both European and Native had begun to engage in in this post-frontier region.

The Grand River Natives, however, were also interested in entering into the English socio-economic sphere through avenues other than the fur trade. The councils themselves are concerned with missed payments on Grand River land deals, expressing on one part the Six Nation's attempts to "insure the future prosperity of our Tribes and Establish for us a [Pensioning?] Funde" (8/17/1803), but also their desire to attract

¹ This change in custom through interaction is also noted by Richard White, who documents the attempts by the Delaware Indians to secure written contracts rather than wampum from the Americans after the American Revolution (White 1991 : 370-373)

settlers (and the way of life they would bring with them) to the area. The Chiefs convey this wish for the trappings of European life when they are confronted with the possibility of a governmental prohibition on Native land leasing,¹ stating that "...should the white people be orderede from amongste us, how are we to get Roads made, Bridges built, &c. &c." (8/17/1803). The Natives likely received their first exposure to these and other European constructs from the Schoolmaster and Doctor stationed among them. These 'officials' are first mentioned in Superintendent Claus' reckoning of monies paid out during the investigation into his mismanagement of Native funds (6/29/1804), but they are also encountered later, in the account book, when Beasley supplies the same Dr. Tiffany with Spirits (2/3/1815), yarn and silk (5/4/1815) and gloves (8/17/1815).² Once again, we see the interests of one culture being accommodated in those of another.

The local Natives may also have been employed by the encroaching Europeans for manual labour. The only evidence from the Beasley documents is found in an early letter from Cartwright, mentioning what seem to be three of Beasley's hired hands. Cartwright writes that "Your three Myrmidons have been here twenty two Days. Wollsy in general has done his Part in any little Work that was going on. As to Tom & the Indian, you know what may be expected of them" (4/10/1786). Regrettably, the 'Indian' is never mentioned again, leaving his name, the nature of his work, and the frequency of his employment unknown, but this reference does allow for the possibility that local

¹ This problem arose out of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which allowed for aboriginal title to lands; however, it also stated that those titles could only be transferred to the Crown and not individuals. While this was meant to protect the Indians from corrupt land deals, it also restricted what they could do with lands that were supposedly completely their own (Ray 1987 : 102).

² There are also some suspicious supplies sent by Beasley to a Mr. Wiggen, who may very well be the schoolmaster mentioned by Claus: Beasley sent him slate, pencils, paper (10/2/1814) and quills and sealing wax (10/14/1814).

Natives were employed to some degree by Beasley and other European settlers, benefiting the interests of all parties involved.

Beasley's initial isolation probably also meant that he was forced to trade with the local Mississauga for sustenance. This would not be new for the Mississauga, who had fed two traders (Wade and Keuiser) in 1769 in exchange for shot and powder (White 1991 : 335). It is tempting to imagine just such a scenario during Mrs. Simcoe's visit; Mrs. Simcoe " ... set out in a Boat to go to Beasley at the head of Burlington Bay about 8 miles. The River & Bay were full of Canoes, the Indians were fishing, we bought some fine Salmon of them." (Innis 1965 : 182). Beasley may have also purchased foods from the same Canoes that very same day; it is an unlikely coincidence that the evening of Mrs. Simcoe's arrival, she "...found a Salmon & a Tortoise ready dressed for our dinner" (Innis 1965 : 183). It seems likely that this mutual exchange would have been maintained in the post-frontier world as well.

Local Native peoples also fought alongside their Canadian neighbours during the War of 1812 (although the Natives that took part came from around the Great Lakes and not only from the Grand River area (Wynn 1987 : 214-215)). Peter Jones, a half-Mississauga Methodist preacher (to be met in detail later), witnessed the aftermath of the Battle of Stoney Creek at the age of ten; among the Mississauga who had joined the English against the Americans in this battle, Jones lost his grandmother and his uncle, while an additional Mississauga warrior was killed and two chiefs injured (Smith 1987 : 34). The Native troops stayed for a time at Beasley's during the military occupation of his home. In listing his claims of damages from the occupation, Beasley accounts for "3000 Rails burned by the Indians encamped in my Meadows ..." (6/24/1823). By taking

part in the War, the Natives were demonstrating that their interests were part of the interests of all of British Canada; the results of interaction were a unification of interests between both peoples.

Finally, looking at religion and intermarriage, further documentary evidence for interaction can be found. Although Beasley himself offers no information pertaining to these topics, the diary of contemporary Peter Jones (also known as Sacred Feathers or Kahkewaquonaby), a half-Mississauga Native turned Methodist preacher, can shed some light on these types of interactions taking place at Burlington Bay around the turn of the nineteenth century.

The birth and upbringing of Peter Jones owes everything to the interaction between Native and European. Peter's father was Augustus Jones, the Welsh surveyor who comprised one of the two European settlers near Burlington Bay (the second, of course, being Richard Beasley) (Smith 1987 : 3). The lack of European women led Augustus Jones to marry a Mississauga woman named Tuhbenahneequay. However, when Jones discovered that she did not intend to adopt European ways, he took a second wife, Sarah Tekarihogen, the daughter of the Six Nations' Mohawk chief, herself a recent convert to Christianity and a wife who was willing to adopt a European lifestyle (Smith 1987 : 4). Even at this stage of the story, the impact of cultural interaction predominates: Augustus Jones has allowed himself to abandon the European Christian standard of monogamy in exchange for the Mississauga's acceptance of polygamy, while some of the Mississauga (like Sarah Tekarihogen) have begun to explore Christianity and European lifestyles.

Augustus had two children, one with each wife. The first wife, Tuhbenahneequay, didn't have any problem with Augustus taking a second wife, but her only demand was that she be permitted to bring up her son among the Mississauga (Smith 1987 : 4). This son, born in 1802, was Kahkewaquonaby, later named Sacred Feathers by his grandfather's Burlington Bay Mississauga tribe of 50 to 60 members, and named Peter Jones by his Welsh father (Smith 1987 : 6). Sacred Feathers spent his youth between two cultures: his mother and the rest of the band taught him about the Mississauga spirit world and gave him his clan and totem affiliations; however, he also received a European and Christian education from an Irish teacher hired by his Welsh father (Smith 1987 : 41-42). The result of the earlier intermarriage was a child who lived at the boundary of cultural interaction.

Sacred Feathers' early introduction to Christianity had a strong impact on the course of his life. Peter decided to become a preacher after listening to a Methodist sermon in 1823. For the rest of his life, he preached to his Mississauga band that the only way they could survive European encroachment was to adapt to the European farming system, educate themselves, and, of course, become Christian (Smith 1987 : 62). Yet for all of this, it should not be assumed that Peter Jones considered himself a European; on the contrary, he continued to feed himself on the bounty of the forest and the hunt in tandem with his trappings of European society (Smith 1987 : 85).

The lives of Augustus and Peter Jones, Tuhbenahneequay, and Sarah Tekarihogen were clearly affected by intermarriage as well as the interaction of religious belief systems. The mediation and cultural exchange taking place between Europeans and Natives in the early 19th century are seen in this example.

The coming together of the interests of many individuals from different cultures can be best seen if we return to the Grand River Land Councils that involved Richard Beasley (and other European settlers), Joseph Brant (and the Six Nations Iroquois), and Colonel Claus (and the Department of Indian Affairs). As we have already seen, the Grand River land councils were called to investigate allegations of neglected land payments on the part of European settlers on Six Nations lands. However, the proceedings yield much information on mediations between individuals and groups. The problems with the Grand River lands began when Richard Beasley purchased a large tract of land that he could not afford to keep (5/18/1804). It was in Beasley's interest to dispose of these lands to pay off his debt to Cartwright, but it would not have been in his interests to lose the lands outright, seeing as he had already invested some funds into them (1/3/1803, 5/15/1804). For Joseph Brant, his interests (and those of the Six Nations he represented) lay in attracting European settlers to the area. Brant felt that the best way for the Six Nations to survive was to learn self-sufficiency from white settlers in the wake of decreases in game for hunting (Tooker 1978b : 450; Beasley Documents 8/17/1803).¹

The problem was that both Beasley and Brant had their interests checked by Col. Claus and the Department of Indian Affairs. In 1763, a Proclamation was issued that was meant to protect Native lands from fraudulent sales through unfair exchanges or sales acquired by white settlers through intoxication (Tooker 1978a : 433). Yet, although meant to protect Native land holdings, the Proclamation also restricted Native uses of their own lands – they were prevented from selling lands that were presumably

¹ Brant felt that “white farmers and merchants would be useful models from which the Iroquois could more rapidly adopt agricultural skills, replacing the hunting economy that could not be sustained in the valley” (Weaver 1978 : 525).

completely their own – and we read that the Six Nations frequently lament this fact (8/17/1803). In his position as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Col. Claus had to insure that the Proclamation was obeyed. Therefore, to satisfy their mutual interests, Beasley and Brant worked together. Beasley claimed that when he purchased the large tract, he was granted separate mortgages for easier sale (8/17/1803). Of course, we find Col. Claus disputing this fact, since it would contravene the Proclamation of 1763 (8/17/1803). Yet Brant supports Beasley, perhaps because he knows that the latter has already attracted a group of Mennonite settlers to his tract. By helping Richard and insuring that his lands do not revert back to the band, Brant can guarantee that the Mennonite settlers will actually have lands to settle upon when they arrive, satisfying the Six Nations' desire for more European settlers on their lands. Brant therefore claims that Beasley *was* initially promised separate mortgages (8/17/1803). Brant also takes his support a step further by claiming that Beasley had in fact been making his payments for his lands all along, but had (erroneously) been making these payments directly to Brant rather than to the Department of Indian Affairs as was originally stipulated (5/15/1804).

Whether Beasley had truly been making his payments or not is unknown, but the result satisfied both Brant's and Beasley's interests: Beasley was exonerated from the charge of missed payments, he managed to sell his lands to the Mennonites, and Brant got the European settlers he had longed for despite the restrictions of the Proclamation of 1763 (6/29/1804).¹

Beasley and Brant had long ago learned how to mediate and interact with each

¹ Col. Claus may have had his own reasons to settle the case in favour of Beasley and Brant after the Six Nations began to accuse the Superintendent of personally mismanaging band funds (6/29/1804, 9/23/1806).

other, and with bands and governments, to accommodate each others' interests. The Reverend Peter Jones had followed a similar course: he strove to find a way to integrate Methodism into the lives of the Mississauga. Similar to Joseph Brant, Scared Feathers believed that the Mississauga could merge Christianity with their own culture in order to learn the self-sufficiency of the European settlers as traditional survival strategies began to decline (Smith 1987 : 62). In this post-frontier period at the Head of the Lake, individuals used the lessons learned long ago to continue to interact and accommodate cross-cultural interests.

The documentary sources demonstrate that Richard Beasley was isolated from other foci of European culture, and that upon his arrival at the Head of the Lake he was truly living at the fringes of European settlement. The letters and account book indicate that Beasley was interacting directly with the local Natives from the moment of his settlement at what was then a frontier until about 1800, when the frontier nature of the region disappeared in the wake of increased European settlement. Yet, Beasley continued to interact with the local Natives beyond the War of 1812 when other forms of interaction (socio-economic, military, judicial) are included. Even when he was not directly involved, the impact of intermarriage and the exchange of religious beliefs was being felt all around him in this post-frontier environment. The nature of these interactions involved the mediation, acceptance, and appreciation of foreign cultural ideas (but through accommodation, not necessarily acculturation). The cross-cultural interaction and mediation typical of early frontiers are still exhibited in post-frontier environments.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF POST-FRONTIER INTERACTION

It has already been seen in the previous section that the local Natives often camped near Beasley's home for a prolonged stay during or after trade. The archaeological remains from many of the phases attest to this frontier and post-frontier presence (the reader is referred to appendix B artifact summaries for the remainder of this section). Sherds of heavily tempered Native ceramic, many with incised decoration, were found in the destruction event (phase VIII) associated with the abandonment of the first home, as well as during the construction of the warehouse (phase IX). These sherds may very well have been incised by one of the potential bone awls found in most phases (plate 6).¹ Apart from pottery engraving, these awls were also used as leather punches or simply for ornamentation (Gilman 1984 : 6).

Further evidence for Native presence is found in the debitage and lithics retrieved from almost every phase (plate 7). While some of the chert flakes may not necessarily be debitage, there are sufficient chert flakes associated with whole or fragmentary chert tools to attest to a Native presence on the site.

Finally, ornamental artifacts that indicate a Native presence were also found on site. Wampum, or purple and white shell beads, were found in almost every phase from both the first building and the later warehouse (plate 5). This wampum is the same type that was so highly regarded by the Six Nations in the previous discussion concerning Councils. Originally carved from conch or clam shells, wampum was particularly prized by inland tribes, including those around the Great Lakes (Gilman 1984 : 99); this shell

¹ Again, it bears repeating that some of these awls may actually be discarded fish spines.

wampum would later be supplemented by glass beads. Another Native ornamental find were two copper alloy tinkling cones, in phase IX. Tinkler cones were hung on pouches or clothing to make a tinkling sound (Gilman 1984 : 94), and these copper alloy versions were probably made by cutting up old brass trade kettles (to be discussed later) into pieces that could be worked into arrowheads or tinkling cones (Gilman 1984 : 94). Although there is likely to be more evidence of contemporaneous occupation of the site by both Beasley and Native as more of the site is opened, the Native finds thus far recovered are at least indicative of some form of Native presence during the Beasley period. Admittedly, many of the Native finds come from the earlier phases, but the continued presence of even minimal Native artifacts from later phases attests to their post-frontier presence as well.

Not only do the archaeological finds point to the presence of the Natives nearby, but they also support the documentary evidence pertaining to the ongoing trade at the site. Some singular items in particular bear witness to the exchange of European goods with Natives. These items correspond to the classes and subclasses of the Quimby & Spoehr scheme (1951) which was shown in the first section of this paper to adequately account for interaction and acculturation as seen in artifacts. The first 'class' of such artifacts that will be examined here are those which were introduced by the Europeans but then subsequently altered by the Native receivers, corresponding to class A-3 in the Quimby & Spoehr typology. From the Beasley assemblage, two important A-3 artifacts include two modified thimbles (plate 8). Cleland (1972) found evidence that thimbles were desired by the Natives for use as tinkling cones. During his excavations of the

Matthews site in Michigan, he found a child's burial with a necklace made up of pierced thimbles (1972 : 184). By piercing the tip of the thimble, it could be worn along with or in lieu of a tinkling cone. In Phase VIII, the badly corroded remains of the tip of a thimble were recovered, complete with two tiny holes. Although the body of the thimble had been completely lost through oxidation, the remaining tip places this find into subclass A-3. The second modified thimble, found in phase IX, would also seem to be an example of an A-3 artifact. This second A-3 find is actually the base of a thimble that has been cut from the body so as to form a ring (the thimble dimples are still visible on the 'ring'), presumably to be worn as an ornamental artifact. These A-3 artifacts are prime examples of the mediative interaction that has characterized the frontier so far. The local Natives have found a way to mediate their own desires for tinkling cones with the European goods offered for trade. By accommodating a European thimble into their cultural repertoire of ornamental goods, the Natives are demonstrating that they have chosen mediation and accommodation over acculturation.

Apart from the modified thimbles, there is one other intriguing A-3 artifact from the Beasley assemblage: a modified trade musket side plate (phase IX, plate 9). The side plate was originally molded out of brass in the form of a dragon or sea serpent, a "never-failing insignia on 19th century trade muskets" (Kenyon 1984).¹ The dragon motif was not understood by the Natives, who therefore decided to remove the head and force the side plate into a form that they could relate to - the snake. This method for incorporating the dragon side plate into the belief system of the Natives was quite common (Reid 1978;

¹ The dragon sideplate motif first appeared on muskets around 1700, and although the plate had disappeared on civilian weapons after 1740, it remained popular on trade muskets as an indicator to the Indians that the gun was genuine (Reid 1978 : 3).

see also figure 9, Kenyon 1984, for another example). An interesting side note regarding the trade musket lies in its development and improvement by the Europeans in response to Native criticisms. Gilman notes that the c.1800 trade muskets had quite large trigger guards; these were added following complaints from the Native consumers that the guns could not be fired with mittens on, a pressing need when hunting during a rigorous Canadian winter (Gilman 1984 : 103). Both of these modifications to the original trade musket reflect the interaction of ideas from both cultures. Here again, the Natives are using the trade musket side plate to demonstrate that they were capable of mediating their cultural expectations with those of the Europeans. However, we also see that the Europeans were capable of the same mediation: by altering the size of the trade musket trigger guards, the European gun makers were responding to Native interests, another example of accommodation through interaction.

The significance of these few A-3 items is the fact that they demonstrate the acceptance of new culture. The Europeans and Natives encountered each other and ideas and objects were exchanged in these interactions; yet, in the final reckoning, these new additions were altered so as to fit in with rather than overcome the host culture.

In time, "traders found themselves stocking goods that had no parallel in European culture" (Gilman 1984 : 99), and the majority of the finds at Beasley's wharf complex were of this nature. As was mentioned in the first section of this paper, these items would correspond to both subclass A-1 and A-2 in the Quimby & Spoehr typology. For example, glass beads were made of Native European glass in imitation of Native wampum, which would mean that from the point of view of a European, the glass bead

would be an A-2 artifact. However, for a Native, the acceptance of the foreign glass bead as is, without modification, places the item in subclass A-1.

These A-1 / A-2 artifacts formed the bulk of finds relating to Beasley's trading activities. A frequent discovery was silver ornaments, either silver tinkling cones or molded silver objects. The silver tinkling cones were frequently worn as noisy bangles on almost all articles of Native clothing (Phillips 1984). Since European silver was being used to make Native tinkling cones, the cones become class A-2 artifacts. The silver charms, like those pictured in plate 10, were made in a mold similar to that pictured in plate 11. Introduced from England, their popularity among the Natives soon sparked their manufacture in Pennsylvania, Albany, Quebec, and Montreal (Gilman 1982 : 14). This last location is particularly important since, as has already been mentioned, most of the goods Beasley received from Cartwright were brought in from Montreal. The acceptance of these silver works as unmodified imports places them in the A-1 class. Both the ornaments and the cones surface throughout phase V, VIII and IX. The fact that Beasley and other European traders were stocking goods "that had no parallel in European culture" is proof that interaction led to mediation; adopting a trade good assemblage that reflected the desires of the "other" was one way to accommodate the interests of the Native clientele within the traders' interest for profit.

The following A-1 / A-2 artifacts are somewhat problematic but they merit discussion nonetheless. Many fragments of brass wire and rings were found from phase V and phase IX, often included under 'unknown' or 'brass scrap'. It is unclear how many of these fragments, if any, are the remains of brass snare wire, which was introduced by the Europeans (therefore a class A-1 trade item) and preferred by trappers for their

resistance to animal chewing (Gilman 1984 : 24). Another singular but interesting find was a sample of red powder from phase IX, which may be vermilion, a red pigment imported from China that could be rubbed into skins, hides, wood and other materials to add colour. According to Gilman (1984 : 33), initial trade in vermilion began between the late 1700s and the early 1800s, which would coincide with Beasley's presence at the Head of the Lake. If this red powder is actually vermilion, intended for Native use, it would be an example of an A-1 artifact in that it was imported from Europeans and unmodified prior to use. A copper kettle lug was also found.¹ The copper kettle was a frequent item exported from Europe for the Native fur trade (Gilman 1984 : 11); unmodified through contact, it is an A-1 artifact.² The frequent but puzzling find of harness bells in later phases (VIII and IX) may also be indicative of interaction, perhaps worn in the same manner as tinkling cones - as audible adornment (Ferris et.al. (1985 : 13) suggest as much in their report on the Ojibwe Bellamy site excavations). Should this be the case here, then the hawk bells would represent class A-1 artifacts; imported but not modified (although it could be argued that the use of harness bells as human rather than horse adornment represents a modification sufficient to place the artifact into class A-3).

Some other finds that seem initially to relate to the European presence on the site may actually be Native artifacts. Although they were not included as trade goods in our discussion here, Jew's harps were found on the site, and there is some reason to believe that these musical instruments were as popular with the Natives as they were with the

¹ This artifact was not included in the appendix B summary because it was stratigraphically unclear whether it belonged to phase IX or X.

² The copper tinkling cones, already mentioned above as evidence for the presence of Natives near Beasley's residence, may also be problematic: if they were made of scraps cut from these imported copper kettles, as was frequently done (Gilman 1984 : 94), they would actually fall not into A-1 or A-2 but into class B-2 (Native artifacts made from imported materials).

Europeans (Ferris et.al. 1985 : 13). In addition, many gunflints were found, but they were all of the spall variety. Since the British military used (for the most part) blade gunflints, with the earlier spall varieties falling into disuse by 1800 (Ferris et.al. 1985 : 15), there is a distinct possibility that these artifacts were also Native trade items rather than strictly European goods. If these artifacts had been included here as trade goods, then they would have been classified as type A-1 (introduced European goods). Again, as has already been mentioned, the adoption of these European goods into the framework of Native culture was not a process of acculturation but rather of mediation between Native and European interests. These artifacts are the tangible remains of frontier interaction and the 'middle ground' accommodation of the other.

Thus far, the artifacts that have been placed into Quimby and Spoehr's scheme have been infrequent and of low proportion when compared to the entire assemblage per phase. This scenario changes once the glass beads, which represented the majority of the trade goods found on site, are included. Accepted as unmodified imports, the glass beads are examples of class A-1 artifacts when seen from the Native point of view; however, as has already been mentioned, the European point of view would consider the beads as A-2 artifacts, being made out of Old World glass in imitation of wampum (Gilman 1984 : 99, Ferris et.al. 1985 : 13). The glass beads were found in almost every phase, often in increasing numbers in later periods. Of the 2,615 beads recovered, the majority are Kidd types (Kidd : 1970) Ia2 (1,025), followed by IIa12 (641) and Ia5 (355). These Kidd types correspond to monochromatic drawn black tube beads, drawn white seed beads, and drawn white tube beads respectively. This distribution of bead types is typical of the late

18th century, when multicoloured wire wound beads grow rare and monochromatic seed beads become popular among fur trading Natives (Gilman 1984 : 14).¹ The early frontier interactions had helped traders quickly realize that accommodating the desires of Natives for beads would “bring Beaver out of the forest” (Tooker 1978a : 423), satisfying the interests of the Europeans at the same time. However, for Beasley, these trade beads (as we have seen) represent discard – Beasley had missed the fur trade and the types of interactions it provided. Yet the continuing rise of trade beads in each successive phase attest to Beasley’s interests: hoping for a return of fur trade activities, he continued to hoard beads throughout each phase, until he ultimately decided (or was financially obligated) to alter his trade strategies (as seen in the dramatic drop in trade good frequency after phase X). As Usner and White alluded to earlier, old frontier habits die hard, and Beasley’s patience in awaiting a return of the fur trade attests to that.

The decline in the fur trade in the Burlington Heights area affected not only Beasley but the local Native groups as well. As we have seen above, Beasley was forced to adopt a new trading strategy once he had come to terms with the fact that the fur trade had passed by for good. The material remains of Beasley’s post-frontier trade assemblage can be seen in phases X to XII. While previous phase assemblages had been dominated by trade goods, assemblages from phases X to XII are made up predominantly of kitchen wares and ceramics. Figure 15 portrays the percentage of kitchenwares per phase assemblage (taken from the number of individual finds rather than minimum

¹ See also Ferris et al. report on excavations at the contemporary Ojibwe Bellamy site, where similar proportions of white and black drawn cylindrical and seed beads were found (Ferris et al. 1985 : 13).

number of vessels). The average percentage of kitchenwares from phase I to IX is 6.1%, while the average percentage from phase X to XII is 34.1%. From phase IX to X, kitchenwares rise from 9.48% to 54.8%. Here, then, we can see that Beasley has broken with his past Native trade good failures, and has decided to trade mostly in European goods, particularly kitchen ceramics. Certainly, Beasley made this decision to take advantage of the military presence at his home at this time; however, there may also be reason to believe that Beasley had chosen this new market to accommodate the changed needs of the local Natives as well. Like Beasley, the Six Nations and the Mississauga had felt the impact of the fur trade decline. In response to this trend, both Native groups (the first under the leadership of Joseph Brant, and the second under the guidance of Sacred Feathers) had opted to accommodate some aspects of European culture into their own.¹ Since we have already seen that Beasley was supplying the Six Nations with food, school supplies and possibly medical equipment (2/3/1815, 5/4/1815, 8/17/1815, 10/2/1814, 10/14/1814), it is possible that Beasley's kitchenwares were destined not only for the military but also for the Natives. Beasley abandoned his hopes for a return of the fur trade and responded to Native desires for an increase in European goods; the Natives, in their turn, abandoned earlier frontier trade patterns and allowed additional European culture to be accommodated within their own.

The Natives and Richard Beasley at Burlington Bay had come to count on the initial frontier interactions that had characterized European and Native contact during the fur trade period. When the fur trade began to decline, cultures continued to interact,

¹ See the previous section on documentary evidence for post-frontier interaction, particularly the sections that discuss the Grand River Land councils and the activities of Peter Jones and his Methodist ministry.

mediating their own interests against those of the other as the economic environment of the fur trade frontier began to change. Cross-cultural interaction continued in the post-frontier period, as did the accommodation of one group's interest alongside those of the others. The artifacts found at the Beasley site attest to this interaction and, more importantly, the reconciliation of the interests and influences of many cultures.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Current scholars agree that the frontier is characterized as an isolated edge of settlement that acts as a focus for interaction between the colonizers and the indigenous peoples; this cross-cultural interaction, however, is maintained even in a post-frontier environment, as the interacting cultures find that the techniques learned at the frontier for mediating each others' interests are still required after the frontier has passed on. This study has examined this frontier and post-frontier interaction as it is evidenced by documents and archaeological remains at the trading post of Richard Beasley, established at the head of Lake Ontario at the close of the 18th century. Richard had settled into a geographical frontier, and hoped to turn a profit in the lucrative fur trade. However, when archaeological and documentary data were analyzed within the context of the international fur trade economy, it was found that Beasley settled into the Head of the Lake just as the fur trade's apogee had passed in the wake of increased European settlement. Yet the same data also indicate that cross-cultural interaction continued in this post-frontier environment. The Six Nations Iroquois, the Mississauga, and Richard Beasley had long been acquainted with frontier interaction. These groups brought this knowledge with them into this post-frontier world, and used it to continue to search for 'middle ground' when mediating each others' interests.

In reaching these conclusions concerning Beasley's frontier trading post, some ramifications for the site itself, as well as for the nature of post-frontier interaction, were brought to light.

The ramifications for the site lie in particular in the manner in which Beasley has been viewed by both historians and local residents in the Hamilton area. Mary Innis touts Beasley as being the first settler at the head of the lake (1965 : 216), perhaps based on the inscription on his gravestone. There is no reason to doubt this belief; however, it should now be realized that although Beasley was likely the first settler in the area, he was not alone for long. Once established in the region, Beasley was rapidly followed by other loyalists and immigrants eager to take advantage of the location's spacious lands and abundant resources. The fur trade frontier that Beasley chose to settle into was fleeting, and Mrs. Simcoe's predictions would soon be borne out, writing that "... the country [at the Head of the Lake] appears more fitt for the reception of Inhabitants than any part of the Province I have seen, being already cleared." (Innis 1965 : 183).

It was this continued increase in European settlement that pushed the geographical frontier beyond Burlington Bay. As European settlement in the area took root, the fur trade resources were depleted or displaced, and Beasley was forced, along with the Iroquois and Mississauga, to adopt new strategies and goals for survival and profit. However, as these groups had discovered during the frontier period, strategies and goals between groups often overlap and conflict. In the later post-frontier world, frontier-style interaction and mediation continued to characterize cross-cultural encounters, ensuring that the interests of all concerned were satisfactorily met. This 'middle ground' compromise would come to an end when European settlement overwhelmed Native; as White wrote, "The real crisis and the final dissolution of [this] world came when Indians ceased to have the power to force Whites onto the Middle Ground. Then the desire of Whites to dictate the terms of accommodation could be given its head" (White 1991 : xv).

The study undertaken here has also demonstrated that research into frontier and post-frontier interaction entails certain requirements if the presence and nature of these interactions are to be known.

The most pressing need for any interaction study is a wealth of documentary and archaeological information that are used together. James Deetz warns against unidirectional studies which are all too common among historical archaeologists (Deetz 1993 : 158). Under such an approach, the documents or the archaeology are simply used to confirm the findings of the other. Deetz sees this type of research as redundant, since there are no results gained from one source of information that could not have been procured from the other. For historical archaeology to avoid being seen as "an expensive way of finding out what we already know" (Deetz 1993 : 159), it needs to adopt a multidirectional approach. Research in this context would work "back and forth between the documents and what the site has produced ... reformulating questions raised by one set of data by looking at it against the background of the other" (ibid). The study conducted here has demonstrated the benefits of a multidirectional approach to frontier studies. The documents established that the site was initially located at a frontier, with ongoing cultural interaction between both colonist and Native; however, the sources were remarkably lacking in references to economic exchange. To understand this component of the frontier, the focus shifted to the archaeological remains, which indicated a general rise through time in fur trade related artifacts. When these results were returned to the documents for comparison, it was found that the increase in fur trade goods contradicted with references in the letters concerning the decline of fur prices through time. Widening the scope of the documentary analysis to include total fur trade exports from the Canadas

to Britain, it was soon found that the fur trade was on a decline during Beasley's initial occupation. In light of this discovery, our attention returned to the archaeological assemblage, where it was realized that the majority of the remains did not indicate exchange but rather disposal in the face of a decrease in the fur trade. Once the results of this interplay between document and artifact were examined within the parameters of our frontier paradigm, it was concluded that although the site had originally been at the frontier, the frontier's presence was shortlived, with increased settlement and decreased fur trade activities characterizing the disappearance of frontier life. Later, the archaeological and historical data were used together to emphasize the continuation of cross-cultural frontier interaction in this post-frontier environment. These statements concerning the Beasley trading site could not have been made if a unidirectional approach had been taken; only the interplay of both sets of data permitted these conclusions to be drawn.

Another important consideration for interaction research is the difference between what we will here call a geographical frontier and a population frontier. The first deals exclusively with a site's degree of physical isolation from its home culture. As has been seen here, Burlington Bay was a geographical frontier when Richard Beasley settled there in the 18th century. A population frontier would be defined by the inhabitants of the region, and their degree of familiarity with the other new cultural groups in the area. One type of frontier can exist with or without the other. In our study here, the Six Nations Iroquois, the Mississauga, and Richard Beasley were not typical of a population frontier in that they had had lifelong interactions with each other's cultures. However, the Mississauga had recently returned to their ancestral lands after a long hiatus; the Iroquois

were moving onto unoccupied Grand River lands; and Beasley was the first European settler in the area: for all concerned, Burlington Heights was a geographic frontier. When conducting frontier and post-frontier cross-cultural interaction research, it is important to assess the presence or absence of both types of frontiers in the area. At the Head of the Lake, it was the lack of a population frontier (and therefore the familiarity of each culture with the other) that permitted relaxed interactions to take place at the geographical frontier and later in the post-frontier environment. The ease or difficulty with which mediation and interaction are maintained after the passing of the frontier may be clarified once the presence or absence of geographical and population frontiers is known.

Finally, this study has demonstrated that for frontier studies, it is insufficient to simply study the interaction alone. The reasons behind the interaction are just as (if not more) important than the interaction itself. As has been shown, cross-cultural interaction tends to occur when there is a need to reconcile the interests and agendas of two or more groups. If there are cultural interests that coincide or conflict, there will be a need for each side to adjust their own interests to accommodate some of the others'. This is what Richard White (1991) had termed the 'middle ground'; that moment of interaction when both sides realize the need for give and take. Daniel Usner (1992) notes that these techniques of mediation, learned in a frontier environment, are frequently carried forward into the post-frontier period as well, particularly by individuals acting as mediators between cultural groups. This paper sought not only to discover post-frontier interactions but also to understand the causes behind them. By doing so, the agendas and interests of the parties involved were disclosed, and it was possible to understand *why* post-frontier relations between cultures were maintained at all.

The need to study post-frontier cross-cultural interaction is a necessary component of frontier studies. In stressing the frequent interaction that occurs at a frontier, some researchers (Lightfoot, Wolf) have unwittingly neglected interaction in a post-frontier situation. As our study here has shown, even after the frontier had passed, cultural exchange was still ongoing. If researchers ignore the continued interaction of Native and colonist after the frontier has passed, they could unintentionally imply that the Native role in culture creation alongside the European ceased with increased settlement.¹ The results of the analysis conducted here indicate that Europeans and Natives continued to interact culturally after the frontier had passed by, stressing the contributions of Native peoples to North American culture up to the present day.

Frontier studies are the study of cultures coming into contact. The research undertaken here incorporates the effects of this contact by looking for the interaction markers it produces. The results of this study have demonstrated that while a frontier is a focus for interaction between cultures, cross-cultural interaction will persist even after that frontier has moved on, as the interests of each group continue to coincide and require some form of mediation. As Usner wrote, "Frontier exchange activities ... never totally disappeared from the landscape ... " (1992 : 9) " ... the economic customs and intercultural relations fostered over the previous century would endure for many Indians [and] settlers ... as vital strategies ... for a long time to come" (1992 : 148).

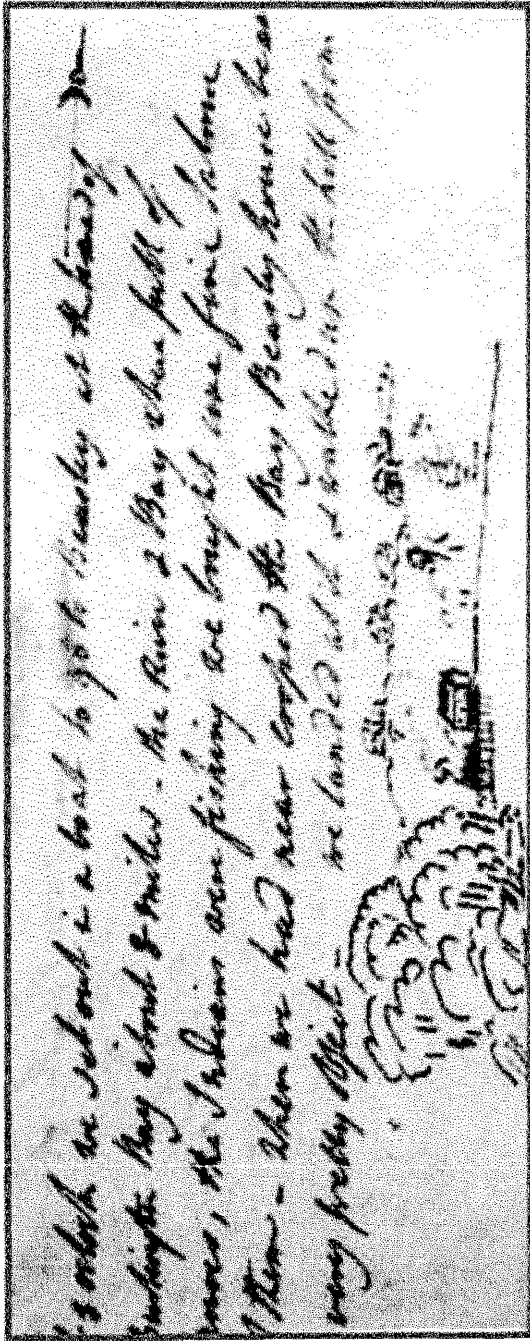
¹ It should be noted that Paynter (1985 : 167) did approach the issue of frontier change through time, noting that a frontier could in time become a core or homeland. Louise M. Jackson also broached the subject, writing that "the sequence of events occurring between first instances of ethnic interaction ... and how indigenous cultures change in response to contact cultures ... are frequently left out of analyses of culture change" (1991 : 129). However, these researchers still left out discussion of the continued interaction once the frontier had moved on.

Further research into frontier and post-frontier interaction will help us to understand the complex nature of frontier activities. Apart from increased archaeological and historical studies of frontiers, there is a need for ethnohistoric and anthropological analyses into the birth and life of a frontier, into which an investigation at this point in time was beyond the scope of this paper. Additional research should focus on the nature of interaction after the frontier has passed, for as has been found here, the frontier is only the beginning of cultural contact, not the end.

Ultimately, it bears repeating that frontier studies are truly a look at the beginnings of modern North America. When Native met European, old cultural mainstays broke down while new ones were forged together. Whether dealing with economic issues like the fur trade or other contact milieus, frontier interaction is "an example of how two radically dissimilar cultures establish a common ground of understanding without sacrificing their unique characteristics and without annihilating one another" (Gilman 1984 : 1).

"... it was on the romantic Burlington Heights I first drew my breath, and, in my youthful days, was accustomed to traverse the shores of its clear waters in the light birchbark canoe; here I ranged the forest ... where now may be seen the fine brick or stone house, and the productive farm of the white man."

-- Sacred Feathers (Smith 1987 : 16)

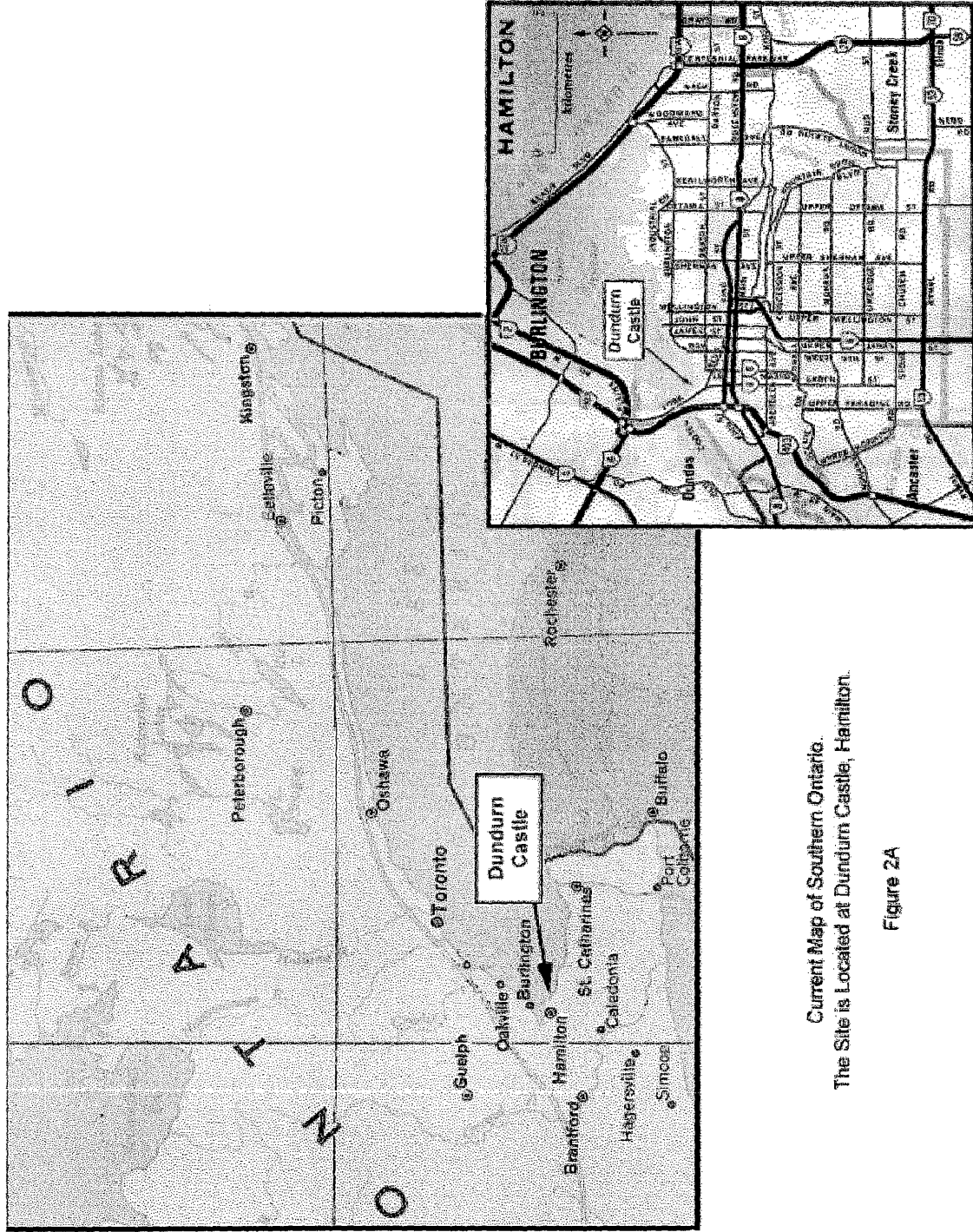


Mrs. Simcoe's sketch of Richard Beasley's home at the edge of Lake Ontario, taken from her diary.

The text reads: "... we set out in a boat to go to Beasley at the head of Burlington Bay about 8 miles. The River & Bay were full of canoes, the Indians were fishing, we bought some fine Salmon of them. When we had near crossed the Bay Beasley house became a very pretty object. We landed at it and walked up the hill ..."

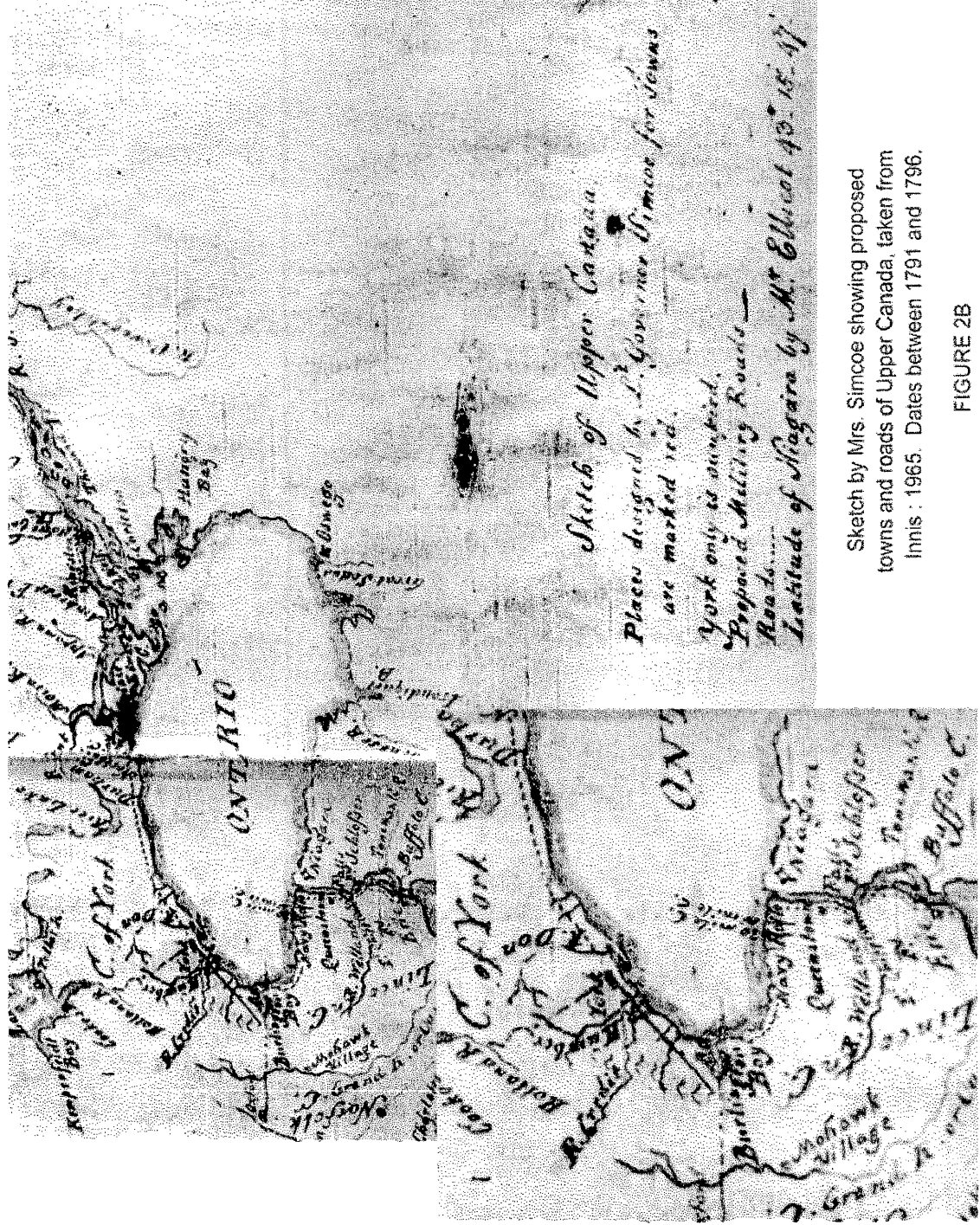
Note the wharves, the single dwelling, and the road leading up to the undeveloped lands at the top of the hill.

FIGURE 1



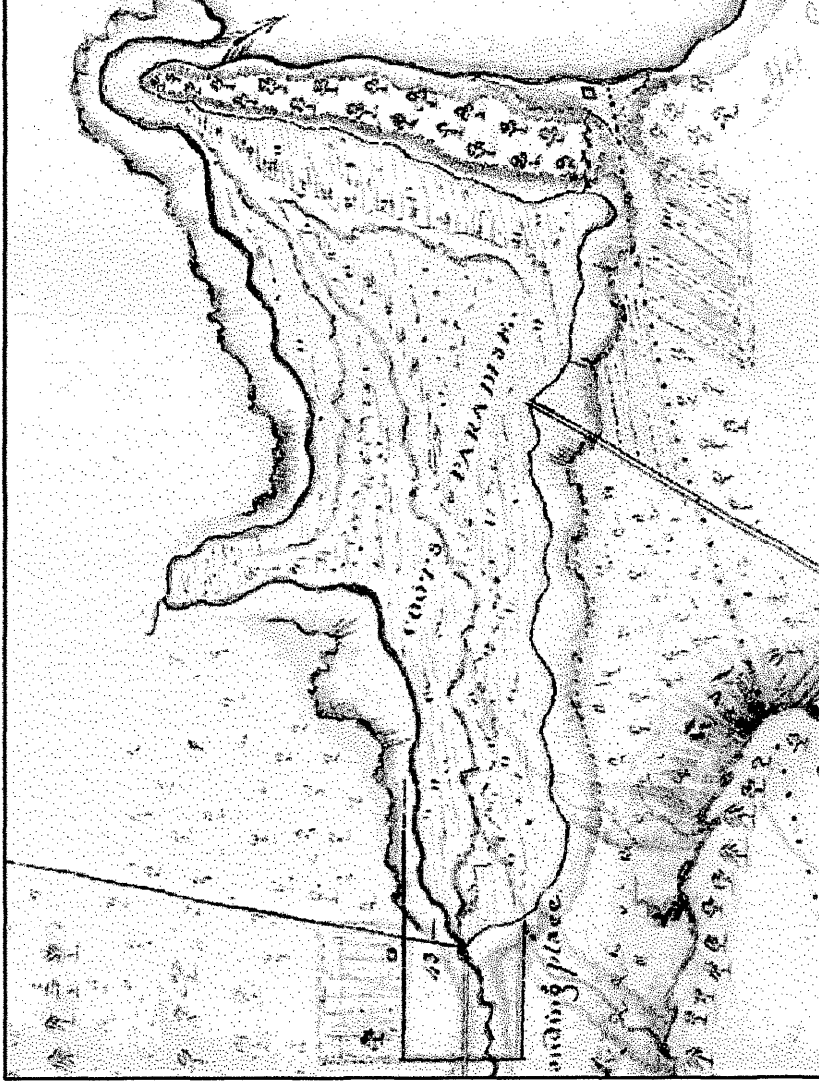
Current Map of Southern Ontario.
The Site is Located at Dundurn Castle, Hamilton.

Figure 2A



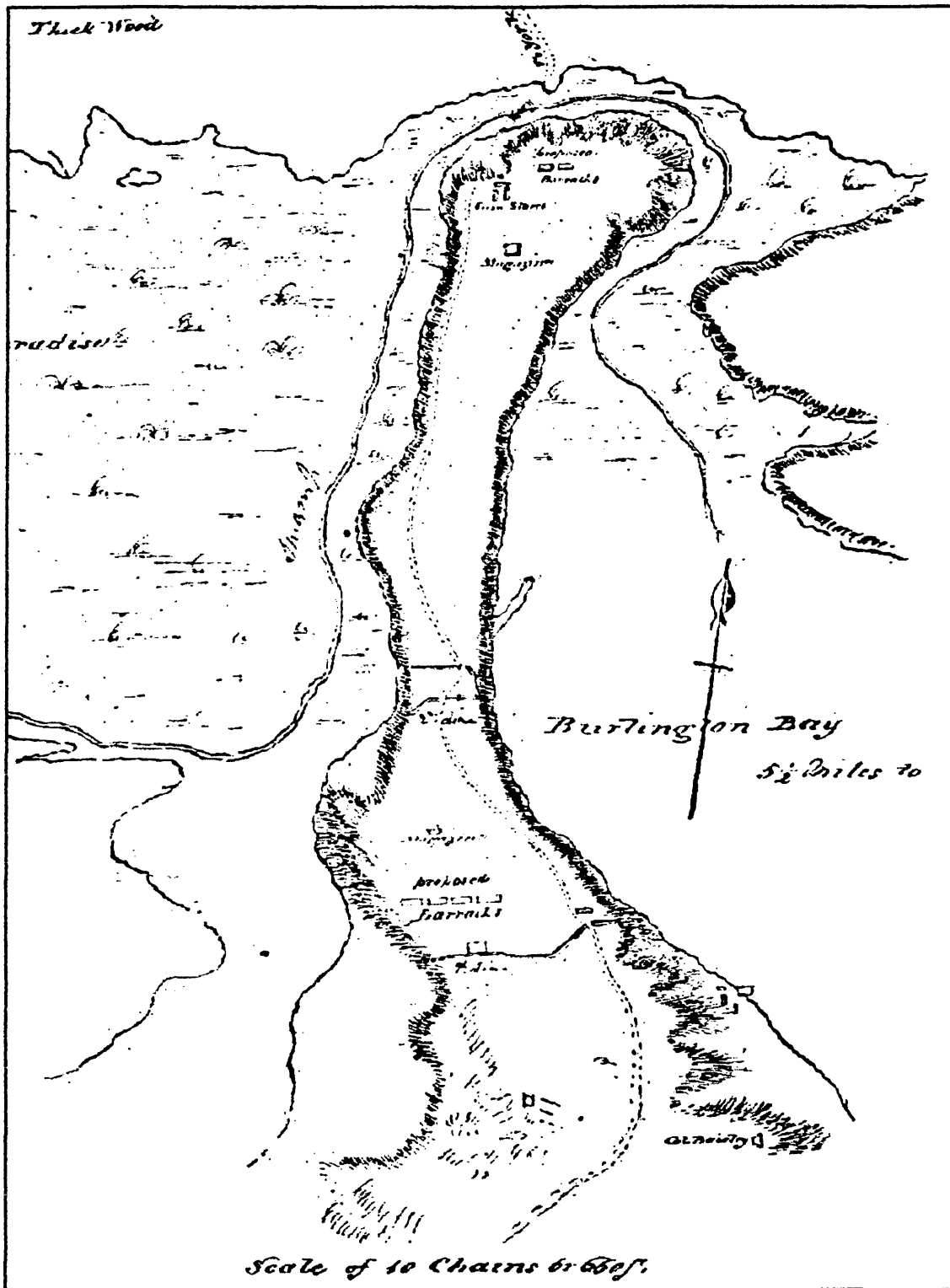
Sketch by Mrs. Simcoe showing proposed towns and roads of Upper Canada, taken from Innis : 1965. Dates between 1791 and 1796.

FIGURE 2B



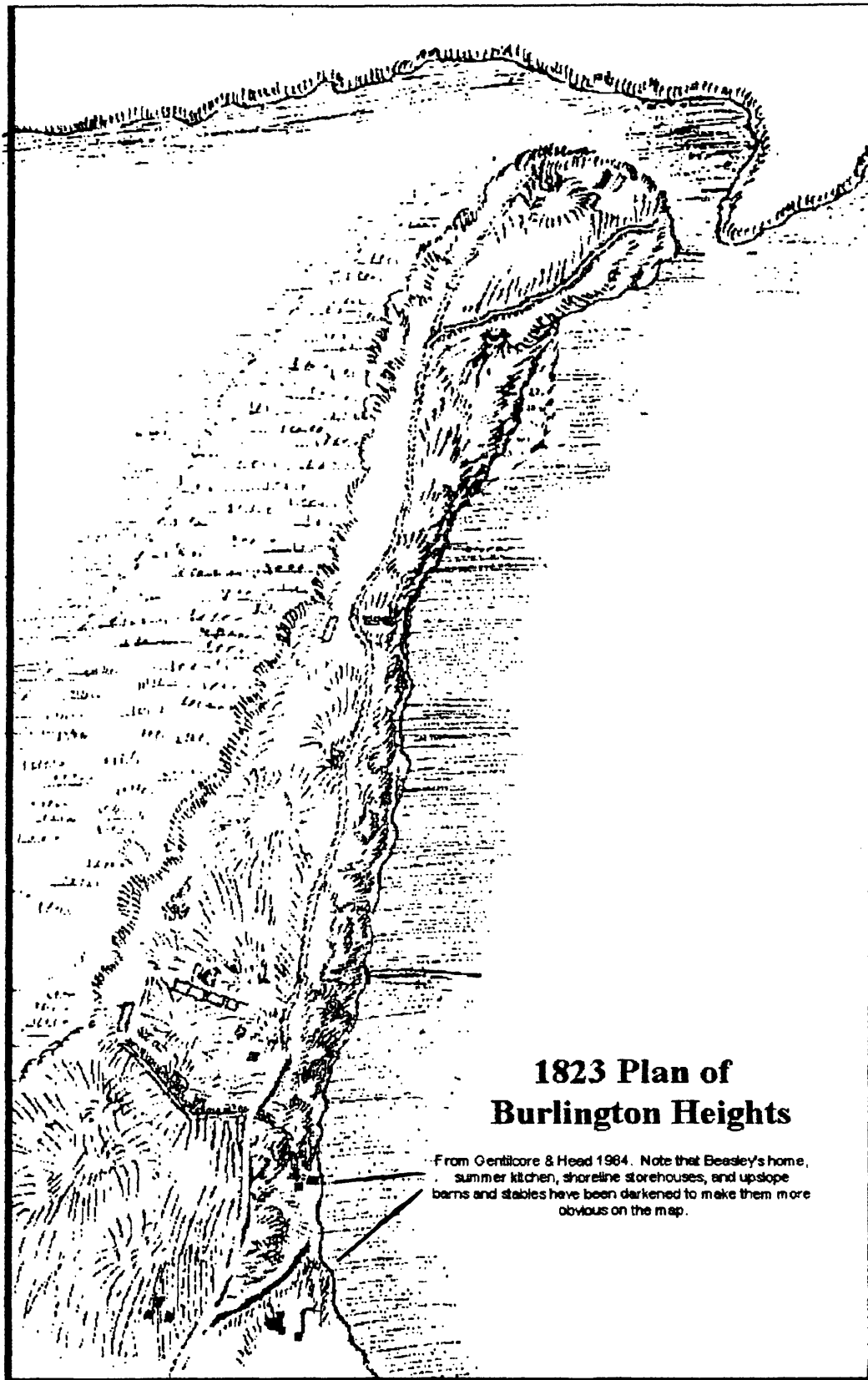
View of Burlington Heights, with Lake Ontario to the East. Taken from Ontario's History in Maps (Gentilcore and Head : 1984). Map of the River Thames from L. St. Clair to Oxford and the Road from Oxford to Burlington Bay ... ; probably dating to around 1793.

FIGURE 3



British Military Map of Burlington Heights, 1813
(Gentilcore & Head 1984)

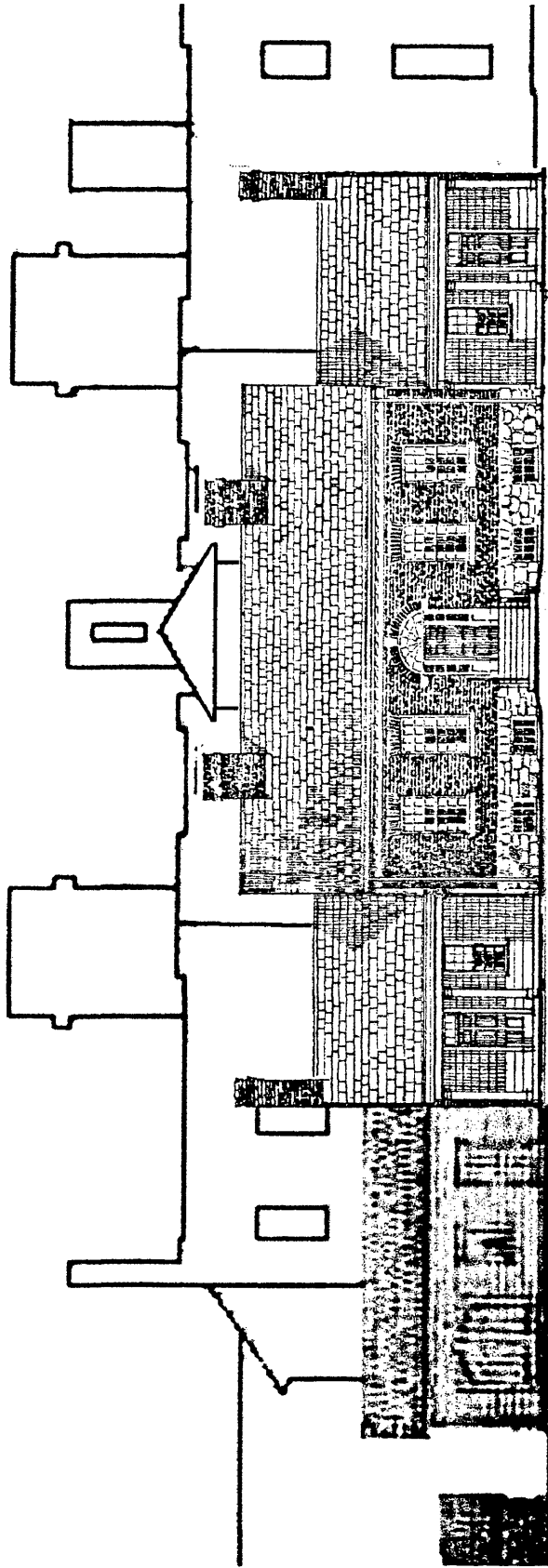
FIGURE 4



1823 Plan of Burlington Heights

From Gentilecore & Head 1984. Note that Beasley's home, summer kitchen, shoreline storehouses, and upslope barns and stables have been darkened to make them more obvious on the map.

FIGURE 5



View of Beasley's upslope brick residence
incorporated into MacNab's later Dundurn Castle

FIGURE 6

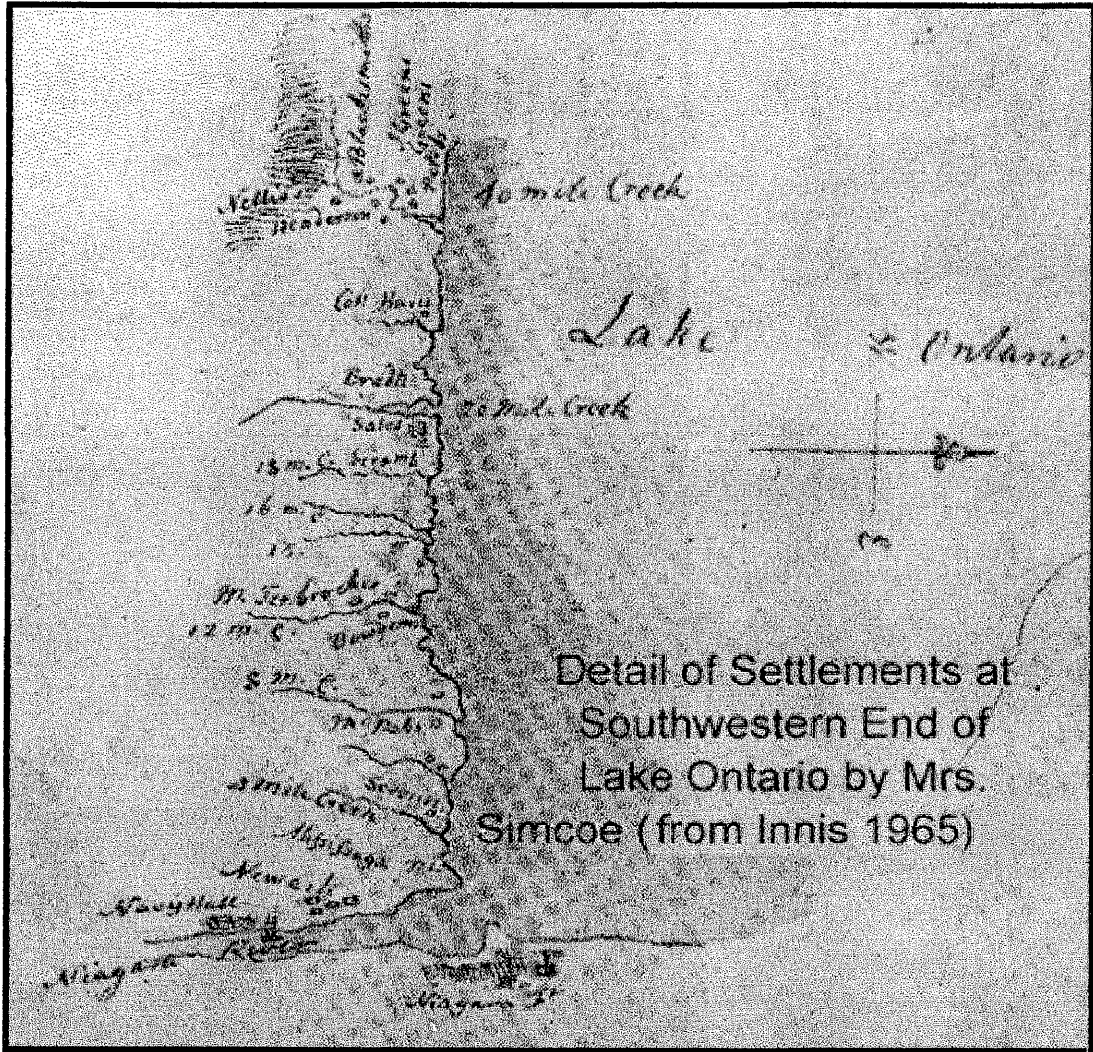
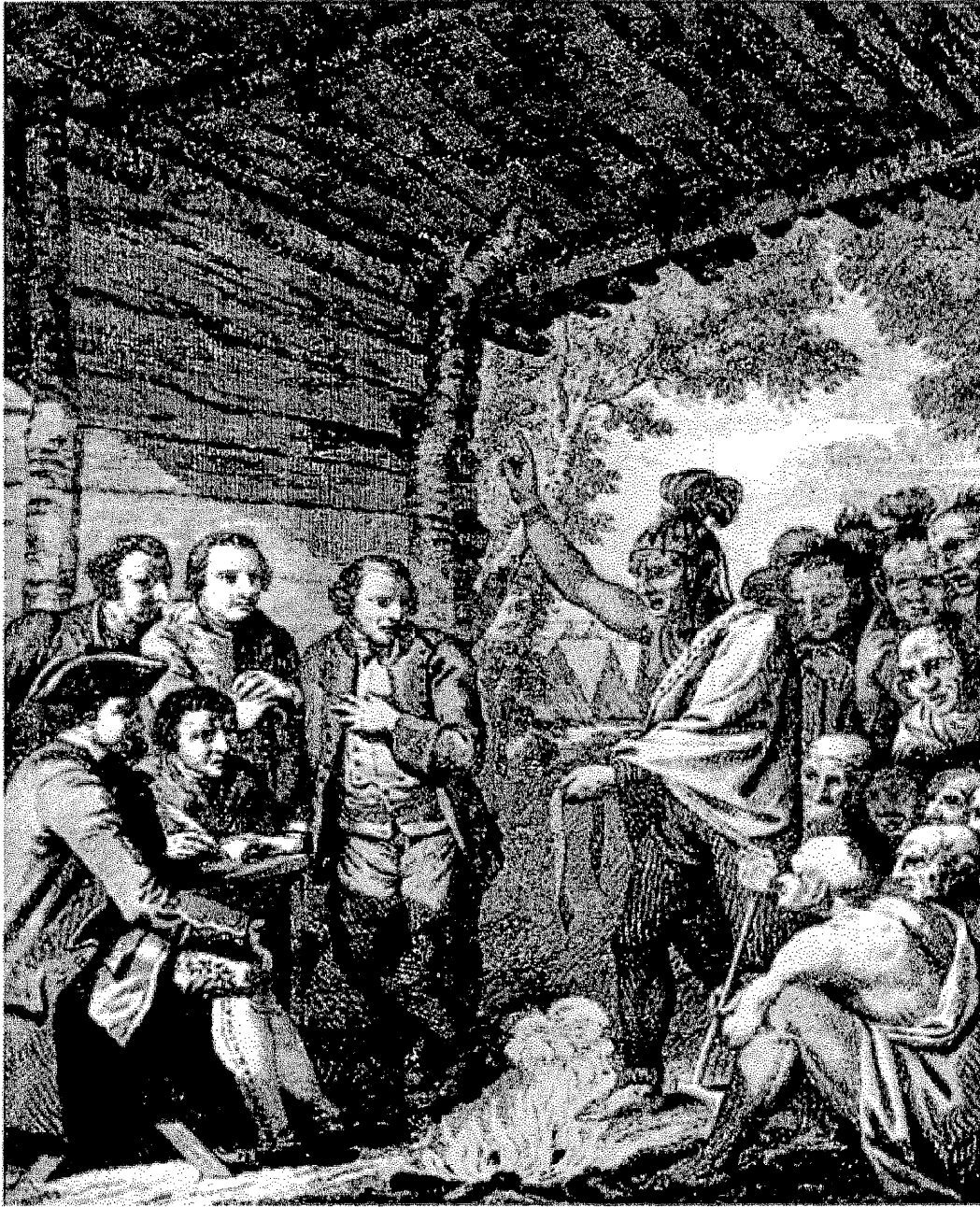
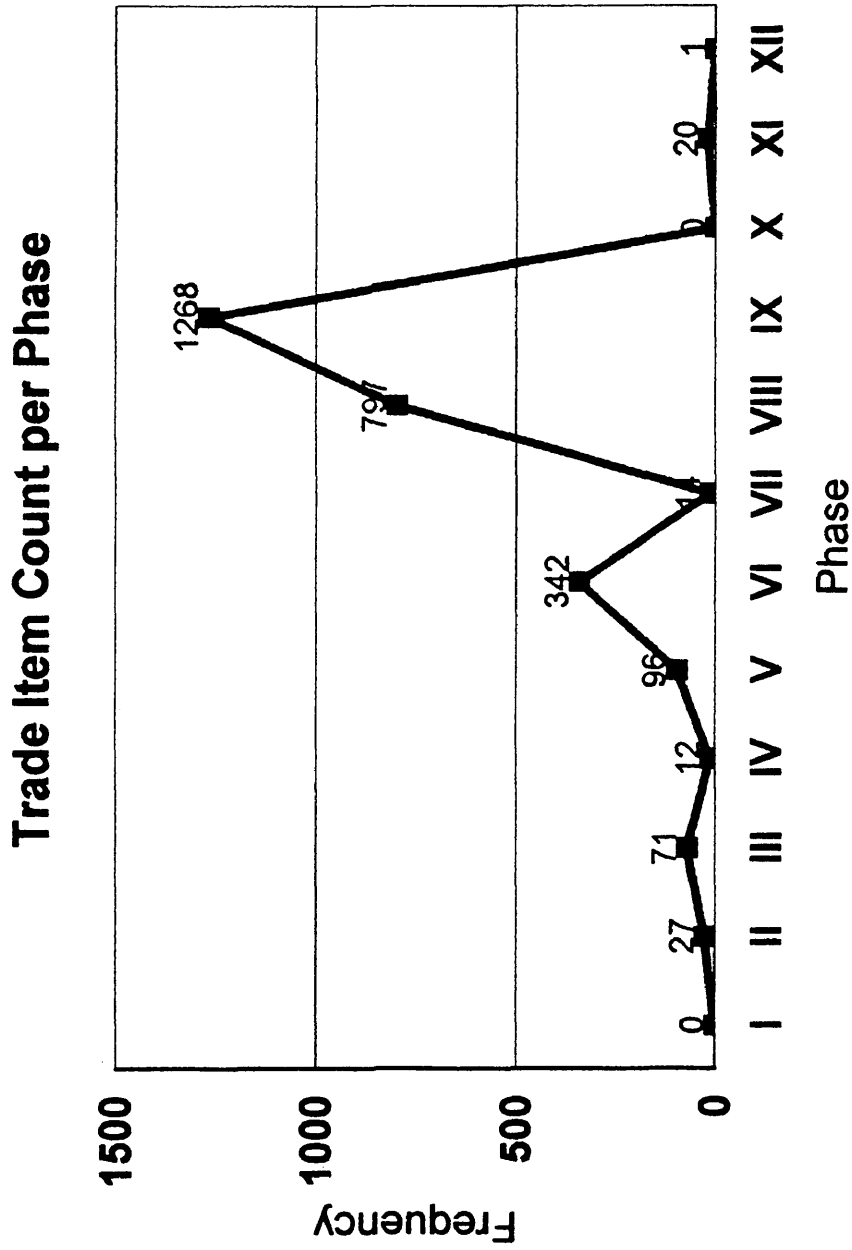


Figure 7



"The Indians Giving a Talk to Col. Bouquet, 1766."
Original by Benjamin West. From Gilman 1982 : 54.

Figure 8



Note: The trade item count (n) per phase is taken from the PERSONAL artifact category for that phase, but only includes trade goods (being GBED, CONE (silver only), SILV, JEWL (where the item is a silver trade good), and MTH).

FIGURE 9

Trade Items as a Percent of N per Phase (LS included)

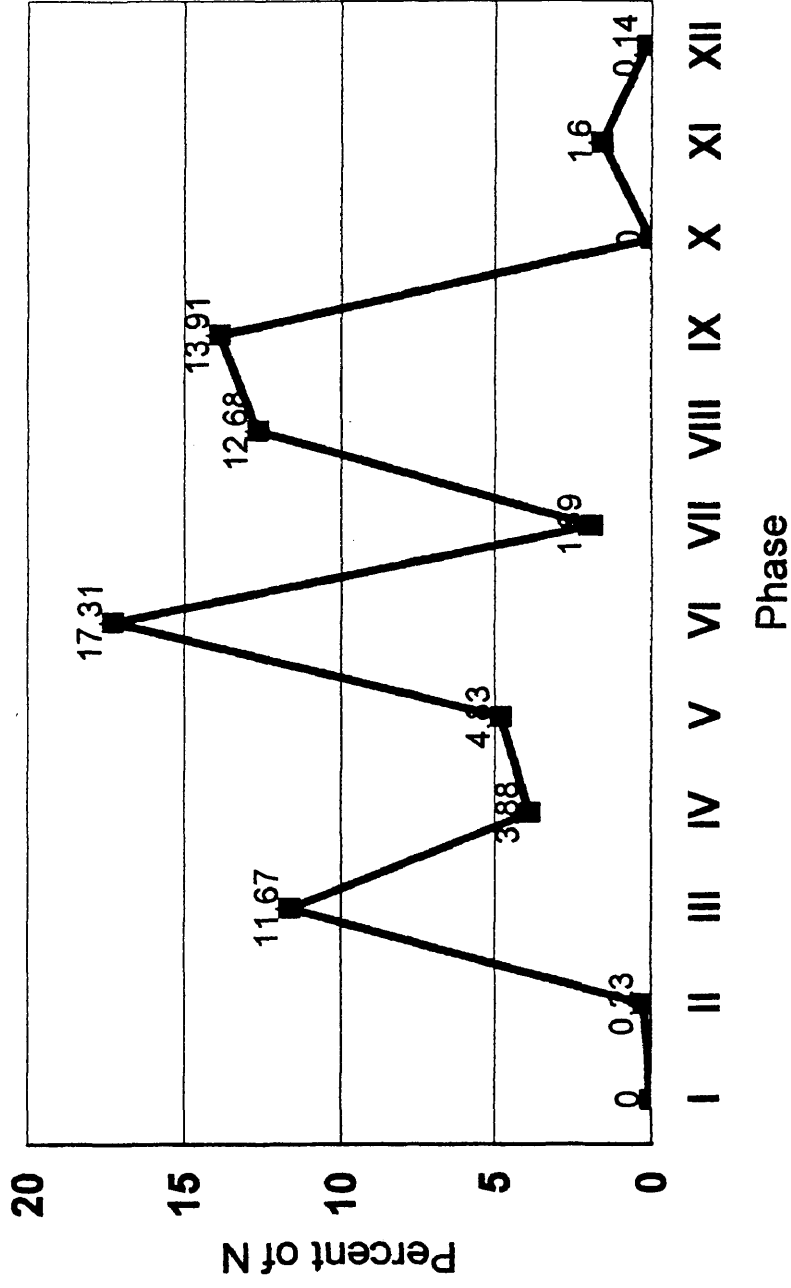


FIGURE 10

Trade Items as a Percent of N per Phase (LS excluded)

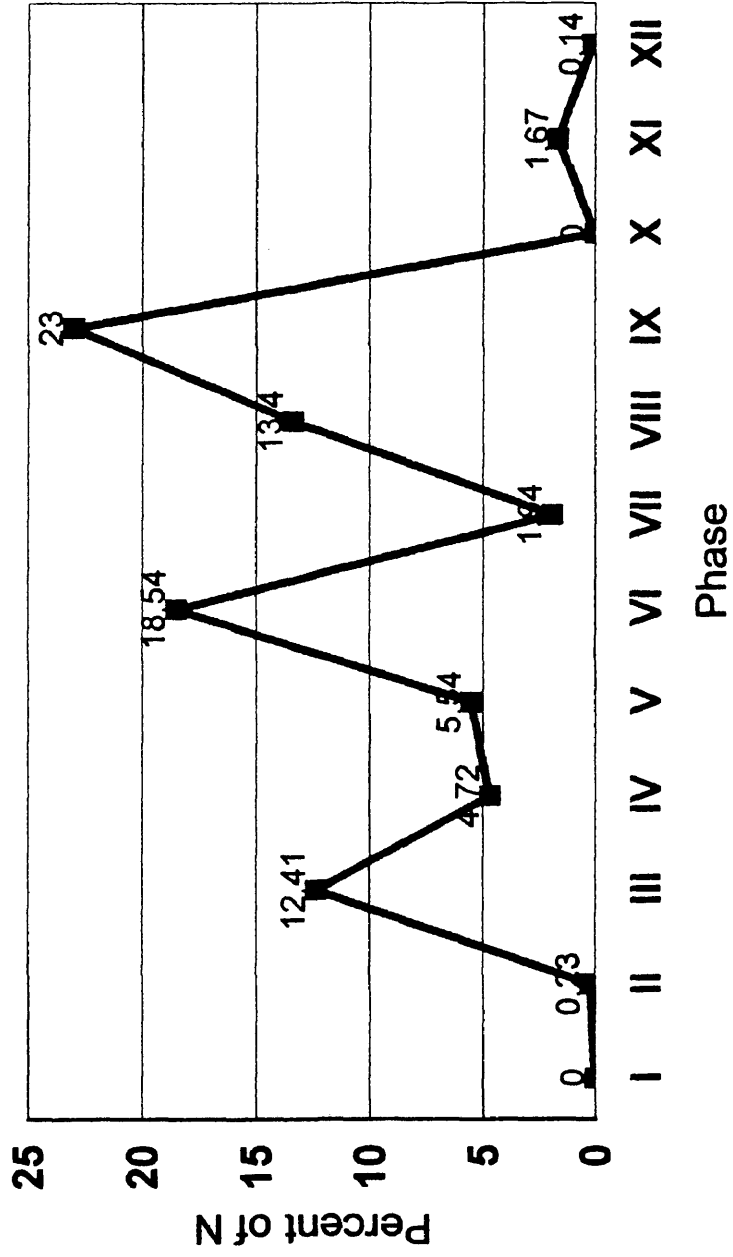
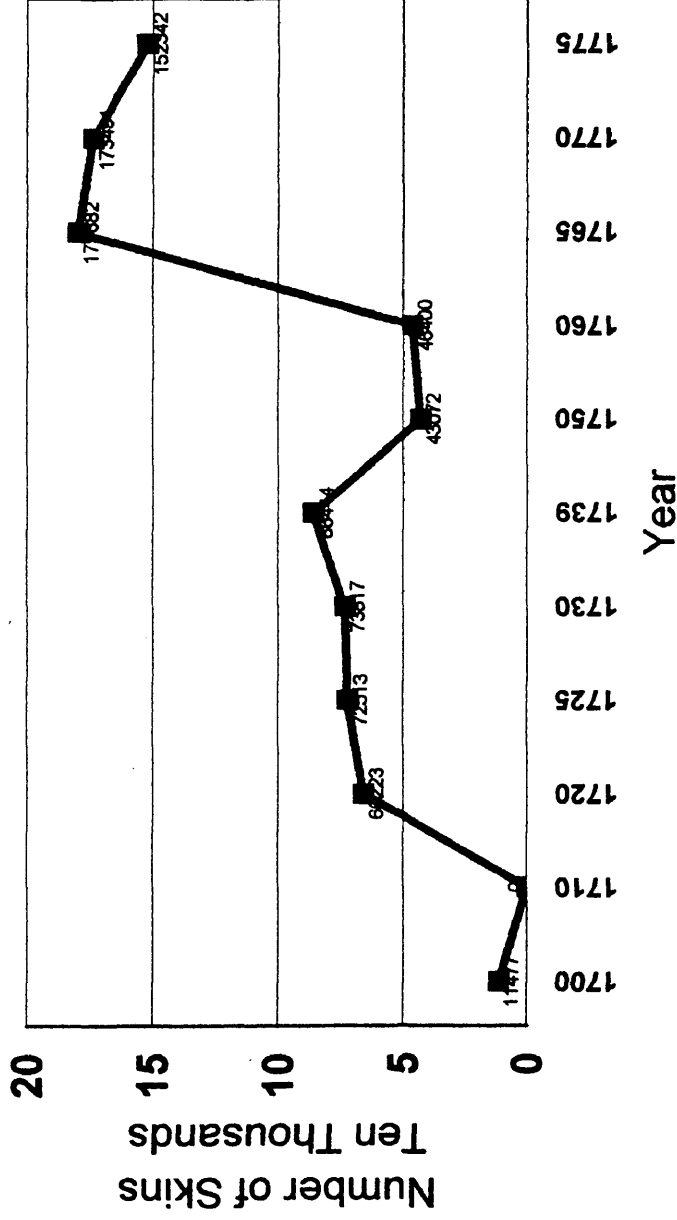


FIGURE 11

Beaver Skin Exports to Britain from Canada, 1700-1775

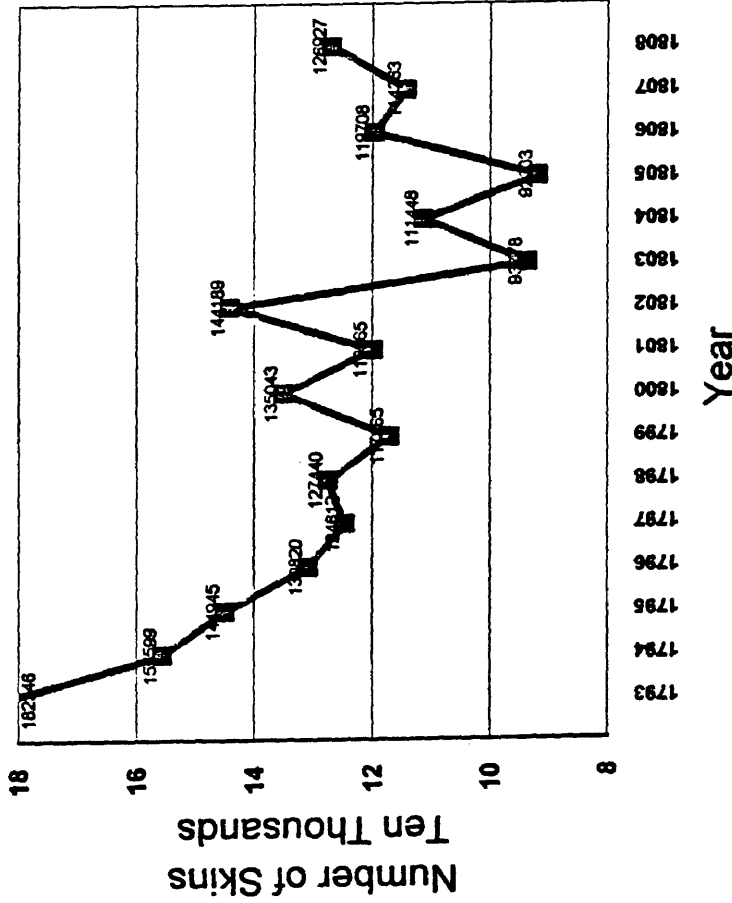
(From Lawson 1943 : 87, 108)



These values represent the Canadian and Hudson's Bay Company pelts as listed in British imports from the Continental Colonies (Lawson 1943 : 87). These were converted from weight to number of skins based on an average ratio of 1½ skins per pound (Innis 1984 : 2).

FIGURE 12

Beaver Skin Exports from Canada to Britain, 1793 - 1808
 (From Innis 1984 : 265)

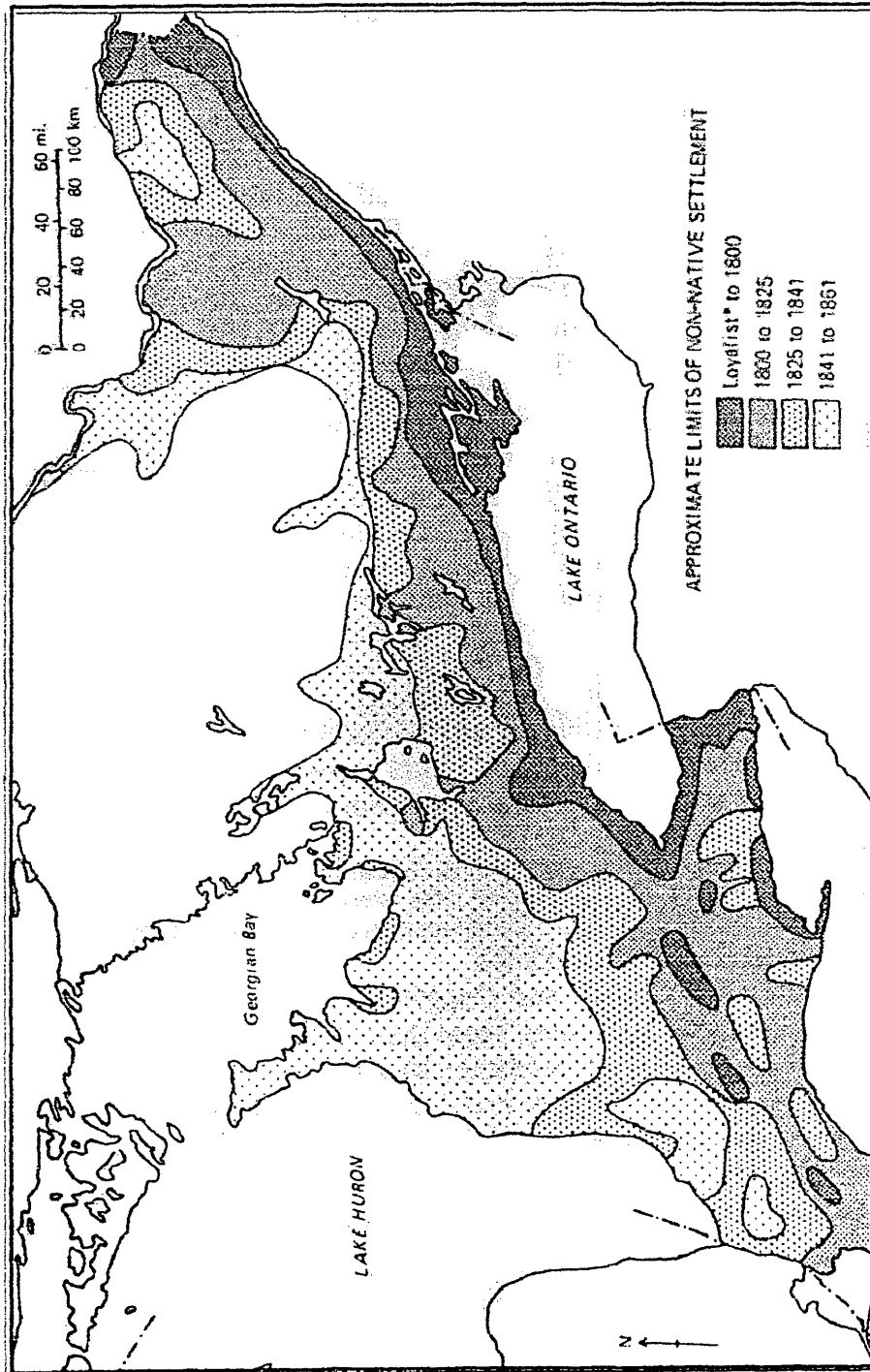


Documentary references to Falling Fur Prices

- 1792 - Cartwright reports loss on furs of £250.
- 1793 - Another loss reported of £115.
- 1794 - Cartwright advises Beasley to take a good price on furs if he can get one, since prospects for sales in England are worse than ever. Concerns that possible war with U.S. may also hurt fur prices.
- 1795 - Prices for muskrat are rising, but other fur prices remained the same.
- 1799 - Springer's furs fall short of expected value.
- 1801 - Springer's pelts still selling poorly; Cartwright complains that this is 'paying very slowly'.

FIGURE 13

FIGURE 14



Map showing Extent of European Settlement in Upper Canada Through Time. From Keane & Read 1990.

Kitchen Wares and Trade Items as a Percent of N per Phase (LS excluded)

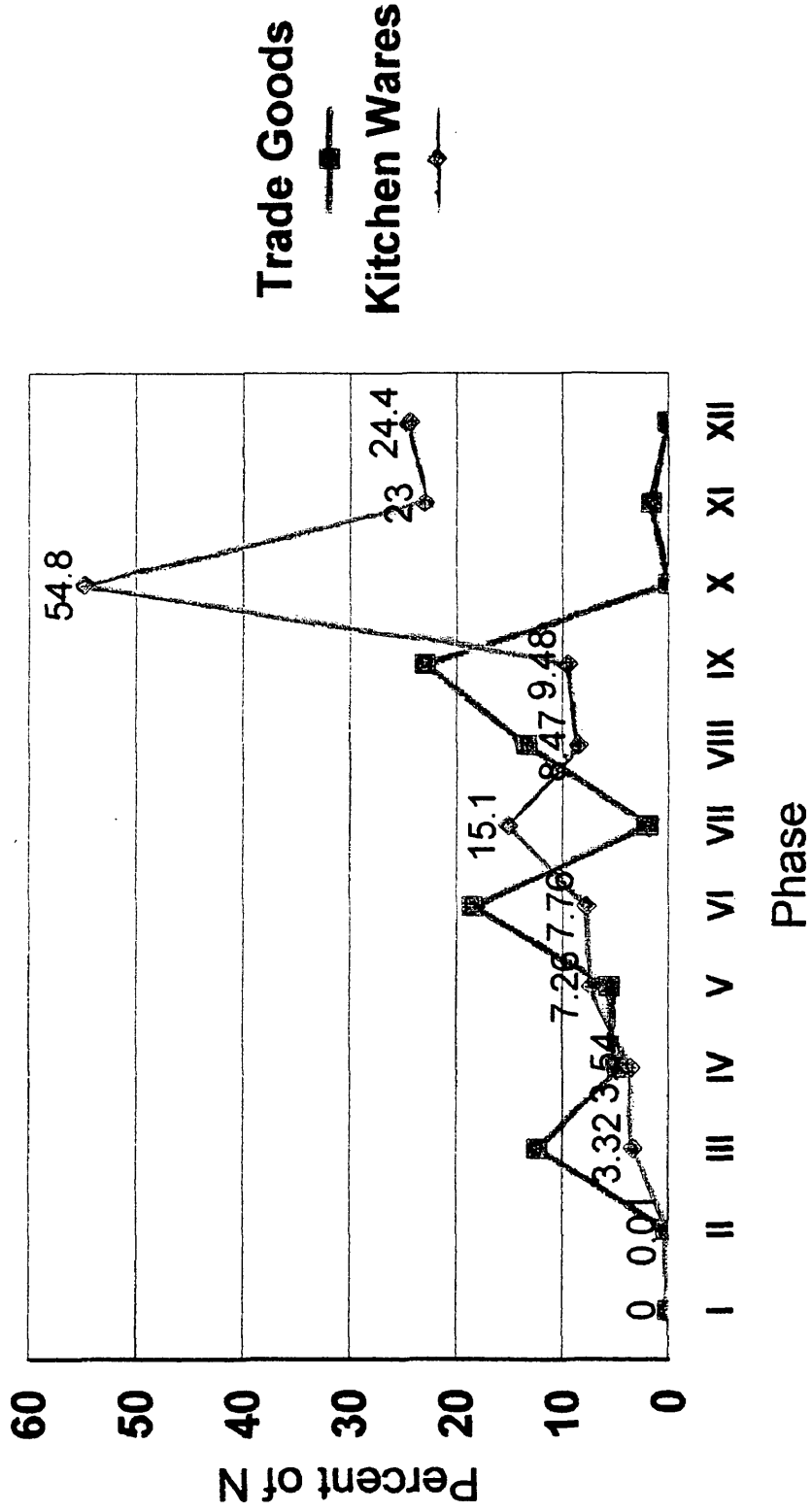
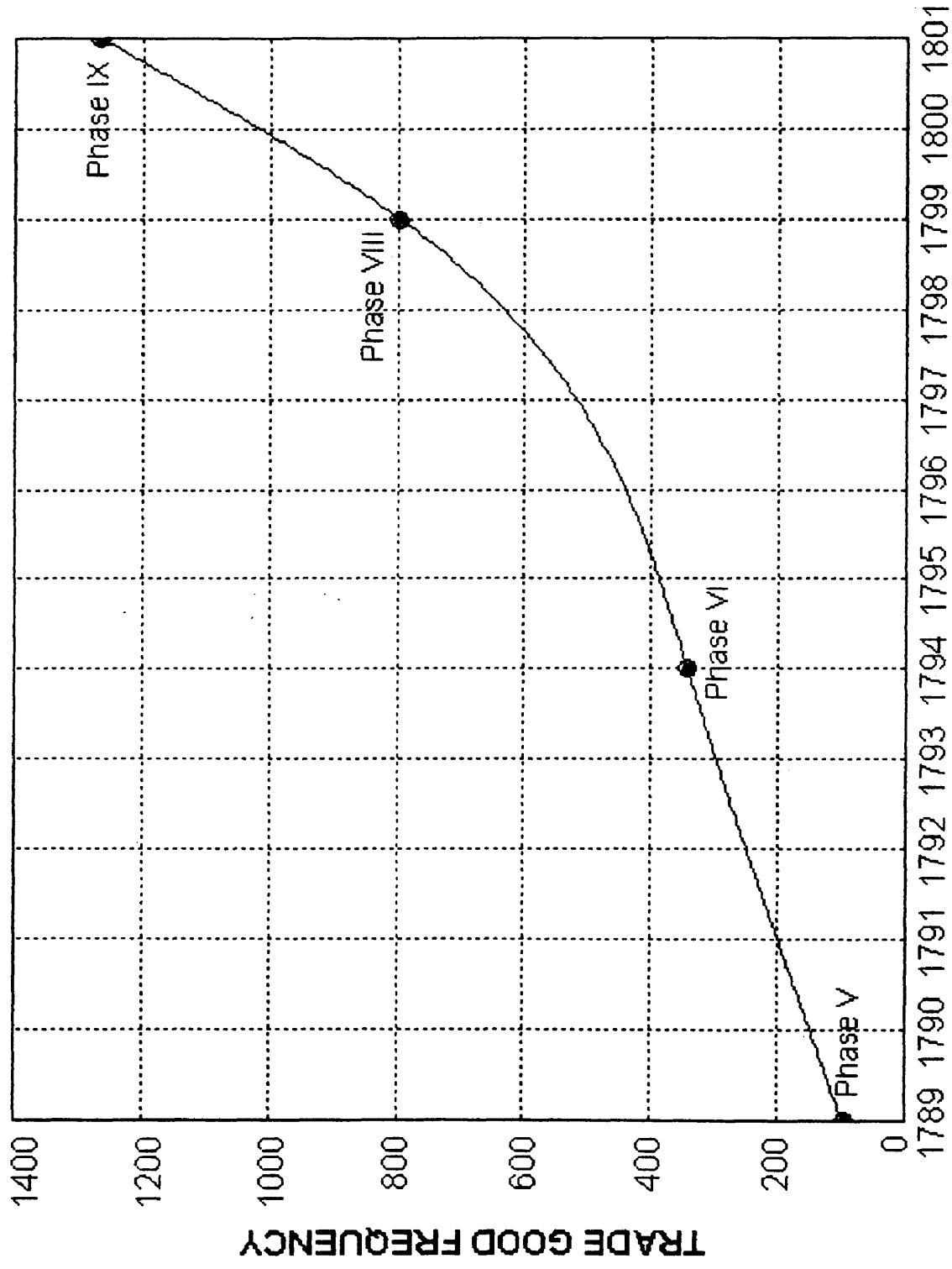


FIGURE 15

ANNUAL TRADE GOOD FREQUENCY ESTIMATES, 1789-1801



YEAR

FIGURE 16

ANNUAL TRADE GOOD FREQUENCY VS. FUR EXPORTS, 1793-1801

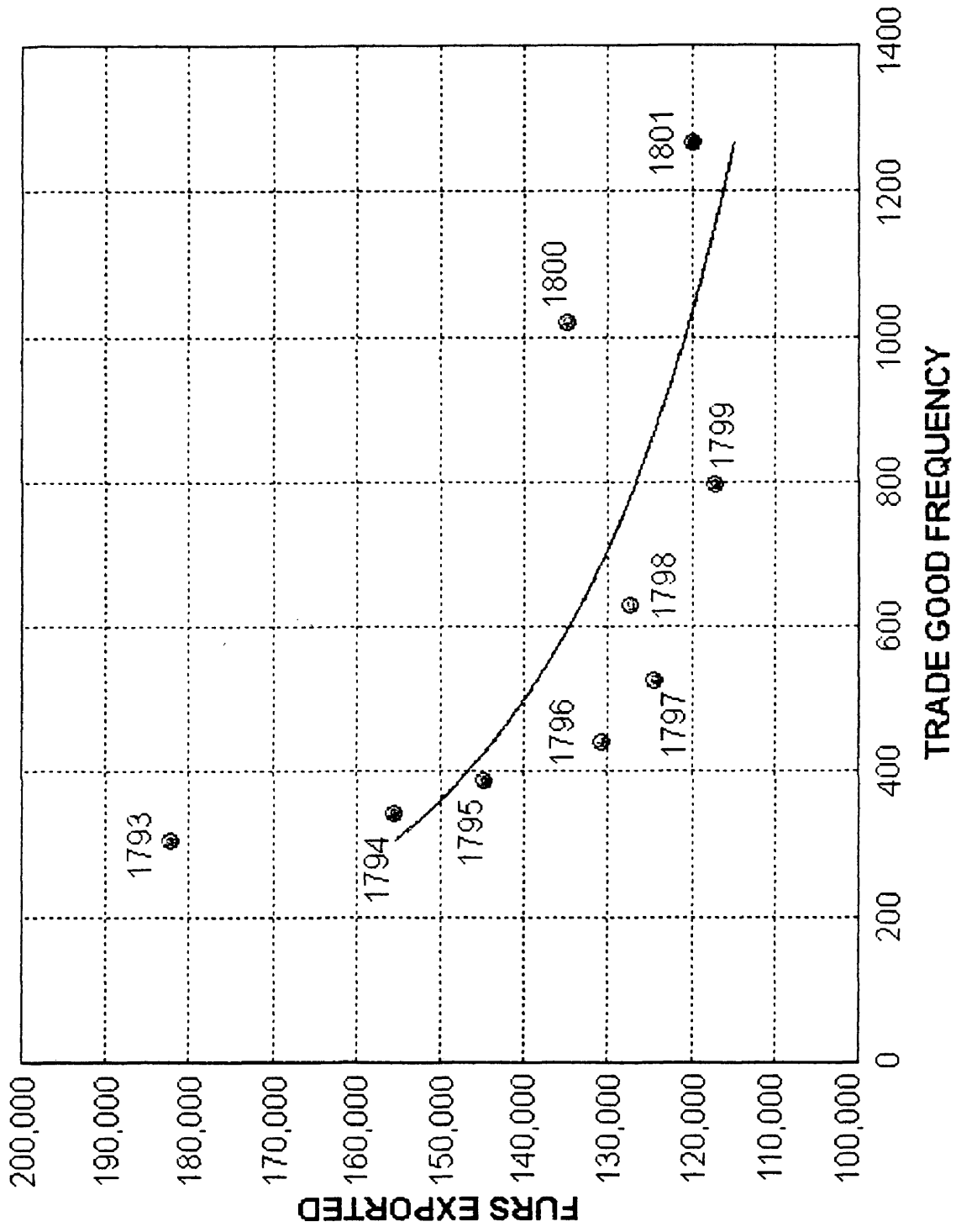
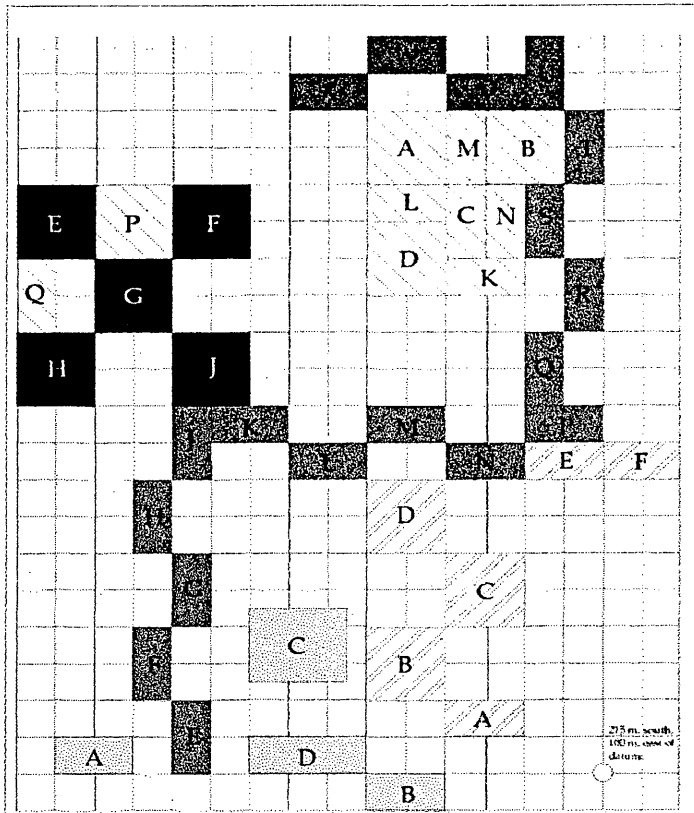
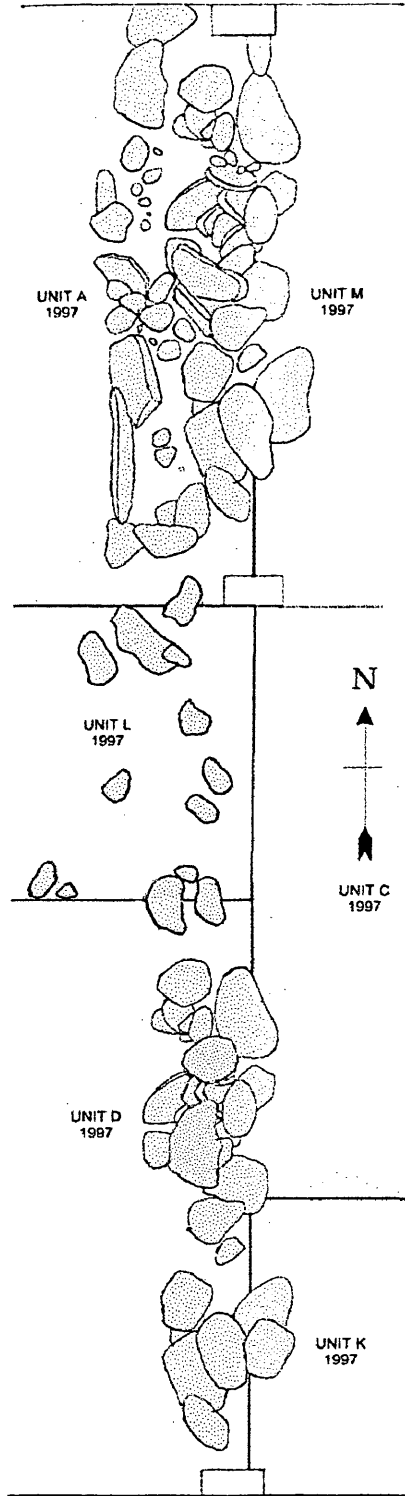


FIGURE 17



**Beasley Wharf Complex
Excavations 1994-1999**

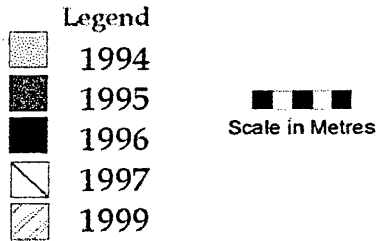
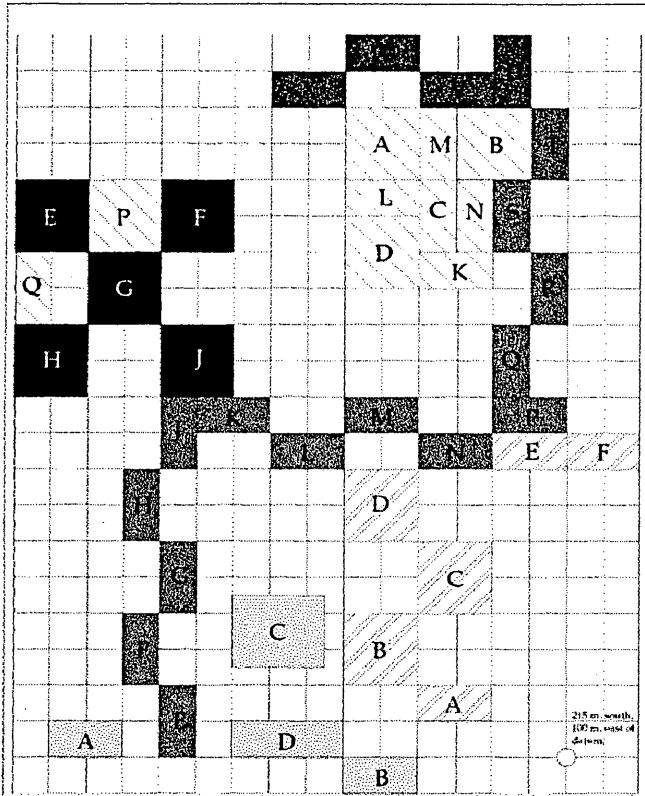


PLATE 1

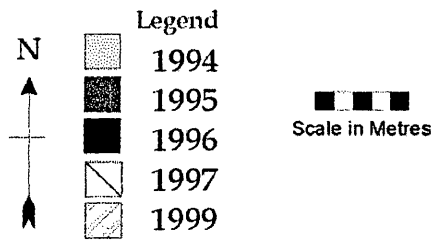
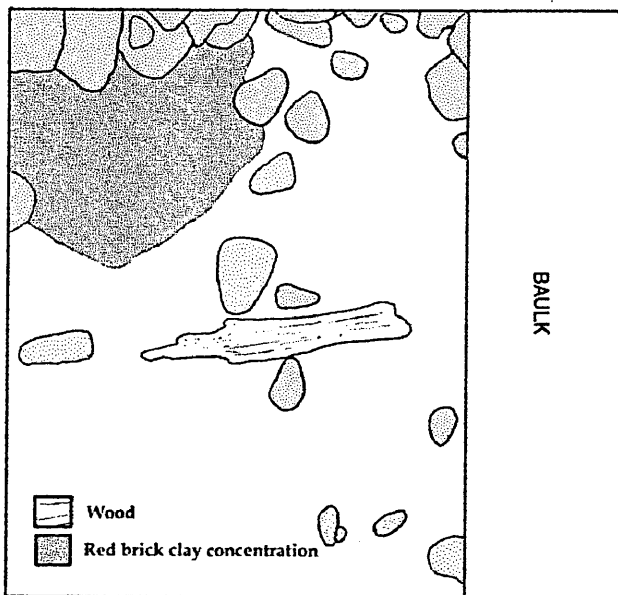
Rubble foundation for Beasley's first residence at the edge of the lake. The enlarged detail of the foundation, seen at left, is taken from 1997 units A, C, D, K, L, and M.

PLATE 2

Floor plank in-situ from Beasley's first residence at the edge of the lake. The enlarged detail below is taken from unit B, 1997.



**Beasley Wharf Complex
Excavations 1994-1999**

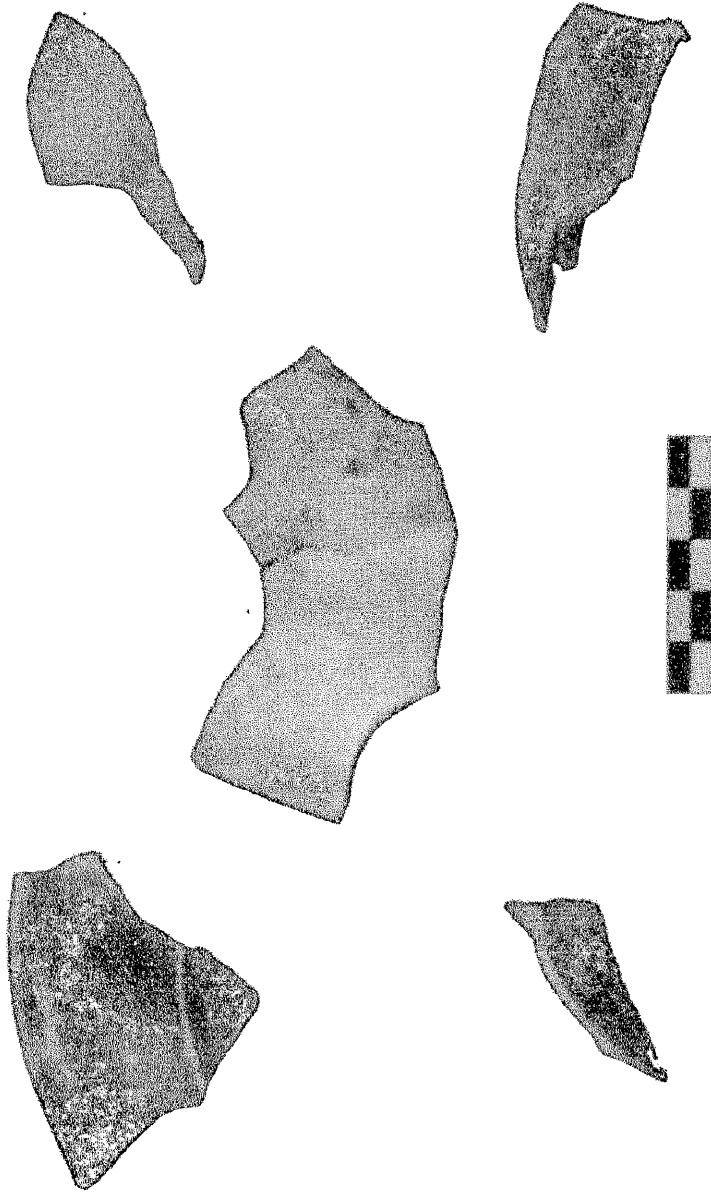


1997 Beasley Complex Excavations



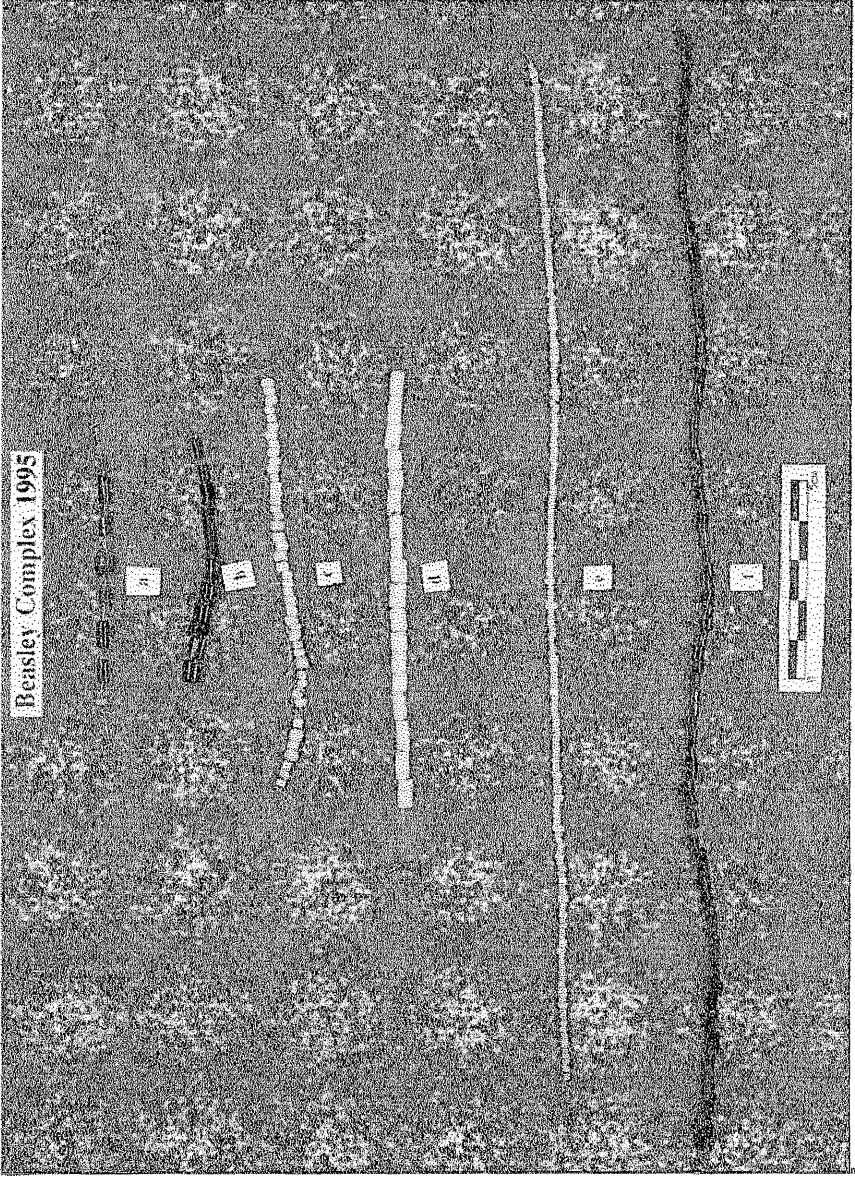
Crude red bricks from Beasley's
first residence

Beasley Complex Excavations 1997



Burnt Salt Glazed Stoneware
plate fragments

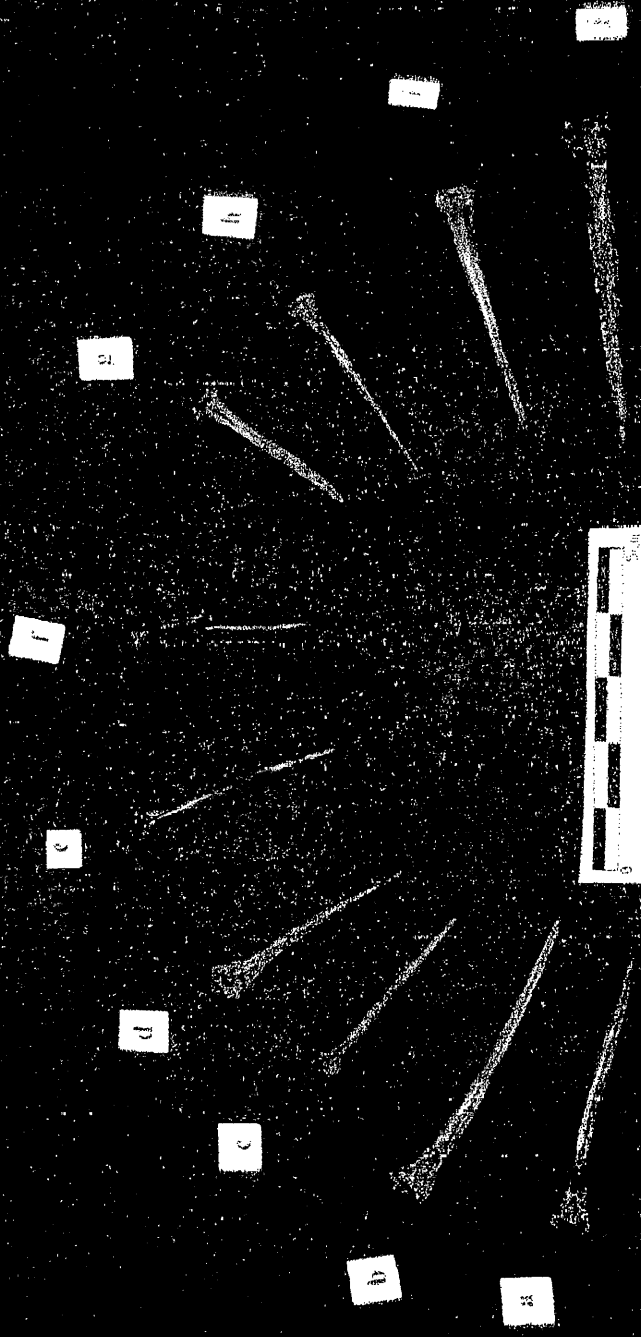
PLATE 4



Cylindrical black and white drawn glass
seed beads

PLATE 5

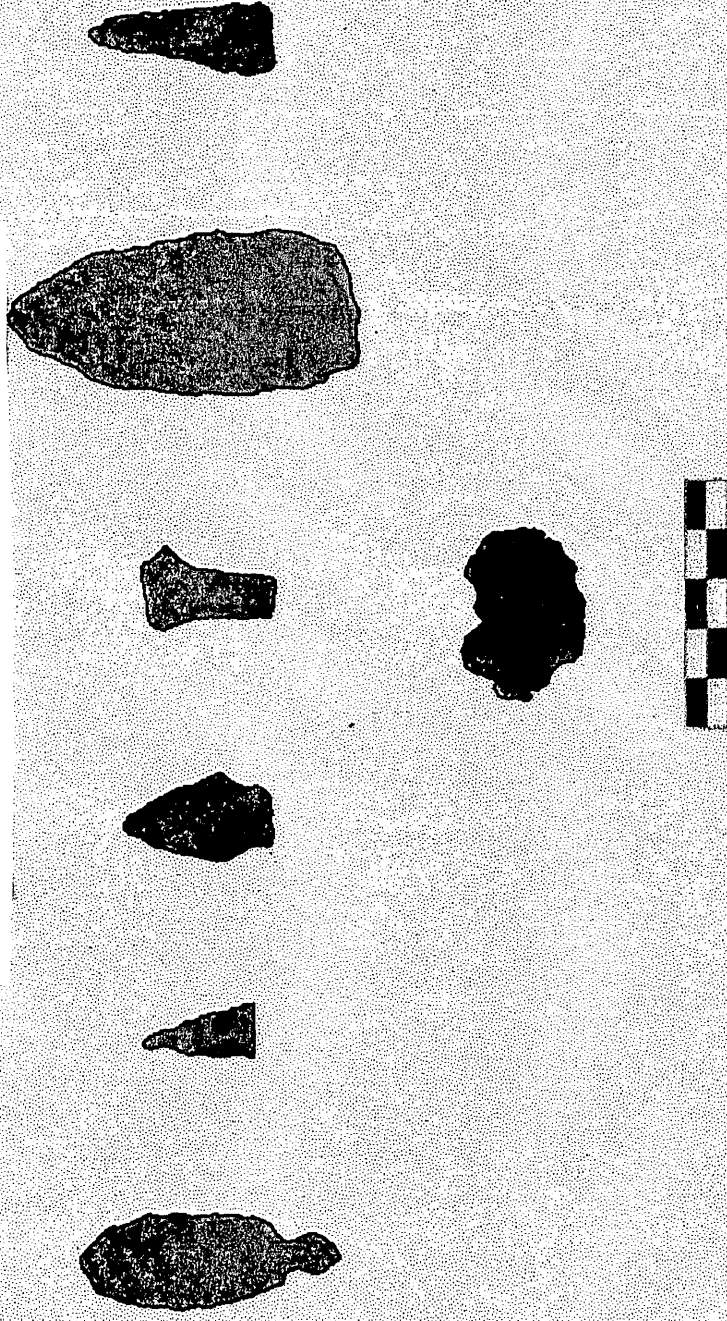
1997 Beasley Complex Excavations



Bone Awls

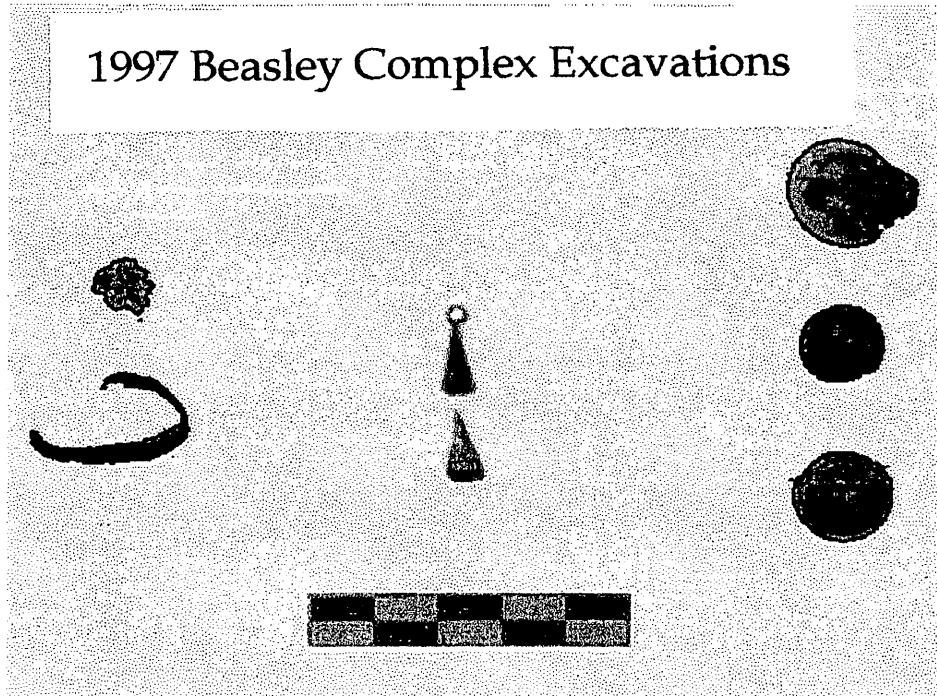
PLATE 6

1997 Beasley Complex Excavations



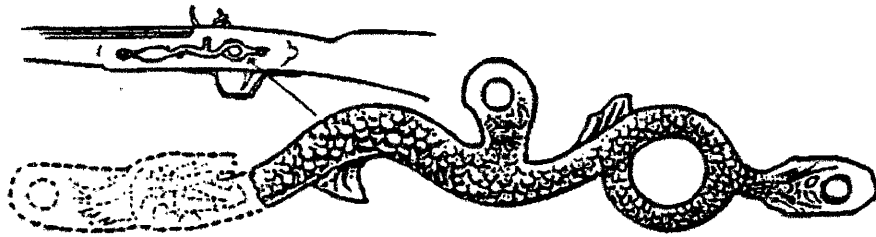
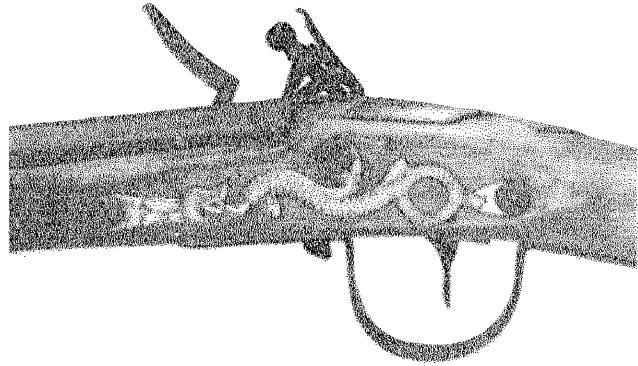
Top: Chert bifacial tool fragments
Bottom: Native ceramic

1997 Beasley Complex Excavations



Left: Modified thimbles; top is a thimble tip that has been pierced to be worn as a tinkling cone, while bottom is a thimble base that may have been removed to be worn as a ring.
Centre: Silver tinkling cones.
Right: Hock bells.

PLATE 8

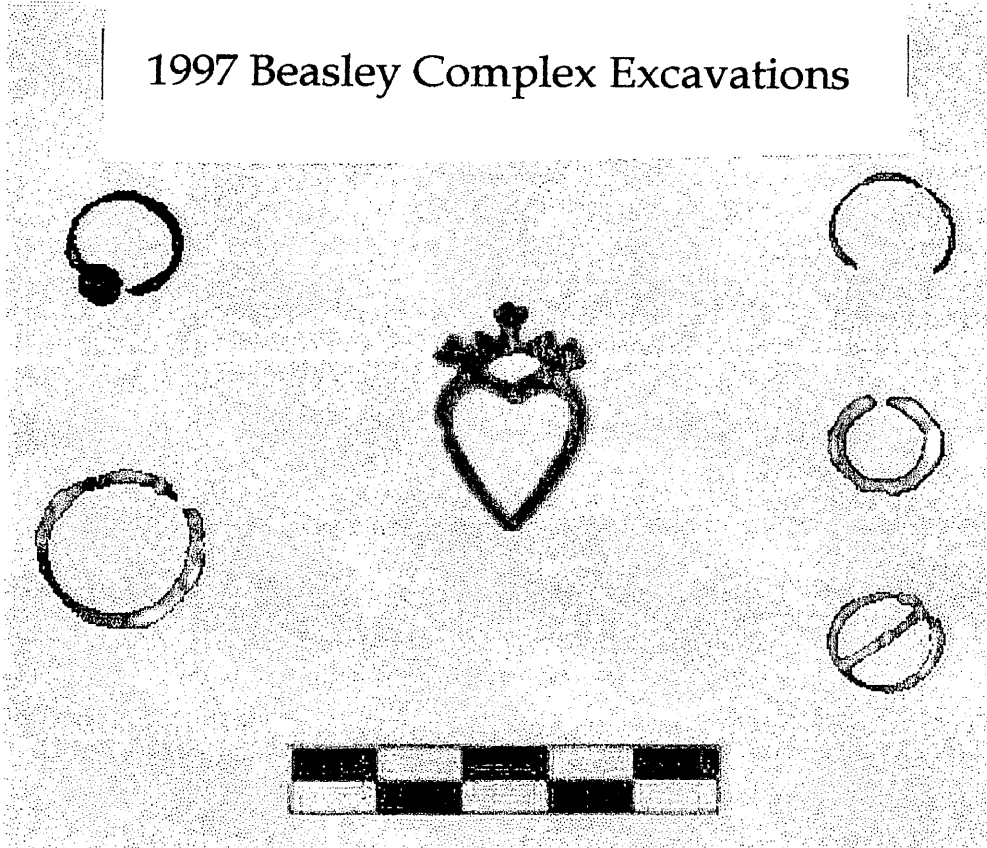


Top: Picture of a NorthWest Trade Gun, c. 1800 (Gilman 1982 : 103).

Bottom: Sketch of Modified Side Plate Similar to that found at the Beasley site (Kenyon 1984).

PLATE 9

1997 Beasley Complex Excavations



Trade Silver

Top Left: Silver ear ring
Right and bottom left: Brooches
Centre: Heart shaped trade silver

PLATE 10

PLATE 11



Silver ornament mold made of pipestone, early 1800s.
From Gilman 1982 : 87.

PLATE 11

APPENDIX A

Transcribed Documents including the Beasley Correspondence and Account Book

Glossary	page 146
References	148
Beasley Correspondence & Related Documents	151
Beasley Account Book	261

Glossary of Terms found in Beasley Letters and Account Books

+ux:	Short form for 'et uxor', being Latin for 'and wife'.
Barrel:	38 Gallons? (1/2 of a puncheon?)
Bbls:	Short form for barrels.
Bearer:	The bearer of a 'note of hand'; since a note of debt could be signed over to another, the bearer may not be the same debtor who is listed on a note.
Bombazett:	Bombazine, a fine twilled fabric made of silk or silk warp and worsted filling.
Bushel:	4 pecks or 8 gallons.
Butts:	2 hogsheads or 126 gallons.
Calash:	Low-wheeled light carriage with a folding top.
Callicoe:	Cheap cloth printed with bright colours.
Cambric:	Fine white linen fabric.
Cataraqui:	Kingston.
Chintz:	A cotton fabric printed with bright colours, usually glazed.
Clives:	Cleavers, as in kitchen cleavers.
Cochineal:	Brilliant scarlet dye from the bodies of a tropical American and Javan scaled insects.
Cord:	Wood measure: 4x4x8 feet, or 128 cubic feet, or 3.62 cubic metres.
CT:	One hundred weight; 122 pounds or 1 Quintal.
Currencies:	Halifax (Hfx), Quebec, New York (NYC), Dollars (\$), Pounds Sterling.
Drugget:	Coarse wool and cotton fabric for rugs or a rug made of the same.
Egyptian China:	May refer to an exotic transfer-print pattern on ceramics.
Firkin:	1/4 barrel
Fustian:	A stout cloth made of cotton and flax.
Gallon:	4 quarts or 1/8 bushel or 277.42 cubic inches.
Gore:	Tapering or triangular piece of land.
Guilder:	Also called Gulden, gilder, or florin; coin of Germany or the Netherlands.
Hank:	Bundle of 2 or more skeins of material tied together.
Heavy Hide:	Oxen, moose.
Hogshead:	63 gallons.
Holland:	Unbleached linen which can be glazed or unglazed.
Hyson:	A grade of green tea from China.
Instant:	This, or the current, month.
Katy:	Measure of Tea - 1 1/4 lbs.
Kenty:	Quinty.
Lady Day:	March 25; feast of the Annunciation. A quarter day (for business) in England.
Madeira:	A fortified wine made in the Madeira islands, west of Morocco.
Michelmas:	September 29, Feast of St. Michael. A quarter day (for business) in England.
Minots:	Unit for measuring grain
Mobs:	Black cap worn by women & girls and tied under the chin.
Muscavado:	Dark raw sugar that remains after the molasses has been extracted from the cane.

Muslin:	Any of several varieties of plain weave cotton cloth.
Musquash:	Another word for Muskrat.
Nankeen:	Buff Chinese cotton fabric.
Newark:	Niagara-on-the-Lake
Pantaloons:	Tight fitting trousers or garments for the legs.
Peck:	1/4 bushel.
Penals:	A variant in the spelling of 'panels'.
Pence:	1/12 shilling.
Piastre:	Spanish Peso or Dollar; the Italian word means 'plate of silver'.
Pipe:	2 hogsheads or 126 gallons.
Potash:	Used as fertilizer but also for the manufacture of soap and glass.
Pound:	20 shillings or 240 pence.
Puncheon:	Large cask of varying capacity; 72 - 120 gallons of beer, wine, etc.
Quart:	1/8 peck.
Quintal:	One hundred weight.
Quire:	20th part of a ream of paper; 24 or 25 sheets.
Scantling:	Timber of moderate cross-section used for studding.
Shalloon:	Light woven woolen fabric used for linings.
Sheaves:	Quantity of bound, cut grain.
Shilling:	12 pence or 1/20 pound.
Shrub:	A drink made of fruit juice, sugar and rum or brandy.
Skein:	Fixed quantity of yarn, thread, silk, or wool which is wound, doubled and knotted.
Tape:	Narrow stout strip of woven fabric.
Threshing:	To beat ripened grain stalks to separate grain from the stalk.
Twist:	Thread or cord made of tightly twisted strands.
W.I.:	Short form for West Indies.

REFERENCES

Reference abbreviations are as follows:

Can. Archive = National Archive of Canada; Ont. Archive = Archives of Ontario
Queens = Queen's University Archives, Kingston.

Date abbreviations are listed as month / date / year.

Date	Source	Archive	Reference Number
2 7 1786	Cartwright letter books 1785	Queens	
4 10 1786	Cartwright letter books 1785	Queens	
5 11 1786	Cartwright letter books 1785	Queens	
6 8 1786	Cartwright letter books 1785	Queens	
7 18 1786	Cartwright letter books 1785	Queens	
11 7 1792	Statement of Mills in Nassau District	Can. Archive	c-1195 rg1 e3 vol.47
8 23 1793	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
9 12 1793	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
9 24 1793	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
11 22 1793	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
4 17 1794	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
5 9 1794	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
6 1 1794	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	
10 4 1794	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
11 5 1794	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	rg1 a1-6 voll #4 1794
11 10 1794	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
12 15 1794	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	rg1 a1-6 voll #4 1794
12 20 1794	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
5 15 1795	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
5 27 1795	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
10 14 1795	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
1 9 1796	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	rg1 a1-6 voll #6 1796
6 27 1796	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
8 22 1796	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
9 20 1796	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	
10 14 1796	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	
11 1 1796	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
12 4 1796	Cartwright letter book 1793-1796	Ont. Archive	
1 17 1797	Land Grants, Secretary's Office	Can. Archive	c-1194 rg1 e3 vol. 39 pp. 9-10
4 8 1797	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	
5 26 1797	Clerk of Executive Council	Can. Archive	rg1 e14 vol8 nominal files b
5 31 1797	Cartwright letter books, 1797-1799	Queens	
5-8 12 1797	Cartwright letter books, 1797-1799	Queens	
6 18 1797	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	
11 1 1797	Cartwright letter books, 1797-1799	Queens	
11 22 1797	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	rg1 a1-6 vol2 #4 1797
1 7 1798	Cartwright letter books, 1797-1799	Queens	
3 12 1798	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	rg1 a1-6 vol2 #6 1798
3 26 1798	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	rg1 a1-6 vol2 #6 1798
4 13 1798	Cartwright letter books, 1797-1799	Queens	
4 23 1798	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	rg1 a1-6 vol2 #6 1798
5 12 1798	Cartwright letter books, 1797-1799	Queens	
5 24 1798	Cartwright letter books, 1797-1799	Queens	
7 31 1798	Cartwright letter books, 1797-1799	Queens	
8 4 1798	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	
10 16 1798	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	

Date	Source	Archive	Reference Number
7 29 1799	Cartwright Letter Books 1799 - 1802	Queens	
7 29 1799	Cartwright Letter Books 1799 - 1802	Queens	
8 27 1799	Cartwright Letter Books 1799 - 1802	Queens	
2 24 1800	Cartwright Letter Books 1799 - 1802	Queens	
3 31 1800	Cartwright Accounts Ledger, 1800	Queens	
5 20 1800	Clerk of Executive Council	Can. Archive	mg24 d108 vol1 file3
6 21 1800	Canadian Constellation / S & G Tiffany at Niagara		
7 5 1800	Robert Nelles Papers	Ont. Archive	
7 11/16 1800	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	
8 22 1800	Cartwright Letter Books 1799 - 1802	Queens	
9 5 1800	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	
9 25 1800	Cartwright Letter Books 1799 - 1802	Queens	
10 27 1800	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	
10 30 1800	Robert Nelles Papers	Ont. Archive	
11 12 1800	Robert Nelles Papers	Ont. Archive	
3 4 1801	Cartwright Letter Books 1799 - 1802	Queens	
9 5 1801	Cartwright Letter Books 1799 - 1802	Queens	
9 7 1801	Cartwright Letter Books 1799 - 1802	Queens	
10 24 1801	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
10 24 1801	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
10 26 1801	Cartwright Letter Books 1799 - 1802	Queens	
10 27 1801	Cartwright Letter Books 1799 - 1802	Queens	
11 24 1801	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
11 24 1801	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
12 31 1801	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
12 31 1801	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
2 14 1802	Letters to the Surveyor General	Ont. Archive	rg1 a1-6 vol3 #8
3 31 1802	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
???? 1802	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
8 19 1802	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
12 13 1802	Chief Justice Allcock	Can. Archive	c-1192 rg1 e3 vol32
12 31 1802	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
1 3 1803	Chief Justice Allcock	Can. Archive	c-1192 rg1 e3 vol32
6 9 1803	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
8 17 1803	Dept. Supt. Genl. Claus (copied 10 8 1803)	Can. Archive	c-1188 rg1 e3 vol7
8 17 1803	Dept. Supt. Genl. Claus (copied 5 18 1804)	Can. Archive	c-1188 rg1 e3 vol7
12 31 1803	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
12 31 1803	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
5 15 1804	Five Nations Trustees	Can. Archive	c-1188 rg1 e3 vol7
6 22 1804	Clerk of Executive Council	Can. Archive	rg1 e14 vol8
6 29 1804	Dept. Supt. Genl. Claus	Can. Archive	c-1189 rg1 e3 vol12
8 16 1804	Clerk of Executive Council	Can. Archive	rg1 e14 vol8
12 31 1804	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
12 31 1804	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
12 31 1804	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
7 9 1805	Beasley Letter	Can. Archive	c-1188 rg1 e3 vol7
7 20 1805	Six Nations Trustees	Can. Archive	rg1 e3 vol7
9 23 1806	Dept. Supt. Genl. Claus	Can. Archive	c-1189 rg1 e3 vol12
4 14 1807	Council	Can. Archive	c-1197 rg1 e3 vol58
5 29 1807	Fort George Council	Can. Archive	c-1191 rg1 e3 vol25
11 2 1808	Cartwright Letter Books 1787 - 1809	Queens	
3 6 1809	John Small	Can. Archive	rg1 e14 vol8
4 17 1809	John Small	Can. Archive	rg1 e14 vol8
10 16 1809	Surveyor General	Can. Archive	c-1188 rg1 e3 vol7

Date	Source	Archive	Reference Number
11 13 1809	Beasley letter	Can. Archive	c-1188 rg1 e3 vol7 p. 101
8 15 1813	Beasley letter	Can. Archive	c-2647 rg8 vol.92 pg. 302
4 15 1815	Claims on Military Losses	Can. Archive	c-2647 rg8 vol89 file p. 96
1 17 1816	Beasley Losses	Can. Archive	t-1127 rg19 e5a vol.3740 file3
1 20 1816	Moultrie	Can. Archive	C-3364 rg8 vol.1035 file pg. 103
6 12 1816	Vincent	Can. Archive	c-3232 rg8 vol 688d pg. 48-50
6 24 1823	Beasley damages	Can. Archive	t-1127 rg19 e5a vol.3740 file3
10? 7 1823	Beasley Claim	Can. Archive	t-1127 rg19 e5a vol.3740 file3
1796 - 1800	Wentworth County Book of Patents	Ont. Archive	GS-1636
1797-1957	Hamilton Index to Deeds	Ont. Archive	
1903	Proceedings, Royal Society of Canada, Second Series, vol. ix		
1936	U.E.L. Application of Percy Beasley	Ont. Archive	GS-1619

The original Account Book resides at Dundurn Castle, Hamilton, Ontario.

To M^r Rob^t. Hamilton-

D^r Sir,

Cataraqui R. Feb. 7. 1786.

Inclosed I now send you all the Acc^{ts} for Storage &c. against the Gentleman of Detroit not before transmitted, and I presume they will have no Reason to find Fault with the Charges, they being more moderate than they have for some Time been used to, at least if I may judge from Acc^{ts} of this Kind formerly rendered us, and I need not urge you to endeavour to procure as many Customers in this Line as possible

Among the Acc^{ts} is the late L^t Thompsons of 34th Reg^t which Cap^t Forbes advised me to send to the Commanding officer of the Reg^t at Detroit.

I believe I shall be able to procure about six or eight Barrels of Pork by the Time the Communication opens, but would not wish to sell them for less than £ 10 N. Y. Cur^{cy} delivered here, and Cash only. - The Pork is by far the best of any I have seen in this Part of the World -

The inclosed Extracts from Todd M^cGill's Letters leave me Nothing to say about News or Business from that Quarter, except that M^r Philip Jacob's Bill on Benjⁿ & Joseph Frobisher, endorsed by M^cKellup & Jacob is protected.

A Letter from M^r Smith of last Month gives me very favourable Accounts of his Prospects this Winter; in their Respects Business is here more dull than ever, no money & no public Works going on to bring it.

I hope your Residence this Winter at Detroit will be attended with good Effects, and we must set ourselves seriously to work next Summer to bring our Affairs into a narrow Compass.

I am &c.

R.C.

To Mess^{rs} Beasly & Smith

Cataraqui 10 April 1786

D^r Sirs,

By the inclosed Invoice you will find that though we have completed the substantial Part of your Order, namely Rum, Shrouds & Blankets, that some Articles are deficient, of these we fear the Powder & Shott wil be the most material to you; of the former there is but one Bbl, & of the latter hardly more than the fourth Part of what you ordered, although we purchased all that was to be had in the Place. There is but one p^c white Molton also, and this we got from the Indian Store, being obliged

to give blue in the Room of it: and for the green Molton of which we had none we have substituted Ratteen, but should it not answer you can return it; the Scarlet Cloth too is finer than you ordered, but no more, nor any other could be had, and as for Silver Works we have not any but have wrote to Niagara for some. Neither Corn, Flour nor Peas are to be had at present: the whole Country has been at short Allowance of Bread this winter, and cattle have been starved. We send a Bbl Pork there being no half Bbls, and it might not be prudent to send that Quantity loose.

You will probably be out of Patience before the Boat arrives; but the Ice has been broke up between this & the Bay of Kenty but a Day or two, and we have found much Difficulty in procuring a proper Person to take charge of the Goods; to have sent them without would be to have left them almost at the Mercy of the Winds & Waves. Andrew Inglis goes with them, and we have been obliged to promise him six shillings York p^r day from the Time of his leaving this till his return & find him in Provisions.

As the Winds at this Season of the Year are generally violent we have given them a larger Allowance of Provisions, and from Inglis' Character think there is little Danger of any being wasted. Inclosed is an Acc^t of these, as well as of Articles furnished Trumble, Yole and Inglis.

Your three Myrmidons have been here twenty two Days. Wolsy in general has done his Part in any little Work that was going on. As to Tom & the Indian, you know what may be expected of them.

We remain &c.

H. & C.

To M^r Rob^t Hamilton

D^r Sir

Cataraqui 11 May 1786

Your Letter of 24th Feb. 7. did not reach me till this Morning, and I am happy to find your Sentiments & mine perfectly of Accord. The Arrangement made with the Merchants of Detroit is of all others the best for the present Situation of Affairs; but the Change of the Depot both for Merchandise & Provisions very unexpectedly, has thrown a Difficulty in the Way that it was impossible you should foresee; this I will do my Endeavour to remedy by procuring if possible the use of some of the Kings Stores at the Island. In this Case however it will be necessary that you should send me M^r Crawford in Lieu of W^m Dickson; who though he will do very well in Time, is too younge

and too Giddy to be left to manage any Business by himself. - Indeed I would wish to be much of the Time at the Island myself, to see proper Justice done to our Employers, as in this Case Attention to personal Ease & Conveniency should be out of the Question.

The Inclosures in my Letter of 12th Feb^y will inform you that I have done every Thing in my Power to forward your Plan for furnishing the Garrison with fresh Provisions in Concert with M^r (Munny?), and that we are promised the Refusals of any Contract that Government wishes to enter into for that Purpose. - With Regard to the Mill Business. I never saw it in a favourable Light, and must now disclaim all Concern in it, and so I think will you when you see the Ordinance of the Governor & Council respecting the Terms of Building Mills in the den (????) & Blood, where so many Traders are dispersed, and where Escape to the Culprits is so little Difficult.

Should this Letter reach you ere you leave Detroit present my best Compliments to Cowan & the other Gentlemen. I am & c.

R.C.

To M^r Rob^t Hamilton

D^r Sir

Cataraqui 8 June 1786

Though I have thoughts of embarking on Board the Caldwell for Niagara, yet lest I should not, it is necessary that I should answer the most material parts of your several Letters.

M^r Aikins Objections in the main are very ill founded, as few of the Goods sent him were not at his particular Request, particularly the 1st Parcel T&M which I believe to be rated fully as low as what they cost us; and I am confident he would not at the Time have objected to taking them at a Twelvemonths Credit; but setting the Articles of Goods aside, I believe the Money we have from Time to Time disbursed for him would yield nearly the Interest we charge. I do not comprehend what the other objections can be that he alludes to, but he seems to forget that we might make many other Charges against him, which we have waved, for receiving, Storing & forwarding his Goods; Packs &c., and others which on a strict Review of the Transactions between us, would present themselves. We certainly are the Persons most interested in this matter, as having made the Charge in the general State given in

to the other Parties concerned; our Candour is therefore in some Measure at stake, should we give it up without very cogent Reasons. But of this more when we meet.

I am very decidedly of your opinion in dealing to order Articles for M^cKellup & Jacob or indeed for any others; as far as such Articles will go as we already have; it may do very well to furnish them to those who have hitherto been punctual in their Payments, but as we expect Nothing from England this year, it is not surely worth while to order Goods from Canada & dispose of them for 10 or 18 (per?) cent Advance, by which we take upon us considerable Risque for very little Profit.

I should be very well pleased could you make an Arrangement with Street, for exchanging our Shop Goods at Niagara, for Rum or Indian Goods, and as this would be easing him of a very considerable Competition, I can hardly Think he will decline such an offer; with Regard to sending the Goods here, should he decline, I do not think it will [incomplete photocopy for 3/4 of a line of text] as there is less Money among the People here, and the other Reasons are equally applicable to both Places.

With Regard to the Whole Sale Business I think you judge rightly; but might it not be most expedient, as we are at present situated, to carry on this in Conjunction with Todd & M^cGill, or to receive Consignments of Liquor &c from them or others to dispose of wholly on their Accounts. As exclusive of Charges for forwarding &c, this Business yields a Clear Commission of 5 (per?) Cent, I would prefer it to all others could we get enough of it to do.

Suits have been commenced against Mess^{rs} Todd and M^cGill & others for Freights; the Result we have not yet heard, but it is not improbable but we may have a Summons on the Occasion shortly.

If They will make an Assignment of any considerable Part of his Half Pay annually for the discharging of our Account, it is certainly best to accept it; but you need not be told how little vague Promises are to be relied on.

Inclosed is M^cKellup & Jacobs Acc^t here Amo^t £ 232..11..3 1/2 Hfx. Curr^{cy}. I do not find any Change in Todd & M^cGills Acc^t for the Batteau and Agres you mention; as we got two new Batteaux last Spring they have probably taken one of these in their Stead; for these they charge us £ 18....15 ea. and £6..18..6 for four New Oil Cloths.

Cornelius Vedders Acc^t has been or is to be, settled for with Colonel Butler; the Person he has empowered must therefore be referred to him. I am informed that he is at Quebec, and with him Mr Edward Ballard & Family.

Will you let me know the first opportunity the State of M^r T. Thompsons Acc^t with you, and how much Money has been rec^d of him in all at Niagara.

On Reconsideration I find I must defer my Visit to you. M^{rs} Cartwright is still unable to go about the House; I am every Day expecting Beasley & Smith with Pelteries of which they have already sent in some; I am also looking out for a couple of Batteaux from below; Singleton and I have come to no Arrangement yet about the Price of his Pelteries; and it might happen that I could not return till sometime after the 24th Inst. which might be of some Disadvantage; till I can get some of these Matters off my Hands I find it will not be prudent for me to go so far from Home.

I have sent you such Articles of your Memorandum as were to be had in the Place. A Sheet of Paper, a C(t) of Hair Powder, a Tumbler larger than a Gill, or a Plate cannot be had at any Price.

Accept of my sincere Congratulation on your Change of Situation which I hope will yield you much Happiness I am &c

R.C.

P.S. I have 3 or 4 Bbls of Pork I can send but they cannot go by this opportunity

To M^r Rob^t Hamilton

D^r Sir

Cataraqui 18 July 1786

I send M^r Dickson off Tomorrow Morning to the Island with the Articles & inclosed Memorandum to be forwarded to you, which I fear will be too late for the Lemmade; but I could not send them sooner, nor indeed attend to any Thing else till I had dispatched M^r Smith who had been awaiting my Arrival here ten Days. He still persists in having the Pelteries shipped on their own Accounts, I shall Therefore desire Mess^r Todd & M^cGill to keep their Parcel intirely separate, as we shall this year have a larger Parcel than usual independant of theirs, & I forsee very great Difficulty in settling the Sales of those last Year from their having been mixed. I had some Conversation with him about extending their Trade which he proposes doing, but rather from his House than

Toronto; and I hinted to him the taking M^r Dickson as a Partner which he did not seem to relish much. They have now 49 Packs in our Store containing as per Memorandum inclosed.

In a Letter from Mess^r Todd & M^cGill that I found here they mention having rec^d L^{ts} Secord & Brants Half Pay £ 32..12..5. (Stlg? Hc^y?) cash, and that they had <??>^d 52/6 (Stlg? Hc^y?) on Money p^d you last year in London.

Inclosed is Colonel Butler Acc^t here Am^t £ 253..6..4 1/4 Hfx. which when added to what is already agst him at Niagara & his Son & Nephews Accounts will I presume leave but little for him to claim from us.

The Bbls Rum to be ch^d Cap^t Betton is 35 Gallons.

The inclosed Paper sufficiently explains what I now send; as soon as I can collect a Cargoe for M^c Farland I shall send him off.

The Settlers here are all very happy at a Report which seems to come from pretty good Authority that the Rights of Seigniori & c; are all done away.

I am & c,

R.C.

Statement of the Mills in the District of Nassau
Stating by whom Erected, and by what Authority, and
in what year ~~~~~

- 1 A saw & grist mill, near the falls of Niagara, on the west shore of the River St. Lawrence, in the Township N^o. 2, and on lot N^o. 174 by John Burch Esq^r. in the year 1786. by Permission of Major Campbell then Commandant at Niagara ~ M^r Burch says, that he was bound in the sum of Two Hundred Pounds Currency to build in the term of one year, from that date. But no other conditions named; only supposed to be held on the same terms, as the Mills were in lower Canada ~~~.
- 2 A saw & grist Mill on a creek called the Twelve mile Creek, in the Township of N^o. 3. and on lot N^o. 23 in the 10th Concession, by Duncan Murray Esq^r. in the year 1786 - but he dying before they were compleated; they were transfer,d to Robert Hamilton Esq^r. who finished them the year following by Permission, as the other ~~~~~
- 3 A saw Mill on a creek called the Forty Mile, in the Township N^o. 6. lot N^o. 11 in 3^d. Concession; by John Green, in the year 1788 - without Permission. The lands were granted to him as only fit for Husbandry ~~~~
- 4 A grist Mill on the afore said creek, lot N^o. 10 in the 1st.

Concession, on the year 1789. by John Green. The lands were granted to Nathaniel Pettit Esq^r. as only fit for Husbandry - but he sold them to the said M^r. Green as a Mill seat, who Erected a Mill thereon on ~~~~~

5 A grist Mill on a creek called the four mile, in the Township of N^o. 1. on lot N^o. 2 in 4th. Concession, in the year 1789 by Peter Secord S^r. on the Principals of a Verbal promise (or leave) made him by Lord Dorchester, at the House of the late Major T<????>, in the Presence of M^r. John Burch , and others ~~~~~

6 A saw mill on a creek called the Fifteen Mile, in the Township of N^o. 3. lot N^o. 9 in the 10th Concession, by Street & Butler - (now transferred to Lieut Colonel Butler.) in the year 1789~~~~~

7 A saw & grist Mill on a creek called the Thirty Mile, in Township N^o. 5 lot N^o. 22. in the 4th. Concession, in the 1790. by William Kitchen. The lands were granted to him as only fit for Husbandry

8 A saw mill a creek called the black Creek; about seven mile back of Fort Erie. in the year 1791. by Philip Stedman Jn^r. ~~~

9 A grist mill on a branch of a creek called the Twelve Mile, in Township N^o. 10. lot N^o. 5. in 4th. Concession, in the year 1791. by David Secord. The lands were granted to him as only fit for Husbandry.

10 A grist mill on a creek called four mile Creek. near the Kings Mills, in the year 1791. by Daniel Servos - on ungranted lands ~~~~~

11 A saw mill a creek called the four mile Township N^o. 1. lot N^o. 2 in 4th. Concession by David Secord, in the year 1791

12 A saw Mill on a creek called the Mudy Run. Near the <??? ???>. in Township N^o.2. in the year 1791 by John Donaldson ~~~~~

13 A saw mill on one of the branches of a creek called the Twelve Mile, in the Township N^o. 9, lot N^o. 23, in 8th. Concession in the year 1792. by Benjamin Canby. The lands were granted to him as only fit for Husbandry ~~~~~

14 A saw mill now Erecting, on one of the branches of a creek called the Twelve mile, in the Township of N^o. 9. lot N^o. 16 in 5th. Concession. by John D(urow?). The lands were granted him as only fit for Husbandry ~~~

15 A grist Mill now Erecting near Fort Erie, on the west shore of the River S^t. Lawrance, at the Rapids, by William Dunbar. on a lot of land, granted to John Gardner ~~~

16 A grist and saw mill (on a creek entering into the Head of Burlington Bay.) on the Road leading to the Mohawk village by Beasley & Wilson in the year 1791. The saw mill now Erecting~

17 A saw mill now Erecting, on a creek called the Forty mile in Township N^o. 6. lot N^o. 10. in the 2^d. Concession, on lands granted to the late Deceased Henry W. Nelles, as only fit for Husbandry - now building by his sons Rob^t and William Nelles ~~~~~

18 A saw mill on a creek called the four mile in Township N^o. 1. lot N^o. 89. in the 4th. Concession. in the year

1792. by Sampson L[u]tes ~~~~~
- 19 A gristmill on a creek near the Sugar loaf
Hills, Lake Erie, by Christain [Savily] - unsurvey, d.
- 20 A mill [seat] on a creek called Smiths Creek.
North shore of Lake Ontario, in the Township of
Hope, lot N^o. 6 in front - at the Head of a Small
Pond ~

A. Jones. Surveyor

Newark 7th~ Nov. 1792
D.W. Smith
Surveyor General

To M^r Rich^d Beasley

Dear Richard,

Kingston 23rd Augst 1793

Inclosed is a packing invoice of such Articles of your order as I am able to furnish from my own importation, and I am in daily Expectation of the Arrival of the other Goods from Montreal. But it will be some time before these last can be forwarded, as there is more than two Ship loads of merchandise before them, but the Articles in the Invoice now sent you are among the first to be forwarded and will accompany this Letter to Niagara.

As the present Situation of Affairs in Europe have a very unfavourable Influence on the Trade of this Country, I am very much disposed to (lye by [scratched out]) contract my Business and lye by for a while; and as the Continuance of our Concern longer than the stipulated Time of 1st Augst next will be inconsistent with these views, I think it necessary to give you this early Notice that you may be prepared for my then withdrawing from the Business. Indeed as I can be of no use to you in providing a Sale for your Flour, and as the Goods can be as well ordered from Montreal by M^r Hamilton as by myself, to give me any longer a Share of your Profit seems to be parting with an Advantage on your side, without reaping any adequate Benefit from my Intervention or Agency. You will turn these things in your mind; and as it will be necessary perhaps that you should continue connected with M^r Hamilton, consider

whether he may not be more likely to push and encourage your Business more, as the Benefits of it may be less divided.

I observe what you say on the Subject of Stills and though I do not doubt but they may answer very well, yet having no direct Correspondence with any Person in the States, it will not be very easy to procure them even if the Governor's Permission can be obtained for their passing ???go. For those I got which are still at Chenectody (?); I was obliged to use the Agency of M^cMaccomb at Detroit.

I am sorry to inform you that there will be a very considerable loss on your Parcel of Furs of first year; they will fall near £250 Stlg short of their Valuation.

I do not see any Gun Powder mentioned in your Order. Is this an Omission, or have you a sufficient Supply?

I am &c.

R. C. Jr.

To M^r Rich^d Beasley

D^r Richard,

Kingston 12th Sept^r 1793

I wrote you on the 23rd Augst inclosing Packing Invoice of Articles then sent. I now inclose Paking Invoice of 3 Cases sent you by this Trip of the Lady Dorchester, which compleats every thing I can furnish from my own Supply. I am sorry to say that the Things from Montreal are not yet come up, but you may depend on them being forwarded immediately after their Arrival; that is, as soon as Circumstances will admit.

L^t (?) John has only sent down 20 Packs and has not been here himself at all. Your mother thinks she is the better for her jaunt & will remain till the next Trip of the Lady Dorchester.

I am &c.

R. C. Jr

To M^r Rich^d Beasley

Dear Richard,

Kingston 24th Sept^r 1793

I wrote you the 12th Inst. since when all your Goods are arrived from Montreal the Bellows excepted which are to be made there, and I have now shipped every Package except 13 Bbls of your Rum & your 16 Bbls of Salt; these are the less essential as they can be borrowed of M^r Hamilton. Inclosed you have the two Invoices - that from Montreal amounting to £778.4.8 & that furnished here by myself £665.8.8 these together with the Articles furnished you in the Spring and the Exp^s of Transport will fall little if any thing short of £1650 Hfx Curr^{cy}. In handing you these Accounts let me intreat you to be cautious in giving Credits, for when once begun there is no knowing where to end. A man may have Property enough to pay but of such a Nature as not to be convertible into Remittances, on the Punctuality of which the Credit and Profit of a Man of Business principally depends. Accidents may happen to prevent the best intentioned People from fulfilling their Engagements. The Weather and the Seasons are not under our Control; yet on these depend the fruitful or scanty Harvest; and if the Farmer loses his Crop what resource has he for the Payment of his Debt? Consider too that the Price of Produce is on the Eve of being very much Reduced with you, and that Wheat next year will perhaps be not more than 3 / - Hfx, indeed I should rather say this year.

M^r Hamilton having mentioned that it was probable my letter of 23rd Augst last might have been forwarded to Detroit by mistake, I now send you a Copy of it herewith.

I am &ca.

R. C. Jr

P.S. 25th L^t (?) John is arrived and seems much disappointed at your not having sent down a State of the Business.

To M^r Rich^d Beasley

Dear Richard

Kingston 22nd Nov^r 1793

I have now before me your Favor of 27th Oct^r & 5th Inst. and am extremely sorry that such material Articles as Glass, Nails & Earthen Ware should have been neglected by my Friends below and I can impute it only to those Articles not having come in till long after the Arrival of the other Goods in Canada, they being usually sent from Bristol. M^r Hamilton's Glass is now only going up & as he has 7 or 8 Boxes he may probably spare you a couple. But what I regret most of all, because I fear it will be most inconvenient for you, is the want of a Smith's Bellows, which is not come up, although they promised it should be certainly sent, and I cannot get one to buy here. I make no Doubt of your turning to the last Account such things as you have and every body concerned has the best Opinion of your Prudence & Attention. The Error in the Addition of your Invoice was discovered & rectified and I find that a Bbl of your Rum has this year also remained behind. The small memorandum you sent for Articles in the Spring is composed of such as do not frequently remain in hand at that Season. But I shall order them for you by the first Boats. I have yet no Account of the Valuation of this year's Pelteries, but the Sales of the last which came to Hand to Day exhibit a Loss of no less than £262../8../ Stlg.

I am &ca.

R. C. Jr

To M^r Rich^d Beasley

Dear Richard,

Kingston 17th April 1794

I have now before me your Favor of 23rd Feb^y last and you will find in my Invoice of 20th Sept^r the Bail Freiting □ N^o-10 under Mark L. H. N^o-24 which was shipped from hence on the 28th Sept^r. Agreeable to your Desire I now send you the Account of your final Concern with Interest calculated to 1st May last (?), by which there appears a Balance in my Favour of £33..1.- I also send your Account for Articles furnished since

M^r Rousseau has left the Concern with Interest calculated to the same Period by which there is a Balance in my Favor of £1702..19..6½ and also your minute Account, on which there is due me £3..13..42 all Quebec Curr^{cy}, and on Examination I trust you will find the whole free from any material Error.

I certainly agree with you in Opinion that if a good Price can be had for your Furs on the Spot, it is better to accept it than trust to the London Market, where the Prospect of Sales for the present is very dull indeed.

I shall be at Niagara, Some Time in the Course of next Month, if the Legislature should be then called together; and I shall as at all Times be ready to give you any Advice in my Power. In the mean Time I have to remark, that hardly any Sum can be a sufficient Compensation to a Man with a Family for giving up a Comfortable Situation with a Prospect of increasing Business, unless under very particular Circumstances.

I am & ca.

R. C. Jr

To M^r Rich^d Beasley
Dear Rich^d, , Kingston 9th May 1794

I wrote you on the 17th (last?) inclosing your Accounts. I now hand you Invoice of Sundries provided for you in Montreal, in Consequence of your order late last Fall Amo^t £108..2..9. The Rum is now on Board; the Bale unfortunately has not yet come up, and I send you of my own Mark a Chest (Boxed?) Tea W^t N^t-166(lbs?). The Salt, as being the least material Article I have retained, and even what I have shipped for you is out of turn.

It is much to be feared that we shall have a War with the United States, and the Prospect for Furs at Home seems to be worse than ever.

I am &ca.

R. C. Jr

Sir,

This will be handed to you by Elias Long who being a stranger to you I here take the Liberty to recommend to you as a farmer of an unexceptionable character; such a character will bear any weight with you, any favours that you have in your Power to show him will be Acknowledged by

Sir Your Humble Servant

Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esq^r

Burlington Bay

1st of June 1794

To M^r Rich^d Beasley

Dear Sir,

Kingston 4th Oct^r 1794

The whole of your Goods are now on Board the Govⁿ Simcoe as well what you left here as those that have arrived since your Departure. On receiving your Chest of Tea it looked as though it had been wetted, and I had it opened to ascertain whether it had received any Damage; in doing so, the Package was rendered unfit for Shipping & I Replaced it with one of my own W^t 162(lbs?) N^t. Should this be less than yours you will Charge me with the Difference, or if more credit me. Your Brother opened a Small Box in which some Tumblers had been packed for you. Of the Number put up only 19 were found whole.

The Goods are addressed to M^r Hamilton from the Convenience of being stored handily; for I am told that at Niagara Storage is not to be had.

I am sorry to inform you that by Acc^t Sales of your last year's Pelteries rec^d on 30th (last?) there appears to be no less a loss on their Valuation than £115-2-4 Stlg & that on the ReSale of a Parcel of Beaver of those shipped in 1792, which had been before sold but not delivered, the first Purchaser having stopped Payment, there is also a loss to our

Concern of £33-4-8 Stlg. These are unpleasant circumstances though necessary for you to be informed of.

Your Stove is also shipped.

I am &ca.

R. C. Jr

Sir,

Understanding that there is a Gore of Land lying between a township known by the name of Exeter lately surveyed for M^r Pearce and the Indian Line if not granted to any Persons the Widow Springer would deem it a particular favour to take the Remainder of her Lands in the Gore, the Quantity being eight hundred Acres. I remain Sir

Your Humble Servant

Richard Beasley
for Widow Mary Springer

M^r David W Smith S. G.

Burlington Bay
5th Nov^r 1794

To M^r Rich^d Beasley

Dear Richard

Kingston 10 Nov^r 1794

This serves merely to hand you a Copy of the Account Sales of the small Parcel of Pelteries belonging to your Concern sold in Montreal last September; the Proceeds being £113-13-6½ is carried to the Credit of the Company's Account.

I remain &ca.

R. C. Jr

Sir,

Being at your office some time ago when
you was not their I left the minutes of
Council with M^r Ridout for those
Lands Petitioned for by Margaret Springer,
Richard Beasley and Benjamin Fairchild Jr.
If not improper should be much oblige to you
to inclose me the Certificates for the Same,
my Business not allowing me to Absent
myself from Home. I remain Sir

Your verry Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esq^r
D. S. General

Burlington Bay
15th Dec^r 1794

To M^r R. Beasley

D^r Richard,

Kingston 20th Dec^r 1794

I wrote you on the 10th Nov^r inclosing
you a Copy of the Sales of your last year's Furs in
Montreal; and I have since been favoured with yours
of 12th (last?). As you never mentioned to me that
you had any Articles coming up under Mark I. 9.,
and as they were not mentioned in the Bill of
Lading from La Chine as belonging to you, I could
not suppose them to be yours. They were however
forwarded to M^r Hamilton, one Bbl. on the 4th
Oct^r on the Gov^r Simcoe & 3 other Packages on the 14th
by the Lady Dorchester; so that I presume they are
with you ere now. M^r Hamilton has credit-
ed me with only £70 N.Y. Cur^y as received from
you. He mentions that the Remainder hav-
ing come too late to be Exchanged in Time, he
had placed it to the Credit of your Acc^t with
him.

I am & ca.

R. C. Jr

To M^r Rich^d Beasley

D^r Rich^d Kingston 15 May 1795

I duly received yours of 17th March, inclosing C^t Brant's Bill on M^r Claus for £10 Hfx which I presume will be duly honoured. By this opportunity I send under Cover to M^r Clarke a letter to you from Mess^{rs} Todd, McGill & Co. I have received one from them since this was written in which they caution agst selling Muskrats here as they bring a good Price in Montreal.

I am &ca.

R. C. Jr

To M^r Richard Beasley

D^r Richard, Kingston 27th May 1795

The present is merely to hand you Acc^t Current of the Concern with Rousseau & the one subsequent to his Exclusion, the latter amounting to one thousand, one hundred & eighteen Pounds 6/4½ in my Favour, and the other to one hundred & sixty Pounds 8/11. I hope that in the Course of the Summer a sufficiency will have been collected to discharge the greater Part of this Sum, and that we shall be able to bring the Business of these two Concerns to a conclusion.

The Price of W. I. Produce is risen very much. Rum is in Montreal 5/- Cash, and Goods will be from 12 to 15 p^r Cent higher than they were last year. Musquash are rising in Value and Other Pelteries no better than last year.

I am &ca.

R. C. Jr

P.S. You will observe that M^r Chew has paid 17/9½ more than C^t Brant's Bill on him which you will be so good as pass to his Credit.

To M^r Rich^d Beasley
 D^r Rich^d, Kingston 14th Oct^r 1795

I wrote you the 6th Inst. in Answer to yours of 24th (last?) & am now shipping your Goods on Board the Kingston Packet. I have not six Barrels of Spirits in my Possession, and none are to be had from T. McGill & Co. The (last?) Sales of this Article was at 10/- Hfx p^r Gall, and as no more is expected into the Province this Fall, it will command almost any Price. On examination I find my Candles were all sold before my Return; but I expect some up + your two Boxes shall still be forwarded if they come in Time. I send you two Boxes (Sope?) cont^g as below. Inclosed are two Letters from Mess^{rs} T. McG & Co.

I am & ca.

R. C. Jr

2 Boxes (Sope?) 80

85 165(lbs?) ~ (7½?)

Sir,

I received yours of the 6th last and return you thanks for your attention but must beg leave of you to State to you the verry hard case respecting Benjn Fairchild Jrs Lott. If you recollect in Summer 94 (?) when I had the pleasure of Seeing you at York you was kind [enough?] to Parcel that Lott as well as 46 as. Soon as possible I petitioned the Council and left the Order of Council in your office, Yourself not being at home, in full expectation of obtaining the Surveyor Certificate, not knowing of any Obstacle. I have Built and Improved on the latter, and William Markle when here looking for land knew that Lott to be Occupied by the Person who now is on the ??????. You will I trust see the matter in as ?????? a point as it appears to me. I shall be obliged to you to Send the Certificates for the Widow Springer as mentioned in yours 31st, first & 2nd Concessions, Respecting Lott No50. I cant precisely say what may

be the rules for applicants to follow in order to obtain Lotts as I had an Order of Council for the Lott in Benjn Fairchild's name and Mr Markle new that it was occupied. If it is in the power of any person to take away another labour when he has taken the proper steps to ensure it to himself I cant tell. But in my humble opinion it wont readily coincide with Equity and Justice. It is a matter that I allow you to be the best judge of, well knowing that you will do what in your Opinion will be just. Mr Markle certainly knew that the Lott was occupied and Improved. I take the Liberty to Sir Consider myself. Your verry

Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esqr

Burlington Bay
Jany 9th 1796(8?)

To Mr Richd Beasley
Dr Richard, Kingston 27 June 1796

I have been duly favoured with your Letter of 19th June from Queenstown & am sorry to hear that you have been unwell. I am much disappointed to find you speak with such Doubt on the Subject of Remittances. As I understood you had stipulated with Mr A. Todd on paying him the money recd in N. York last Winter for Bersey's Bills, that you should draw for Part of it this Spring, I took it for Granted that this Reserve was to be applied towards paying off the Debt due me by the Concern, and I expected that the whole might have been settled in the Course of this Season; an Expectation not very unreasonable, as it is now more than two years since any Goods were furnished on Account of the Concern. To have so Large a Sum laying by is an Inconvenience in my small Business that the Interest will by no means Compensate; and it is the more so at this Juncture where I have curtailed my Business for the Particular purpose of paying off my Correspondants in Montreal. If Nothing better is to be done with Messrs Street & Phelps it may be prudent to take their Note & Security for the money they Owe, but it will not suit me to take their Note in Payment.

I hope you will be more successful with your other Debtors than you have been with Messrs Street and Phelps & will still be able to remit me something handsome in the Course of the Season; be this as it may as I cannot doubt but that you will do what lays in your Power.

I am & ca.

R. C. Jr

To M^r Rich^d Beasley
 D^r Rich^d, Kingston 22nd Augst 1796

I have been duly favoured with yours of 19th last & am perfectly of your Opinion that it may be proper to lie by a while in Order to collect Debts, for however well a Man's Business may look upon Paper, if he can not come at his [Business crossed out] money when he wants it, it certainly cannot be a good Business.

I have this Day shipped for you in the Kingston Packet a Quantity of Goods forwarded for you by Mess^{rs} Todd Mc Gill & Co. which I have addressed to M^r Tho^s. Barry at York.

If your Business permits you to profit, your Promise of paying us a (Part?) this Fall, I shall certainly be glad to see you.

I am & ca.

R. C. Jr

Burlington Bay 20th Sep^r 1796

Sir

Being informed by M^r Stegman that M^r Lewis' Grant has relinquished his Claim to his lands in the Township of West Flambourg, if not covered by any other Rights and it dont

exceed eight hundred Acres you will
 oblige me much to permit me to Cover
 it with my Claim. If not two great an
 Intrusion I will take the Liberty to say a
 little about the Beach as his honour the Pre^t
 dont like to part with Lott N^o8 in East Flamboro.
 Sooner than take Lott at a great distance I
 will accept of N^o8 in East Flamboro all the much
 inferior to Lott [LOST TEXT] ...
 this Place.

I remain your verry

Humble Servant
 Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esq^r

Burlington Bay 14th Oct^r 1796

Sir

I requested M^r Jones some time ago to request the
 favour of you to let me some land in what is
 now called the Gore, opposite Lotts N^o10-11-12 in
 ????? Township. M^r Jones seemed to intimate
 that M^r Sales expected those verry lands. I had
 I believe requested same lands in the Gore prior to
 M^r Sales having his Grant. If in your power to
 oblige me I have not the least doubt of obtaining
 the Lotts. If your hand is too far engaged to M^r Sales
 I have no wish nor expectations for the Grant: it
 shall seem a hardship to those who have fled their
 Native Country and adhered to the Unity of the Empire
 and those who've borne Arms in the American Service
 as an Officer, and making his boast at York that....
 [LOST TEXT] for Government
 I say it is punishing that such a person should have
 a preference Choice relying ultimately in your goodness.

I remain Sir your verry

Humble Servant
 Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esq^r
 D. S. General

To M^r R. Beasley

D^r Richard, Kingston 1st Nov^r 1796

I have now before me your Favor of 9 and 25th (last?). I have rec^d the Bill on Bradshaw who lives in the Bay of Kenty which will occasion it to be some time before it can be conveniently presented. M^r Barry writes me that he has not been able to do any thing with M^r Bersey who he says was gone to Niagara to meet some of the (Company?). Perhaps they may enable him to pay in Cash which will be preferable to his Bills. I think I formerly mentioned that I had rec^d J. Young's Vouchers.

I am persuaded of your best Endeavours to collect for me what you can & am & ca.

R. C. Jr

To M^r R. Beasley

D^r Richard, Kingston 4 Dec^r 1796

I avail myself of the opportunity of M^r (Swann?) who goes Express to Detroit, to return you Fairchild's Bill on Bradshaw. It seems the Bill was drawn in Consequence of some Bargain about Land, and M^r Bradshaw will not pay till he can get a good Title. Reports say that Bersey's Affairs have been settled by the Company. I am glad to hear this as your Acc^t.

R. C.

List of Grants lost from the Secretary's Office on the Evening of
the 3^d. December 1796 ~

Names of Grantee-	N ^o . of Acres	Date of Grant	Name of Township
Adams Joseph	1/2	6th May	Newark
[Acres] Lambert	200	"	Grantham
Baily. Thomas	240	"	Saltfleet
Bradt Andrew	800	"	Barton
Beasley Richard	200	22 June	Barton
Chisholm John	100	1 Jan ^y	Newark
Crosier Marmaduke	200	24 th Aug ^t	Beverly
Duncan Richard	300	10 th Sept ^r	Williamsburg
Harris Thomas	181	22 June	Grimsby
M(c).Donald James	1	6 th May	Newark
Welch Capt: Thomas	388	22 June	Crowland
Welch Capt: Thomas	[726]	_____	Humberston

W^m Jarvis Sec^y

[on outside of letter]

W^m Jarvis N^o. 4

Read 17 <???.>. 1797

J. N^o. 3

Orderd this the Secretary
of the Province publish
without delay a list of
the twelve Deeds herein reported
to be lost at the Fire of
his Office on the 3^d. <???.>mass
and in form all Persons
concernd that as they have
not been delivered in due
form to the Persons [entitled]
to receive them, they are
nullified to all intents &
Purposes and new Deeds
must in consequence
issue to warrant the legal
Possession of the lands convey-
ed to them and that this
notice shall be published
by his Deputies in each
District P.R.
J.R.

<???.>

Burlington Bay 8th Ap^l 1797

Sir

Not expecting to have the pleasure of seeing you soon I have inclosed Margaret Springer Warrant. It expresses that the bearer must see it entered; that Part of the Warrant I expect can be Dispensed with.

I am Sir your verry
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

D. W. Smith, Esq^r

Newark 26th May 1797

Sir!

Please take notice, that I have this day filed a (Caveat?) in the Office of the Secretary of the Province against the issuing of a deed or deeds to <????> <????????> for lots number of <????????> in the second Concession of the Township of Barton, containing about one hundred acres: until His <???)yship Executive Council shall have decided upon my Claim thereto.

I am with respect,
Sir,

Yr. most obedient
& very Hble. Serv^t
<???) Clark Attorney
for Richard Beasley

John Small Esq^r
Clerk of the Executive Council
&c. &c.

Kingston 31 May 1797

Dear Sir

I have been duly favoured with yours of 24th & 27th and you will probably have discovered ere

this, that the two Bales I^{CO} were for Mess^{rs} Clarke & Street.
 Inclosed is a Bill of Lading of Artacles now shipped
 to your Address which [crossed out: I fear is all that you must expect.
 I embark tomorrow morning with] I hope will be found
 right among these are 22 Bags of Wheat containing forty
 three Bushels which I fear is all you must expect.
 I embark tomorrow with several other Members of the Legis-
 lature, & hope to meet you at York in a few Days. In the
 mean Time I remain

yours very truly
 Richard Cartwright

Rob^t Hamilton Esq^r

[the following letter is undated but, based on its position within the letter book itself, must
 date after May 31, 1797 and before August 12, 1797]

Mr. Robert Hamilton

Dear Sir,

I am your Debtor for favours of 17th 24th &
 28th (Ult^o?) and have charged you with £ 4-9-9 N.Y.C. on
 Account of our Expedition to York. We must of course wait
 the Presidents own Time for Jones Bill on Smith; and I am
 Sorry that there appears to be nearly the Same Necessity respecting
 Street & Phelps Note although the Delay of payment from
 the Concern to whom this Note was given is to me a Matter of
 ever Serious Inconvenience. The Indigo has been received
 & though it is more than my immediate occasions
 require. as the quality seems very good. I hope it will not lay
 long on Hand. in The Simcoe you will receive two more
 Barrels Pork making in all 3 at your debt at / 26 Dollars
 p^r Barrel. I annex a Note of the Packs I appear to have
 received by the last Trip of the Simcoe & the mohawks from which
 there appears to be a pack short each Time besides some
 little difference in the Numbers of some Particular Marks.

Having certain advice that there were Boats on the way
 I thought it necessary to detain the vessel by which means She
 carries up about seven Batteaux Loads more than she otherwise
 would have done; and among the Rest your Bristol Goods of
 those addressed to you the Bill Lading is inclosed, and I hope
 your Receivals will agree therewith.

R.C.

York, 18th June 1797

Sir

Having a Claim to one hundred Acres of Land on the Beach at the Head of the Lake on which Government House Stands. Having reason to think that Government means to dispute the claim owing to some informality in the Certificate of the Land Board. As I dont wish to be troublesom to Government if they think it proper I will except of a Compensation from them.

That is I will except of Lott N^o5 in the 6th Concesⁿ

Dathan (?) Township and Lott N^o8 in East Flamborough, both being Reserved Lotts of the Crown, & relinquish my Claim to the hundred Acres on the beach. If you will be so obliging as to state this to the President you will oblige.

[I remain your verry]
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esq^r

To M^r Rich^d Beasley

D^r Rich^d

Kingston 1st Nov^r 1797

I had my Anxiety for the Industry Removed some time before your Letter of 24th came to hand. At the very pressing instance of M^r Street the younger, I have told him that if he would pay 500 Dollars of Street & Phelps Note this Fall, and the Residue by the Winter Express or in the Spring I would be satisfied. If Heron hesitates to make immediate Satisfaction for the protested Bill on Brawen, you should not delay an instant to put it in suit agst him. I assure you I find my Cost that Delays of this Kind are of serious Consequence. I hope your Agent in the States will meet with Success in his Attempts to dispose of your Lands on the Grand River, for I look with Confidence for the Payment of your Acc^t in the Course of the next Season; and indeed it will be necessary to enable me to fulfil my Engagements with my Correspondants in Montreal.

I am &c,
R.C.

Burlington Bay 22nd Nov^r 1797

Sir

I have inclosed M^r Stegman's order on your-
self for one hundred pound Currency, For
your Acceptance. If it meet with it you will
Oblige me to send it duly inclosed.

I am your verry
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esq^r
D. S. G.

To M^r R. Beasley

D^r Richard,

Kingston as Jan. 7. 1798

I received your letter of 20th Nov^r
/ which I presume was meant for 20th Dec^r / (lost?)
by the Indians. and having rec^d £ 125 from Street
& Phelps, & positive Assurances of the rest in the
Spring. I do not regret having stopped legal Proceed-
ings against them. - Were I much less interested
than I am in the Event. I should heartily wish
you Success in your Endeavours to dispose of your
Grand River Lands; or indeed any others that you
do not find it your immediate Interest to occu-
py yourself. - Far independant of the Comfort of
having no considerable Debts hanging over one, I
cannot but think that the Price of Lands in
your Neighbourhood has been Pushed to as great
a Height as it is likely to attain for many Years
to come.

I am & c.
R.C.

Barton 12th March 1798

Dear Sir

I have received yours of the 13th Feb^y and took the
first opportunity of Sending the Certificates of M^r
Young's together with his Conveyance to my Agent
at Newark in order to bring the Business before the
Commissioners, thinking it the shorter process to
obtain a Grant. You note in your Letter that my
Brother's Warrant of Survey is not lodged in your Office.
I have wrote a few lines to M^r Small on the Subject
& I expect he will be so obliging as to leave it with

you. I have the pleasure of Informing you that the Heirs of Capt. Lottridge and myself have come to an Amiable Settlement with respect to the matter in Dispute between us and the necessary steps have been taken by our Attornies to secure me on the Premises. I have now to put you in mind of the Promises that his Excellency Governor Simes made to me respecting the Broken Front, in consequence of which I have Contracted for the Building of a Wharf and Storehouse. Yourself wells know the situation of the Landing Place: the Wharf must be expensive owing to the Shallowness of the Water and I would wish to be under a Certainty before I begin the Work. Knowing that in all probability you have it in your Power to inform me wither I am safe in Proceeding I have taken the Liberty to trouble you on the Subject.

I remain Sir your verry
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esq^r
D. S. General

Dear Sir, Burlington Bay 26th March 1798

I received your kind favour of the 16th Int^t and According to your advice have petitioned his Honor the Governor and Council, which letter I have taken the Liberty of Inclosing to you that you may inspect the Petition & if incorrect to permit M^r Ridout to write another. I hope you wont think me troublesome in writing letters to you on subjects that cant be entertaining to you. I have purchased from the heirs of Lottridge 400 Acres of land, being those lands that where in Dispute. If I get any part of them as my own it lessens the Quantity that they have Sold me. Consequently they must make up that Deficiency to me; if in your Power you will oblige me much to bring the Business to a Conclusion as soon as possible. Their will be a necessity for me to Commence the Building as soon as the ice leaves the little lake clear.

I remain Dear Sir your verry

Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

M^r David W Smith
D. S. General

To M^r Rich^d Beasley

D^r Cousin

Kingston 13 April 1798

I wrote you on the 9th Inst. - I am since with out any of your Favours. - The present serve to hand you your Account, Balance in my favour £ 1200.15p which I trust you will find Right. - I am charged by M^r Mullen £ 7 add for Freight if your Goods to York in his Vessel; but having mislaid the Account & forgotten the precise sum, it is not at present charged agst you. I see also that there is due you 32 Gall^s Rum on the Exchange of your two Hhds, retained here last Season which shall be sent you by the first oppotunity.

R.C.

Dear Sir,

Burlington Bay 23rd of Ap^l 1798

Your favour of the 31st March has Just come to hand, as also the petition from M^r Small, to have it Signed. The Lottridges being from home one at the forty & the Other at York, it is impossible for me to procure any thing from them at present unless that this may arrive time enough to find M^r W^m Lottridge at York or should M^r Angus M^cDonell be their as he Acted as their Attorney in this Case & make no Doubt but either of them will give the Honourable Council what information they may or will require at least such as is Satisfactory. I remain

Dear Sir your verry
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esq^r
D. S. General

P.S.: You say nothing about my lands in Walpole.

Robert Hamilton Esq^r

Kingston 12 May 1798

Inclosed are Bills of Lading of three Boats that are going round the Lakes for Detroit; two of them for M^r M^cGregger & one for M^r M^cIntosh. M^r M^cIntoshs Boat has been victualled at Lachine to last them to your place and the other two have had twelve days provision from me including this day. what further may be required to carry them to their destination you will Supply.- I send their Engagements under cover as they come to me that you may have Recourse to them if need be.- one of M^r M^cGreggers men having diappointed him a Lad of M^r Askins has been Put in his place in one of the Boats, but they are still so badley manned that I have been obliged to engage here an Extra hand of the name of Etienne Marchant to go as Steersman in one of the Boats to Detroit.

R.C.

To M^r HamiltonKingston 24th May 1798

Dear Sir

I received your favour of 17th Inst on the 22^d and the hundred Dollars have been delivered me by Captⁿ Murney. Inclosed is an Account of eight Bbls Pork under M^r Askins mark non shipped agreeable to your Desire and at your Debit in £ 52. My Hams are all disposed of: but if any can be got at a moderate price I will leave directions to have them sent. Murdoffs Note shall be left with M^r M^cLane which will I dare say hasten the Payment: and if Hannahs Note can be settled as you mention, I shall be glad for his Sake.

As the Mohawk goes directly to York, I have changed my plan of going up in the Simcoe for the Vessels have been so unfortunate in Winds that there is no time to Spare.

[remainder of the letter missing]

Robert Hamilton Esq^r

Kingston 31 July 1798

Since writing you of the 25 Instant by the Kingston Packet I have been Favoured with yours of the 26th & the Packs have been received conformable to the Bill Lading there inclosed except those BR which M^r Forsyth hath taken; he having a letter from the Proprietor. M^r (Bowel?) consigning them to him.- The Bale NW323 you will doubtless find in your Store as it was certainly shipped Immediately from the Boats.- The Bale for Mess^{rs} James & Andrew M^cGill shall be duly sent on and we may possibly arrange for the 2 pieces Laking sent me by your taking the Medicines in Exchange.

Inclosed is a Bill Lading of articles now shipped in the Simcoe to your address - she has not a Full Freight but should the Wind prove Fair she will sail with what she has; or take what may arive in the mean Time.

As Government still owe us about thirty Pounds for Freight: you may send a Load of packs in any of their vessels whenever a convenient opportunity offers.

R.C.

D^r Sir,Burlington Bay 4th Aug^t 1798

This will be handed you by M^r Kitchin who goes from this with a Petition to his honour the President in favour of a David Cornwall for a pair of millstones. He is poor man and has (not state & land?) been enabled as yet to pay the expenses of a Grist Mill, as Stated in the Petition to his Honour. Had contracted with a man for millstones who has disappointed him and he has endeavoured at Newark to purchase a pair and none can be bought. His last resource is to his honour in which if he gets Disappointed it will totally ruin him. If your influence can in any Degree be the means of the poor man getting the mill stones you will greatly oblige him, and he doing a great Service to the Neighbourhood of Dundas Street who Suffer a very great Inconveniency for the want of a Grist Mill in the Neighbourhood. Knowing your willingness to Contribute for the benefit of the Province and the Public in General I have taken the Liberty to be this troublesome.

I remain D^r Sir your verry

Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

David W Smith
D. T. S. General

Dear Sir,

Barton 16th October 1798

Not knowing rightly whom to apply to for
Some information, I have taken the Liberty
to trouble you. The information that I want
is to know upon what conditions Settlers
obtain Lands that now come into the Province.
They have the most unfavourable reports
respecting the towns that Government grants
lands to actual Settlers. They Generally ask me
for information and I cant give them
any, at least not Satisfactory ones. Their
is three familys have at Present & more
expected daily. If not two much trouble
I will thank you to inform me or Direct
me where to apply for information
and You will much oblige. D^r Sir Your verry

Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esq^r
D. S. General

To Rob^t Hamilton Esq^r

D^r Sir

Kingston 29 July 1799

Your Favours of the 18th & 25th came to Hand on
the same Day; and I had previously acknowleged to
M^r Clarke Reception of the Books mentioned in the
former of these. Those by the Simcoe have also been re-
ceived & agree with your Bill of Landing in Quanti-
ty, tho the particular Numbers vary in some Instan-
ces. None of them appear in such a State as to require
opening. The insertion of M^DG 147 as a case in my Bill of
Landing of the 17th appears to be a mistake.

As you gave me M^r Smiths Bills without any
Intimation of your Intention to have
this Amo^t remitted to our Friends in Montreal I natu-
rally concluded that you meant them for me; But
as I am in no Hurry & it is not yet too late; I will if you
think proper, direct this Amo^t still to be, so appropria-
ted. - Your Letter with the Bank Bills was sent off
on the 27th.

I have your Letter from M^r R. Beasley mentioning that
he had received Intimation from your Attorney that you
had directed his Note to you to be put in Suit, and wish-

ing me to assume it. This is impossible, but as he says he is willing to give you sufficient landed Security; or to give up any other Part of his Property in Satisfaction for the Debt, you will probably not think it necessary to augment it by the Addition of Costs.

I thank you for the Sample of your Niagara Paper. But as I am already a Subscriber to the Papers of which this must necessarily be the Copy and as I cannot Benefit by the Editor Talents during the Winter, I will save my four Dollars for some other Purpose. You will oblige me by mentioning these as my Reasons to the Printers who have been civil enough to send me two of their Constellations for I do not wish to be so rude as to give them my strongest Reason for declining to benefit by their new Lights, which is a Dislike to their Character.

I shall again have Occasion to address you with the (Invoices?) Bills of Landing & in the mean Time remain & ca

R.C.

To M^r R. Beasley

Dear Richard

Kingston 29th July 1799

I have received yor Favour of the 20th Inst. inclosing L^t Byckmans Vouchers for Half Pay and also a memorandum for some small Articles which I shall have packed up for you shortly. It is out of my Power without embarrassing my Business to assume your Debt to M^r Hamilton: But I have written to him on the Subject, and I do not think he will be so vigorous as to press the Business further after the Security you have offered him, at least for the present. But you really must exert yourself & make some Sacrifices to get out of a Situation so unpleasant.

Not having heard from you on the Subject of your Packs I have sent them to Montreal.

I am & ca

R.C.

To M^r R. Beasley.

Dear Richard,

Kingston 27 Augst 1799

I received yours of 9th Inst. only on the 25th & you will have seen by my Respects of 19th that I only waited for the Acc^t Sales of M^r Barry's Pelteries to send, you a State of his Acc^t with me. M^r Cameron is not here at present, and I believe would not be inclined to purchase a House. though the Price is certainly very reasonable. I shall however make inquiry.

The Articles for M^r Springer shall be sent by the next Opportunity. I might have got them ready now; but Kendericks Freight is already engaged. M^r Hamilton informs me that he had acceded to your Proposals for settling your Business with him.

I am & ca
R.C.

To R. Hamilton Esq^r

D^r Sir

Kingston 27 Augst 1799

Inclosed is a Bill Lading of four Boats from Mess^{rs} M^cTavish, Frobisher & C^o now shipped in the Kingston Packet, & there are nine more from the same House on Board the Simcoe.- I received by her 58 Packs C, 837◊G, & BC⁶q in all 150 of which I had no Account; M^r Clarke having only sent me the Bill Lading of such as were addressed to Mess^{rs} Parker, Gerrard & Ogilvy.- You do not say whether the Still and Boiler (??) the York had been received. - A M^{rs} Sinclair a Carpenters Wife now goes by this Vessel.- She has a Letter to you.

But I yesterday rec^d a Letter from M^r Gregory mentioning that they understood her Husband had left their Employment, and re-

[remainder of letter lost]

Richard Beasley Esq^r

Kingston 24th February 1800

Dear Richard

I received your Favour of the 21st. Jan^y. from York only last night, and am sorry to learn that M^r Barry is in such a bad State of Health. I do not doubt but that due Diligence will be used in settling the Affairs of M^r Barrys Estate; and any Money that can be

remitted by the Express will of Course be acceptable. The Sum of (£ 50?) N. Y. Currency assumed by M^r Gray of Montreal for Berzeys Bill has been paid & divided between you & the Estate of M^r Barry agreeable to the Proportion which you gave me last Summer.

I return you Reynolds Vouchers as you have inadvertently signed them in wrong Place and where the Agent who receives the money always signs, and as they must be altered at all Events. I think a fuller description of the Regiment will be necessary and have interlined it as I think it ought to stand.

I shall endeavour to get a couple Casks of P. Wine in Time to take with me for you to York, of Spirits I have sufficient on hand.

I am & ca.

R. C.

Debts due me on the 31st March 1800, acq.
Ledger F. [unreadable]

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|--------|-----|--------|
| By John Ferguson | £ | 16 | 14 | 6 |
| William Dickson | | 5 | 15 | 9 |
| David Brap | | 13 | 14 | 3 |
| Thomas & Bell | | 60 | 10 | 1/⟨?⟩ |
| Samuel Thompson | | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| John Howell | | 7 | 5 | 6 3/4 |
| Timothy Thompson | | 10 | 10 | 11 1/2 |
| Archibald M ^c Donell | | 57 | 14 | 7 |
| William Coffin | | 14 | 14 | 1 |
| Donald M ^c Donell | | 4 | ... | 3 3/4 |
| Richard Beasley | | 1075 | 14 | 6 1/2 |
| Widow O'Neil | | 8 | 15 | .. |
| Peter Van Alstine | | 47 | 13 | 5 1/2 |
| James Russel | | 3 | 14 | .. |
| James Secord | | 2 | 15 | .. |
| Daniel Haight | | 139 | 7 | 3 |
| Clarke & [unreadable] | | 27 | 7 | 7 |
| William Baker | | 33 | 5 | 6 |
| Alexander Clarke | | 8 | 6 | 8 |
| William Fairfield | | 45 | 17 | 3 |
| Haramanus[?] Wendle | | 16 | 14 | 7 |
| John W. Miers | | 8 | 19 | 10 1/2 |
| Lieu ^t . H. Young | | 22 | 12 | 7 1/2 |
| John Beach | | 70 | 7 | 4 |
| Joseph Allan | | 8 | 3 | 7 |
| Peter Bowen | | 29 | 5 | 2 |
| carried forward | | £ 1744 | 11 | 2 |

D^r
 Sir Barton May 2[0]th 1800

This I expect will be handed you by M^r Phelps. I have in the name of the Lodge requested him to Call upon you for the ~ whole of the sum you assumed, for the Bretheren that now Co<??>ere your Lodge or such a part as you will find it Convenient to let them have.

I remain D^r Sir
 Your verry
 Humble Servant
 Richard Beasley

Robert Nelles Esq^r

CANADIAN CONSTELLATION / S & G TIFFANY AT NIAGARA JUNE 21, 1800

' For Sale' - To be sold: a valuable and pleasant property at Burlington Bay, containing 976 acres of land, 150 of which are under good improvement. there are on the premises a comfortable dwelling house and stables; also a wharf, 100' long and 52 wide; a storehouse 30 x 20 and an excellent seat for a sawmill, with quantity of valuable pine, walnut and timber ... it is an excellent stand for business being ... Persons want to purchase (apply) to this paper or to R. B. on the premises."

D^r Sir, at John Petit, 5th July 1800

I have been this far on my way to see you on the business of the election ensuing. I am sorry to find you from home. Their is an alteration in the representation of the Riding: the riding is to be represented by two members. Expecting and wishing that you may be opinioned to offer yourself and being assured that their will be some offering from Newark, if you will offer yourself I am of opinion that we together need fear no opposition as the unpleasant to have a Representative from another Riding. If I could have had the pleasure of seeing you I think I could make you sensible of the absolute necessity of the occasion. If you agree with me in Opinion pray let me know by the earliest opportunity. If you will appoint a place of meeting I should be glad to Oblige; I want to make it public that you mean to (offer?) so as to use my Interest for you in my Quarter.

Yours (???)
 Richard Beasley

M^r Robert Nelles

D^r Sir,Barton 11 (16?)th July 1800

Some time past I received a few lines from M^r John (Ingram?) of Kingston with an inclosure for Capt. Brant to put his Signature to; when executed, to send to you. I take the Liberty of Inclosing it to you duly executed. I find that his Excellency has not assented to the (????) Bills. I take it for Granted that the Concession Lines must be the established highways in the Province; how we are to proceed in the Township of Barton without (???) assistance from your Office I cant conceive as the Concession lines are not Surveyed, the pathmaster cannot to a Certainty sustain them. You [DAMAGED TEXT DUE TO POOR CONSERVATION ATTEMPTS] the greatest part of the Province to [MORE DAMAGE AS ABOVE] a Dissatisfaction to the people as they will have to loose their farmer labour on the roads and open a new one. I hope I shall not be deemed troublesome should I state some of this to you: their is in a very few Instances that the roads from Newark to the River Shore are on the Concession lines - the roads in their present state. Statue Labour has been performed for better than eight years and things are far from being Complete; should these roads (now be?) shut up and the Concession lines opened it is Reasonable to suppose that it will take the same length of time to make the Concession lines in the (?????) State that the roads now are. On the other hand it may be said that the Province has increased in (???) to a great Degree that the labour will be sooner performed. In answer to that you will Observe that the Concession lines will require much more labour than it originally did. Where the roads are opened their is another objection that may be Stated: the Law provides that where the Concession lines are not practicable, the Commissioners may alter the road by a Jury - how is that to be (done?) - (the one?) Proprietor thro whose Premises the road goes must be paid before he admits such road - all this (????) their (????) thing as passing the road on the Concession line can not be more [MORE DAMAGE AS ABOVE] certain for this some time. The Statue Labour for Barton wont this Fall make the roads for two miles their is much heavy Bridging that is already performed on the Old Road; no Statue Labour then be performed till October. Should the people in General shut up the roads before that period the Consequence will be unpleasant - travellers will be most compliatly stopped. The mode of Selling the Concession Lines for the purpose of proceeding the road it will be some time before any thing of that can be accomplished, and the Idea if any such can exist that these sales will purchase any Part of the Old Road is in my opinion verry erroneous, for this plain reason: The ground that is not passable

for a road is in verry few instances fit for cultivation those lands wont sell for as much as Cleared Land and in case of Bridges thro such Cleared Lands what is to be done for wont of timber. The County of Lincoln has not money anew in the Treasury to purchase the Road from Newark to Grand River aided with the sale of the lands on one Concession Line and some time must elapse before these sales conveyances can be made complete; and untill so - their is to be no road. Their may an idea exist that the road passed on the Concession will be straight; I dont know of any townships but what their must right Angles be made along the Township Lines to find the Concession. I have spun out this letter to a greater length than what I intended.

I am Sir your verry
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esq^f

M^f Richard Beasley Kingston 22nd August 1800

Dear Sir-

I yesterday received your Favour of the 5th Inst. and the Packs there mentioned have also come duly to hand. If the Remainder of the Springer's Account can be made up to me by the 1 Oct^f it will do very well. With Respect to M(r) Rousseau I have not received a far-thing from him nor from any body in his Name

I now send you addressed to M^f Playtors Care the Articles for which you gave me a Memorandum at York when we parted amounting as pr Acc^t inclosed to £ 16..6 which I hope will reach you safely & be found to answer your wishes.

I am glad to find that M^{ts} Barry has got so good a Rent for her House. If any thing could be sent me from the Estate in the Course of next month it would be very acceptable.

I am & ca R.C.

Barton 5th Sept^r 1800

Sir

Having purchased from W^m Lottridge 800 Acres of Land, my name being entered in the place of Binbrook for two Squares, if Convenient (to yours?) I will relinquish 400 Acres off the northernmost (?????) in favour of M^r James (Gage?) & (Andrew Gage?).

I remain your verry
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

Att. Thomas Ridout

M^r Richard Beasley

Kingston 25th Sepr 1800

Dear Sir,

I wrote you on the 22nd August with the Articles which you gave me an order for when at York, since which I have not had the Pleasure of hearing from you. The present is principally to hand you Acc^t Sales of M^r D. Springers Pelteries which I fear will fall far Short of his Expectations; the first Six Packs having brought only £ 36..18..8 and the last 5 but £ 62..8..1 the whole making £ 99..6..9 Province Currency at his Credit. You will observe in the last Parcel that the Muskrats sold for 1/6 and some of the Bears above Six Dollars; the other Skins not originally very good were said to be injured by the Moth; the Certain Consequence of being long kept. You would do well to caution M(r) Springer against purchasing Winter Deer Skins or other Skins out of Season. Good Skins will always fetch a good Price; but indifferent ones will hardly defray the Expece of Transport.

I am & ca

R.C

Barton 27th October 1800

Sir

Inclosed I have sent you a power of attorney from Henry A. Mill for the locations of his Lands also, a few lines from M^r George Chisholm resigning his location in Walpole in favour of me.

I would wish to Cover that location with one thousand Acres of H. A. Mills' lands and will thank you to forward the description as soon as possible. I have purchased one thousand Acres the rest of the lands I shall trouble you to locate when you may think proper. He would if possible rather have it in the (????) District and as near the Grand River as possible. If I (????) Outright I am entered in Walpole for 400 acres. I have had my Quantity expected that the Council would have granted me 400 for the beach. If I am Certain that I cant claim it I shall cover it with some other purchases that I have made. I have purchased a Lott in Barton on Dundas Street - have Built a house 24 feet by 14 and about nearly 2 acres of land. should be glad to know wither that improvement will intitle me to the Deed. M^r Ridout is acquainted with the particulars of the purchase - the Lott is (????) (B????) (Servant?) (Fraction?).

I am Sir

Your verry

Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esq^r

[written on outside of letter] ·

M^r Beasley
27 Oct^r 1800

Walpole
Dundas St.
Burford

Dear Sir Barton Oct^r 30th 1800

Yours of the 25th I acknowledge receiving. respecting (Arch?) Davis, if I recollect right I informed you personally that the Town meeting did not (chuse?) (???) Davis for pathmaster as I was not their myself, I had it from information. The inhabitants of Barton have no objections to a pathmaster being in that Quarter the objection from what I hear was that Davis, being an Inhabitant of Barton, ought not to be elected for Glanford.

The pathmaster for Glanford, when they applied to me for a Warrant, I always gave them as many of the Inhabitants of Barton as I thought made the labour equal. They had no roads to work in Glanford excepting the one you allude to ~ the inhabitants of Glanford liable to work the roads at that time consisted of 18 persons to which I added five, & then Glanford and Barton was in three divisions. I have not that faith in this care that

you have of M^r Philps. This must be certain to you that Davis imposed on you when he came to be qualified. He well new that he was not chosen by the majority of the Town meeting if I am well informed. Their was but three that approved of him that was himself,

M^r Philps and Jacob Boyard.

Wither the defendants who are intitled to damage is not for me to say. I would not wish to call your judgement in Question. He certainly acted under your Warrant, but my Dear friend, how did he obtain the Warrant from you by informing you that he was pathmaster when it now appears to be that he was not. I would always wish to favour any man as far as was consistent with my Office. Should any person impose or endeavour to impose upon me when acting as a Magistrate I should neither do myself nor him Justice if I favoured him any. That you was imposed on by Davis is a clear case. It is loudly spoken of that you was partial to him. you allowed nothing for (widowers?) nor did you allow the Constable his Millage. If so, to whom have you don this favour. To a man that come to you with a lye in his mouth and obtained from you what he ought not nor could he have don had he spoke the truth. You must excuse me for saying so much to you on the Subject your own letter has made me take the freedom. I must Conclude by saying that I would not have acted as you have don.

I remain D^r Sir
Your verry
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

Robert Nelles Esq^r

D^r Sir, Barton Nov^r 12 1800

Since my last to you I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours. Of the first Instant I am very sorry that your information from this Quarter is in all instances erroneous, and more so that you at once believe at all times what is told you without giving yourself the time to make

the necessary inquiry. I have not Signed a Warrant to work the highways this year. My former letter to you I gave you my opinion respecting M^r Davis. The Justices have not the right you allude to. If a path master refuses to act he is to be fined and the Magistrates can appoint another. The Township of Barton dont need four path masters - they have three roads to work & three divisions is sufficient. You further say that he, Davis, had your Warrant that I granted. Would you not think it very Strange if the pathmasters was to come from Grimsby to Barton for their Warrant to work the roads when at the same time they have Magistrates at their very doors. Do you suppose in such a case that I would sign a Warrant. I tell you by no means has that be the case with you. You cant sign. You might have been sure that their has some Defect when they applied to you for anything in your official capacity and they might obtain what they wanted by applying for it , if entitled, much nearer home. Respecting that part of your letter that says many of the inhabitants in this town are prejudiced against that road when a number have signed the Petition, that is a Petition now before the Commissioner (to get?) that road relaid, signed by some of those that signed the other. But the Conduct of the Commissioner here is not (?????) conformable to yours - we refuse relaying till we consult the Commissioners that laid the road. And my dear Sir - if we interfere in each other's business in the manner we have don we shall never come to a good understanding. One sett of Magistrates will be continually undoing what the others have don. The Public Business of the Country will remain under the gangling of the Magistrates.

I remain D^r Sir your verry
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

M^r Robert Nelles

Richard Beasley Esq^fKingston 4th March 1801

Dear Richard,

Since writing you of the 27th Feb^y. I have received your Favour of the 17th of that Month. & M^r Cameron has sent me a Bill of M^r Russels for the three hundred dollars left with him, which I have placed to the Credit of M^r B. Springer. You have repeated in Ryckmans Vouchers the same mistake that was made in some former ones by signing in Place reserved for the Agent, which makes it necessary for me to return them & will give you the Trouble of making out others.

It would certainly be a great Relief to me could you pay off my Acc^t against you, & I know Mess^{rs} Ja^s & A. MGill would be well pleased to have their Money; but unless the Property can be disposed of for Cash, I consider it as safe in your Hands as in those of any other Person. However, if an eligible Purchaser should offer who would pay down half the Price, further Time might be given for the remainder.

I am sorry to find that my Expectations of speedy Payment from M^r Barry's Estate are likely to be frustrated. I shall certainly do all I can to find a Purchaser for the House; but as our Attorney General is a Bachelor, he will probably satisfy himself with less expensive Accomodations.

I shall as you desire forward or bring with me to York a Bbl of Spirits & a Bbl of Port Wine; but the Price of both will be considerably higher than they were last year Spirits is now (10/ pr?) Gallon in Montreal.

M^r S^t John trifles with us most shamefully. He has not paid a farthing for me to M^r Hamilton; & I have sent him back a Bill of Whitesils on Snook for £ 37 received some Time since, as the man will not be able to pay any thing towards it for this Twelve months to come, nor then unless he can raise it from the Farm.

I am & c R.C.

To M^r Rich^d. Beasley .D^r SirKingston 5th Sept^r. 1801

When we parted at York you gave me some Reason to hope that you would be able to make some Arrangement with C^t Brant that would put it in your Power to supply me with some Cash; but I have not since had the Pleasure of hearing from you. Such an Accomodation would be a very seasonable Relief to me; or the total Disappointment of Remittances from Mallory, James & Springer hath straightened & embarrassed me beyond what I have ever

before experienced. Pray have you heard from or seen M^r Dan^l Springer lately? As you are answerable for his Debt I hope you will leave no Means untried to make him come forward & discharge it. Even the smallest Sums are now an object to me & these frequent & extensive Disappointments must in the End ruin my own Credit. I know you are well disposed to do what you can for me & I am & ca

R.C.

To the same

D^r Sir

Kingston 7th Sept^r. 1801

Since writing you of the 5th Inst. I have received your letter from York of the 29th last. I am very thankful for the Bill of £ 50 contained therein which small as it is, is at this Time of essential Service. I am sorry that I must decline supplying M^{rs} Barry's order. I have no Doubt of her Discretion, but I have not now goods left to furnish even so small an Assortment; and besides till Payments came in faster, I find myself under the Necessity of contracting, rather than extending my Business.

I now send you the Articles of your Memorandum, Amot^s as p^r Acc^t annexed £ 10..8..7 at your Debit. The Sugar & Wafers I have been obliged to purchase having none of my own. your Letter for Mss^{rs} McGill shall be forwarded immediately.

I am & ca

R.C.

To His Excellency General Hunter-

Kingston 24th October 1801

Sir,

I have the Honor herewith to transmit to your Excellency an Account of the Different Articles of Provision of the Pot Ash exported since the 20th April last from this District & from other Parts of the Province to the Westward, which may be relied upon as accurate as far as it goes. The Exports from that Part of the Province which is situated between this & Lower Canada has been in proportion at least equally considerable but I have no Materials from which to form even a satisfactory Conjecture of their Account. For there is no place there as there is here in which every thing must centre previous to its Exportation &

a great part is transported by the Farmers themselves in Sleds during the Winter. Their average Value in this Account is stated rather below than above the Truth; and when the Price of the Provisions furnished to Government for the Use of the Troops is added, it will compose a Sum which though a mere Trifle in the immense Aggregate of British Commerce, will not appear contemptible when considered as arising from the Rude produce of so recent an Establishment.

A large Portion of these Articles have been transported to Montreal on Rafts of Boards & Timber and in Scows; for the Boats which transport the Merchandize which we require no longer suffice for the Export of Articles of such comparatively great Bulk & little Value. Of these two Modes of Transport that by Scows will in future be preferred, as the Flour on Rafts cannot be kept dry; whereas in the Scows it is equally secure as in common Bateau. These Scows have carried to Montreal & of Course could carry to Quebec from 350 to 400 Barrels each & might have taken 100 more as far as LaChine. But the Water having been higher than usual during this Summer has made the Passage of the LaChine Rapids more easy than is to be expected in common Seasons. - These Rapids have been found the principal, if not the only material Obstruction in the River to the safe and easy Conveyance of our Produce to the Ports of Lower Canada. - The difficulties arising from the Scarcity of Labour which at present very much increase the Expence, Time only can remove. But we Hope through the assistance of your Excellency, that the Navigation itself will soon be facilitated. - the Improvement of the Canals will do much for the Transport up; but the Transport down is an object at least equally important, and in this the Canals are of no Service. - It will probably be found upon examination by some skillful Engineer that the Channel in the LaChine Rapids may without very great expence be so improved as to render it perfectly safe for our Scows and Rafts in all Seasons. But they lay beyond the Jurisdiction of our Legislature, and if they did not, we have little in our power. From the Legislature of Lower Canada, I am not sanguine enough to expect much; and we can at present look with Confidence only the Liberality of Great Britain for this among other Means necessary to make this Province as Valuable to its Inhabitants, & as useful to herself in a commercial Point of View as its remote inland Situation will admit. -

Those who have been concerned in the Scows state the Expence after deducting the Price received for this Vehicle in Lower

Canada at about four Shillings per Barrel. But as is the Case in all new Undertakings much Expencc has been incurred that Expe-
 rience will now enable them to save; and they say that by getting the Materials prepared in the Winter & contracting with Workmen in Time, the Expencc of the Construction may be lessened nearly if not intirely one Half & that Flour may in another Season be floated down in this way to Montreal at the compa-
 ratively moderate Rate of Half a Dollar per Barrel. Nor is This the only benefit to be expected; for by getting them built in the neighbourhood of the Mills and other Deposits of Flour in the Bay of Kenty they will save a great Part of the Expencc now incurred for Trans-
 port in the small vessels which have hitherto been used to carry it to this Place. By Means of large groved Cases reaching from Side to Side they may be fitted for Transporting Wheat & other Grain in bulk & may be adopted bye & bye for the secure Trans-
 port of our Hemp, which I expect will be added to our exports at no very distant Period. - There is every Disposition to give it a fair Trial in this District and (Aelx^f?) Fisher Esq^f of Adolphus Town is preparing to sow from twelve to fifteen Acres in the Manner that is pointed out by the Society for the Encourage-
 ment of Arts &ca., and in the Hope of obtaining the Premium offered by that Patriotic Society, but seed is wanting. - I some Time since wrote to M^fMGill whom your Excellency has appointed jointly with M^f Smith to apply & distribute the Provincial Grant for this Purpose. His answer which I send herewith is not very encouraging; and as I learn from ano-
 ther Quarter, that their Agent M^f Swezy had not unless very lately indeed proceeded on his Mission, I fear much that this Part of the Province is not likely to benefit in Time by any Supplies which he may procure; and Stake the Liberty to suggest the Expediency of sending us some in the mean Time from Lower Canada, to prevent our Ardure from Cooling. -

I intended to have sent your Excellency this Account sooner; but some of the Gentlemen from whom I was to collect my Information were absent.

I have the Honour to be with the greatest respect & Esteem

Sir
 Your Excellency's very
 Obedient Serv^t
 Signd / Richard Cartwright

[small slip of paper within letter]

Niagara 3rd Jan 1803

Relating Beasley & Canby
Mortgages &c

W^m Claus
Chief Justice Alcock
York

[body of letter]

Niagara 3rd January 1803

Sir

I had the honor to receive your letter of the 26th <??> the contents of which relieves me from a good deal of anxiety ~

The only account that I can give you of the moneys paid by M^r Beasley is from a very same statement, (and incorrect both in respect the sum and quantity of ground) given in, in Public by Capt Brant, who I have constantly been told was the only person who had any right, from the Power of Atty which he holds, to receive both Interest and principle by his account you will perceive that I <????> sums of money has been paid by Beasley & a great deal released; & yet a large balance due how far this release to Beasley is good, you will be the best judge, it was done in Public by several Chiefs, the only money I ever saw paid to the Six Nation was in the Fall 1798 at the Beach it was £600 & odd New York Cur^{cy} I suppose the sum which I have mark thus # in the Accounts L^t Forbes [Roy. Art^y] & Ensign Bordwine of the R. Canadian Nat^l who accompanied me with the Annual presents this Fall was present at the payment.

I have seen M^r Canby who informs me that he rec^d his Deed from M^r Tinbrook in M^r Jarvis' Office. The Bond which I mentioned to you in my letter of the 24th <??>, which he gave to (Darkstader?), & which is in the possession of his Executor, he says, stands against him for that Block

(N^o.5) and this he is willing to give a Mortgage if that can be canceld. The Block

N^o. 4 which you mentioned in your letter of the 20th <????> contains 28512 acres, instead of 36,070.

Permit me to offer you my Sincerest
thanks for your kind offer to assist me
in the business with Canby, remaining

Sir

with much respect

Your most Obedient

The Hon^{ble}
Chief Justice Allcock
&c. &c. &c.
York

humble Serv^t
W. Claus

[written on the outside of the letter]

N^o 4 Letter (???)

Cap Claus to M^r. Chief
Justice Allcock.

P.S. I am sorry to inform you of the loss
of M^r. Smith who died on the passage
home.

[also on outside of letter]

letter
Captain Claus

In reference to the money
paid by M^r Beasley it
states that M^r Canby
informed him that he received
his Deed from M^r Tinbrook
in M^r Jarvis office

1803

[also written on the outside of the letter]

Captⁿ. Claus
Indian Lands

To His Excellency Lieut: Governor Hunter

Kingston 9th June 1803

Sir,

I have lately been spoken to by Several Persons on
the Subject of their Deeds, stating that though they are
U.E. Loyalists, yet the Secretary's Agent will not give

them their Deeds without the Paymeny of Fees, & finding that Discontents are prevailing on this Subject, I have called on the Agent for Information, and the Result I now take the Liberty of transmitting to your Excelency: The Deeds in the inclosed list are Part of the 100 sent down in the Spring & the Agent is directed to charge full Fees on them, though the Grantees are either Children of U.E.'s or personally on the U.E. List. I do not pretend to enter into the Mertis of these Cases; but your Excellency will excuse me for Stating them, as I know it is your wish to be made acquainted with every Thing that can give reasonable Cause of Public Dissatisfaction.

[unsigned - R.C.]

[in a light, faded, alternate handwriting at the top of the page]

The Answer of the Indians after (?????????) to the Speech delivered to them by Col Claus at (????????) on the (???) August 1803

[body of letter, new handwriting]

17th August 1803

Brothers.

We thank the Great Spirit that he has been pleased to allow us the pleasure of meeting you to day at this our Council Fire place to express to you the satisfaction we received in hearing your speech the other day and also to state to you what we yet consider requisite to ensure the Welfare of our posterity. It is now five Months since the Honorable the Chief Justice of this Province acquainted us that we should have an answer to our requests with respect to our Grand River Lands. in plain and explicit language easy to be comprehended and understood, the other day we heard it from your mouth, and comprehend and understand it, we were however much surprised that you would not allow us a copy of it, as we consider a written Instrument with you the same as Belts or Strings of Wampum are with us. being to convey our sentiments and refreshen our Minds long after the transaction of a business, and it must be well known there are but few memories capable of retaining an address of any length with exactness

unless it should be handed them in writing, and of course not in the power of any body, of people to answer with that particularly that a subject of importance might require and generally demands, between either individual or nations. It has generally been customary to receive your speeches in writing, as well as Wampum. We are therefore much astonished at your refusing to let us have a copy. had our superintendent indulged us in this, our answer would have been more concise and connected with the subject.

Brothers, Notwithstanding your refusal we shalle endeavour briefly to remark some part of your speech. In the first place you state in consequence of application being made to the Executive Council to rectify the intricate situation we are in with respect to the sales of our Township of Lands. They have had it in serious consideration and resolved to take the best methods to have justice done us and promote our Welfare. You also observed that the cause of delays in payments and our not receiving any benefits from our lands were owing to the unfortunate choice of purchasers, who either wanted ability, or inclination to pay according to their agreements, and not to any act of Governmente. And that they have now commanded the Trustees to compel those concerned to pay the Indians regularly, as agreed, or forfeit their claim. M^r Jarvis and M^r Wallace by failure of payment, are to relinquish their claims and the lands to revert to us again. Mess^{rs} Beasley and Canby, are to be sudee for Paymente

Brothers, We therefore take this opportunity of thanking the Hon^{ble} the Executive Council for their kind attention to our Interest and the great trouble it appears they have taken to put our affairs on a regular footing and particularly so for having relieved the minds of M^r Wells and his associates from all uneasiness with respect to their Title. they having paid us so many Years back Interesse. with respect to the others we must make some distinction. As to M^r Canby, we can have no objections to his being called to our accounte. we have little to say with respect to him otherwise than those Lands were bestowed on the Late Cap^{tn} John Doch<??????>

for the use of his Indian Children. how
 M^r Canby obtained the grant from the
 government we know not. As to
 M^r Beasley he has used every endeavor to
 pay us and we have received considerable
 Sums of money from him. my receipt for
 which as Agents was thought sufficient
 Security for what he paid us. if he had
 acted wrong by not making the payments
 to the Trustees instead of me, then surely
 The Trustees should have made both him
 and me acquainted with. in respect to
 what he yet remained in arrears, we wish
 to give him One year more, to endeavor
 to extricate himself from this difficulty. as it
 would be with regret on our parts that he
 should be ruined on our accounte, especially
 as we are confident he has done every
 thing in his power to fulfill his Contract.
 and more than probable could he have obtaining
 separate Mortgages as prayed for. in that
 case by his manly and strenuous exertions,
 We rather think he would then have been
 enabled to have done us every justice. And
 separate Mortgages were faithfully promised
 him by our Trustees, and we again repeat
 had this promise been complied with on
 the part of the Trustees, that we cannot think
 otherwise but that M^r Beasley would have
 paid us to the Uttmost Fraction. We
 therefore think it but reasonable that he be
 allowed some time to pursue other means
 to comply with his former agreement. the
 Sums he has already paid are too great
 for an individual to lose, and too great
 for us to gain from that unfortunate
 individuale. With respect to M^r Jarvis we
 cannot say otherwise than that He has in us
 One instance complied with his contract.
 Of course the lands ought to revert to us.
 but as to M^r Wallace he has made us
 many payments and an equivalent in
 Lands shall be allowed him for the sums
 of money we have had from him.

Brothers, We will yet say a few words with
 respect to the remaining part of our Lands
 that our minds may be easy as to our Fate
 and the Fate of our posterity. Were the
 whole of the Five Nations ever so industrious
 and skilled as Farmers our Lands would
 yet be more than we could possibly cultivate.
 It must therefore be to our advantage to
 leave a great part of those Lands not
 already surveyed into Townships! by

having Tenants on those parts we cannot ourselves cultivate. we will from these Tenants be certain of an Annuale income. This we mention for the future consideration of the Honorable the Executive Council: and trust from the kind attention they have already shown us that they in their wisdom will devise some means to arrange this: our wish as to insure the future prosperity of our Tribes and Establish for us a (Pensioning?) Funde.

Brothers, All the former spechs we have made on this subject we think do not exceed more than the foregoing, and whatever might be the demands of an Individuale with respect to his private property. And we regret much that reports have gone about amongst you representing us as disaffectede ande dissatisfied toward your Government. Our loyalty has been so well (stayed?) that we consider it unnecessary to say any thing on that subject, as our Foes must even in Justice allow our Loyalty to be indisptable. As to what have been our deserts, those who have fought and suffered with us in the same cause, we will leave it for them to say. and as to our demands, it is pretty generally known that we sacrificed at least (four?) Million Acres of Lande on the Mohawk River, and Susquehannah River by joining the British during the American War, and which has since our departure supposed to have been confiscated as that of other Loyalists. This we gave up as lost. Never rendered an amount of it. nor obtained compensation for, more, our small improvements Horses, Cattle and moveable property that we were also obliged to leave behind us in the Hands of the then Enemy.

Brothers, As this meeting is understood to be the Basis of a general explanation of the causes of our uneasiness which has for some time existed we shall therefore frankly and without disguise unbosom ourselves as before Friends who wish to live upon the Most intimate habits of Friendship with all their neighbors and as we think the time favorable for this explanation, we trust you will attentively hear us, and we have no doubt but as far as in your power lays you will answer us with as equal Candor, as we have declared ourselves; it may be

long before another opportunity so favorable as the present may offer us to meet again at this our council fire place as it had pleased the Great Spirit to allow us this day to Meet with an intention of doing what even is righte and every thing that is reasonable and juste on our Parts, so we trust your minds will be equally intent on doing on your parts towards us, what we have a righte to aske, a right to demand not only as a Nation in Alliance with you, but as old Loyalists and fellow Soldiers and as people who would be aggrieved were your neighbours endeavoring to restrain you from doing with your own Property what to you might appear best.

Brothers, One of the causes of our great uneasiness now, is owing to the bad effects a proclamation issued by the Executive Government of This province has made it bears date Council Chamber 10th Novem^r 1803. "declaring that no Leases which have been or shall be grantede or pretended to be grantede by or under the authority of any Indian Nation will be admitted or allowed of." This to us appears new, wonderfule and astonishing, for those Lands the faith of Government was pledged us, and for which we have a Certificate of many years standing. Surely from this and from many assurances and promises we have had made us [during] times since the year 1775 look upon this Tract of Country on the Grand River as our own sure and perfect inheritance and so very different were the assurances we have ever had from this Proclamation that how to reconcile the contradictions, we are at a loss; this being something so novel that we trust we will receive every information with respect to the intent of this Proclamation that you can either give or obtain for us.

Brothers, General (Haldinand?) when he granted to us those Lands, we then stated to him our wish to have some white people settlers amonst us for the purposes of instructing us in Husbandry, Farming, Making of Roads and other purposes. This met with his approbation and in consequence of which it being for our General Interest we have settled many. notwithstanding all this we now learn that those we

have taken amongst us are threatened
to be drove off. this Report has got
into circulation and gives much uneasiness
However we trust you will make us
easy in Respect to this Report for should
it be the case it will be reducing us to
a line worse than slavery. Our words
will be nothing thought of, our writings
no better. This Brothers we trust
you will with serious consideration

Brothers. Should we be deprived of leasing
our Lands, how are we to subsist. our
Tract of land is now surrounded by
white people so that our hunting is
done away. Many in our Nations persist
Strangers to farming, and should we
be deprived of making the most of
our landed property, many must
Starve, many must go Naked.
We have also for the accommodation of Travellers,
as well as our people allowed Taverns at
certain places in our settlemente as also a
Still or two the benefit arising from them
we are also now deprived of The Fees & duties
being collectede and paid into your Provinciale
Treasury would have been some benefit to us
and should the white people be orderede
from amongste us, how are we to get
Roads made, Bridges built, &c &c.
Those people are and always must
be much more usefull amongste us than
you can possibly be aware of, but we
truste this Threat will not be carried
into effect as it can answer no one
good ende.

Brothers, It has been our custom since
we have been Nations to adhere to ancient
Rules. We have our Sachems and our
Chiefs in whom we have confidence
and who are the persons we look upon
as our guardians, and the Persons who
are to transact our Public business,
and not to every unthinking young
man or Old Woman. This Brothers we
Mention as some of you are unacquainted
with Indian customs and usages. if every
Young Man or Old Woman were to have a
Voice, we should be in a State of Democratic
confusion, which of all things Brothers we wish
to avoide.

Brothers, We truste you have attendede to what
we have saide and we shall be glad to
hear your sentiments with respect to it

as soon as you find it convenient as
we are anxious to again return to our
Homes.

True Copy
Fort George 8th October 1803

W. Claus Depy Sup^t Gen^l

[Written on the outside of the letter]

In Council 18 May
1804 -
Read at the Board
and ordered to be filed.

<??.>Allcock
Chairman

II.46

Speech of Col Claus
& the Answers

In Colonel Claus's 8 Oct 1803

[The first line is in a faded script, in a handwriting different from the body of the letter]

Reply of Col^o Claus to the Foregoing Speech

Council Room Fort George
August 7th 1803. ~

Present

L^t Col. [Sheaffe] 49th Reg^t
William Claus Esq^r Dep^y Sup. ^t Gen^l
Cap. Forbes. Roy^l Artill^y
L^t Horton. 49th Reg^t
W. Johnson C<??> Indⁿ Departm^t
David [Price] } Interpreters
Benjⁿ Fairchild }

Brothers I did refuse to give a copy of the

speech conceiving that you must have comprehended what was said, and I left it with one of the Interpreters that it might be repeated over to you, that it might be stronger impressed upon your minds but not to give it out of his Hands. My reason for refusing a copy was that the Speech referred entirely to a Report of the Executive Council; consequently I did not think myself at liberty to give it without permission. M^r Beasley cannot possibly pretend to say that if he has acted wrong by paying money to Cap.^t Brant that it is the fault of the (Townstead?). I hold the Bond of him and his associates wherein they bind themselves to pay that Interest to the Trustees at Niagara, a copy of which bond I sent to one of them three years ago and told him not long before that M.^r Beasley would probably resent his paying others than the Trustees. I rather doubt that M^r Beasley ever got a certain on faithful promise to have separate Mortgages given him at [the] often, very often urged on the part of your agent. the only time M^r Beasley ever spoke to me on the subject of his purchase was last summer at my House. I then told him what were my objections, which was that by subdividing the land the good and bad might be separated, the goode kept by the purchaser and the bad thrown back on the Indians. As to the Proclamation surely there are many of you here presente that must very well know that it was first published nearly forty years ago by the King, since which it has often appeared in this country which you must also know well. the Proclamation from the King of the 7th of October 1769 states the reasons and as I cannot find better reasons than it states itself, better to inform you of, it shall be read and explained to you (the Proclamation bearing date St James 7th October 1763 was here read and explaines to them.) I shall send a runner off immediately with your Speech to the Hon^{ble} the Chief Justice at Fort Erie in the hopes that it may overtake him there. that he may return such answer as he may think necessary or proper. but I would advise you not to expect that there will be any more dates allowed of. and as to Leases that is quite out of the question, it cannot be allowede of.

True Copy
Fort George 8th Octr 1803

W. Claus D.J.G.

[Written on the outside of the letter:]

~Report
of the 18th May 1804
relative to Principal
and Interest remaining
due on M^r Beasley &
others' Mortgage on a
Block of the Grand River
Lands

[new hand]

Entered in State Book C
page 378 to 385 inclusive

[Also written on the outside of the letter in a different hand:]

York 18th May 1804

Report of a Comm^{tee} Ex Council relative
to Principal & Interest remaining due on
Mortgage & Beasley to the Trustees for
Five Nations.

[body of letter]

Report of a Committee of the Executive Council on
His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor's Order of
Reference of the 15th May 1804 relative to Principal
and Interest remaining due on a mortgage made
by M^r Beasley to the Trustees of the Five Nations

Council Chamber 18th May 1804

Provincial Revenue arising from Duties collected on Goods Imported, under Authority of Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain between the 1st January & 31st December 1803

Port of Entry	(Royal?) Wine	Port & Sherry Wine	Brandy	Rum	Gin	Whiskey	Molasses & Syrups	Loaf Sugar	Muscavado Sugar	Coffee	Pimento	Indigo	Stig
York	31	783 1/2	31 1/2	123	16 1/2		225	1,284	10,510	193			8 11
Niagara	3/8	583 1/4	583 1/4	1412 1/4								73	160 15 9 2/10
Queenston		3/8	36	169									11 14 6
Sandwich		69	1 3/8	458 3/4									9 9 3/4
Kingston			142	35		74	63 1/2	349	249 1/2	18	593 1/2		38 8 2 1/4
Gannanoqui				34			5 1/2	17 1/4			24		5 17 10 1/2
Johnstown				10				42		16			1 17 8 7 3/4
Fort Erie													1 2 9 1/4
	31 3/8	1094 1/4	263 1/2	2,242	16 1/2	74	294	1722 1/4	10759 1/2	239	617 1/2	80	229 2

Expence of Collection

William Allen	York	£ 4.. 5.. 6
John Symington	Niagara	27.. 3.. 10 1/4
Thos Dickson	Queenston	2.. 11.. 6 1/2
John Askin	Sandwich	4.. 10 1/2
		<u>34.. 5.. 9 3/8</u>

Jos. Anderson	Kingston	19.. 14.. 1 1/8
W. Stone	Gannanoqui	2.. 18.. 11 1/4
L. P. Sherwood	Johnstown	.. 18.. 6
J. Warren	Ft Erie	.. 14.. 3 1/8
		<u>24.. 5.. 9 7/8</u>
		<u>34.. 5.. 9 7/8</u>
		<u>58.. 11.. 7 1/2</u>

Collection	58.. 11.. 7 1/2
Stig	170.. 11.. 1 1/2
Curcy	189.. 10.. ??

[Written on the outside of the letter]

Lieu Gov. Office
York 15. May 1804

The Lieu Governor is pleased to refer to the Consideration of the Exécutive Council the within Computation of the Principal and Interest remaining due on the Mortgage made by M^r. Beasley to the Trustees for the Six Nations and the Board will at the same time hear and consider the proposals to be made by M^r. Beasley and the parties with whom he has entered into Contracts for the sake of the Lands so in Mortgage to the Trustees and report what under all the Circumstances will be advisable now to be done for the purpose of procuring an ultimate arrangement of the business.

By Order of the Governor
James Green

[body of letter]

Richard Beasley James Wilson and John Baptiste Rousseau were granted on the fifth day of February 1798, under his Majestys Letters Patent ninety four thousand & twelve acres of land on the Grand River subject to a Debt of £8887 . . . secured by Mortgage to Trustees, ~~~

Principal in ~~~~~	£8887. .
Interest on this sum for 6 years	
and three Months 6 per C ^t	£3332 .. 12 .. 1
	12219..12..1

The following sums have been paid by Richard Beasley

This sum <??????> as Bond in possession of Captain Claus about 2 years ago £823

Interest Loss 197..10..4

This sum being the aggregat of various Receipts & advances made to the Indians as per

Captain Brants receipt 1 Nov 1801
1817.2.6 1817.2..6

This sum as per Captain Brants receipt 1(st) } 325
June 1802 }

3162..12..10

Ballance due on the fifth May 1804 £9,056..19..3

[what follows below is written in a lighter handwriting, and seems to be margin calculations]

1 86<?>..<?>..1
 <????> <??>99.10.4 £10920 : 17 : 4
 <??????> 1417.2.6
 <??????>. 325<????>
 <??> 1939 12 10 1863 : 18 1
 <????????????????????>

To Extinguish this Debt and release the security M^r. Beasley proposes to pay immediately, after such being done the sum of five thousand pounds, lawful Money and <??????> to the Trustees the residue, by a Mortgage on Sixty thousand acres redeemable on May 1805.

To The Trustees for the
five Nations

Richard Beasley

York, 15th May 1804

Sir

Barton 22nd June 1804

Your letter of the 29th May with the inclosures, I received on the 11th Instant. as far as relates to Thomas Medcalf and David <?> [Trotter] they have authorized me to say that they have paid me no fees of Survey. Robert Camp, Ebeneser Kelly, [F]aulest Read are Strangers to me. what part of the Destrict they reside in I do not know. I shall make inquiry of the heir of the late John More as soon as I have an opourtunity.

I am Sir your very
 Humble Servant
 Richard Beasley

John Small Esq^r

Proceedings of a Council held at the Grand River the 29th day of June 1804 with the Six Nations viz Mohawks Oneydas, Onendayas, Cayugas, Senecas and Tuscaroras and the following Nations <??????>s, Delewares and (Nantukes?):

Present

Lieu^t Col. Brook 49th Reg^t Commanding
 Will^m Claus Esq^r Dep^y Sup^t Gen^l of Indⁿ Affas
 James Givens Esq^r Ag^t of Ind Affas
 Lieu^t Cany 49th Reg^t
 Will^m Dickson Esq^r
 Rich^d Beasley Esq^r
 Alex^r Stewart Esq^r
 W. J. Ch<??> <??> <??> Indⁿ Dep^t
 Benjⁿ Fairchild and }
 J. B. Rousseau } Interpreters I. Dep^t

The Deputy Superintendand^t Gen^l addressed the Chiefs as follows

Brethren

It gives me great satisfaction to meet you at this place and in presence of so many of the King's Officers and others this day to review our assurances of friendship which I hope will continue uninterrupted as long as the waters run.

I dispel the darkness which hangs over you by reason of your many losses I most heartily wish you may enjoy a serene Clear Sky so that you may be able to see your Brethren from the Sun rising to the Sun setting.

Brethren

I must admonish and exhort you that you will at all times but more especially at this juncture Pluck from your hearts and cast away all discords jealousies and misunderstandings which may subsist among you or which any Evil spirit may Endeavor to cause in your Breasts.

I therefore with this wampum make this Council Room clean from every thing offensive and hope that you will take care that no Snake may creep in among us, or any thing that may obstruct our harmony.

Bunch of Wampum

Brethren

I have but a few words to speak as the fewer that is said the easier you will understand ande comprehende.

Last year about the time your corn was getting hard I had the pleasure of seeing you at the King your Great Fathers Council fire at Niagara. I then addressed you on the business of your Land transactions. I informed you then that Gen^l Hunter had taken your Affairs into his most deliberate consideration, and

what the result of those considerations were.

Since that time some people have come forward to pay for the Township which was sold to M^r Beasley and his associates and the only thing which now remains upon the minds of your Trustees and which they cannot answer for (unless you in the most public manner express your satisfaction) is the Statement made by M^r Beasley of monies said to have been paid on your account to your Agent Captain Brant.

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

Brethren

The following sums is stated by M^r Beasley to have been paid by him and Bonds delivered by his Order.

An account of monies paid by Rich^d Beasley to Cap^t Joseph Brant at different times as Agent for the Five Nations of Indians Inhabiting the Grand River being so much on Extinguishing of a Mortgage on Block No. 2

1798, June 21	Paid as Per Receipt		H ^x Curr ^y £ 415.. 0.. 0
1799, Dec ^r 31	“ ----- “	£ 63.. 1.. 0	
17	“ ----- “	162.. 10.. 0	
1800 Sept ^r 11	“ ----- “	66.. 15.. 9	
1801 June 20	“ ----- “	100.. 0.. 0	
Aug 1	“ ----- “	400.. 0.. 0	
	An order on Mess ^{rs} Smith	}	
	& Douglas to be paid in lumber	} 1000.. 0.. 0	
	NYC ^y	£1792.. 6.. 9	1120.. 4.. 2
Feb ^r y 10 th	Paid as Per Receipts		124.. 15.. 11
	Account rendered for Order at different times		250.. 0.. 0
	Paid Cap ^t Brant		<u>231.. 19.. 11</u>
			Hal ^x Curr ^y £ <u>2142.. 0.. 0</u>
	Grand River 28 th June 1804		
	(Sig ^d) Rich ^d Beasley		

For the above Cap^t Brant Accounts to me as follows.

Abstract of the Disbursements of Cap^t Joseph Brant Agent for the Six Nations on their Account

Paid M ^r Kennedy Smith	1400.. 0.. 0	Previous to the second of May last only 937.6.11 of this was received there was then due by W. ? Smith & Wheeler Douglas by their note £462.13.11 since that time Board to the amount of £106..8..0 have been Received as p Memorandum Booke
Paid M ^r Alex ^r Stewart	400.. 0.. 0	This to be recovered for Mr Stewart

		having had the money either as Trustee or Council
“ to Ind ^{ns} 9 th Nov ^r 1798	720.. 0 ..0	This sum paid at the Beach 9 th Nov ^r 1798 certified by Cap ^t Claus, L ^t Forbes Roy ^l Artil ^y , Ens ^d Bordwine Roy ^l Can ⁿ Vol ^{trs} W. <??????> Ind ⁿ Dep <?? ????>
“ to M ^r Nelles	65 .. 0 ..0	For provisions
“ to M ^r <??????>	162.. 10 ..0	ditto
“ to the Schoolmaster	32 .. 0 ..0	For Schooling
“ to M ^r Thomas	46.. 10 ..0	Expenses of Festival of the 1 st day of May
“ to M ^r Eben ^r Allan	100 .. 0 ..0	A Bond for this sum sent to York & now in the hands of M ^r McDonell who will deliver it to the Trustees
“ to M ^r Cocknell	89.. 15.. 0	Sum expended for surveying at diff ^t times
“ to Doct ^r Tiffany	<u>12.. 0.. 0</u>	For medicine and attendance
	3017.. 15..0	
Brought over	£3017.. 15..0	
Paid to an Indian	6.. 0 ..0	For Beef to the Public
“ to M ^r Allan McDougall	42.. 0 ..0	for <??????> expended at Festivals
Paid to M ^r <??> Clarke	20.. 0 ..0	Paid this Sum and Council fees
Expended at Council } (Buffaloe Creek) }	16.. 0 ..0	
Paid for two fat } cattle at the Beach }	24.. 0 ..0	
at two diff ^t times }		
Provisions from }		
M ^r Beasley at diff ^t times }	25 ..0 ..0	
Paid for a Stallion }		
for public use }	40 ..0 ..0	
Paid to M ^r Norton & Chiefs }		
for travelling to }		
Albany & (twice?) to }	80..0.. 0	
Montreal }		
Paid to M ^r Dickson Esq ^r }		
on Acc ^t of (M.?) Smith }	129..6..0	Boards for the same to be delivered to the Six Nations by said Smith
NY Currey	<u>£3400.. 1..0</u>	Equal Hal ^x Curr ^y <u>£2125.. 8.. 7½</u>
Sig ^d Jos. Brant		
Ag ^t		

If you wish to consult among yourselves before
you give your Answer as I wish you to do I shall wait
until you are ready as it is necessary that this business
should come to a close, but do not let us hurry, take
time and weigh the matter well if you are satisfied
that the Statement of the Account is juste, I will lay
before you a paper to sign and which shall be ex-
plained to you that you may perfectly comprehend
and understande ite.

I must further inform you that I hope every man

that attends for the purpose of Executing the above paper keep from Liquor as I am Determined no name shall appear there unless the whole Council are perfectly Sober.

Before we cover the fire to day I must inform you that the Kings Council with the Approbation of Gen^l Hunter have given themselves a great deal of pains in engineering and seeing that Justice should be done to the Six Nations in this business for which I am confident you will acknowledge yourselves sensible. I have further to mention to you that the Governor in Council have thought it for the advantage benefit and Interest of the Six Nations that Sir John Johnson should be added as a Trustee for the Six Nations but it is left for you to consider and say whether he is or is not to be added to those who are now acting for you.

I shall now retire and when you have finished (counselling?) shall be ready to attend you

Large Bunch of Wampum

30th June

Present: The same as Yesterday

I am much pleased that you have so clearly comprehended what I said to you Yesterday, and as you are unanimously agreed to admit of <Sir?> <Johnson?> as just the following is the paper which it will be necessary for your Principal People to sign. But before I go further I must tell you that your (Expressance?) of friendship for me draws from me the warmest sense of feeling. I shall now endeavor to preserve your esteem and regard, and you may rest assured that my constant exertions shall be for your Interests and happiness.

We the Sachems and Principal War Chiefs Warriors and Principal Women of the Six Nations having taken into mature consideration the said accounts and having considerede the several Items and Entries thereon, and the whole having been explained to us in the fullest manner declare that we perfectly understand and comprehend the same. Do hereby Unanimously approve then of as Just and True and do fully admit and acknowledge that the Several sums of Money sat down and charged in the said Amount as payments made by M^r Beasley to and for the use of the Six Nations were really and truly made and that the Boards and Materials charged in the same Account were actually furnished by M^r Beasley also to and for the use of the Six Nations.

In Testimony whereof the aforesaid Sachems, Principal War Chiefs, Warriors and Principal

Women of the Six Nations, in behalf of the Body
of the said Six Nations have to these present
(done in Triplicate) set our hands and affixed
our Seals at the Council house at the Mohawk
Village on the Grand River this 30th day of June
In the Year of our Lord 1804 and the forty fourth
Year of his Majesty's Reign.

[24 names follow, signed with an 'X' or '+' and sealed. The names are approximated.]

Tekanihohin	his [seal] + mark	Aghshegwanesena	his [seal] + mark
Maweyogearat	his [seal] + mark	Tekahentakwa	her X mark
Oghanaongoghton	his [seal] X mark	Aghsonwatagetto	his X mark
Otoghsenonge	his [seal] X mark	Yoghstathough	her X mark
Gonessinonton	his [seal] + mark	Asaghwente	his X mark
Shagogeasinonne	his [seal] + mark	Oghgwaseoghseta	his + mark
Tekaonyongh	his [seal] + mark	Ogongksnoiyonte	his + mark
Ojageghte	his [seal] + mark	Woosighonde	her + mark
Thaosonnenghoton	his [seal] + mark	Otyaghwawagon	his + mark
Teghsitaasgowa	his [seal] X mark	Onenahoote	his + mark
(?????????)	his [seal] X mark	(?????????)	his X mark
(?????????????)	his [seal] + mark	(?????????????)	her + mark

Account of Articles exported from Kingston in the Province of Upper Canada to Montreal
from the 15th April 1801 to 24th October following

	Bbls Flour & ? Fine Flour	(do?) bls (Middlings?) or 2d Flour	Bushels of Wheat	Bushels of Peas	Bbls of Pot Ash	(?)s of Butter	(?)s of Cheese	(?)s of Hogs Lard
From Kingston & the Settlement adjacent	8084	.322		352	427	1000		72 1/2
Received from Niagara	3390		350		51		500	
Received from Detroit	2489				6			
Total	13963	322	350	352	484	1000	500	72 1/2

Kingston 24th October 1801
Sign'd / Richard Cartwright

To M^r R. Beasley

D^r Sir

Kingston 26th Oct^r 1801

I rec^d your Favour of 23rd Sept^r. only on the 21st Inst. & as no Pelteries from M^r Springer have yet made their Appearance, I almost give up the Expectation of them. With Respect to your Flour, I think you had yourself better give in your Proposals to M^r M^cGill, if you wish to deliver any to Government. But should you prefer the Montreal Market, I will gladly forward any Quantity you can send me & account to you for the N^t Proceeds. In this Case the earlier it can be sent, the better Chance it will have of fetching a good Price. If you adopt this last Plan your Bbls. should hold exactly 196 lbs. At present I can form no Idea of what this Article may be worth next Spring.

Yours & ca,
R.C.

Robert Hamilton Esq^r

Kingston 27th Oct^r 1801

Dear Sir,

I beg leave once more to consign you a small Cargoe of Mittons, the Manufacture of a Family in this Neighbourhood, whose former Situation in Life, gives them a Claim upon every generous Mind, for the Encouragement of their present, humble Exertions to procure themselves a Maintenance. I will either take Whiskey in Return as before, or give them in Part Payment of your Grindstones, only three of which have yet been sold; or barter them in any other Way that will enable me to account to them for the Amo^t £ 8..9..8 Curr^y now on the Approach of Winter they are packed in a Box with your Name at full Length & consist of 43 p^{rs} Double Mittons at 8/9. & 4p^{rs} Single <?> a 2/. Though this is a Transaction from which neither of us is likely to derive Profit; yet you will think with me that the Satisfaction of relieving the distressed is not a bad Equivalent.

yours very truly,
R. Cartwright

Articles exported from the Port of Quebec in 1801 with the
computed Value thereof

119,965	Beaver Skins	12/6	£ 72,478	2	6	Amo't br't forward	£	580,880	6	8
24,451	Martins	4/	4,890	4	"	60,033	(??) pine, cherry }	2,250	"	"
21,837	Otters	20/	21,837	"	"		birch & maple plank }			
10,689	Minks	2/	1,068	18	"	494	(??) Oak Plank	250	"	"
5,422	Fishers	4/	1,084	8	"	535,547	Oak Staves & Heads	10,000	"	"
19,290	Foxes	5/	4,822	"	"	16,986	Handspikes	9(?)	635	2
25,299	Bears	20/	25,299	10	"	1,464	(??) Oak	7/6	549	"
227,205	Deer	4/	45,441	"	"	67	M Shingles	7/6	25	2
92,345	Raccoons	2/	9,234	10	"	.11 1/2	M W. J. Hasps	100/	57	10
9,130	Musqurat	1/6	684	15	"	18,095	Pipe & Puncheon		18,095	"
18,704	Cured & Open Cats	5/	4,676	"	"		Packs at 20/			
1,140	Elks	20/	1,140	"	"	7,682	Casks cont'g			
2,875	Wolves	5/	718	15	"		25,620 ct; 3 qt; 8 ltr Pot &		34,569	"
1,252	Wolverines	5/	313	"	"		Pearl Ashes in 90/ flash			
219	Badgers	2/6	27	7	6	9,079	(??) Flax Seeds	4/	1,815	16
1,505	Seals	4/	301	"	"	72,678	Gls. Oils	2/6	9,684	15
			£ 194,016	10	"	93	Casks & Cases			
192	(ltr?) Castorum	5/	48	"	"		Essence of Spruce	30/	139	10
360	" Ginsang	3/4	50	"	"	555	Firkins Batter	40/	1,110	"
472,723	(Bbl?) Wheat	10/	236,361	10	"	100	Do Tallow	30/	150	"
3,744	" Barley	3/4	624	"	"	5	Do Hogs Lard		10	"
5,013	" Oats	2/6	626	12	6	9,916	Minots Salt	2/	991	12
4,488	" Indian Corn	5/	1,122	"	"	44	Metal Stoves	50/	178	"
6,559	" Peas	6/8	2,186	6	8	5	Boxes Starch		12	10
38,146	Bbls Flour	45/	85,828	10	"	32	Kegs Snuff		100	"
32,303	Quintals Biscuit	27/6	44,416	12	6	200	Bbls Apples & Onions		200	"
1,412	(Tierce?) & Barrels	80/	5,648	"	"			£	661,101	4
	Beef & Pork }					6	Ships & 3 Brigs built &			
854	(Ct?) dry Cod Fish	12/6	533	15	"		sent Home equal to		26,500	
522	Casks pickled }	40/	1,044	"	"		2,650 Tons at £10			
	Salmon, Herrings, etc.)							£	687,601	4
192	Horses	£15	2,880	"	"	73	Bales cont'g 27,950 (??) Cotters Wool			
13	Sheep, 20 Hogs	20/	33	"	"	73	Casks (Raccoon?) 25,503 (??) }			
678	Boxes Sope & Candles	40/	1,356	"	"	35	Elephants Teeth 1,118 (??) }			
1,268	(??) Oak Timber	40/	2,536	"	"	38	(??) dye Weed 12,894 (??) }			
4,061	" Pine Do	20/	1,061	"	"	365	(??) bacon }			
298	(Spars?)	15/	223	10	"	687	(??) (Simarouba?) }			
57	Masts	100/	285	"	"					
	Carried Forward		£ 580,880	6	8					

24th Nov'r 1801

Goods imported into Quebec in 1801

439	Butts & Pipes }	
137	Hhds }	Madeira Wine
40	Q't Casks }	
399	Pipes }	
107	Hhds }	Portugal Wine
12	Casks Bottled }	
98	Pipes }	
618	Hhds }	Spanish Claret & (?????) Wines
236	Boxes }	
92	Cases }	
2,897	Puncheons }	
91	Hhds }	Rum
20	Bbls }	
66	Pipes & Puncheons of Brandy & Geneva	
226	Ditto Gurensey Cordials	
169	Ditto Martinique Do	
723	Casks Molasses	
237	Bbls & }	
58	Bags }	Coffé
346	Hhds & }	
475	Boxes & Barrels }	Muscavado & Clay'd Sugars
62,375	(Its?) refined Sugar	
86,865	(Its?) Tobacco	
47,612	(Its?) Do manufactured	
7,020	Packs playing Cards	
136,141	Minots of Salt	
	The real Nature of Exports may be Stated as	£ 700,000 Stlg
	Ditto of all Imports	<u>600,000 Do</u>

Nov'r 24th 1801

General Account of Goods upon which Duties on
Importation are imposed by the Legislature of
Lower Canada which passed Coteau du Lac to
Upper Canada from the 1st January to 31st Decem-
ber 1801

		Return from 1st January to 30th June 1801	Return from 1st July to 31st December 1801	Total
Jamaica Spirits or Rum	Gallons	12,166¾	35,744¾	47,911½
Foreign Brandy or Spirits	Ditto	1,392	944	2,366
Molasses	Ditto	109	400½	509½
Madeira Wine	Ditto	1,080½	2,442	3,522½
Port & other Wines not Madeira	Ditto	3,054¾	6,871½	9,926¼
Loaf & Lump Sugar	Ditto	4,379	10,154½	15,583½
Muscavado Sugar	Ditto	2,933	9,230	12,163
Coffee	Ditto	888	1,254¼	2,145¼
Leaf Tobacco	Ditto	120	676	796
Packs of playing Cards		653	1,134	1,783
Minots of Salt		3,217½	3,067	6,284½
Manufactured Tobacco	(Pernials?)		10,077¼	10,077¼
	452 private Boats			
	73 Kings ditto			
	542 Carriages			

Account of Flour & other Articles of Produce shipped
for Montreal by the Respective Merchants of Kingston
in 1801

By whom forwarded	Produce of Kingston & Parts adjact.						From Niagara		From Detroit	
	Bbls ?&? Fine Flour	Bbls ????- lings	Bbls of Pot Ash	Bbls Peas	Bbls ?&? F. Flour	Bbls of Pot Ash	Bbls ?&? F. Flour	Bbls of Pot Ash		
R. Cartwright	2,453	282	96	77	1,150		613			
I. Cumming	729	10	14		1,375	14	773			
Peter Smith	965		100	158	524					
I. Markland	719		18	75						
S. Herkinsen	250									
Ino. Kirby & Co.	342		43							
Ts. Forsyth for Self & Robins }	803				298		1,103	6		
Do for B. Seymour ? Robins for Self }	250									
Son & E. Smith }	431		9							
D. McDonell	523	30	34	50	43	37				
Do for E. Washburn	249		8							
Do for G. Seymour	100		40							
Do for ? McNabb	140		65							
Do for I. Barton	150									
Total	8,084	322	427	352	3,390	41	2,489	6		

Dear Sir

Barton 14th Feb^y 1802

I received yours of the 5th in answer thereto I know only one John Depue said to be a Lieu^t in the Indian Department, that he had 7 children and came from the Sisquhanna and that his eldest Son was in Co^l Butler's Rangers. The family are all living in this township excepting the old man - he is dead. The Year that they came into the Province I cant from my own knowledge ascertain - his family was at Niagara in 1780 how much before that period I cant say. I have taken the Liberty of Sending an Inclosure from R. C., will thank you to forward the Deeds for Andrew English & W^m M^cMannes' Lands, they are made in my name. M^r Gacer says taht he is not able to pay you for the Lands they will have to revert back to you. Our Original Contract for flour I suppose to be at an end.

I remain D^r Sir

Your verry
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

David W Smith Esq^r

Note: Depues family consisted of 3 Sons & 4 daughters.

General Account of Articles upon which Duties were imposed
imported from the United States of America into this
Province & not passing through the Province of Lower
Canada from 1st July 1801 to 31st March 1802

	York	Niagara	Queenstown	Kingston	Johnstown	Cornwall	Fort Erie	Total
Brandy	28	360	"	269	38	5	"	700
Shrub	31	"	"	"	"	"	"	31
Aniseed	32	"	"	"	"	"	"	32
Whiskey	161	"	"	"	"	"	"	161
Rum	"	2,003	"	722½	126	5	"	2,856½
Gin	"	252	"	30	12	"	"	302
Wines not Madeira	"	85	"	"	39	"	"	124
Molasses	"	30	"	14	"	"	"	44
Loaf Sugar	"	440	"	151½	135	"	"	736½
Muscavadoe Do	200	818	"	549	"	"	"	1,567
Manufactur'd Tobacco	"	14,494	198½	1,500	154½	392	40	16,779
Leaf Do	265	"	10	402	"	"	"	677
Snuff	"	22	"	9	7½	"	"	30½
Hyson Tea	8	"	"	"	"	"	"	8
Coffee	"	"	"	2	15	"	"	17
Bushels of Salt	"	2,121	"	1,196½	379	"	"	3,696½

Account of Flour & other Articles of Produce shipped from Kingston by the different Merchants there & at the Bay of Kenty

	From Kingston & en.										From Niagara					
	Bbls Flour	Bbls Ashes	Bbls Pork	Bbls Beef	(Busi?) Peas	Lbs Lard	Lbs Butter	Lbs Hams	(Fat?) (Re??)	Bbls Flour	Bbls Ashes	Lbs Butter	Lbs Cheese	Lbs (???)	(Fat?) unburnt	Bbls Pork
R. Cartwright	1913	186				1040	1709			760						
S. Herkinsen	182	2	24													
I. Kirby & Co.	242	14														
I. Blacker		212														
I. Markland	546	3	26				603			603	9					
Peter Smith	645	143					400			500						
Tos. Forsyth	739	25	20				563			413	22					
D. McDonell	596	18			240											
B. Seymour	557	6	18							666						
Nat. Smith	380	43	15			282	720	377	357	1038	53	320	112	350	18,576	6
Ino. Cumming	679	49	10		90											
Js. McNabb	423	184	9	13	180											
E. Washburn	403		63	30												
Js. Robins	177	16														
Total	7462	708	185	43	510	1322	4155	377	357	3980	84	320	112	350	18,576	6

To Richard Beasley Esq^r.

D^r Sir, Kingston 19 Augst 1802

I have not had the Pleasure of hearing from you since we parted at York. This is merely to hand you the Acc^t Sales of M^r Dan^l Springers 4 Packs of Pelteries, the Proceeds of which Am^t .. £ 36. 1. 3 is at his Credit. This is paying very slowly & I hope he will use his Endeavours to do something better in the Fall. His Bear Skins must have been very bad & his Deer Skins very good to have bro^t the respective Prices of 11/8 & a Dollar. Please say to M^r Ben. Springer that I have not yet rec^d the Acc^t Sales of his Pelteries.

I am & ca
R.C.

[written on a small slip of paper within letter]

Fort George 13 Dec 1802

Enclosing copy original
Mortgage of Richard Beasley

W^m Claus
Chief Justice Alcock

[body of letter]

Fort George 13th Dec 1802

Sir

Agreeable to your wish I send you under cover a true copy from the original Mortgage of Richard Beasley Esq^r and associates <????>. I find since my return from York that it is in the office of W. Ridout, where it was registered the 20th July [1798] – I have also sent under cover a copy of their Bond – both these papers are now in my possession, many and repeated attempts have been made for to obtain the original Mortgage and to give separate ones instead –

I am Sir

The Hon^{ble}
Chief Justice Alcock
(&c, &c, &c)

your most Obedient
humble Servant

W Claus

Recapitulation of Articles exported to Lower
Canada from Kingston in the Year 1802

11,442	Bbls of Flour
792	D ^o Pot & Pearl Ashes
191	D ^o Pork
43	D ^o Beef
510	Bus ^l Peas
4,475	Lbs Butter
1,322	Lbs Hogs Lards
727	Lbs. Hams
10,576	Feet Black Walnut Boards & Plank
357	Feet Red Cedar Timber
112	(C ^l ?) Cheese

Of this Quantity there was received from
Niagara & the Head of the Lake

4,161	Barrels of Flour
96	D ^o Pot & Pearl Ashes
320	(Its?) Butter
112	(Its?) Cheese
350	(Its?) Hams
6	Bbls Pork
18,576	F ^l Black Walnut Plank

Four hundred & thirty five Barrels of (Pork?), all from the
Midland District were purchased for the use of the
Troops. – The above Account though perfectly accu-
rate as far as it goes, is but an imperfect Statement of
the whole Quantity of the Produce of this Province ex-
ported, to Lower Canada as it takes in no Part of
what was sent from the District of Johnstown & the (East-
ern?) District. – In those Districts very considerable Quan-
[the remainder of the document is missing]

[along the side of the page is written:]

Besides some small Quantities of Staves
And Timber not ascertained.

[This page of the document is nearly illegible]

<??> <??> certify that the (within?) (Proceedings?) (were?) held in our presence and that the Accounts (and?) different Items (were?) (explained?) to the Sachems, War Chiefs, and Principal Women under the directions of the Deputy Superintendant General of Indian Affairs, that they <????> perfectly to understand and comprehend the <????> and acknowledged that they did <??> and <??> perfectly satisfied th<??????> <??> <??> also certify that those whose Devices, Marks and seals are herewith affixed <??> <??> <??> the whole explained <??> perfectly <????> <??????> <????> <????????> <??> <??????>

Council Room Grand River
30th June 1804

<????????> <????>
49th Regmt Comm <?>
<??????????>
<??????????>

[There are three more lines of illegible text]

Grand River 30th June 1804

Answer of the Six Nations to the Dep^y Sup^l Generals
speech delivered 29th Instant

Brother We have received your Speech of Yesterday and find ourselves very happy on the Occasion especially on its being delivered in presence of such respectable <??????> as Col^o Brocke and the other Officers of the 49th Regiment with the Gentlemen assembled in Council.

Brothers We are truly gratified to find that Lieu^l General Hunter, and his Majestys executive Council have taken the Steps mentioned in your Speech, and that they mean to continue their good and friendly (Offices?) in promoting the future Interest of ourselves, and the Engagements heretofore made between the King's representative and our Nations. Engagements which we hope and trust have been kept with <??????> faith – and which on all occasions we are determined to adhere thereto in future without any alteration whatever, and to follow the Rules observed by our Forefathers, as far as the circumstances of the times will possibly admit of.

Brother We the Sachems and Chief Warriors who now address you are not perhaps more than the <????> of those who in their former Council engaged with the Kings representatives to fight against his Enemies. Those Engagements in open Council by US, we have ever considered them as sacred and binding on our parts, and it was owing to this Public and unanimous conduct that we were enabled with

the Fostering and Fatherly kindness of those entrusted
 <????> <??> <????> of his Majestys Affairs in this Country
 <?> <????> in the Grand River in the comfortable manner
 <??> <??> <??> <??> <??> <?> <????> you and other of the
 Kings <?????> <??> <?????>

[The remainder of this page is illegible]

Brothers

When we first agreed to sell this Land it was
 our wish to have Trustees appointed for the purpose
 of securing the principal in such funds or under such
 security as they might think proper, so as to prevent
 our touching the same, but at the same time to ensure
 a regular payment of the Interest to us, and we
 accordingly mentioned you with M^r Smith and M^r (Stewart?)
 <corn document> sons therefore for this purpose should
 you and they agree to have Sir John Johnson joined
 with you It would be very agreeable to us.

Brother

We rest assured that you bear in your minde
 the tenor of former speeches delivered to you on the
 subject of those people who from fortuitous circum-
 stances and unforeseen Events have been prevented
 from fulfilling their engagements. Amongst these
 we (?) your particular attention to the case of
 Will^m & James Wallace: wishing at all times to be
 Governed by the most rigid maxims of justice we
 trust their case may be attended to and an adequate
 compensation (for their outlays and expenditures)
 in Lands made them.

True Copy

W. Claus D. S. G.

Sir

York 16 August 1804

M^{rs} Peter & Isaac Morning have authorised
 me to answer yours of the 29th May, and have
 requested me say, that neither of them have
 paid any fee of Survey

your <?>

Richard Beasley

John Small Esq(r)

Account of Articles from Lower Canada, passing
into Upper Canada by Coteau du Lac from the 1st
January to the 31st December 1804

59,457¼	Gallons Jamaica Spirits or Rum
3,071¼	Do Foreign Brandy or Spirits
216	Do Molasses
3,256	Do Madeira Wine
13,003	Do Port & other Wines not Madeira
29,324	Do Loaf or Lump Sugar
30,623½	Do Muscavado Ditto
6,223½	Do Coffee
2,028½	Do Snuff
5	Do Leaf Tobacco
11,794½	Do Manufactured Tobacco
647	Packs Playing Cards
7,716½	Minots Salt

These passed during this Time

468	Private Boats or Canoes
60	Kings Boats
293	Carriages

Provincial Revenue of the Crown arising from Duties collected on Goods, under Authority of Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain between the 1st January & 31st December 1804 including such Duties as have not been heretofore Stated

Port of Entry	Gallons Brandy	Gallons Rum &c Spirits	Gallons Gin	Gallons Shrub	Gallons Madeira Wines	Gallons Port & other Wines not Madeira	Gallons Molasses & Syrups	Lbs Loaf Sugar	Lbs Muscavado Sugar	Lbs Indigo	Lbs Pimento	Lbs Coffee	Sterling Dollars 4/6
York	130	111	263 1/2	14	35	34	107	68 1/2	1340	12	105	19	11
Niagara	612 1/2	505 1/2				532	101	170	8,461	352	244	104	19
Queenslon	142							259	1918	15	111	140	16
A Seizure of 1 Boat, 6 Bbls Salt & 2 Sides Leather Do													10 1/2
Fort Erie	45	9											14
Sandwich		217				39							8
Amherstburgh		16											6
New Castle	60	16 1/2						57 1/2	21	78 1/2	157	5	16
Kingston	18	216 1/4					12 1/2			10			6
Jannanoqui		3					2						3
Chippawa	8								234				4
Turkey Point													18
	1015 1/2	1094 1/4	263 1/2	14	35	605	222 1/2	555	11,974	97 1/2	617	145	15
													188
													6

Expence of Collection

William Allen Esqr	Collector	York	9..15..8	John Warren Esqr	Fort Erie	1..14..3	William M. Stone Esqr	Gannanoqui	..2..1
John Symington Esqr	Do	Niagara	25..7..9	John Askin Esqr	Sandwich & Amherstberg	5..17..3 1/4	John Muirhead Esqr	Chippawa	..9..2 5/8
Thomas Dickson Esqr	Do	Queenslon	3..18..11	Timothy Thomson Esqr	Newcastle	..8..3	William Spurgin Esqr	Turkey Point3
Do for a Seizure	Do		4..17..3 1/4	Joseph Anderson Esqr	Kingston	8..13..4 3/8			
				Lewis P. Sherwood	Johnstown	..11..6			
								Nett Revenue	£ 126 ..19..2 1/2

Provincial Revenue of the Crown arising from Duties collected on Goods Imported, under Authority of Acts of the Provincial Parliament between the 1st January & 31st December 1804 including such Duties as have not been heretofore Stated

Port of Entry	Gallons Brandy	Gallons Rum & c Spirits	Gallons Gin	Gallons Shrub	Gallons Madeira Wine	Gallons Port & other Wines not Madeira	Gallons Molasses & Syrups	Lbs Loaf Sugar	Lbs Muscavado Sugar	Lbs Coffee	Packs Playing Cards	Lbs Snuff	Lbs Leaf Tobacco	Lbs Manufactured Tobacco	Minots Salt	Provincial Currency Dollars & Cents
York	130	111				34	107	68 1/2	1340		24	239		2940 1/2	1804 1/2	78 17 4
Niagara	612 1/2	505 1/2	263 1/2	14	35	532	101	170	8,461			177		18063 1/2	1,438	296 16 9 1/2
Queenston	142							259	1918	140	12	458		28501	5082	456 14 3
Fort Erie	45	9												384	192	8 8 8
Sandwich		217				39								24	3	10
New Castle		16 1/2												117	1096	19 18 8 1/2
Amherstberg		16												120	11	1 17 8
Kingston	60	216 1/4					12 1/2	57 1/2	21	5	72	192	25	7497	3,471	159 10 1 1/4
Johnstown	18															4 6
Gannanoqui		3							234			220 1/4		55	68	5 11 1
Chippawa	8											5		950 3/4	28	12 18 9 1/4
Turkey Point										145	108	1291 1/4	25	58632 3/4	13314 1/2	1046 10 8 1/2
	1015 1/2	1094 1/4	263 1/2	14	35	605	222 1/2	555	11,974							

Expence of Collection
 William Allen Esqr
 John Symington Esqr
 Thomas Dickson Esqr
 John Warren Esqr

Collector
 Do
 Do
 Do

York
 Niagara
 Queenston
 Fort Erie

39.. 8.. 8
 71.. 15.. 10
 95.. 12.. 4
 4.. 4.. 3

John Askin Esqr
 Timothy Thomson Esqr
 Joseph Anderson Esqr
 Lewis P. Sherwood Esqr
 William M. Stone Esqr

Sandwich
 & Amherstberg
 Newcastle
 Kingston
 Johnstown
 Gannanoqui

2.. 13.. 10
 9.. 19.. 4 1/2
 79.. 15.. 5/8
 .. 2.. 3
 2.. 15.. 6 1/2

John Muirhead Esqr
 William Spurgin Esqr

Chippawa
 Turkey Point

6.. 9.. 4 1/8
 1.. 14.. 6
 Net Revenue
 £ 732.. 12.. 8 1/4

D^r Sir Barton 9th July 1805

I have taken the Liberty of making an Act against the Trustees and have Inclosed the Same to you if my statement is Correct which I trust it is. I have a claim against them for Six hundred and Sixty nine Pound three Shillings & Sixpence NY CY Or (118?) Acres of Land. Probably the Gen^l will prefer Given me lands. If so I have no objections ~ Provided they give it me in Block No 3, Joining Block No 2 on either side of the River 100 Chains along the River and extending back till I have the Quantity which I expect will reach the back line of the Block. It would be of Service to me could it be allotted to me soon. I remain D^r Sir

Your very Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

William Dixson Esq^r

[written on outside of letter:]

[front:] R. Beasley
(Augustine?) Township

[back:] our friend Daniel Erbb is Sick with the fever and Ague ~

[Within the letter is the copy of the Statement Beasley alluded to in the body of the letter:]

Hon^s David W. Smith Cap^t W^m Claus Alex^r Stewart Esq.
Trustees for the 5 Nation of Indians Inhabiting the G. River

To Richard Beasley <??>

for 2900 Acres of Land	(3 / 3?)	£ 471 - 5 -
7 years Interest		<u>197 - 18 - 6</u>
	NY Currency	£ 669 - 3 - 6

Barton 9th July
1805

[new hand] Entered in State Book E page 195

Niagara 20th July 1805

Gentlemen,

Upon an accurate Survey of the Township upon the Grand River, denominated in His Majestys Letters Patent to Richard Beasley, L^t John Baptiste Rousseau and James Wilson as Block number Two on the Grand River - it is found to contain no more than

91,112 acres, making a deficit and difference of 2,900 acres from the original Deed; As great attention and trouble has been given in ascertaining this fact, I think the Survey made by Mr Richard Cocknell will be found correct - I am confirmed in this opinion from having a Diagram of the Township, agreeable to the Description in the Kings Deed made out and referred to two Gentlemen, capable of ascertaining by mathematical Calculations the contents, that agreeable to the Courses and Distances therein detailed, it contains only 93,180 acres and that from actual measurement before mentioned only 91,112 acres. Under the impression of the Kings Deed, as well as the survey made under the authority of Government, you have been paid and Satisfied for 94,012 acres. ~ I therefore beg leave to inform you, that upon every principal of Justice & Morality as Trustees, you are bound to refund me the original Consideration, and Interest thereupon, amounting on the 9th June last to £669.3.6 NYC on the said deficit of 2,900 acres, or by taking immediately sufficient steps, by statements and representations to the Executive Government of this Country, as to procure a title in fee simple to me of a tract of Land contiguous & of equal value to the sum now overpaid.

I presume not to dictate, or to Press this object upon you, without your due time for deliberation convinced that you as disinterested men will see the propriety of my present communication ~ and am

	Gentlemen
	Your most obedient and
	Very Humble Servts
William Claus & Alex [Stewart] Esq ^r Trustees for the Six Nations of Indians &c &c &c	Richard Beasley by William Dickson

Beach 23^d September 1806

At a Council with the Nations of
the Grand River

Present:

William Claus Esq^r D.S.G.
Cap^{tn} Caddy Roy^l Artill^y
L^t Chambers 41st Regiment
Prideaux Selby Esq^r I. Department
Will^m Dickson Esq^r

Rich^d Beasley Esq^r
 Augustus Jones
 Oliver Tiffany
 David Price }
 JB Rousseau } Interpreters

Old Clear Sky spoke and saluted all present in the name of the Chiefs, Warriors, Women and Children.

He hoped they would be excused for keeping the Officers waiting so long, he is however happy to find them all well, and Condoles for any misfortunes that have happened since the last meeting, that we are all subject to misfortunes, and cannot say whether we may be again allowed to meet together
 6 Strings White Wampum

We then (delivered?) the Wampum sent by the Dep^y Sup^t Gen^l. to call them together. Captain Brant repeats what Clear Sky saide and adds they are now ready to hear what the Deputy Superintendant General has to say.

The Deputy Superintendent General then spoke and returned their compliments and desirede them to listen to a few words he had to say.

Delivered 8 Strings Black & White Wampum
 [crossed out] He then spoke the speech prepared.

Brothers. I have called you together to lay before you an account of all the monies I have ever received on account of the 6 Nations: and the manner in which the same has been disposed of for their use and benefit, agreeably to the instructions of the Executive Government of this Country. before which also I have laid a particular account.

Brothers I have also to inform you of the state of those three Townships which were contracted for by M^r Philip Stedman, M^r Wallace and M^r Jarvis with you Agent Captain Brant. and sorry am I to repeat what has been so often told you that none of those nominees have ever manifested a disposition to fulfil any part of their bargain to the immense loss of the Six Nationms who might long ago to have been in the Annual receipt of the interest arising therefrom.
 Under these circumstances, it has been my study to desire the means of dispossessing these nominees of any Title to the Lands, in order that they might be offered to other purchasers, perfectly

free and clear of any claim which might in their opinion affect the validity of the Title.

By assiduity and perseverance I have at length some hopes of effecting, in part not least, this important purpose.

But I must take leave to assure you at the same time that in the prosecution of this business I have not been influenced by the calumnies and injustice of some among you who have not scrupled to charge me with the receipt of 38,000 Dollars, without my having accounted for principal on Interest and on that account have withdrawn their esteem and confidence from me. and desired their great Father to appoint some other person in my place. But by the consideration of my duty as a Trustee and a real friend to the 6 Nations to accomplish in the best possible manner the purposes originally intended by the sale of these Townships.

Brothers When you desired your Great Father to appoint some other person in my place you appear to have imagined that my duty was confined to the Narrow circle of the Grand River. The interests and concerns of all the other Nations within the Province of Upper Canada does not seem to have had a place in your considerations. it was therefore great presumption in those who advised you to desire the King to displace me at the instance of so inconsiderable a body.

Brothers The money received by me for the use of the 6 Nations is as follows

	Prov ^l Currency
viz 6	
[1 -----] Received 23(d) May 1804 of [D & J Elb]	£ 4602 . 10. . .
Received 18(th) of May 1805 of the same	2067 . 15. . .
Received 22(d) June 1805 of the same	2000 . 5 . . .
[2 -----] Received Nov(r) 1805 Interest of M(r) Ridout	<u>48</u>
	£ 8718. 10. . .
[3 -----] Remitted Bills to Sir John Johnson by } whom you lately appointed your joint } Trustee to be by him remitted to } England and placed on the public funds. } Amounting to ... }	8117. 10. . .
4 ----- Cash paid to yourselves last year ...	513.
5 ----- Cash paid Cap(t) Brants note of hand to <?????>	68. 10. 10.
6 ----- Cash paid Cap(t) Brants Bond to Overfield	<u>19. 9. 2</u>
	£ 8718. 10. . .

Brothers This is an Abstract of the Account of my Receipts and Payments and as to the subsequent appropriation of the £ 8117. 10. . . sent by me to Sir John Johnson to be invested in the funds

I have not received any amount so as to enable me to say how much stock it purchased. nor has any of the Interest money arising therefrom come into my hands.

In the transmission of this money, I was instructed by the Executive Council for fear of loss by private Bills to make my remittances by public Bills only. in the Deputy Pay master General which account for the delay in sending the whole sum. But it was transmitted as soon and as often as such Bills could be obtained. And I yet hold in my hands the property of the 6 Nations. The following securities for monies lent by Capⁿ Brant 6th Novem^r 1800 to the following Gentlemen and which securities were delivered to me sometime after the transaction and are considered as principal and not as Interest: viz!

Robert Kerr Esq ^r on Bond & Mortgage	£ 187. 10. . .
Thomas Ridout Esq ^r on Bond	400.
Alex ^r Stewart Esq ^r	<u>187. 10. . .</u>
Province Currency	£ 775.

Brothers Having made an application to the President on 13th August last in consideration of the loss sustained by the remaining Blocks of Land being all, except one, under patent to purchasers named by Cap^t Brant who have not complied with the sums on which the Grants were made out and the same having been by him referred to the Council I received a copy of their <??????> which states.

That the committee of Council is precluded from recommending any measure respecting Block N^o 1 the proceedings of this Government respecting it having been transmitted by the late Lieutenant Governor to the Secretary of State where instructions are waited for.

With respect to Block N^o 3 the Trustees are referred to the order of Council 5th February 1798. <????>ing certificates from the Trustees that the Conditions of the Grant have been complied with before the Deeds can be delivered to a purchaser.

That the faith of Government is pledged to permit the sale of N^o 4 whenever a proper person shall be recommended as a purchaser by the five Nations. and the purchase money paid or the required securities given for the Principal and Interest thereof.

That M(r) Jarvis who was the purchaser of

N^o 5 appeared before the committee this day and upon being asked whether he was ready to perform the conditions of purchase, or surrender the Patent to his Majesty, prayed for these days indulgence before he could give his answer.

On the 4th Septem^r 1806 M^r Jarvis gave the following written answer.

"I do hereby pledge myself to surrender the Deed to the Crown in the space of three months from this date containing 30,800 Acres: being composed of Block N^o 5 on the Grand River which I purchased of the Indians residing on the Grand River, provided I do not comply with the terms in which the Lands were originally purchased by me. In case of my not complying with the Original terms of purchase then the Indians shall pay me Back the sum of £ 750 New York Currency with Interest, which had been paid to Cap^t Joseph Brant as part of the purchase money."

Sig'd W^m Jarvis

With regard to M^r Wallaces Township Block N^o 3. the Trustees being referred to the Order of Council 5th February 1798 which <??????> certificates from the Trustees that the conditions of the grant have been complied with before the Deed can be delivered to a purchaser.

You will now therefore declare publicly what portion of that Township you confess to have received payment for, or have otherwise appreciated:

And what are the number of Acres for which you took payment, or security when a new purchaser can be found for such unappreciated portion: that you Trustees may be prepared with as little delay as possible to give the required certificates for obtaining the Patent.

The Block N^o 4, it remains with you to name a purchaser and the time of purchase that your Trustees may take the Necessary securities for obtaining a Patent.

And with regard to M^r Jarvis I require your authority how to act should he not comply with the terms of the Grant and display a readiness to make the surrender on the conditions he has stated and pledged himself to comply with.

Having thus given you a full statement of all your concerns as far as they relate to myself as a Trustee.

I must now lay before you the proceedings of a Council, said to be of the 6 Nations, on

the 23rd July last at Cap^t Fry's of Niagara and
 finished on the 24th of the same Month at Captain Fry's of Niagara and said to be
 signed

by 42 Chiefs of the 5 Nations, Witnessede
 by Joseph Edwards Esq^r <??> Muirhead Esq^r John
 <????>gton Esq^r <?> Rob^t Kerr Esq^r Surgeon to the
 Indian Department; as I am informed.

Brothers A copy of the proceedings of this Council
 was delivered by Norton to Mess^{rs} [Crooks], and
 by them sent to me, so that I must conclude
 it is a true Copy. as Norton was a principal actor
 and was the Interpreter on the occasion and the latter
 part of the proceedings in his hand writing.
 There was so many calumnies & falsehoods contained
 in these proceedings (particularly in the latter part) under
 a delusive hope of <??????>ing on the public mind,
 that I have robbed the 6 Nations of their Money, that
 I feel it a duty to myself, my family & <??>utions
 to repel charges so abhorrant to my principles
 and to bid defiance to the <matu??> insinuations
 of those who have not scrupled to paint me as
 an Enemy to the Six Nations.

Brothers You will observe that I am also charged in this
 Council as Agent for Indian Affairs with sending
 notice to the Grand River by a Cayouga Chief "that
 Norton had been making use of the Names of
 the Cayouga Chiefs to their detriment in
 England, and that Cap^t Brant had got to his
 highest and would soon fall. that the method they
 were to take to prevent evil <????>ing to them was to
 come to Niagara, protest against & disavow all
 the proceedings of Norton, depose Cap^t Brant,
 (then?) being Chief, and (disannul?) all that the
 Mohawks had done from the time they formed
 the settlement. That the Chiefs of the Grand River
 would not listen to this, but many of the common
 people were thereby prevailed on to go to
 Buffaloe Creek on the American side. there they held
 a Council with the Senecas, and others of the 5 Nations
 living within that Territory, made new chiefs con-
 trary to established custom, came to Niagara, complied
 in every respect with my desires, so as to contradict
 the application of Norton on your behalf and
 prevent him obtaining that confirmation to your
 Grant which you hoped for from the justice of
 his Majestys Government and which appa-
 rently was on the point of being accomplished
 to your satisfaction."

Brothers I have said the whole of the proceedings of this
 Council at M^r Fry's before his Excellency the Lieutenant
 Governor and Council, and I declare the whole of

the foregoing charge to be absolutely false, and groundless, notwithstanding Cap^t Brant says he has evident proofs of my having done as stated above: I have, however, no difficulty in informing you that I received orders to call the chiefs together and to lay Nortons memorial before them. but they having come forward at their own accord prevented my (assembling?) them.

Brothers It is one of the most important duties attached to the appointment I hold as Deputy Superintendent General, to inform the Chiefs of the Indian Nations of all circumstances affecting their Interest, or their safety which may come to my knowledge.

In this case it was particularly so, as Norton was disavowed even by Captⁿ Brant himself as to any public mission.

Brothers Would I had been excusable to conceal from the Nations that a whole man under the Mask of being a Mohawk Chief was in England representing grievances of the 6 Nations without their knowledge approbation or consent. If he had power to do so as an unauthorized Chief he might also if so disposed have represented them as dangerous and disaffected to the government, and in that case you would surely have charged me as criminally negligent in concealing his conduct from you.

Whether therefore he was doing right or wrong it was my duty to inform you of all that came to my knowledge and that duty I shall ever perform.

It is further stated in the proceedings of this Council at Niagara that in a Council with the Senecas at Buffaloe Creek new Chiefs were made contrary to established custom, many of the 6 Nations from the Grand River were present at Buffaloe, and Chiefs were there made, as was done before at the same place when (De?????????) and several others were appointed and afterwards presented to me by Captain Brant.

It is also [notorious] that the council fire of the 6 Nations was permanently fixed at Buffaloe Creek as appears by a Speech made by Captⁿ Brant in Public Council at Fort George 27th June 1801 in the following words

"The residence of the 6 Nations ever since the close of the war has been greatly divided. We have now permanently fixed our council fire at the Onondaga Village Buffaloe Creek and we are now perfectly re-united and nothing is hereafter to be done but by the consent of the whole"

With regard to the Farmer's Brother and

Red Jacket whom you (represent?) as (pensioners?) of the United States. I can only say they have both been frequently brought forward in Public Councils at Fort George by Captⁿ Brant in a very conspicuous manner particularly in 1797 upon a business entirely relating to the Grand River Lands where Red Jacket was the Principal Speaker, nor was there ever any objection to their uniting in the Councils until the Presentations.

As to the loss of your lands in consequence of the part you took in the War, I cannot avoid repeating to you again what has often been told you before! (Most?) those Mohawk Lands in the State of New York were not lost to that Nation by the Treaty of 1783. But it falls within my knowledge that every right and Title to all Lands held by the Mohawks in that State were sold 29th March 1797 for 1000 Dollars. And 600 Dollars for Expenses.

Brothers You have said that you have found the Trustees who were appointed by the direction of the Executive Government of this Province insufficient both as to the speedy execution of your business and also to the giving you proper security for the property which may pass through their hands.

Brothers For myself I do most sincerely assure you that a more acceptable service could not be done me than that of being exonerated from any further interference in a trust imposed on one without my knowledge and which has only been productive of trouble, anxiety and expense.

I have endeavored through the medium of the Executive Council also to get rid of this trust since I found it could not be executed without great difficulties, and ill will on the part of individuals, arising from mobility or unwillingness of the Original Nominees to make good their Engagements. And I am extremely Concerned to say they have not given me any hopes of relief in that respect; so that my last appeal must be to a Court of Chancery when his Majesty shall be pleased to establish one in this Province; In that Court, or in any other; the (Liberal?) and unjust inflictions thrown out against me in your Speech 23^d July last will recoil with disgrace on the authors of the foul aspersions contained in it.

Brothers, You have used your best endeavours to Rob me of that hitherto unsullied reputation which is the only inheritance I can leave to

my Children, and you have done it without regard to truth, and a venomous asperity, to deprive me both of Bread and Honor. But conscious as I am of the rectitude of my conduct, as well towards you as all the World: I shall continue to exercise the Duties of my office, while his Majesty is graciously pleased to Punish me, fearless of all the consequences which may arise from malice, or misrepresentation.

Brothers, I have now accounted for all the monies, belonging to you, which have passed through my hands, and I shall conclude by hoping that others who have received considerable sums may be called upon to account for the same: And with informing you that Sir John Johnson will decline having any further concern as a Trustee in your Affairs in consequence of your late Proceedings at Fort George which was transmitted to him. And he is ready to give you every satisfaction for your monies which have passed through his hands.

Brothers, I have now eased my mind by answering fully all that was said on the 23^d July last and have only to observe that as far as relates to your Lands, and other Public Business, I shall at all times be ready to listen to you: But there must be an end to all such irregular proceedings, as that lately held at M^r Fry's: And I recommend to you now, as I have uniformly done, harmony and union among yourselves, and a cordial reconciliation of all the differences and disagreements which have long agitated your minds, and created jealousies and distrusts among you, to accomplish so desirable an end, I shall at all times be disposed to contribute every assistance in my Power.

/ True Copy /

W^m Claus

Dep^y Sup^t Gen^l of In^d Aff^s

[New hand] Entered in State Book D, pages 358-359-360-361-362-363-364-365-366-367 and 368.

In Council 14th April 1807

His Excellency the Lieut Governor did this day give directions in Council by & with the advice & [censeur] of the same, that a [Patent] should issue to William Wallace for Block (No3) of the Lands formerly possessed by the Indians of the 5 Nations on the Grand River on Condition that the sd William Wallace shall dispose of and convey the said Block of Land in Manner as set forth in a [Speech] of the sd. Indian Nations on the 23 of [Sept] 1806 viz 7000 Acres to be obtained by the said William Wallace in consideration of monies theretofore paid by him to the said Indians and for Work & Labor done by him to their Council house and to other Buildings at the Mowhawk village 10,000 Acres for a House to the late Mrs Anne [Claus'] daughter of the late Sir William John(son?) (Paul?) 5000 Acres for a House to Captn Joseph Brant Agent to the sd Indians 15,000 acres said to be conveyed in Pursuance of a former sale to Captn (Delkinston?) of the Engineers, be givin proper Security & the Trustees of the sd Indians for what is due [for and] on account of the sd 15,000 acres. [3,000] acres to Mr. Beasley to make up a deficiency in measurement in the Township formerly sold by the said Indians to him - and as to the residue of the said Lot No (9?) proper conveyances to be made by the said William Wallace & the persons in the said Speech mentioned, such persons to pay for the said residue at the rate of half a Dollar per acre which (must?) to be made of the said principal money to the Trustees of the said Indians on or before the first day of May now rest ensuing [the next two and a half lines have been scratched out.]

[This paragraph appears to have been scratched out as well. However, it is still legible so it will transcribed here:]

This day also appeared William Jarvis Esquire and signified his appeal to surrender to his Majesty Block No 5 upon recieving the sum of 600 NYC acknowledged by the Indians to have been paid by him on account of that Block on Township.

This day also was laid before the Council the Draft of a Patent prepared by <? ??? ????> to Thomas Clarke Esquire of Queenston for Block No <9?> of the said lands in pursuance of an Oorder in Council of the 26th of February which Draft was approved of & patent ordered to be issued in conformity thereto [scratched out] the said Thomas Clarke.

<??? ?????> [signature]

[new hand] The forgoing Orders Entered in State Book D pages 378-379

Proceedings of a Council held at Fort George with the
Five Nations 29th May 1807

The Deputy Superintendent General addressed them in
the following words, after having gone through the usual Ceremonies.

Brothers You are assembled here at this time to be informed of the
situation of your Land concerns on the Grand River.
The Difficulties which have long prevented the final settlement
are nearly at an end: And except Block N^o. 1, originally purchased by
Stedman; the whole of N^o. 5 Townships are re-sold or contracted for
agreeably to the desire expressed in Council last fall at the head of
Lake Ontario by the Several Nations then present.

Block N^o. 1 was agreed to be sold to W^m. Penfield on the offer
he voluntarily made long ago to become a purchaser; & I fully
expected by this time to have informed you of the final adjustment
of this Township & that I should have a considerable sum of
money to pay you the ensuing autumn: But since M^r Penfield
came here, he has retracted from his former offer & the money I
had hopes of paying you in Septem^r will not now be forthcoming
and we must of course look out for another purchaser, which,
I doubt not will soon be found.

N^o. 2 You know has been settled long ago by M^r Beasely
& I hope to be able this fall to give you some Interest money from
that Sale as I only wait to hear from Sir John Johnson in what
manner it is to be drawn.

N^o. 3 is contracted for by Mess.^{rs} Jones & [Erbbs] and they are
expected here in a short time to pay the money.

N^o. 4 was sold by your desire to Thomas Clark Esquire, the Deed
for which he has received & Interest will now commence on the
Principal derived from that date.

And N^o. 5 formerly [Jarvis'] Township has since been agreed for
by Lord Selkirk; This Township contains 30,800 Acres for which
he is to pay half a Dollar an Acre. And in order to comply with
your wishes expressed last fall, £600 of the purchase money
has been advanced by His Lordship & paid to M^r. Jarvis, being the
sum he originally paid you when he became the purchaser.
I therefore now request of you to authorize an
application to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor for
a Patent to issue in the name of the Right Honorable
the Earl of Selkirk for said Block N^o. 5.

A true copy
[J] Selby
Ass^t. Sec^y I.A.

Officers Present at the above Council

Lieu^t Colonel (Procter?) Commanding the Garrison
 Col Claus D^y Sup^t Gen^l Captain Raye 41st Reg^t
 Doctor Tom 41st Reg^t W^m Procter (L^t?) New (Brun?) Reg^t
 Lieu^t Saunders Lieu^t Procter 41st
 Ensⁿ [Clommant] <?> Master Sagan D^o
 William Dickson Esq^r Dan^l Penfield
 Interpreter David Price

[J] Selby
 Ass^t. Sec^y I.A.

[Written perpendicular to the above at the bottom of the sheet:]

29th May 1807
 Fort George
 D.S.G. Speech to the
 5 Nations

[The following is in a different hand than the above but bears the same date and is thus likely from the same letter. It is damaged on the right side so the probable readings have been bracketed:]

Brother

We have heard with great satisfaction that our Land Business is drawing near a close And we are informed ; the difficulties which formerly arose respecting M^r Jarvis's Township N^o. 5 are now entirely removed & the Land, again put into the hands of our Great Father to be sold to such person or persons as we shall name, and it is at length a source of [great] pleasure to us, to find we are now likely to reap some benefit [from the] Sales of the Townships surrendered nine years ago.

Brother

The Person whom we have been told is ready to compleat the purchase of N^o. 5 formerly Jarvis's is a stranger to us But we are satisfied [that] we cannot get a Better and we hope he will be entirely approved of [by the] Government. We have therefore come down at this time to request of you to make an application to the Governor for a Patent to issue for Block N^o. 5 on the Grand River containing 30,800 Acres in the [(name?) of] Right Honorable the Earl of Selkirk whom we are informed will <????> and pay to our Trustee or Trustees and in the same manner as was <???-ly done in the purchase of Block N^o. 4 by Thomas Clark Esquire <????> the same at the Rate of half a Dollar per Acre and that the sum of £600 New York Currency formerly advanced to us by M^r Jarvis as payment for said Block has been repaid to him by Lord Selkirk which we acknowledge to have received and desire that so much may be deducted from the purchase money as aforesaid.

Delivered in Council 29th May 1807

[J] Selby
Ass^t. Sec^y. I.A

[new hand] Entered in State Book D pages 394 and 395

To Major MacKenzie

Kingston 2nd Nov^r 1808

Sir,

Some movements of Troops and other Transactions are taking Place on the American Frontier along the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario that ought not to escape observation. Within a few weeks more than 200 Regular Troops have been Stationed between Great (Sodus?), about 20 Miles to the Westward of Oswega & Ogdensburg; of which there are two full Companies at this latter Place, which is at the Head of the Rapids, on the Scite of the Old Fort of Oswegatchie; and other Troops are Stated to be actually on their March, to augment these Several Detachmnets to a Thousand Men. Colonel Simmons who is to command these Troops is said to have declared publickly that they would be augmented to 2000 Men before the Spring. He is an Officer high in the Confidence of the American Government, and is now actually examining the Banks of the St. Lawrence for the most proper Military Stations. 'The Ostensible Object of all this is more compleatly to enforce the Embargo: but the Vessel building at Oswego, which is to carry 18 Guns, besides a 24 Pounder in the Bow, is much less adapted to this Service than Armed Boats; and it is now known that there were on Board a Small American Schooner which put in here a few Days ago under Pretence of being driven in by Stress of Weather, two Officers of the American Navy who came for the express Purpose of informing themselves of the different Entrances to this Port. She came through the Passage at the Head of (Isle Fonti?), and anchored in that Neighbourhood a day or two. It is in short considered by some of the most intelligent Men among whom these Preparations are carrying on that they proceed from Views not altogether relating to the Embargo; and at all Events they appear to merit the Notice of the Commander in Chief.

I am &ca
/Sign'd/ R. Cartwright

Barton 6th March 1809

Sir

when at York the multiplicity of
business was such that I neglected
to leave at your Office a petition of
the Inhabitants of Saltfleet & Others.
I have taken the Liberty of Inclosing
it to you. If you will have the good-
ness to do the necessary, and you

Will oblige your
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

M^r John Small

D^r Sir

I have taken the liberty of inclosing to you a petition
of the Widow Janett M^cCleese. the mother of the Late
Widow Barry. the old woman is verry infirm and the
lands will be the means of supporting her in her old age
her relatives are unable to give her the necessary
Assistance. I have been personally acquainted with her
Husband M^cCleese and know that he has no heir. as you
have many opourtunities of seeing his Excellency, it will
be an act of Charity to promote the petition ~

I remain D^r Sir
Your verry
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

John Small Esq^r

Barton [17]th April
1809

To His Excellency Francis Gore,
Lieu^t Governor of the Province of Upper
Canada ~ &c &c &c

In Council
May it please your Excellency.

In obedience to your Excellency's order of reference to us to report upon a Letter from William Dickson Esq^r Attorney for Richard Beasley, bearing date the 20th July 1805, to William Claus & Alexander Stewart Esq^r Trustees for the Six Nation Indians, respecting a Block of Land denominated No. 2, sold by the said Trustees to Mess^{rs} Beasley, Rousseau & Wilson and requiring an equivalent for a deficiency stated to be in the said Block No. 2 of 2,900 Acres ~

We respectfully state to your Excellency, that the Survey^r M^r Welch who was directed by the late Surveyor Gen^l M^r Smith to Survey, and lay out the said Block No. 2, did by his return there of make it only to contain 93,160 Acres and it was accordingly described by the late Survey^r Gen^l M^r Smith, under his No. 1372 on the 7th Septemr 1796, for the said number of Acres, as returned by M^r Welch ~ but on the 4th Feb^y 1798, it appears that the late Survey^r Gen^l M^r Smith had cancelled his former description No. 1372, by issuing another under his No. 2541, wherein he makes the said Block No. 2 to contain 94,012 Acres ~ It is therefore supposed that he made a new calculation of the same upon a Plan of the said Block No. 2, by M^r Jarvis, the original of which M^r Smith has in his possession in England; for upon a mean of several calculations from a copy of the said Plan by M^r Jones, we find it to contain 94,017 Acres, ~ but upon calculating M^r Welch's (courses?), and distances of the said Block No. 2, by the requisite Tables, we find it only to contain 92,973 Acres, ~ therefore, there is a difference between M^r Welch and the present Office of the Survey^r Gen^l of 187 Acres only, which cannot be considered as a very material difference upon so extensive Tract of Land, but by the late Survey^r Gen^l of M^r Welch, there is 852 Acres of difference.

By the Certificate of M^r Mitchell, he makes the said Block No. 2, to contain 93,180

Acres, therefore the difference between M^r Mitchell, and the present Office of the Survey^r Gen^l is only 207 Acres, but by the late Survey^r Gen^l and M^r Mitchell, there is 832 Acres of difference.

By the Certificate of M^r Cockrell, who made a resurvey of the said Block No. 2 – he makes the same to contain 91,112. Therefore there is a difference between M^r Cockrell, and the present Office of the Survey^r Gen^l of 861 Acres, but between the late Survey^r Gen^l and M^r Cockrell, the difference is 2,900 Acres. Now as the difference is so wide between the late Survey^r Gen^l M^r Smith, & M^r Cockrell as that of 2,900 Acres, and the present Office of the Survey^r Gen^l, and M^r Cockrell as that of 861 Acres, it is therefore most humbly suggested to your Excellency, that M^r Dickson the Attorney for M^r Beasley may be directed to return the Field Notes and the Plan of the Survey of the said Block No. 2, made by M^r Cockrell, in order that the same may be examined, before any determination be made thereon, as we are induced to conclude, that M^r Cockrell has discovered some errors either in the courses or distances of the said Block No. 2 by M^r Welch on the ground, which the present Office of the Survey^r Gen^l has not been enabled to discover, for want of the said Field Notes, and plan of Survey made by M^r Cockrell –

All which is most humbly
submitted to your Excellencys
wisdom

Survey^r Gen^{ls} Office
York 16th Oct. 1809

Ch<?????> Rideout
Att^y Survey^r Gen^l

/ with the Letter <??> /

Barton 13th Nov^r 1809

Sir

A few days past I received yours of the 17 of October. it is not in my power to Comply with the request of the Committee of the Executive Council. M^r Cocknell has not furnished me with a plan of the Survey neither has he put me in possession of the field notes. I presume that you are mistaken as to my letter to the Trustees. I expect it is M^r Cocknell's letter to me which I gave to the Trustees. I do not recollect that I wrote the Trustees on the Subject.

I am

Your verry
Humble Servant

Richard Beasley

John Small Esq^r

Barton 15 August 1813

I do hereby certify that George Stewart and his team was pressed In his Majestye's Service To take Indians and their Baggage to (Dover?) going and returning five days 10/ p^{er} day £ 2.. 10.. ~

Richard Beasley (???)

Abstract & Report of Claims investigated by a Board of Officers of which Colonel Christo'r Myers is President which Assemble at Kingston on the 14th & 15th April 1815 for the purpose of Reporting thereon.

[This document takes up two pages; the following is the first page]

No. on the Claims or Voucher	Regiment	Names	Nature of the Claims	Amount Halifax Currency
[the first line below is crossed out; above it is written "Conformable to the <????????>"]				
4	Glengarry	Company	Loss of Necessaries	100. 9. 3. 90. 7. 2.
5	Incorporated Militia	Lt. McDougall	Loss of Baggage £ 43. 12. 6. Curry	43. 12. 6. [this amount crossed out] 40. 14. 4
7	1st Batallion Royal Scots	Adj't Connell	First Charger Killed	P 31. 10. -
9	De (Nationalle?)	Lt. DeMulin	(???) (???) of his Baggage	P 20 - -
11	Royal Scots	Lt. McLeod	Loss of Baggages	P 30 - -
12	— do —	Lt. Harman	— — — do — — —	P 20 - -
[claim number 13 is crossed out]				
13	Royal Scots	—————	Loss of Necessaries	P 20 - -
26	104th	Lt. C'l Drummond	Loss of 2nd Charger	P 31. 10. -
27	P'l Lt. Dragoons	Capt. (Mirette?)	Loss of 1st Charger	<u>31. 10. -</u> <u>£205. 4. 4</u> [this total crossed out]
Esc(?)			40 - 14 - 4	
(signed /WD)			31 - 10 - -	
No. 159			20 - - - -	
			20 - - - -	
			31 - 10 - -	
			31 - 10 - -	
			<hr/> 175 - 4 - 4	
			30 - - - -	
			<hr/> 205 - 4 - 4	

[This document takes up two pages; the following is the second page]

No. on the Claims or Voucher	Regiment [crossed out]	Names	Nature of the Claims	Amount Halifax Currency
			Recommended by the Persons to be paid	
6	James Griffin		A Vessel the Miami lost on the Public Service	187.10. ..
8	Thomas Rauy		For Sundries Furnished	£ 184. 9. 6.
19	Richard Beasley		Losses & use of his house	30.12. 6
18	Angus McIntosh		Loss of a Boat	8. 0. 6
20	(Tiba?) M. Phillips		a Durham Boat	25. 0. 0
21	Mathew Dolson		Sundry Much (???) & (???) Him	(??)3.16. 8
22	W'm Gage		Sundry dismissed for Forage	11. 8. 9
24	Lt. McKenzie } N. D. (Lundy?) }		Money expended on the Public Service	18.19. 4
25	Private D. McDonald } PL. Dragoons }		For Pay from 11 June 1813 } days to 12 June 1814 } 367 @ 1 / 3	22.18. 9
29	Thomas Millross		For the loss of a Horse	15. 0. 0
30	William Thrasher		----- " -----	15. 0. 0
31	Ab'm Hanning		A Waggon & 1 Horse	27. 1. 0
34	Ebenezer Washburn		loss of a Horse	15. 0. 0
	Henry Johnson		----- " -----	15. 0. 0
37	Adam Moot		a Horse & Harmiss	25. 0. 0
44	Joseph Galaughan		loss of Waggon	20. 0. 0
45	Timothy Collier		----- " ----- & Horse	30. 0. 0
	Wt. No. 164			£ 725. 5. 0

[Written on outside of letter]

No. 46 (Clap?) 2
Richard Beasley

Barton

property taken
afrent by the
enemy

[Written perpendicular to the above:]

Richard Beasley
losses by the Enemy

[Body of letter:]

An Estimate of Losses Sustained by Richard Beasley (???????)
by the Enemy at the (????) Point on Lake Ontario on or about the 6th
Sept'r 1814

No. 182	2 Casks Nails		8. 18. "
" 3 ... 4	2 Boxes Window Glass		8. " "
"7	1 Keg Pepper		5. 10. 6
"9	1 Box Shot		3. 12. "
" .10..11	2 Chests Tea		40. 5. "
"12	1 Box Mustard	2. 2. "	" " "
" .." 15	1 Keg Snuff		4. 7. 6
" ..25..26	2 Barrels Best Port Wine		65. 12. "
"28	1 Barrel P (????) ditto		23. 2. 6
"29	1 Ditto Shrub		13. 9. 11
"31	1 Ditto Peppermint Cordial		13. 6. 6
	5 Bbls with Do 13 / 3		3. 6. 3
"18	1 Barrel Containing Sundry Articles	10. 8. 3½	2. 4. 6
" .20..21	2 Bales — Ditto — " — Ditto	152. 3. 4	1. 3. 4
		<u>164.13. 7½</u>	
	Advance 55 Per Cent	<u>90.11. 5¼</u>	<u>255. 5. 1¼</u>
			<u>447.13. 7¼</u>
"33	1 Bbl Putty		" 17. 6
	expenses for Boat & Lands		<u>100. " "</u>
			£ 548.10.7¼

Barton 17th Jan'y
1816

Richard Beasley

Barton 20th Jan^y 1816

Sir

I have taken the liberty of Inclosing to you a Receipt of G A Moultrie Capt 19th Dragoons. it has been presented at Different times to the Commissariat at Burlington. the want of Cash was their excuse for not paying, late last Autum I presented it to M^r Coffin A Commissary General at Fort George. he informed me that he could not pay it Unless He has an order from the Commander of the forces. from information I have understood that it was necessary to forward the receipt to Quebec,

I am your verry
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

[in another hand:]

(???) To Charles Foster (Copy of Certificate enclosed)
Military Sec^y Burlington Heights Aug. 11. 1815

I certify that Forty four Horses of the 19th Drag^{ns} were turned on grass The property of Mr Beasley for Twenty Eight Days at Half a Dollar a Horse per Week

(Signed) GA Moultrie
Capt. 19th L^t. Dr^{oons}

Barton 12th June 1816

Sir

This serves to Acknowledge your (different?) favour enclosing his Honor the Presidents notion appointing me a Commissioner for carrying into effect the provisions of act losses in the last session of the Legislature also a copy of the Act.

Agreeable to his Excellency orders I transmit to you the names of such persons within the (Beat?) of the Regiment that I have the Honor to Command as have gone to the Enemy and left property in the Province. I take the liberty of troubling you with some papers to present to his Excellency the one a Copy of a Certificate respecting the Arrangement made between myself and Colonel Armstrong D. B. General respecting my House occupied by the Army from 1st June 1813 to the 9th Jan. 1816 there is a balance due £ 37.6.~

the other a copy of the Arrangement made by Major General Vincent respecting the rails destroyed by the Commissariat and troops on my property at Burlington Heights. the Commissariat have According to the order paid their portion namely £ 82. 10.~ the balance unpaid is thirty pounds twelve Shillings and Six pence. the two sums making £ 67. 18. 6. I should not trouble his Excellency on this subject. I was prospect of having it settled without his Interference. this sum appears due on Just and equitable Arrangements with the then Commanding Officer and the head of the Barrack Department.

I am your verry
Humble Servant
Richard Beasley

Capt. Robert K. Loring
Secretary

Government

To Richard Beasley

For 11,000 Rails destroyed between the 1 st June and the 31 st Dec 1813 by the Commissariat & troops	}	20/ p ^r 100	£ 100. - -
1000 feet Inch Boards in a fence		6/3 p ^r 100 feet	<u>3. 2. 6</u>
		Currency	£ 113. 2. 6.

As the commissariat have burnt rails for the baking of Bread and biscuit (evidence?) the troops were stationed at Burlington it is reasonable that three fourths of the above charge should be defrayed by that Dipartment the remainder should be Divided amongst the Troops who have been Stationed at Burlington Heights and paid from their (full?) Savings

Signed

a true copy
R. Beasley

John Vincent
M. General

Richard Beasley's
A Statement of an Account of Damages sustained by his Majesty's Troops
occupying his Premises as a Military Depot from the 1st June
1813 to the 1st September 1815

[The left hand margin seems to contain some rough calculations, reproduced here]

600-00	To Digging Trenches Erecting Batteries Cutting down and destroying Timber, Cutting down and destroying orchard, destroying Garden Fence and the trees therein	600	1800. " "
400-00	To the use of my Premises from the 1st June 1813 to the 1st Sep. 1815 including the Buildings containing 1/10 Acres of Cleared Land at £ 500 per Annum		1125. " "
1000-00	To 82 Bushels Wheat destroyed in the Barn @ 5/ ...20 - 10 ... 10/		41. " "
40-10-0	To 51 " Rye " " " " " " @ 4/ ...10 - 4 7/6		19. 2. 6
'10- 4-0	To 1½ Ton Hay " " " " " " " " @ 6/ 4 - 10 75/		5.12. 6
4-10-0 15- 0-0	To 4 Acres Wheat laid to common 15 bu per Acre making 60 bu 10/ @ 5/15		30. - -
100-0-0	To Damages done to the House, Estimate by Carpenters to	100	125. " "
17-?-0	To A Calash and Harness for Hospital as per Certificate	7. 10.	18.15."
7-0-0	To A Waggon Harness for [document damaged]		
(?????)	To (???) Acres of Matters for the (Roy?) Artillery Horses as per certificate		30. - "
1191-1400	To A Shed and Sheep Stable burned by the Troops occupying the Heights, Estimated at		112. ". 3
90-0-0	To a deficiency in the payment of Rails by General (??)gents order		30. 2. 6
15-0-0	To a deficiency in Rent of the House from June to October 1815		37. 6. 8
13-2-6	To 3000 Rails burned by the Indians encamped in my Meadows at 20/		35. -. "
5-0-0	To 5 Ton of Coarse Hay taken by the Teamsters and Soldiers at the Heights } for Beds in Do 1814 }		10. " "
20-0-0	To 8 large Hogs killed by the Soldiers occupying the Heights in 1813 @ 50/ 20 - -		50. " "
1-5-0	To 1 Grubbing Hoe 30/ & 1 Spade 8/ as per Major Simon's Receipt		1.18."
£1336-1-6		1....5/	£ 3475.17.5

-Cr-

By Rent procured for my House from the 1st June 1813 }
to the 1st Sept. 1815 2 Years & 3 months at £100 per year } 225. " "

By Rent procured for my Barn from the 1st June 1813 to }
 the 24th June 1815 making 2 years & 1 month at 6/ } 75. " "

By Rent procured for a Store House from the 1st June 1813 }
 to the 1st /sept. 1815 at 125./ per month } 168.15 468.15. "

Richard Beasley

Currency

£3007.2.5

[Written on outside of letter:]

Claim No. 46

Richard Beasley (Esq?)

(????) 24 June 1823

(????) [illegible signature]

Claimed £3007-2-5

Allowed £1330-1-0

[Written on outside of letter:]

James B. M^cAuley Esq
 Sec^y to the Board of Claims
 (????????)

R Beasley

[Body of letter:]

Barton 7th (??) 1823

Sir

I received your letter of the 26th Sept last in Compliance with the request of the Commissioners to furnish them with a Declaration stating my reasons for not proffering the claim for goods to any former Board. I did profer my Claim for those goods to the Board at York. this claim was separate from my claim for damages Sustained by his Majesty's Troops & Indians & I delivered the claim for the goods personally to (M^r?) Kimble the Secretary of the Board. this will be handed you by my Son Henry. he had the (goods?) in (charge?) and was taken by the Enemy he will be able to Satisfy the Commissioner respecting the Capture of the Goods.

I am Sir your verry
 Humble Servant
 Richard Beasley

JB M^cAuley Esq^r
 Sec^y

Wentworth County Book of Patents

Township of Barton - Broken Front

Concession	Lot	Name of Grantee	Part of Lot	Acres	Date of Patent
-	6	Richard Beasley	ALL	100	May 6, 1796
-	18/19	"	ALL	(40?)	July 8, 1799
-	21	"	ALL		July 8, 1799
1	6	Richard Beasley	ALL	100	June 22, 1796
1	18/19	"	ALL		July 8, 1799
1	21	"	ALL		July 8, 1799
2	19	"	ALL		July 8, 1799
3	21	"	ALL	100	Sept. 4, 1800
4	21	"	ALL	100	Nov. 27, 1798

Hamilton Indexes to Deeds 1797-1957, vols. 1-17, 1 to 14

Grantors	Grantee	Lot No.	Block No. / Range No.	Conveyance Date
Richard Beasley	Desrivieres & Blackwood	18/19/20/21	Broken Front	11 Nov., 1817
		18/19/20/21	1st Conc	9 Oct. 1819 } Mge
	George Carey	18/19 pt. 13	2nd Conc 2nd Conc. 1 Acre	" } Mge 6 Sept. 1818 - Buy & Sell
Richard Beasley +ux	Cartwright J assignee of Desrivieres & Blackwood	18/19	1st Conc	20th July 1832 }
		18/19/20	2nd Conc	" } Buy &
		19	3rd Conc	" } Sell
		21	1st + 2nd Conc	" }
David C. Beasley +ux.	Allan N. MacNab	pt. 15	Broken Front + 1st Conc.}	13 Nov. 1833
		pt. 15	2nd Conc. }	
		pt. 20	" }	Buy + Sell
		pt. 16	(??) }	

TAKEN FROM THE APPLICATION OF PERCY DANIEL BEASLEY TO THE U.E.L. (UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS) IN 1936 (GS - 1619)

Richard Beasley born July 27, 1759; died February 16, 1842.

MARRIED

Henrietta Springer born April 8, 1775; died July 29, 1846

CHILDREN

Henry Beasley (married Sophia Burkholder); born 1793; died 1859.

CHILDREN

Richard Sylvester Beasley (married Sarah Gillespie); born 1824; died 1893.

CHILDREN

Thomas Sylvester Beasley (married Elizabeth McMullen); born 1851; died 1917.

CHILDREN

Harry Percy Beasley born April 2, 1913, Calgary, Alberta

Jean Elizabeth Beasley born Dec. 10, 1922, Hamilton, Ontario.

[This document is useful for the dates of birth and death of Beasley, his wife, and one of their sons; however, since the 'family tree' is tailored to display only the ancestry of Percy Daniel Beasley, some of the other children have been omitted]

PROCEEDINGS, ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA, SECOND SERIES, VOL. IX 1903

Mr. J. H. Smith writes that about the year 1785 or 1786 Mr. Richard Beasley, who carried on quite an extensive trade with the Indians, laid claim to the land where Dundurn Park is now situated. He also preempted the adjoining property known as Beasley's Hollow, and afterwards erected a mill on the stream flowing into Coote's Paradise. On his monument in the churchyard at Christ's Church Cathedral, Hamilton, the following inscription is found:

"In memory of Richard Beasley, Esquire, who departed this life on the 16th day of February, 1842, aged 80 years and seven months. The first settler at the Head of the Lake."

Mr. Beasley became a member of Barton lodge of freemasons in 1795, and in 1803 the lodge held its meetings in his house, which occupied part of the ground now included in Dundurn park. J. Ross Robertson's 'History of Freemasonry in Canada' says that "an early resident of Barton township, if not the first, was brother Richard Beasley, who was an Englishman by birth. Mrs. John Graves Simcoe knew Mr. Beasley, and made a number of sketches of Burlington Bay and Coote's Paradise. He was not only a mill owner, but store-keeper, and located in Barton township about 1794 or 1795. He traded with the Indians and kept a general store on what is now King Street, Hamilton. Brother Richard Beasley was the W M of Barton lodge prior to 1810, and wrote a letter to R. W. Bro. Jarvis, dated March 22nd, 1802, concerning masonic and personal matters from which the following extract is taken:

'With regard to your negro woman, she is certainly not worth as much as when you first purchased her; in the first place, she is older and will never make as good servant as what she had been, as she has adopted different ideas from what she formerly possessed. The female child you mentioned worth £ 30, New York currency, I do not want. I will give you for the negro woman £ 50, New York currency, if you owe that much to Barry estate shall settle it with your executors. I remain, dear sir, your very humble servant, Richard Beasley' "

Mr Beasley's house and store were on the north side of King street, west of Ferguson avenue. The

building was standing in 1860. It was built of hewn timbers covered with clap-boards. It stood about eight feet back from the present street line. He owned at the same time a house at Dundurn, and his descendants state that Richard Beasley moved to his house at Dundurn immediately after his arrival in Barton, and that his sons, Richard, George, David C., and Henry Beasley, were born in the house and that Henry (the father of Thomas Beasley, city clerk of Hamilton) was born in 1793. Without documentary evidence, it is believed that the first house of Richard Beasley, the U.E. Loyalist, was at Dundurn, and that his elder sons were born on a house at this site. Thomas Beasley, city clerk; his son, Alexander C. Beasley, and two nephews, Thomas and Miatland Beasley, sons of the late Sylvester Beasley, are the only descendants of Richard Beasley now living in Hamilton, and none of the original property remains in the family.

**The
Beasley
Account Book**

Barton 14 th Oct ^r 1812					
Stored per Racy					
20 Bbl ^s Whiskey		1/6 £	1	10	~
8 " flour		6d	~	4	0
	15				
Stored per T. Racy					
10 Bbl ^s Flour		6d	~	5	~
	24 th				
Stored per R. Hatt					
10 Barrels Flour			~	5	
1 D ^o Salt			~	1	6
Forwarded by his Team					
3 Barrels 13.24.27					
	26				
Stored p. R. Hatt					
10 Barrels Flour			~	5	~
Forwarded p. His Team					
3 Barrels 18.19.24. 1 B. Salt					
Stored per Samn Hatt					
1 Bbl. Salmon			~	1	6
	28				
Stored per T. Racy					
7 Barrels Whiskey		1/6	~	10	6
	Nov ^r 2 nd				
Stored per R. Hatt					
8 Barrels Flour			~	4	~
	7				
Stored per J. & E. Secord D ^r					
76 Barrels Flour		6d	1	18	~
	12				
For D ^o 6 Barrels Flour			~	3	~
Stored for S. Hatt					
17 Barrels flour		6d	..	8	6
	13				
For Richard Hatt 10					
Barrels Flour		6d	~	5	~
Elijah Seacord D ^r					
5 head Cattle paid			48	~	~
	14				
Stored for R. Hatt					
10 Barrels Flour		6d	~	5	~

Barton 17th Sep^r [August written and crossed out] 1812

Hector M ^c Kay Storage D ^r Storage 3 Barrels Whiskey 1/6		~	4	6
Benj ⁿ (Kator?) C ^r By 2 days work by his son	18			
2 Barrels of Whiskey Stored for M ^c Kay	21	1/6 ~	3	~
Stored for Hector M ^c Kay 1 Barrel 1/6 4 Kegs 2/ 1 Piece Log Wood 2 Boxes		~	3	6
Rendered M ^c Kays Storage Act to the 5th Sep ^r		£	36	19
	Oc ^r 12			6
Stored for Richard Hatt 1 Keg No 9+ ___ 2 Boxes 6+ - 7+ 1 Bale 36+ ___ 4 Kegs 12+ 29+ 31+ 10 8 Barrels 27+ 28+ 17+ 19 15+ 21+ 14+ 16+ 6 --d ^o -- 24 34+ 33+ 25+ 26 23+ 3 --d ^o -- 18 20+ 22+ 2+ Barrels Salt Heads out 2 Kegs 32+ 30+ 1 Jan No 11+				
Sent in his Waggon 1 Keg 11 - 2 Boxes 6-7 1 Bale 36 - 1 Barrel 15- 1	13			
Stored for Richard Hatt 10 Barrels flour		~	5	~
Sent in his Waggon 6 Kegs 9 -12 - 29. 30.31.32 3 Bbl ^r 20-33-34- 2 Bbl ^r Salt Heads out	14			
Stored for Richrad Hatt 10 Bbl ^r flour 6d Sent per his waggons 5 Barrels No 28-17-14-23-21 a <??> No 10				
By Chamberlain 3 Barrels No 25-16-22 a Jan 11				

Barton 20th Oct^r 1812

M ^r Willis By 472(?) powder	C ^r				
		Dec ^r 19			
Delivered to M ^r Racy 14 Barrels Whiskey					
Received 8 Barrels flour					
Caleb Forsyth for 316(lbs?) Beef	C ^r		5d	6	11 8
		24 th			
Ephrahim Land By 254(lbs?) Beef at 40 p ^r cwt	C ^r				
		Jan ^y 5 th 1813			
Stored per S. Hatt 38 Barrels flour			6d	1	18 ~
Stored Per Thom ^s Racy 10 Barrels Flour			6d		
		12			
Griggs For 29 Bushell Wheat	D ^r		9/ £	13	1 ~
		21 st			
Forward per R. Hatt 2 Bbl ^s Salt by W Wier					
D ^o trip [Crossed out] for 53(?) flour Including bag	D ^r				
(?) trip for flour at Different times (?) 1/2 Bushells buckwheat	} } }		32 / ct (pr?) 4/~		

Jan^y 2nd 1813

The Estate of Thomas Barry		C ^r				
By the following Articles Sold at Auction [Crossed out]						
	Sundries to D. Blain		£	1	16	
paid	D ^o to J. Flemming			1	13	
d ^o	D ^o to M ^c Gregor			8	15	6
	D ^o to Henry Burkho <??> er			2	2	~
	D ^o to R. Beasley			11	11	~
paid	D ^o to Frier			~	18	~
	D ^o to Kekindale			~	17	~
	D ^o to Creps			1	4	6
paid	D ^o to W ^m Smoke			~	2	~
	D ^o to Weaver			~	6	~
	D ^o to Henry Weaver			~	10	~
	D ^o to Jacob Smith			~	5	6
	D ^o to Anderson			6	~	
	D ^o to Stephen Pemberton			1	8	~
paid	D ^o to Jacob Hess			1	2	~
D ^o	D ^o to M ^c Dugal			1	7	6
A Cow ---			£	39	18	~
		D ^r				
	For paid Flemming his bill			2~ 7~		
	paid mills for fulling cloth			1~ 3		
	paid prior due bill			2. 18. 6		
				5	6	9
			£	33	11	3
	By 17 Bushell B. Wheat	4/		3. 10		
	29 Bushells Wheat to Briggs	9/		13. 1		~
			£	50	2	3
	for taking wheat to market	}				
	Including Buckwheat 46 ½ Bu 6d	}		1	3	
				48	19	3
	Paid M ^c Gregor as pr	}		1. 12. 3		
	Act	}				
				10 Feb ^y		
20	Delivered to Cramer for					
14	Seacord. 40 Barrels flour					
15	to Springstead 14 d ^o d ^o			11		
7	Delivered to Jeremiah					
40	Springsteen	15 Bal.		12		
8	Delivered to John Pettit					
12	17 Barrels					

136	to Cramer	40 Barrels				

16 Feb^y 1813

Delivered to Pempleton for E & S Seacord	8 Bars Flour		
	18		
To Terry, Berry & [scratched out] teams flour	29 Bars		
Kekindale	8		
Cramer	16		
	53		
Springsteen	23		
	76		
J. Markle	7		
Jacob Smoke	10		
N. <?????>	14		
	107		
	19-		
By Crosswaith	9 barrels		
By John Springsted	20		
	29		
	25 th		
Delivered Rowland Soule } 7 Bbl ^f Flour S. H. & 15 d ^o } T. R. per Rect ^s }			
Christian Rycard C ^r By 6 Bbl ^f Flour Settled.			
Delivered to (Fasgit?) 12 Barrels Flour. 3 Racy 9 S. Hatt			
	2 nd March		
Delivered to Jonas Smith 8 Barrels flour 4 Racy + 4 S. Hatt			
	3		
Delivered Nicholas Witzell 6 Barrels flour 3 Racy + 3. S. Hatt p. rect.			
Delivered to Smoke 8 Barrels flour for E. Foster			
Delivered to Land for Foster in Summer 1812- to <?????> sent to the Beach	[written on its side:] Bal Flour 102 4		
	106		
Abel Land D ^r For note of Lane 2 ½ years Interest	150 22.10		
	172	10	~

Barton 2nd March 1813

Abel Land	C ^r		16	0	3
By amount of Act			42	14	
By S. Hatt on Gerrard & Ct		£ 29-13-9 Halifax			
		4	58	14	3
Received by M ^c Kay team			~	6	~
12 Barrels flour		Received			
Delivered to Crosswait		4 Bbl ^s			
Flour of E. Foster's					
		5			
Received by M ^c Kay team			~	11	~
22 Bbl ^s flour p. rec ^t					
Received by Jacob Erb		5 Bbl ^s			
flour per rec ^t			~	2	6
[light writing] stored for M ^c Kay					
		6			
The Estate of Thomas Barry	D ^r		2	~	~
paid J. Long for a Coffin				19	6
paid Kekendale his Act			2	7	
paid S. Hess ballance on A note					
	C ^r		5	6	6
By a Cow sold to Kyekendale			6	8	~
		6			
Received from M ^c Kay			~	8	~
By his own team 16 Barrels					
flour as pr (receipt?)					
Delivered to Kikendall		2 bbl ^s			
Salt (p ^r) [crossed out] of R. Hatt		p. rec ^t			
Abel Land	C ^r		54	~	
By H.S. M ^c Kays order					
		8			
Received from Hector S.			~	3	~
M ^c Kays Team 6 Barrels					
of Flour as p ^r Receipt					
		10			
Received by W. M ^c Kay's			~	15	6
Team 31 Bbl ^s Flour					
per Rec ^t					
		11 th			
Received by Will Ray's			~	8	~
Team Sixteen Bbl Flour					
pr rec ^t					

Barton 11th March 1813

	Received by Jacob Baichtell } 26 Bbl ^s flour per M ^c Kay } as per Rec ^t }	12			
	Received by Jacob Bachtell 18 Barrels flour for M ^c Kay as p ^r Receipt				
	[the following entry is crossed out] Joseph Eby C ^r By Cash 9 th March 145 Dollars 8/ 4 Receipts Am ^l 84 B- 57 10/		58 42	~ 9	~ 6
			£ 100	9	4
	Joseph Eby C ^r By Cash 145 Dollars		58		
	By 19 Bu ^l 15 Wheat 9/6 By 65 Bu ^s 42 d ^o 10/ 32		9 17	2	10
	----- 84 57		41	19	10
	Received by M ^c Kays team } 8 Barrels flour } p ^r Rec ^t }	8			
	Sent by (Sherfelt?) for R. Hatt 6 Barrels Salt	19			
	By G. Humstead 3 Barrels By Brigham 1/4 Salt				
April 6	Caleb Forsyth C ^r By Cash 55 Dollars	7			
	Henry Smith Sen ^r C ^r By Cash	9	4	~	8
	Henry Lamb D ^r ballance on a note PAID 13/ writing dues and memorial 16/	April 14	1	9	
PAID	The Estate of Caleb Forsyth D ^r Cash paid to the (Sacragate?) ----- <??> My expenses going and Coming		4 2	12 8	
			£ 7	~	~

---April 19---

	Received by M ^c Kay team 10 Barrels Whiskey 2 d ^o pork				
		22			
	Received by D ^o 6 Barrels pork 4 d ^o whiskey ----- 10 5 d ^o pork 1 d ^o Ham ----- 16				
		23			
	Sent for M ^c Kay to York by (Lands?) Boat 62 Barrels flour 15 d ^o whiskey 12 d ^o pork 1 d ^o Hams ----- 90 Barrels				
May 22	Sent By Hatts order to the Beach 2 Barrels flour				
		22			
	Sent to Capt Fitzgerald Boat 1 Barrel pork . 2 d ^o flour for R. Hatt				
		21			
	Received for Richard Hatt 2 Barrels pork 8 D ^o Oats				
		24			
	David Strome D ^r for note of hand £ 76.10. 4 ¾ 1 year Interest to the 1 st May 4. 9. 5	78	19	9 ¾	
	Jacob Pratts D ^r amount of note £ 110. 2. 5 1 year Interest 6.12. 1 ½	116	14	6 ½	
	Pratts as administrator to Huffman estate £ 134 2 years Interest to the 28 M ^h 1813 16.1.7 ½	150	1	7 ½	
		24-			
	Delivered to Cap ^l FitzGerald for R. Hatt 1 Barrel pork 3 d ^o flour				
June	Jacob Pratts C ^r By Cash 54 Dollars	21	12		

20th June 1813

	Joseph Eby By Cash 50 Dollars	Cr				
July			7			
	John Binkley for Salisberry due Bill	Dr		2.	17.	3
			July 22			
	John Binkley to Cash	Dr		~	16	~
			16			
	James McGill to Cash Lent	Dr				
			24			
	to Cash Lent Interest		175 Dollars			
		25/4 Hallifax				
			27			
	Peter McGill 1 pair oxen 1 Do Do 1 Cow	Dr	£ 30~ 24~ 10			
			£ 64			
	By Cash 100 Dollars Interest	Cr	£ 40 paid			
			29th			
	Howell for 3 Gallons Whiskey Cash	Dr	16/ £	2 4.	8 ~	
	By 1000 feet ¾ Boards 1000 do Refuge do 404 do 298 do Scantling paid	Cr 7/ £ 3.10 4/ 2 ~ 8/ 1 12. 4 1~10		8 1~	~ 12	2 2
			21			
	Sent to James McGill 200 Dollars					
paid	John Wedges act rendered 1st October			7.	6.	7 ½
	John + Joshua Wedges act Due on Bond Calculated to the 1st of May 1813			48	12	

Barton 2nd Ocr 1813

	Jacob Pratts	C ^r					
	By Cash	75 Dollars	£	30			
	Interest on	D ^o		~	18	6	
	Interest on 25 Dollars		£	30	18	6	
				~	6	~	
	Government	D ^r					
	To a Calash & Harness			30	~	~	
	to the Hospital	}					
	~ a Sett of Harness delivered	}					
	to Doctor Laffarty for the	}		8	~	~	
	Hospital	}					
	Wheat destroyed in the barn	}					
	by the soldiers 82 bushels	}		49	4	~	
	12/- p bushel	}					
	~ 14~ D ^o Rye	}		7	~	~	
	~ 4 Acres Wheat laid to	}					
	common by the Troops	}	120 / -	24	~	~	
	Meadow aprised equal	}					
	to 20 Ton of Hay	}		100	~	~	
	~ 1/2 Ton of Hay taking	}					
	out of my Barn	}		7	10	~	
	~ 8152 Rails burnt at 32/- p ^r 100			130	8	~	
	1000 feet inch boards ~ 10/~			5	~	~	
			p ^r ac ^t £	361	2	~	
June 5	Sundries left with General Vincent						
	4 dozen large & small plates	2/-		4	16	~	
	3 oval Dishes	7/		1	1	~	
	9 knives and forks			1	4	~	
	12 China Cups & Saucers			3	4	~	
	1 Egyptian China Teapot			~	10	~	
	1 ~ " Cream Pot			~	4	~	
	12 Wine Glasses	2/6		1	10	~	
	3 tin Basons	6/-		0	18	~	
	1 wash Bowl			~	6	~	
	1 pitcher			~	4	~	
	1 Large Tin Kettle			1	12	~	
				15	9		

	Bro ^t Forward		15	9	
1 Egyptian China Sugar Dish			~	8	~
1 Tin tea Kettle			1	4	~
1 ~ Roaster			3	12	~
		£	20	13	~
	Bedding Deficient &c				
2 pr Sheets	80/-		8	~	~
5 Rose Blankets	56/-		14	~	~
4 Table Cloths	28/-		6	2	~
6 Diaper Towels	6/-		1	16	~
	per Ac ^t	£	50	11	
Oc ^t 15					
Jacob Pratts	D ^r				
Per Am ^t of Act		£ 130. 17			
6 ½ months Interest		4.17.5			
		-----	134	19	1
By Cash	C ^r		63	4	6
paid					
Huffman Ac ^t		NYC£	91	14	7
M ^c Afee	D ^r				
for Nicholas M ^c Dugalls					
Due Bill		231 <??> Bread			
Commisarys Orders	84 [crossed out]				
	-----	15			
	415 [crossed out]				
fence Burnt since the Act rendered from the Corner of the Orchard to the long rye field 90 panel at eight rails each		720			
Received from Atkinson his note paid on Ac ^t of his note to 38 Dollars					
Received from W ^m Lottridge M ^c Dugals Due Bill for			2.	10.	2

<????> [crossed out] 1814

	James Ian Every a Cradle & Scythe paid M ^r Mulhollan received from Henry D ^o from R B	D ^r		2 ~ 3 2	8 14 12 16	
	this Ac ^t settled			9	10	
	Rendered Cornelus Ryckman Ac ^t Ballance due 1 Jan ^y 1814			11~	14~	6 ¾
			1 st July			
	John Shelden Interest due on Quebec Bills <??> 2/3 paid	D ^r				
			8			
	Joseph Ebby Am ^t of Ac ^t 17 July 1812 8 months Interest	D ^r		£ 183 7.	1 13	
1813						
17 Mar	By Cash By Wheat	C ^r	£ 58~ 41.19.10	190 99.	14 19.	10
	for 3 months Interest	D ^r		90. 1.	14. 7.	2 2
June 26						
	By Cash	C ^r		92. 20.	1. ~	4 ~
	for 9 months Interest Calculated to the 17 March 1814	D ^r	{ }	72 3.	1 3.	4 4
				75.	4.	8
	Brockaway Ames a note of hand dated 1 st Oct 1810 3 years + 5 months Interest calculated to the 1 st March 1814	D ^r	£	23	~	
				4	14	2 ½
			£	27	14	2 ½
	W ^m Reynolds [this account crossed out] Days 701 as Interest on 150 Do ^{rs}	D ^r				
			Cu ^y 14 / 7 ¼ Settled			
	1 year + 10 months Interest Calculated to the 1 st Jan ^y 1816		{ }	3. 30	1. 15	1 3 ½
			NY Cu ^y	£		

		Head Lake 8 th Feb ^y 1814			
3	Ephraim Land	Dr			
	for am ^t of note of hand		£ 31.	14.	
	4 years + ten months Interest		9.	6.	
	3 Gallons Whiskey		16/	2	
	8 Sheep Skins		5/	2	
	2 Gallons Whiskey		16/	1	
	mutton			1	
				-----	-----
				48	1
					4
By 254 <??> Beef		£ 4. 1. 7			
Am ^t of Ac ^t		14. 6	18.	7	
			-----	-----	
due this date NYC ^y			£ 29	13	
				9	
1 st March					
Jacob Pratts	C ^r				
By Cash 100 Dollars		£ 40	~		
Aaron Barber	D ^r				
Ac ^t due 1st March 1811			24~		
3 Years Interest			4.	6.	
			-----	-----	
Ac ^t rendered 1 March 1814			£ 28	6	
				4 ½	
Sent to Blackwood + Co					
			127 ^H C ^{uy}	10	
7 March					
The Estate of Thomas Barry	C ^r				
By received from M ^c Gregor			40~		
10					
Strome	C ^r				
By Cash		£ 40~			
Interest on De		2	40	2	
22					
David Ian Every	D ^r				
for Am ^t of Ac ^t rendered 1 Jan ^y 1810		£ 47.	7	10 ¼	
C ^r					
By an order in favour of James	{	8/	4~		
(Maul?) for 16 Bushell Wheat [crossed out]	{				
			43	7	
			~	8	
			-----	-----	
a <????????> in July 1813				10 ¼	
				~	

for 4 year Interest			42	19	
calculated to the 1 st Jan ^y 1814			10	16	
5 Quarts Whiskey in July				4	
			1~		
			-----	-----	
			54	16	
				2 ¼	

25th March 1814

	John Springer Settled C ^r							
	By Cash from Clark	52 ½ Do ^{rs}	£	21				
	Christopher Case Mason C ^r							
	By an order on R. Springer							
	5 ¼ days Work		10/	2	17	6		
	Cash			1	4			
	10 Days Work		12/	6				
	2 ½ d ^o		12/	1	10			
May		27		11	11	6		
	Reynolds C ^r							
	By Cash 116 Dollars		5/ p ^r Do ^{rs}	£	29	-	-	
	for House Rent D ^r							
	2 months from 25 Fe ^y <?> to <??> mh		£ 16.13.4					
	2 d ^o Store House d ^o		12.10					
	paid		29. 3. 4					
	Balance as Interest		15. 3					
		30						
	Henry Smith C ^r							
	By Cash 79 Do ^s		8/	£	31	12		
	By Interest					8	4	
		Jun 16		32	-	4		
	Joshua Wedge C ^r							
	By a Cow		£ 10.16					
	By a Watch		6. 8					
June 20 paid	William Chisholm D ^r							
	½ Gallon Spirits		40/					
		26						
	John Chisholm D ^r							
	for 1 Gallon Spirits		40/					
	John Springer							
	for 2 ¾ Ga ^o Spirits		40/	5	10			
	1 ½ d ^o		40/	3				
	By Cash C ^r		16/	8	10			
					16			
				7	14			
				5	11			
				2	3			

Barton 27th May 1814

Sold to Alex ^r Rogers				
2 Barrels Spirits				
No 1-----	38 ½			
24-----	37 ½			
-----	76 G ^s at	36/	136	16
2 Barrels for d ^o	16 p	18/	1	14
		Paid NY Cu ^y	£ 138	10
Sold to Soldier of the Royals	} 38 Ga ^s 36		68	8
No 2 a Barrel Spirits	}			
To M ^c Afee	38 Ga ^s 36/		68	8
1 Barrel				
		1 June		
Sold to a Soldier of the Royals	} 38 G 36/		68	8
No 16 a Barrel Spirits	}			
		4 th		
Sold to M ^r Ryckman	} 40/		6	~
3 Gal ^s Spirits	}			
Sold to (Bgen?)	3 1/2	5 Do ^{rs}	7	~
		6		
Sold to Soldier of the Royals				
No A Barrel Spirits	38 G ^s 36/		68	8
Paid to Hess for Leather	64/			
D ^o Cross Wart	63			

	127/		6	7

16th June 1814

An Ac ^t of monies lent to Thomas Meen Esq ^r			
Merchant at Montreal by H. Beasley			
58 Bills at	15/	43	10
34 d ^o at	50/	85	
5 d ^o at	25/	6	5
19 d ^o at	20/	19	
50 d ^o at	5/	12	10
2 d ^o at 100 dollars each		50	
4 d ^o at 50 d ^o d ^o		50	
11 d ^o at 25 d ^o d ^o		68	15
Interest on the Bills calculated to the 16 June -		3	1

Hal ^x Currency	£	338	1
An Ac ^t of Liquor sold on adventure by			
Meen and Beasley			
3 Bar ^s Spirits Containing 114 Ga ^s	22/6	£	128
5 d ^o d ^o d ^o 190 d ^o	20/		190
a Boat sold for			20

	Hallifax Cu ^y	£	338
			5
Expences attending the adventure from			
La Chine to Burlington			
from La Chine to Kingston		£	65
Boat hire from Kingston to York }			8
including the price of a Boat }			7
d ^o for provisions to the Hands			25
10 hands at 35 dollars each			~
Paid hands from York to Burlington			22
d ^o at York for Carting	7/6		14
Storage			4
D ^o to Cross the return boat at }			87
the Carrying place }			10
R. Beasley expences from }			~
Kingston to Burlington }			4
			7
			6
			10
			1
			~
			~
			1
			14
			6

	H Cu ^y	£	208
			14
			11

An adventure by Meen + Beasley 2 Boat load of Spirits } Containing 1398 ½ Ga ^s } Am ^l of expences Brought over	10/9 £	751 208	13 14	7 ½ 11
	Curn ^y £	960	8	6 ½
[entire entry crossed out:]				
An Ac ^l of monies expended by R. Beasley from Kingston to [Burlington [crossed out]] York Paid the expences of the hands from } York [to Burn [crossed out]] } hands from		22	14	6
An Ac ^l of monies expended by R. Beasley from Kingston to Burlington Expences of the hands from } Kingston to York } Paid hands from York, Burlington Paid at York for Carting Storage at -----d ^o ----- Paid the Frenchmen for Conveying } the boat across the Carrying Place } Advanced to the hands RB expences from Kingston to York	£	22 4 1 3 1	14 10 7 10 ----- ----- 14	4 6 6
	Currency £	33	16	4
27 June				
Sent to Thomas Mean Merchant in Montreal by M ^r Wm Kirby Currency	£	265	7	6
Sold to Wedge 16 Ga ^s Spirits 4\$	64 Do ^{rs}			

Barton 24 June 1814

Delivered to Horner + Jones as part of their purchase 8 Barrels of Spirits										
No	13	1	Barrel	Spirits	37	Gal ^s				
	11	1	D ^o	D ^o	39	D ^o				
	6	1	D ^o	D ^o	38 ½	D ^o				
	14	1	D ^o	D ^o	38	D ^o				
	15	1	D ^o	D ^o	39	D ^o				
	19	1	D ^o	D ^o	38	D ^o				
	9	1	D ^o	D ^o	40					
	22	1	D ^o	D ^o	39					

8 Barrels -----					308 ½ Gs		28/	£	431	18
							16/		6	8
								£	438	6
By Cash 493 ½					£ 197 -8					
By d ^o					£ 201-12	Settled				
12 July	Horner + Jones			C ^r						
	By Cash 100 D				£ 40	Settled				
August	By Cash from Horner 200 Do ^s								80	
	By d ^o from Jones 100					Settled			40	
Dr delivered to Francis (+ Cadotte?) 1 Barrel 39 Ga ^s Sp ^s Barrel for D ^o										
William Chisholm D ^r 1 Quart Spirits										
Peter Ferguson D ^r for 2 Quarts Spirits					paid					
Lieut John Ryckman D ^r 1 ¾ Gallon Spirits					paid	40/				
Sent to Thomas Mean by Wm Kirby 115 £ Halifax										
Received from Edward Peer } for the estate of Josiah } Lockwood }									31	19
John Ryckman C ^r By his half pay bill										
for Cash £ 20-										

September

Paid Springer + Kikendale for hewing timber 44 Dollars	£	17	12
Paid Springer for hawling d° 1 Gallon Spirits 32/		6 1	16 12
Paid for 1200 feet Inch boards 300 d° ¾ ----d°----- Paid for hawling 2 loads of d°		1	12
John Ryckman D ^r p ^r order To (92?) Gallon Spirits 5\$		5	
John Springer D ^r for Spirits paid		6	15
Thomas Mean D ^r Cash forwarded by Co ^l Warren		8	
Charles (Potter?) C ^r By Cash		20	Hallifax 300
Richard Springer D ^r for 4 (ct?) Sugar 3/		24	3 18
Alexr Aikman D ^r for 8 (ct?) Sugar 3/			1 4
Wiggen D ^r 4 (ct?) Sugar 3/			12
John Ryckman D ^r for (???) tea purchased (???) gallon Spirits 2 Oc ^r			1 18
M ^r Wiggen D ^r To 8 (ct?) Sugar pr M ^r Springer 4/			1 12
6 quires paper 6/		1	16
6 lead pencils 1/6			9
1 Slate			6
2 Boxes Wafers 5/			10
	p ^r Ac ^l £	3	1

Barton 14th Oct' 1814

	John Ryckman	D'					
	To 2 ½ yds. Cambric		16/	2			
	3 Pocket Handkf		5/		15		
	3 Skeins	4/6	1 Pocket Book	16/	1		6
	6 Ditto Thread	1/6			1		6
				3	17		
	Benjamin Lockwood	D'					
	To 2 Wool Hatts		26/ 28/	2	14		
	2 Yards Gingham		6/		12		
paid	M ^r Wiggin	D'					
	To ¼ ^o quills		8/	1	4		
	¼ ^o Sealing Wax				8		
	By Cash per Paper			4	17		
	John Ryckman	D'					
	for old Iron (??)		2/ 5/				
	a pair Slippers		20/				
							23
	Estate of Thomas Barry	D'					
	for Cash paid Angus		£	8			
							29
Settled	Alexander Aikman	D' p' J.					
	To ½ Gallon Spirits		40/				
	John Aikman	D' p' Son					
	To 1 Gallon Spirits		40/				
							Dec ^r 7 th
Settled	Alex ^r Aikman	D'					
	To ¼ yd. Checked Muslin		12/		3		
	½ Gallon Spirits		48/	1	4		
	William Kirby	D'					
	To 12 ½ yds. White Ribbon		4/	2	10		
	1 Skein knitting cotton				10		
	William Land	D'					
	To Sundries			6	6		
	" 1 Ream Paper			7			
	Wiggins	C'					
	By Cash in full			3	3		

Barton 26th Dec' 1814

	John Ryckman	D'					
	for Cash		10 Dollars	£	4		
	3 yds. Yellow Flannel			7/	1	1	
	3 do fine white do			8/	1	4	
	2 yd. Cotton			7/		14	
<hr/>							
	John Ryckman	D'					
	To Cash			\$10	4		
	2 yds. Cotton			7/		14	
<hr/>							
Per Order Jan ^y 2							
	William Land	D'					
	To 1 pr Bucksin gloves				1	4	
	23 Pocket Hakfs			3/6	4		6
<hr/>							
	Angus McAfee	D'					
	To a pr B. Gloves				1	4	
	2 pr Blk. Stockings			16/	1	12	
<hr/>							
	John Ryckman	D'					
	for 3 1/8 yd. blue Cloth			56/	8	3	
	4 Hanks Silk & Twist			1/6		8	
	1 1/2 yd. Holland			6/		9	
	Cash				12		
					21	10	
<hr/>							
	David Ian Every	C'					
	By Cash rec ^d from S. Street						
	in Nov'			£ 6. 8. 10			
	Do from Do in Dec'			13. 15. 11			

				Ha ^x Cu ^y	£ 20. 4. 9		
				N. Y. Cur ^y			
					32	7	7
<hr/>							
	Cap' John Norton	D'					
paid	2 3/4 yd. Cloth			80/	11		
	4 Sticks twist + silk			1/6		6	
	1/4 yd. Brown Holland			6/		7	6
	1 piece Broad tape 3/6, do narrow 3/					6	6
	1 paper pin					8	
<hr/>							
paid	Abel Land	D'					
	Balance on Cloth					16	

Barton 17th Jan^y 1815

	Joshua Wedge	C'						
	By Cash		£	1	1	6		
2	John Aikman Jun ^r	D'						
	For 1 ½ yd Cloth		56/ £	4	4			
	3 Hanks Silk + Twist		1/6		4	6		
	16 Buttons		4 ^d		5	4		
			£	4	13	10		
settled	Alex ^r Aikman	D'						
	For 1 ¾ yd Blue CLOth		56/ £	4	18			
	1 yd Brown Holland				6			
	5 Hanks Silk & Twist		1/6		7	6		
	14 large Buttons		4 ^d		4	8		
	By Cash 20 Dollars	C'		5	16	2		
			£ 8					
	John Ryckman Lieu ^r	D'						
	for ½ yd. black velvet		12/		6			
	2 ^(?) Hyson Tea		24/	2	8			
	2 Pair Black Stockings		16/	1	12			
	Cash			4				
	do to Warner Nelles			4				
			£	12	6			
	Major Simms	D'						
	For 2 ½ ^(a?) Hyson tea a 2 dif ^r times		24/	3				
	1 ½ yd. Cloth Gray		64/	4	16			
	¾ yd Holland		6/		4	6		
	3 Hanks Silk + Twist		1/6		4	6		
	1 ½ doz small Buttons		2/		3			
	6 Soup Plates		1/9		9			
	1 Oval Dish				8			
				9	5			
	Samuel McAfee	D'						
	1 ½ yd Grey Cloth		64/	4	16			
	¾ do Holland				4	6		
	2 Hanks Silk 3/ do Buttons 2/				5			
				5	5	6		

Barton 25th Jan^y 1815

	George Hamilton	D'					
	Cash	8/ 2 Brooms	4/		12		
6		3 Wash Hand Basons	8/	1	4		
		6 Plates 9/2 Salt cellars	1/6		10		6
		a Quart mug			8		
		2 pieces bobing 1/ pencil 2/			3		
				2	17		6
paid	John Nellis	D'					
		7 Quarts Spirits	16/				
	John Aikman	D'					
		for 2 G ^s Spirits	56/	5	12		
		do Shrub	48/	2	8		
				8	~		~
	Commissarry Reynolds	D'					
		3 ½ yd G. Cloth	80/	14			
		2 do Holland	6/		12		
		1 ½ do Flannel	8/		12		
		5 Hanks Twist	1/6		7		6
				15	11		6
	Major Simons	D'					
		Sundries		5	5		
	Major Simons	D'					
		for Cash		8			
6	George Hamilton						
		for a Quart Rum			12		
		2 Fish	4/				
5.15.9	David Beasley	D'					
		for 7 yd Flannel	8/	2	16		
8.17.		2 ¼ yd Yellow do	7/		15		9
-----		paid R. Springer for (pasturing?) (horse?)		2	4		
14.12.9							
	Doctor S. Tiffany	D'					
		for 6 Quarts Spirits	12/	3	12		
	David Beasley	D'					
		2 yd ^s Grey Cloth	64/	6	8		8
		2 ½ yd flanel	8/	1	~		~
		2 Hanks Twist	1/6	~	3		~
		2 yd. Brow Holland	5/	~	10		~
		Cash	16/		16		

	John Norton	D'						
	for a Cake Windsor Soap						4/	
			15					
paid	Samuel Ryckman	D'						
	for 2 yd. blue Cloth				64/ £	6	8	
	1 ½ yd Cotton				5/		7	6
	3 Hanks Silk + Twist				1/6		4	6
	1 Quine Paper						6	
						7	8	
paid	Nicholas McDugall	D'						
	3 ½ yd Grey Cloth				64/	11	4	
	Cash 50 Dollars					20		
			21					
6	George Hamilton	D'						
	1 Ga ⁿ + 3 half pints Wine							
				April 3 rd				
5	John Ryckman	D'						
	for ¼ yd blue Cloth				64/		16	
			22					
	James Ryckman	D'						
	3 Quarts Whisky p' Lief				8/	1	4	
	1 do p' his Brother						8	
	2 do p' David Springer						16	
	2 do " do do						16	
						£ 3	4	
			25					
	1 Quart Whisky p' Lief						8	
	John Ryckman	D'						
	for Cash					8	~	~
			26					
	Peter Hogaboam	D'						
	for 9 Doubloons				15 ¼ Do ^s			

					137 ¼			
	William Chisholm	D'						
	To 5 1/2 yds Callicoe				7/	1	18	6
	~ 1 Cake Windsor Soap						3	
3	Ephraim Land	D'						
	To 2 yds Callicoe				7/		14	
	~ 1 Cake Soap 3/ + 1 comb 1/						4	

Barton 26th April 1815

	Abel Land	Sen ^o		Ga ^s	C ^r			
Marked /R\ \G/	By 2 Barrel Whisky		No 69 - 38					
			No 18 - 39 ½					

			G ^{rs}	77 ½	20/			
			27					
	James Ryckman	D ^r						
	3 Pints Whisky						1	
			May 3					
	George Woodley	C ^r						
	By Cash received from J (?)	}				40		
	per receipt	\$100 }						
			4					
	Rendered to M. Lands	Ac ^t			£	22	8	6
	paid							
	Doctor I. Tiffany	D ^r						
	To 10 yds (Jani? Jarn?)				7/	3	10	
	-- 4 skeins Silk				1/		4	
	Abel Land	D ^r						
	for Am ^t of Act				£ 63.19.9			
		C ^r						
	By Am ^t of Ac ^t				13.9.-	50	10	9
			9					
9	Lieu ^t John Ryckman	D ^r						
	for Cash				£	2		
	{in very faded ink}							
+	Tucker	D ^r						
	To ¼ Bu ^{ls} Salt				32/		8	
paid	Commissariat	D ^r		Currey				
	23 Quires Paper 4/			£ 4.12				
			paid					
			21					
	Peter Hogaboom	D ^r						
	for 65 muskratt skins				2/ £	6	10	
	Callico by M ^r Hogaboom	}				2	2	
	for M ^r McCrey (?)	}						
						8	12	
settled	Alex ^r Aikman	D ^r						
	To Am ^t of Sundries per	}						
	Memorandum	}				7	13	9

Barton 24th May 1815

paid	Alex ^r Asken	D ^r						
	for a pair Buckskin Gloves						16	
	1 ¼ yd. Grey Cloth		64/	4				
	½ do. Black Jean		8/				4	
	1 Stick Twist						1	6
					25			
settled	Alex ^r Aikman	D ^r						
	By Work done						16	
	" 29 ^(lbs?) Veal		1/6	2			3	6
	By Cash in fall	C ^r		4			7	5
	Joseph Tucker							
	To 1 doz. large Buttons		4/ 6/				4	
	Cash						16	
					26			
	John Ryckman	D ^r						
	To a Pair Taned Gloves		8/				8	
	1 pair Stockings	14/ + Cash	16/	1			10	
	Thomas Reynolds	D ^r						
	for Sundries			5			8	
	¼ yd. Cloth		64/				16	
	Joseph Tucker	D ^r						
	for a Barrel Flour			5			12	
	a fur Bonnett			1			8	
				7				
					29 th			
6	George Hamilton	D ^r						
	To 159 ^(bts?) Flour			3			17	10 ½
	-- 12 ½ yds. Striped Nankeen		6/	3			15	
	7							
	12							
	10 ½							
	Jacob Pratts	C ^r						
	By received from Bachtell							
	28 May 45 Dollars							
					31			
	Miss (Hess?)	D ^r						
	for 3 yds. Jean		7/	1			1	
	1 Stick Twist						1	6
paid	[the following entry is completely crossed out]							
	George Hamilton	D ^r						
	for ½ yd. Cloth		64/	4			16	
	1 doz. buttons	6/ (Cotton?) 2/6		8			6	
	1 Stick twist						1	6
				5			6	-

Barton 1st June 1815

paid	John B. Askin	D'					
	To Sundires for			1	18	6	
	Joseph Tucker	D'					
	To Paid B. Lockwood			1	4	6	
	Peter Hogeboom	D'					
	For 3 yd ^s Fustian		6/6				
	1 ¼ do. by M ^r Sparkmans boy			4			
	Joseph Tucker	D'					
	To Cash paid you				9		
	½ Gallon Rum				16		
				1	5		
6	George Hamilton	D'		6 th			
	To 4 yds White Cotton		7/	1	8		
	~ 6 yds. blk. Bombazett		10/	3	-	-	
	[the following entry is completely crossed out]						
paid	John B. Askin	D'					
	To 1 Paper Pins per M ^r A			9	4		
6	George Hamilton	D'					
	To a Pair Taned Gloves		8/	-	8	-	
	Joseph Tucker	D'					
	To paid Shelden			10 th	6		
	" 9 lbs Beef		1/		9		
	By 23 days work up to this	C'					
	date	D'					
	To Cash		16/	12			
paid	W ^m Sheldon	D'					
	for Wine + Bottle		9/		9		
	Richard Springer	D'					
	for Sundries		42 / 7				
	Tobacco box		4/				
	Am' of Reynolds half pay after deducting Commission			Ha ^x £ 17(?)	1	7 ¾	

Barton 12th June 1815

	John Ryckman	C ^r					
	By Am ^t of his half pay voucher			Am ^t			
	to 24 th θ [this is the symbol for 'last'] 18 ¼			£ 20.16.4			
	add to make Halifax			1. 9. 8			
				<hr/>			
				22. 6. -			
	(Minus?) Commission	{		11. ¼			
	2 ½ p ^r cent	{		<hr/>			
		{	Halifax	£ 21.14.10 ¾			
	<hr/>		15	<hr/>			
	John Ryckman	D ^r					8
	for a pair taned Gloves						
	Joseph Tucker	D ^r					16
	for 2 Quarts rum to Indians						
	<hr/>		16	<hr/>			
	Joseph Tucker	D ^r					
	for Pork 23/ [crossed out: Cash 8/] returned				1		3
	<hr/>		17	<hr/>			
	Joseph Tucker	D ^r					
	for Cash 24/ 1 Bottle Rum 8/				1		12
	To paid (Cash?)				3		4
	<hr/>			<hr/>	5		
6	George Hamilton	D ^r					
	for 1 Barrel Flour				4		16
	1 Salmon						8
	<hr/>			<hr/>	5		4
	M ^c Afee	D ^r					
	for Cash per Wife				4		-
	<hr/>			<hr/>			
	Joseph Tucker	D ^r					
	for 1 ½ yd fustian p ^r Lockwood						9
	<hr/>		27	<hr/>			
3	Ephraim Land	D ^r					
	To 1 qu' Spirits + bottle	}					12
	per Lucas	}					
	<hr/>		28 th	<hr/>			
	Caleb Reynolds	D ^r					
	To 11 Spelling Books			5/	2		15
	" 2 ¾ yds fustian			6/8			16
	-- Cash \$20 + thread			8	8		8
	-- 1 Cake Windsor Soap						2
	<hr/>			<hr/>			
	per Bill			£ 11		14	2

Barton 28 June 1815

	Joseph C. Tooker	D'					
	To 1 G° Spirits					10	
	To 2 Spelling Books		5/			10	
	" Cash paid you					12	
						<hr/>	
				1		12	
paid	M' Wiggen	D'					
	To ½ gallon P. Wine	}					
	per order	}		1		8	
						<hr/>	
	Major Simons	D'					
	for 6 yd fust [crossed out] Jean		7/	2		2	
	1 ½ doz. larg B. (molds?)		1/			1	6
						<hr/>	
	John Simons	D'					
	½ Gallon Wine			1		8	
	2 Bottles		2/			4	
						<hr/>	
					4 th July		
	William Lottridge	C'					
	By Cash 100 Dollars			40			
	Interest		41/	2		1	
	[scribbled in light ink] interest		100 Dollrs	2			
						<hr/>	
	Caleb Reynolds	D'					
	To 1 q' Spirits p' Tooker	}					
	the 30 th June	}				10	
						<hr/>	
					6 th		
	Joseph C. Tooker	D'					
	To 1 p' Rum					3	
	-- 5 yds. fustian		5/	1		5	
		C'				<hr/>	
	By 18/ work done						
	By 18 days work done	}					
	to this date	}					
		D'				<hr/>	
	To Cash \$5			2			
	-- ½ ⁽⁻⁾ Allspice		3/			3	
	-- 1 q' Rum + Bottle					8	
						<hr/>	
				3		19	
						<hr/>	
					8 th		
	Titus G. Simons	D'					
	To 4 yds. Fustian		6/	1		4	

Barton July 1815

	[the following entry is entirely crossed out]				
	Joseph Jones	D'			
	To a Bottle of Wine		-	14	-
3	Ephraim Land	D'			
	To 1 q' Rum		-	6	-
					8 th
	Caleb Reynolds p' L.	D'			
	To 5 yds. Fustian		1	5	0
					5/0
	Joseph C. Tucker	D'			
	To Cash gave you		1	4	-
	[the following entry is entirely crossed out]				
	Jones	D'			
	To Cash paid for Tobacco			3	
					15
	[the following entry is entirely crossed out]				
	Jones	D'			
	To 4 yards Striped Cotton				
	W. Tucker	D'			
	To 1 q ^B Spirits				4/
	[crossed out] 1 Black Bottle				
	Andrew Gage	D' p' Tor (?)			
	To 1 q' Spirits			6	
					6/
	Joseph C. Tucker	C'			
	By his proportion of	}			
	Mowing	}			
	" 2 days work to this date		4		
	Joseph C. Tucker	D' p' Reynolds			
	To ½ Gall. Spirits			11	
	3 yd. Striped Cotton p' (Hess?)			18	
					5/6
					6/

Garrenteed

Barton 4th Aug' 1815

	Joseph C. Tucker	D'				
	To Cash paid you p' W ^m Beasley			1	4	
			5			
1	W. K. Smith	D'				
	To pa(???) the Beaver p' (???)				12	
			6			
	Joseph C. Tucker	D'				
	To Cash p' Henry (?)			1	4	
	1 Spelling Book				4	
		C'				
	[crossed out] By 5 days work to this date					
			9			
	Joseph C. Tucker	C'				
	By 3 days work			2	8	
	To Cash paid him			2	8	
			10 th			
	Peter Hogoboom	D'				
	To Cash Paid him	\$13		5	4	
			13 th			
3	Ephraim Land	D'				
	To ½ Gal ^p Rum				12	
			14 th			
	Joseph C. Tooker	D'				
	To Rum for				4	
	" Cash	\$3		1	4	
			17 th			
	" Thread				3	
	" Cash				16	
	Doctor Tiffany	D'				
	To 1 Pair Gloves				8	
paid	George Hamilton	C'				
	By Cash p' (Simms?)				6	
			23			
1	William K. Smith	d'				
	To 1 Cake of Soap				2	

Barton 23^d Aug' 1815

	Cap' John Ryckman	D'			
	To 2 yds. Nankeen		6/		12
	" 1 q' Spirits & Bottle				7
	Joseph C. Tooker	D'			
	To Cash paid him in full			2	7
			28		
3	Ephraim Land	d'			
	To 1/2 Gall. Spirits		24/		
			29		
1	William K. Smith	C'			
	By Cash on (Ac'?)		\$10	4	
			30		
	To paid the Beaver p' Order		8/		
paid	Aaron Olifant	C'			
	By work done			1	4
		D'			
	To 2 Hats		10/	1	
	Bought wood from Service				
	100 Cord sold to McAfee £				
	Received from Service 32/				
	Dec ^r 18 th 1815				
	Charles Petter	C'			
	By Am' of his pay		£ 2.3		
	By Cash		2.-	4	3
	Am' of C' Bro' forward			3	18
				£ 8	1
	This is in payment of a note I hold Against Petter + Brown which note I can not at the present time find.--				

[Here is a rendering of all the unpaid accounts up to 1816]

A statement of Joshua Wedge Ac'					
Interest Calculated to the 1 st Jan ^y 1816					
Due the 1 st May 1813			£	48	12
Interest 2 years 7 ½ months				7	15
a riffle Gun				8	--
4 years Interest				1	18
C'					4
By a Cow			£	66	5
By a Watch					8 ½
By Cash					
1 Years Interest				18	15
NY Cur ^y £					½
Ac' rendered 26 Dec' 1815				47	10
					8
Albert Ryckman D'			£	50	
for Am' of Bond				11	5
3 years & 8 months interest					
C'				61	5
By Am' of his Ac'				29	5
rendered 26 th Dec' 1815			£	32	
Jacob Pratts D'			£	116	14
Am' of Ac' rendered March 1813				1	3
2 months interest					6 ½
C'					4
12 June	By Cash 54 Dollars		£	117	17
				21	12
					10 ½
	for 8 months Interest			96	5
				3	11
					10 ½
1814	By Cash			99	17
Feb' 8				40	
	for 1 year & 11 months Interest			59	17
	from 8 F' 1814 to the 8 Jan ^y 1816			6	17
					2 ½
	Ac' rendered		£	66	14
	C'				8 ½
	By Cash received from W ^m Bachtell 23 May 1815 Omitted			18	
	7 Months Interest		1/10		12
					10
				48	1
					10 ½

Barton 27th Dec' 1815

	Nicholas Witsel	D'		£	24		
	for a note of hand date 28 June 1811	C'					
	By 2 Barrels Salt				4	8	
					19	12	
	for 4 years Interest				4	14	
2 nd Ma ^h	By Cash		£ 8		24	6	
	By a Barrel Salmon		8		16		
		D'			8	6	
	for 6 months Interest					5	1
	a note of hand date 9 th Ja ^y 1813				24		
	3 years Interest				4	6	4 ½
	Interest Calculated to the			NY Curry	36	17	5 ½
	1 st Jan ^y 1816						
	Jacob Stroom	D'		£	78	19	9 ¾
	for Am ^l of Ac ^l rendered 1 st May 1813				3	11	1
	9 Months Interest						
10 Feb ^y 1814	By Cash	C'		£	82	10	10 ¾
					40	2	
		D'			42	8	10 ¾
	For 7 months Interest @ 5/				1	15	
10 th Oc ^r	By Cash	C'			44	3	10 ¾
					16	3	9
		D'			28	0	1 ¾
	for 7 months Interest			2 / 9 ½		19	6 ½
1815 8 June	By Cash	C'			28	19	8 ¾
					16		
		D'			12	19	8
	for 7 months Interest			1 / 3 ½		9	½
	Interest calculated to			£	13	8	8 ½
	the 8 Jan ^y 1816						
	Aaron Barber	D'		£	28	6	4 ½
	Am ^l of Ac ^l rendered 1 st Mar ^h 1814				3	2	4
	1 year + 10 months Interest						
	Interest Calculated			NY Cur ^y £	31	8	8
	to the 1 Jan ^y 1816						
	By Cash	C'	£ 15..14..4				
	By note of hand		15..14..4		31	8	8

Jan^y 16th 1816

	Nicholas Whitsell	C'					
	By a Barrel Fish		£	6			
	John Smith	D'					
	for Am' of Ac' Bro' from old						
	Journal page 46 Ac' Rend ^d 24 A' 1804		£	57	18	3 ¼	
	7 Years Interest on D°			23	11	11	
1812	By his Bill of Work	C'	£	81	10	2 ¼	
				38	6		
Feb ^y 19	for assumed for Wedge	D'		43	4	2 ¼	
A' 12	for 5 Quarts Whisky		2/		2		
17	1 Gallon do		8/		10		
May 1	2 ½ Bushells Wheat		8/	1	8		
	3 ½ Ga' Whisky		8/	1	10		
	Cash			4	6		
6	Do			4			
21	2 ½ Bushells Wheat		8/	1			
			NY Cur ^y	£	56	-	2 ¼
	Cornelius Ryckman	D'					
	Ballance of Ac' 1 Jan ^y 1814		£	11	14	6 ¾	
	3 Years Interest		14 ¾	2	2	2 ½	
	rendered 1 st Jan ^y 1817			13	16	9 ¼	
	Jacob Pratts						
	Am' of Ballance rendered the 8 th Jan ^y						
	1816		£	66	14	8 ½	
	By Cash received from W ^m Bachtell	C'					
	23 rd May 1815 Omitted		£ 18				
	7 Months Interest		12/	18	12	7	
		D'		48	2	1 ½	
	for 1 year + 5 months Interest			4	1	5 ½	
	Ballance due the 8 June		£	52	3	7	
	1817						

[This page is printed in another hand]

		[In larger type] D' William K				
1815						
July 27	To	11 ¼ yds Nankeen	4/6	2	10	7 ½
		1 ½ " Cotton 8/- & 34 molds	1/6		9	6
Aug' 5	"	paid the bearer per order			12	
23		1 Cake Soap			2	
30		paid your order			8	
Sept 5		4 (lbs?) Sugar	2/		8	
7		Sundries per Blotter		8	14	6
9		1 (lbs?) G. Tea 12/ & 2 (lbs?) Sugar	4/		16	
14		paid your order		1	9	(9?)
23		Sundries per Blotter		3	6	
Oct 2		4 (lbs?) Sugar 8/ + 1 (lb?) G. Tea 12/		1		
5		Paid Morrison per desire	\$11	4		
6		1 Pair Blk. Hose			8	
22		Cash \$5 & 1 quire paper	4/	2	4	
Nov 3		Cash 16/ & Shrub 2/6			18	6
5		Sundries per Blotter		1	16	6
8		1 Quart Shrub at twice			5	
11		Sundries per Blotter		6	12	9
"	"	Ditto " Ditto		1	18	6
14	"	Ditto " Ditto		1	5	6
27		Paid J. Smith		1	4	
28		Ditto J. Springer		1	12	
Dec 2		Sundries per blotter		16	3	
9		Cash gave him at Niagara		12		
16		Cash paid S. Hess		2	8	
23		Ditto Degiers		1	12	
27		" " Smoke		1	12	
		Short Received on Hogeboom		4	-	-
		Due Bill				
				£ 79	15	4
		Carried to new Journal Page				

Smith C'

1815

Aug' 29	By Cash	\$10	4		
Oct' 22	" Ditto	\$36	14	8	
Nov 29	" Sundries per Blotter		14	16	
Dec 2	" Cash		2	8	
9	" Sundries per Blotter		34	8	
"	" Cash in full		9	15	4
			<hr/>		
			£	79	15 4 ½
Joshua Wedge Ac' Bro' }					
from page Balance of Ac' 25 th Dec' 1815 }				47	10 8
for so much assumed for his Son 1815				22	10
3 years Interest				4	1
			<hr/>		
3 do Interest on 47.10.8				74	1 8
Interest calculated to the 25 Dec' 1815				8	11
			<hr/>		
			£	83	12 8
			<hr/>		
C'					
By received from & (????) }					
By the hands of S. Jarvis }				32	
7 July 1817					
			<hr/>		
			£	51	12 8
			<hr/>		
C'					
Jacob Prats					
By Cash at the Township					
30 th June 1818			£	10	

	Joshua Wedge	D'		£	82	12	8
	for Am' of Ac' 25 th Dec' 1817						
1818	Cash paid Clerk of the Peace		£ 1 .. .				
July 10	paid M' Bukie at York		.. 8 ..				
	Do Sec' G. Office		.. 4 ..				
	Do Sec' Office		.. 4 ..				
	Do to Mercier for Drawing	}	.. 8 ..				
	petition	}					
	Paid M' Small		.. 9 ..		2	13	
	Travelling to & from York and			16/	3	4	
	attendance 4 days				5	4	4
	Paid the Patent fees					4	
	Paid the filing power of Attorney					4	
					<hr/>		
		C'		£	93	18	
	By Ballance on Saddle	}					
	Baggs	}	~ 16				
	Do on a Horse		25.18.2				
	1 Years Interest		1.11		28	5	2
					<hr/>		
65.19.2	for Paid (J ^{h?}) Wedge	D'			65	12	10
						6	
					<hr/>		
	Jacob Pratts Am' of Ac'				65	18	10
	Rendered 8 th June 1817	£			52	3	37
	1 Years Interest				3	2	7
					<hr/>		
		C'			55	6	2 ½
	By Cash in June 1818				10		
					<hr/>		
		D'			45	6	2 ½
	For 1 Years Interest				2	14	4 ¼
					<hr/>		
			Ac' rendered 22 July	NY Cur'	£ 48	0	6 ¾
			1819				
					<hr/>		
			This Ac' Settled				
	Am' Transferred				27	1	9
Ap 15	Cash to George		1. 12				
Nov' 7	To Moggy		2.				
21	To Joan		~ 16				
1840							
Jan' 17	To Mog		~ 16				
(?) Currency	in March different times		1 - 4				
June 18	to Joan		2 - Dollars				

March 30th 1829

	Alex ^r Chiwelt	D ^r					
	for Cash paid to M ^r Stegman		£	5	-		
	Short paid on Shawn Jess						
Feb ^r							
13	Cash to Johanna	2 Dollars					
	<u>William B. Ian Every</u>	D ^r					
	a Sett Saw Mill Irons		£	25			
	2 Saw Mill Saws		50/	5			
1829	assumed for English		10/		10		
Ma ^h 31	A Pair Shoes for his Nephew				10		
Ap ^r 3	A do Boots to William C ^o			1	-		
7	A do fine Boots			1	10		
	a Ox Yoke Staple & --				15		
	1 Pair Boots to Jess			1	2	6	
	assumed for J. Aiken	£ 3. 12	NYC	2	5		
				37	12	6	
	Draft on Capron			9			
				46	12	6	
	By rec ^d from Mitchell			3			
				43	12	6	
		D ^r					
	to his Wife at Chipe	£ ~ 3 9					
May 23	to his Wife and Self	2 10 ..					
Oct ^r 22	Cash p ^r Order	1 5					

		£ 3. 18. 9					
	an order for 6 Dollars	}					
	Sent 4	}					
		1. 12					

				5	10	9	
				49	1	9	
			[crossed out]				
				38	6	9	
1837							
May 9	Cash	5 £					
Aug ^r 18	Cash	4 ten Dollars					
Nov ^r 15	Do	5 Dollars					

Abraham Panabacker D'

for Am^t of Bond due 1 June 1826
2 Years & 5 months Interest

£	75	6	3
	11	18	3

By a pair of Oxen C'

	87	4	6
	18	2	6

Interest to the 1st May 1829 D'

£	69	2	
	1	13	4

Statement sent to Panabacker

Cu ^y £	70	15	4
	1		

1830 July 5 By Cash from Sh ??? C'

£ 16.7.6

	71	15	4
--	----	----	---

[unidentifiable scrawl, probably some of modern writing damage]

George Reynolds of Blenheim D'

Ballance due on Bond 18 Ju^y 1827
for 2 Years Interest

£	33	1	8 ½
	3	19	4 ½

Ju^y 3 By Cash C'

Cu ^y £	37	1	1
	24	10	

By Note of hand

Currency £	12	11	1
	12	11	1

Aug 1 Murray for Cash NYC
Do Do 16/
Do Do 16/

	1	12	
--	---	----	--

Settled

Paid his Brother Ballance 1 Dollar

26 James Bell D'
for Cash at 2 different times 3 Dollars
in November
do
1/2 Buckskin

		4	
		8	
		8	
		12	
	2	12	

	James Henry for Am' of Bond date	D'		
1839 June 12	William Ian Every Am' Bro' Over Cash by Joana	£	1	5
	Work by James Van Kemp at Harvest			
July 17	2/ Day Mowing Clover	6/		15
	1 Day Friday working in the meadow	} }		6
20	Saturday rained Monday J. W. ½ day thursday in the meadow	} } 3 ½	1	1
	½ day thursday Cradling Wheat			4
	friday & Saturday Do	2 day		16
27	Monday & Tuesday Do	2 do		16
	Wednesday rain			
	Thursday Cradling	1 do		8
	Friday ½ a day			4
	Left my work friday noon	NY Cuy £	4	10
	<u>Harvest Work</u>			
	4 ½ Months work	72/	16	4
		£	20	14
	Thomas M ^c Murry engaged for a month the 7 th August at nine Dollars a month -----Settled			
	James Bill Commenced 11 Sep'			

1829	James Oakley	Cr			
3 July	By removing 3 Horse Shoes				
4	Putting handle to a ladle				
6	reparing Clives				
9	2 Hay Forks				
	reparing Ox Chain				
Aug 7	Setting & toe corking	}			
	4 Horse Shoes	}			
	Mending Clevir + making B' (?)				
	Reparing Hand Irons				
	Fixing Irons to the Ox				
	Shoeing a Horse 1 new Shoe				
Nov	2 Shoes on the mare				
	James Bill	Dr			
	Am' Bro' forward			2	12
Dec' 12	12 ½ yd. Cloth		10/	1	5
	Cash for M' Blen (?)				5
24	Do		do		16
1 st Jan ^y	Do				4
	a pair Boots			1	16
8	Cash to pay Morrison				2
	a Coat			2	8
12	Cash				4
24	Do to pay M' Shelington				8
Feb ^y 6	Do/				16

5

				NY	Cu ^y	
	James Bill	D ^r		£ 2	12	
	for Am ^l Bro ^l forward					
	<u>Settled</u>					
1829	James Crumbach	D ^r				
	a note of hand		£ 4. 12. 6			
		C ^r				
	By ballance on oxen		25/			
	By a drest Buckskin		12/6	2	15	
		D ^r	1. 17. 6			
	for 1 Years Interest				3	1 ½
	a note of hand payable 9 th Ap ^l 1830			17	2	6
	1 Years Interest			1	0	6 ½

			Currency	£ 21	1	2
	Ac ⁱ rendered 10 April					
	<u>1830</u>					
	By note Sold to Brau(?)field			18	3	½

				£ 2	18	1 ½
	Sent to Nathaniel Hughson note					
	to Benj ⁿ Lockwood to collect			3	19	5
	Sent by mail 16 August 1830					
	This note paid					
	Memorandum from a					
	former Book ----					
	I have in the year 1792 on the 7 th					
	day of Nov ^r paid Robert Hamilton					
	for Samuel Street Esq ^r the sum					
	of fifty pounds NY Curr ^y paid for					
	Lands belonging to Cap ^t Robert					
	Lottridge which the said Samuel					
	Street Esq ^r failed in given me a					
	title he will find this sum Credited					
	to him in M ^r Robert Hamiltons Books.					

	Rails Split by Walden				
	by Thomas 2 loads				70
	1 load				45
	2 do 35 x 40				75

					190
	Taken by Thomas to the meadow				96
	taken by ????? & R. B.				30

					306
	H. (?) Beasley				520

					826
	By R. ???				40
	By Alex ^r C??son				125
Jan ^y 13	Thomas has Drawn ????				
	I Settled with Walden				
	Wood	16 Cords			
	Since	3 ½			

		19 ½			
Jan ^y	14 Bushells potatoes in				
	fall 1831				
	???? ???? Bushells		3/	7	6
	54 lbs. Flour			12	
	14 lbs. Beef	4 ^d		11	8
	51 do. Flour		12/	12	
Feb ^y 2?	70 do.			19	
	½ bushell potatoes			1	6

		C ^r		2	16
	By 2 ½ Cord Wood		7/6		8
	3 Cord Long Board		7/6		

				2	?
					?

[Blank page, only meaningless scrawl and some rough additions]

ABCDEFGHIJK

BRK

CDD

AB

Davis

$$\begin{array}{r} 25 \overline{) 189 \ 7} \\ \underline{175} \\ \text{----} \\ 14 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 7 \\ 66 \\ \text{---} \\ 73 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 20 \overline{) 176} \\ \underline{ 8} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 5 \\ 2 \overline{) 4 \ 1} \\ \underline{ 4} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 3 \overline{) 30} \\ \underline{10} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 4 \overline{) 10} \\ \underline{ 5} \ 2 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 60 \overline{) 32} \\ \underline{632} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 4 \overline{) 43} \\ \underline{ 5} \ 3 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \overline{) 8} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 12 \overline{) 45} \\ \underline{ 4} \ 1 \end{array}$$

W

$$\begin{array}{r} 24 \overline{) 34 \ 1} \\ \underline{24} \\ 10 \end{array}$$

B

9 1/2

$$\begin{array}{r} R \quad 60 \overline{) 136} \\ \underline{ 21} \ 6 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 25 \\ \underline{6} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 25 \\ \underline{7} \\ 75 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} R \quad 16 \overline{) 44 \ 2} \\ \underline{ 32} \\ 12 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 25 \\ \underline{5} \\ 115 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} B \\ 25 \overline{) 187 \ 7} \\ \underline{165} \\ 22 \\ \underline{16} \\ 6 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 6 \\ 4 \overline{) } \\ \underline{ 4} \end{array}$$

- +
- +
- +
- 1+
- +
- +1
- +
- 6
- 7
- 5
- 1
- 6
- 8
- 5
- 7

- 4
- 1
- 6
- 5
- 8
- 4
- 2
- 5
- 8
- 6
- 5
- 7
- 9
- 6
- 5

6
6

[continued meaningless scrawl from modern damage to document]

[illegible text here; too faint]

5 bushells potatoes

$$\begin{array}{r} 9 \\ 4 \overline{) 366} \\ \underline{9} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 12 \overline{) 195} \\ \underline{1} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} J \\ 4 \overline{) 7} \\ \underline{1} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 3 \\ \underline{4} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 12 \overline{) 141} \\ \underline{11} - 9 \end{array}$$

2

$$\begin{array}{r} 14 \overline{) 133} \\ \underline{11} \quad 1 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 24 \overline{) 119} \\ \underline{8} \quad 19 \end{array}$$

$$\frac{3/4}{7}$$

1832 Boards received from David Springer
7 July 450 feet Inch Boards
545 do Siding

7/	1	11	6
6/	1	13	

NY Cur ^y	£	3	4	6
---------------------	---	---	---	---

Cur ^y	£	2	0	3
------------------	---	---	---	---

for Am^t of Judgement in }
the Court of Requist }

		5	5	
--	--	---	---	--

1834 By Cash 3rd Oct^r

Due RB	£	3	4	9
		3	4	9

William Young		D'				
first Instalment on his Bond						
due 18 th Nov' 1831			£	28	2	6
1 Years Interest on £ 112.10				6	15	
				<hr/>		
			Cur' £	34	17	6
Statement rendered Nov' 1831						
1 Years Interest from the 10 Nov' } to the 18 th Nov' 1832 }				2	1	10
2 nd Instalment due the 18 Nov' 1832				28	2	6
1 Years Interest on £ 74.7.6				4	9	3
				<hr/>		
Ballance due 18 Nov' 1832			Cur' £	69	10	1
This A ^{ct} Settled						
David Whitman		D'				
a note of 16 Oc' 1830			£	25	11	8 ½
1 Year Interest				1	10	7 ½
				<hr/>		
			Cur' £	27	2	4
Statement rendered Oc' 1831						
1 years Interest from 16 th Oct' 1831 } to the 16 th October 1832 }				1	12	6 ¼
a note of hand due 16 th Oc' 1832				25	11	8 ½
2 Years Interest from 16 th Oct' } 1830 to the 16 th October 1832 }				3	1	4 ½
Due 16 th Oc' 1832			Cur' £	57	7	11 ¼
				<hr/>		
1833	Received the payment on	C'				
27 Ap'	the first note with In'			29	10	1
				<hr/>		
				27	17	10 ½

Am^t of notes and Bonds
for land Sold at different times to
different persons

+	William Young	£	112	10	
	Nicholas Berger		93	7	6
	Thomas Henderson		62	10	
	David Whitman		102	6	10 ½
	George Crumbach		88	15	
	Abraham Panabaeker		48	17	6
	Henry Overlottzer		62	10	
	Crumbach notes		29	0	1
	Albert Ryckman do		13	-	
	Ernie Edey		5	10	
	Samuel Congo		6	5	
	James Henry		9	16	4 ¾
+	Samuel Bricker		32	10	
+	William Thompson		15	-	
	Plumer Burley		10	-	
	Angus McAfee		9	-	
			<hr/>		
1832		£	700	18	4 ¼
14 Sep ^r	Samuel Gafton		175		
5 Nov ^r	John Butchart failed payment		000		
1833 Mar ^r 7	to Ruben Hoag due		125		
Apr ^r 1	to Fryfrie (?)		62	10	
	to Caston		62	10	
1834	to Shaver + Mills in Waterloo	}			
Sep ^r	the Springer Lot	}	250		
			<hr/>		
		£	1395	18	4
Dec ^r 12	to John Thompson		175	-	-
	to William Stewart		112	10	
			<hr/>		
			1683	8	4
	Ruben Hoag returned the Lot	}	125	-	-
	in the Township Reach	}			
			<hr/>		
1835		£	1558	8	4
Feb ^r 6	Sold to John Shaw the northeast				
	part of Lot N ^o 3 in Waterloo remains due		131	14	-
Sep ^r 1	150 Acres of Lot N ^o 1 north side	}			
	Grand River Block N ^o 1 Recevd	}	110		
	payment from Henderson	}			
Nov ^r	Sold to [space here] the north half of				
	Lot N ^o 18 in 14 Concession of Blenheim		87	10	
20	Sold to David Kemp Lot N ^o 19				
	in the 6 Conss ⁿ Beverly due		150	-	
1839	to James M ^c Keir (?) north half of Lot N ^o 18				
Apr ^r 16	in Blenheim for 400 \$ payable in 5 years				
	Interest anually				

1832					
1 Sep ^r	Rec ^d from Overhottzer	£	7	10	
Oc ^r	From Overfield am ⁱ of Brickers note}		32	10	
Dec ^r	From W ^m Young		100	-	
	Sold Crumbach note to Overfield		17	2	6
	William Thomson		15	-	-
1833	from George Crumbach		41		
Mar ^h 20	from James Crumbach		5		
Ap ^l 27	from David Whitmore		23	11	8 ½
June 29	from Panabacker		48	7	6
	from James Henry		5		
	gave his Bond Overholtzer to Jessie Overholtzer		55		
	Crumbach note rec ^d from	}			
	Overfield	}	17	2	6
1834					
6 Feb ^r	From Whitmer		6		
27 Sept					
1833	Received payment of a note [this line crossed out]		25	0	0
15 Oc ^r					
1834	Received from Bergey	7-10			
6 Feb ^r	From do	25	32	10	
7	From Jeffrey (?)		20	16	8
	Received from Edie		5	10	
5 May	do from James Henry		5		
8	from George Crumbach		6	17	4 ¼
			345	18	2 ½
31 Oct ^r	Received from Berger		12	10	
	from Plumer Burley		10		
6 Nov ^r	rec ^d from Millbourn	}	15		
	as part of Gafton Lot	}			
1835	received from Congo		6	5	
19 Ap ^l	Received from A. Ryckman		13	-	

Lands Sold in the Township of
Blenheim in the 14 Concession

	to Benj ⁿ + David Springer N ^o 6	200 Acres
	to Jacob Shoup the north half of 7 & 8	200
	to George Reynolds the south half of N ^o 7	100
	to James & George Crumbach N ^o 1	200
	to Christian Snyder Lot N ^o 14	200
	Samuel Gafton N ^o 12	200
M ^c 7 1833	to Ruben Hoag Lot N ^o 6 in the 5 Concess ⁿ of Reach	} Count this Lot ???? } of York 200
1834 8 Dec	to John Thompson Lot N ^o 13 in the 14 Concession Blenheim	200
12	To William Stewart part of Lot N ^o 13-15 Concession in the Township of London	150 Acres
1 Dec ^r	John Springer the north half of N ^o 8 in the Township of Waterloo West Side river	100 Acres
	[scribbled here:] you are going to sell	
	1836 August	
	to David Vallance the South half of Lot N ^o 32 on the 9 th Concession of Beverley 100 Acres rec ^d payment.	
31 Oc ^r	to John Springer the north half of Lot N ^o 8 in Waterloo on the west side of the Grand River - to David Springer the north half of N ^o 9	
1837		
Ap ^r 13	to Jacob Seraris the south half of N ^o 9 100 Acres	
	to George Coxton the north half of 18 in the 14 C. Blenheim this lot returned Coxton takes 50 Acres of 19.	
Ap ^r 27	to David Springer the half of lot N ^o 9 next (his Son?) to John Springer half N ^o 8 100 acres do. to Jacob Seraris 100 Acres lot N ^o [blank]	
Aug ^r 8	to Robert Vance ?? Acres next to Coxton 19- C 14	
Ap ^r 26	to Joseph Vance + Kie??? lot N ^o 24 - 14 C Blenheim.	
June 1	David Springer 24 in the 12 Co ⁿ 150 Acres	

Waterloo

	Sold to Brook Banks on the West Side of the Grand River the half of Lot N ^o 2 100 Acres	100
	to Ninders (?) on the half of Lot 2	100
	to W ^m Eston the half of lot N ^o 1	100
	to Street Lot N ^o 5	200
	to do the Northern West half of Lot N ^o 10	100
	to Herner Lot N ^o 3	200
	to Sheaver & 4	200
	to ?????? the North half of N ^o 1	100
	to [left blank]	
	On the North Side to Jacob (Shroone?) 100 Acres of Lot N ^o 6 third Concession to Berger lot 5 do 164 ¼ to James Henry 7 " 100 to Whitmore the remainder of 7 to James Ellis 100 A ^c N ^o 8 the remainder to Panabacker	163 ¼ acres
1835		
Sep ^r 1	N ^o 1 150 Acres commencing at the Concession to Henderson. the remainder to W ^m M ^c William	128 Acres
1837		
Ju ^y 8	to Davis 71 Acres N ^o 4 the rear part transferred to James Shaw	
Sep ^r 1	Rear part of N ^o 5 to Davis	68 ¾ Acres

George Crumbach D'
 A note of hand bearing }
 date 15th October 1830 }
 2 Years Interest to the 15th Oc^r 1832
 Ac^r rendered 17 Oc^r 1832
 Ac^r Stated on the oposite page

James Henry & Michael Bergey
 Joint note for £ 9. 16. 4
 1 year and 4 months I^r 14. 2 1/4

C'
 By Cash received 15th Oct^r 1833

D'
 for 1 Years Intrist to the 13th Ap^r 34

Instalment on Michael }
 Bergery Bond with Intrést } £ 34. 17. 4

C'
 By Cash as p^r receipt 7. 10. -
 £ 27. 7. 4

D'
 for 4 months Int^r to
 the fifth of feb^y 10. 9 1/4
 27. 18. 1 1/4

C'
 By Cash 5 Feb^y p^r receipt 25.

Sent to Michael Bergey
 the 15 March 1834
 5 May Received from James Henry

Oc^r 30 Received from Berger

£	40		
	2	8	
Cur ^y £	42	8	
	10	10	8 1/4
	5		
£	5	10	8 1/4
	0	6	7 1/4
	5	17	4
	2	18	1 1/4
Currency £	8	15	5 1/4
	5	17	4
	2	18	1 1/2
	2	18	1 1/2

	David Whitner	D'						
	for note of Hand bearing date							
	16 October 1830		£ 25. 11. 8					
	3 Years Intrest + 4 mon'	}	5. 2. 3 ½					
	to the 16 Feb' 1834	}	<hr/>					
			30. 13. 11 ½					
		C'						
	By Cash 6 th feb' 1834		6.	£	24	13	11 ½	
	Sent the 15 th March 1834		<hr/>					
	9 Months Intrest to 13 Dec'				1	2	10	
				£	25	16	9 ½	
	A note of hand due 16 th Oc' 1830				51	3	9	
	4 years & 2 months intrest				12	15	10	
					<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	Ac' rendered 16 th Dec' 1834			Currency £	89	16	4 ½	
	1 Years Intrest to 1835				5	7	9 ½	
					<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
1836	Received from M ^r Ferrie 49/3	C'		£	95	4	1 ¼	
10 M ^a	Settled and paid				2	9	3	
				£	92	14	10 ¾	
					<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	George Crumbach	D'						
	Am' of note bearing	}						
	date 15 October 1830	}	for	£	22	3	9	
	three Years Intrest to Oc' 1833				3	19	10 ½	
	Ballance on note 15 Ma ^h 1833				6	9	7	
	1 Years Intrest					7	9 ¼	
					<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
1834	Received at Blenheim	C'			33	0	11 ¾	
May 8	due 15 Oc' 1833				6	17	4 ¼	
				Curr' £	26	3	7 ½	
	1 years Intrest to Oc' 1834				1	11	5	
	a note of hand payable 15 Oc' 1834				22	3	9	
	4 Years Intrest on Do				5	6	6	
					<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	Ac' rendered 15 Oc' 1834			Currency £	55	5	3 ½	
Nov 15	By a pair of Oxen	C'			20			
					<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	6 months Intrest to the	}			35	5	3 ½	
	1 st May 1835	}				16	1 ¼	
					<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	Ac' Ren ^d		£ 55. 5. 3					
	note of hand		1. 8. 7					
			<hr/>					
			56.13.10					
1834								
Nov'		C'						
	1 pair Oxen		20.					
			<hr/>					
			36.13.10					
	1 year Intrest		2. 4.					
			<hr/>					
			38.17.10					
				Settled by note of hand —				

James Crumbach and Father ballance on note 9 th Ap ^l 1833 1 Years Intrest	£	6	19 8	2 ½ 4
Intrest to the 1 st Oc ^l 1834 6 months	Cur ^y £	7	7 4	6 ½ 5
6 months Intrest to 1 st Ap ^l 1835	£	7	11 4	11 ½ 6 ½
Rec ^d 13 th April 1835	£	7 2	16 10	6
[the following entry is entirely crossed out] Isaac Lockwood D ^r A note of hand bearing date 20 Jan ^y 1824 10 Years & 3 months Intrest	£	5	6	6
Isaac Lockwood D ^r A note of hand bearing date 20 th Jan ^y 1824 10 Years and 3 months Intrest	£	33 20	18 15	6 ¼ 1 ½
	£	33 20	18 17	6 ¼ 3 ¼
	£	54	15	9 ½
By Received and indorsed } on the note 8 th July 1831 } 14/9 2 Years & 9 months Intrest } 2 / 4 ½			17	1 ½
Ac ^l Rendered to Richard Wagstaff 20 th April 1834	Currency £	53	18	8

	Thomas Henderson D ^r				
	for Am ^t of Ac ^t rendered the } 8 of May 1833 }	£	16	11	3
	1 Years Interest		19	10	
	a note of hand pay ^d the 8 th May 1834		15	12	6
	2 Years Intrest on d ^o		1	17	6

	due the 8 th May 1834	Curr ^y £	35	1	1
	1 Years Intrest		2	2	-
	a note of hand due 8 May 1835		15	12	6
	3 Years Intrest		2	16	3

		Curr ^y £	55	11	10
1832	16 Feb ^y Rec ^d at M ^r Ferries		11	2	3

	Rec ^d the 8 th of July	£	44	9	7
	in Wheat £ 3		3		

			41	9	7

	William Young D ^r				
	for note of hand payable } the 20 th Dec ^r 1833 }	£	25	15	
	5 Months Intrest to 20 th May			14	2

			26	19	2

	William Eastman D ^r				
	for first Installment due on land	£	15	12	6
	1 Years Intrest			18	9

		£	16	11	3
	1 Years Intrest to 13 June 1834			19	10
	a note of hand payable 13 th June		15	12	6
	2 Years Intrest on D ^o		1	17	6

	Due the 13 June 1834	£	35	1	1
	1 Years Intrest		2	2	
	a note due the 8 June 1835		15	12	6
	3 Years Intrest		2	16	3

	Due 13 June 1835	Cur ^y £	53	11	10

[This page has light child-like scribbles across it; it seems possible that a child was copying the articles that were pasted to these pages prior to the conservation efforts]

	Samuel Gafton D'						
	payment due on Bond the	}					
	14 th Sep' 1833	}		£	50		
	1 Years Intrest lands				3		
					<hr/>		
				£	53		
	1 Years Intrest from Sep' }	}					
	1833 to the 14 Sep' 1834 }	}			3	2	
	payable 14 Sep' 1834		£ 41. 13. 4				
	2 Years Intrest		5.		46	13	4
					<hr/>		
	Ac' Rendered			Cu' £	102	15	4
	14 th Sep' 1834						
	Taken a Bond						
	from Thomas Gafton						
	[the following four lines are lightly scribbled]						
	Ward O. Davis						
	Ward O. Davis						
	Ward O. Davis						

	Stoney Creek						
	William Kerby						
	To Richard Beasley D'						
	Am' of note of hand			£	25	11	3
	16 Years Interest				24	10	8
					<hr/>		
		C'		£	50	1	11
	By Indorsments		£ 4. 1. 5 ½				
	13 Years Intrest		3. 3. 2 ½				
1829	By Cash		- 16. -				
	7 Years Intrest		6. 8 ½		8	7	4 ½
					<hr/>		
				NY C'	£ 41	14	6 ½
					<hr/>		
				Hallifax Cu' £	26	1	5 ¼
1835	By a town lot in Brantford £ 15-						
27 June	in full						
Aug' 7	left with M' Ferrie D. Whitmer note to						
	forward to M'Kenzie at Waterloo				31	2	6

Michael Bergy	Waterloo	D ^r		£	93	7	6
Am ^t of Bond dated 19 Dec ^r 1831							
first instalment due 19 Dec ^r 1833					31	2	6
2 Years Intrest					3	14	6
		C ^r			34	17	-
By received in Oc ^r 1833			£ 7. 10		7	11	7
2 Months Intrest			1. 7				
					27	5	3
By received Oc ^r 1834					25		
		D ^r			2	5	3
due Dec ^r 19 th 1834			£ 31. 2. 6				
3 Years Intrest			5. 12.		36	14	6
due the 19 th Dec ^r 1835			£ 31. 2. 6				
4 Years Intrest			7. 9.		38	11	6
due 19 th Dec ^r 1835				Cur ^r £	77	11	2
		C ^r					
By Cash 1 Ap ^r 1835			£ 7. 10.		7	16	
8 Months Intrest			6.				
1835				Cur ^r £	69	7	3
1 Sep ^r					1	15	
By Cash at Waterloo							
				£	67	12	3
				£	77	10	
Due by Easton in June 1836					66	4	6
Due by Henderson 8 th May					94	16	6
Due by David Whitmer 16 May					39	19	10
Due by George Crumbach 1 May							
Due by Jeffery (?)							
Due by Michael Brega							
Due by John Shaw							
[the following line is lightly scribbled copying of the line above]							
Due by John Shaw							
26	=	22					
1		1					
1		1					
7		3					
1		4					
—		6					
1							
1							
1							
1/4							

1836	Richard G. Beasley	D'		£	16	-	-
Aug'	paid his note to G. Rolph				5	-	-
do	Cash				25	-	-
1837 Feb' 15	Do				4		
	Thomas Henderson	D'		£	41	9	7
	for Ballance Bro' forward						
		C'					
	By an Order on Young				6	8	3
	By 120 ^(at?)		1/	[addition error here] £	37	1	4
					6		
	1 Years Intrest				31	1	4
					1	17	3
		C'			32	18	7
	By Note of hand				32	18	7
	Thomas Waldon	D'					
	for 3 months rent ending the		}				
	19 January a 3 dollars p ^r month		}				
		C'					
	By 19 Days work his boy & wife		3/		2	17	
	due R. B. 19 th Jan ^y			£		15	
	Settled the 24 th Jan ^y						
	Cash to his boy (????) times				-	7	
	1 months rent to 19 Feb ^y				1	4	
	Cash to himself			£	2	6	
	paid Baldwin for Cording		}			4	
	an (????) (????) 6 ½ Cor ^s Wood 1/6		}			9	9
	1 months rent to 19 Ma ^b				1	4	
	1 do to the 19 April				1	4	
	1 do to the 19 May				1	4	
	1 do to the 19 June				1	4	

Lands in Waterloo in Block N^o2
not sold - in the 3rd Concession

rear part of	Lot N ^o 1	--	128 ¾ Acres			
	Lot 2	--	278			
	James Sh ^w	4	271	71 to Davis		
		5	268 ¾			
	Sold to Berge	6	166 ¼		1112	¾
			<hr/>			
	from Jacob Shup	--	110	--	214	
	from M ^c Mahon Lot		32			
	Broken Front Con ⁿ		88		302	
<hr/>						
Lot N ^o 24 / 14 Co ⁿ Blenheim						
here, a copy has been made from a previous page in this account book]						
Williams B. Van Every D ^r						
1829	a Sett Saw Mill Irons			£	25	
	2 Saw Mill Saws			50/	5	
	a pair of Shoes to his Nephew				-	10
Ma ^h 31	assumed for English				-	10
Ap ^r 3	a pair of Boots				1	-
7	a Do fine Boots				1	10
	1 Ox Yoke Staple &c.					15
	a pair Boots to Jess				1	2
	assumed for Aikman				2	5
	Draft on Capron				9	-
	paid his Wife at Cheps					3
May 23	his Wife and Self				2	10
Oc ^r 22	Cash p ^r Order				1	5
	An order for 6 Dollars Sent 4				1	-
					<hr/>	
					C ^r	51
By Rec ^d from Mitchel						10
					<hr/>	3
						<hr/>
1837					48	10
May 9	Cash NYC		£ 5.			3
Aug ^r 18	Do Ten Dollars		4.			
Nov ^r 15	Do		2.			
1838 Ap ^r 13	Do to George		1. -12			
Nov 7	Do to Maggy		2. --			
21	Do to Joan		16			
1840 Jan ^r 17	to Maggy		17			
	Different times in March		1. 4			
June 18	to Joan		16			
Octo ^r 20	to Joan		16			
			<hr/>		19	
			£ 19 ~ ~			
					<hr/>	
					67	10
						3

C. C. Ferrie & C ^o				
for Cash the 6 th of May 1837		£	400	-
<hr/>				
A memorandum of lands Sold				
to S. Gafton N ^o 12 Con ⁿ 14 Blenheim			200 Acres	
to John Thompson N ^o 13 C 14 do			200	
to W ^m & James Stewart N ^o 13 C 15 London			150	
to J. Springer the North 50 Ac ^t lot N ^o 8 in				
the Township Waterloo Dumfries line				}
to Adam Shup the nex 50 Acres				
to Harper N ^o 7 on the D. Line 141-2-16				
to David Springer the North half of Lot				}
N ^o 9 on the Dumfries line 100 Acres				}
to Jacob Seraris the South half of Said lot				
to David Valence South half of lot				
N ^o 32 C-9 in Beverley 100 Acres				
to George Coxtan 50 Acres of lot				}
N ^o 19 ^h C 14 Blenheim				}
to Robert Vance 50 Acres of 19 in 14 C				
Blenheim joing Coxtan				
to Frutney 100 Acres of Lot N ^o 12 on the				
<u>Dumfries Line</u>				
to Allchim 50 Acres of Lot 12 D. line				
to M ^c Kie the half of 19 in the 14 Con ⁿ				
<u>of Blenheim</u>				
<u>To Harper N^o7 D. line</u>				
To Samuel Street the North half of				
Lot N ^o 10 Dumfries line, Waterloo				
to John James the South half.				
1340 April 10	to Robert Crooks lot N ^o 18 Con ⁿ 14 Blenheim			
Aug' 11	to Thomas Scot south half N ^o 9 D. line			}
	<u>Seraris</u> Claims this lot			}
	West half of lot N ^o 11 D. of L.			
	to W ^m M ^c Collester			
	[this line faintly scrawled] Adam Scott North half			
	to Henry Warner 60 Acers of Lot N ^o 12			
	in Waterloo on the Du ^t line			

Sold to Charles Watson the
north half of Lot N°33 in the 9th
Concession of Beverley being 10 Chains
by 100. Containing 100 Acers for the
Sum of 400 Dollars 80 to be paid the
first of Jan^y 42 the remainder in 4
Yearly Instalments bearing Intrest
at 6 p^t cent -----

Hamilton 9th August
1841

R. B.

[scrawl follows]

1870	Cash	\$0 5C
	Sorry, not cash unhad	Dr Ler
11	5	10 do

[this page is all scrawl and marginal additions]

TE	WD	ED
2	1	1
4	2	8
1	6	2
5	1	5
1	1	1
1	2	4
1	1	1
4	1	1
1	1	1
1	4	5
6		1
		1

26 =	20 =	32
5	2	1
1	1	3
2	4	4

34 =	26 =	40
1	2	1
1	2	1
6	1	2
1	1	1
7	2	1
---		1
50		1
		1

[more faint scrawl on this page]

Anges 18

August

\$	C
5	75

[this page is also dominated by a drawing of a dapper gentleman with a top hat, nose in the air, sporting a jacket with tails and a walking stick]

[all of the following is written in light scrawl]

		Cr	f	s	d
Cash					
June 1	By Molasses		100	7	6
"	" Sugar		20	6	7
"	" Tea		30	6	6
"	" Apples		10	6	5
	Molasses by				
	1 barrel		15	7	6
	Walter H. D.				
	Walter H. Davis				
	Stoney Creek				
	Walter H. Davis				
	Stoney Creek				
		OUT			
		1880 Jan 14			
	W				
	Walter H. Davis				
	Stoney Creek				
	Out				
	Jan 14 - 80				

[All of the following is meaningless faint scrawl]

Bo (???????)

General H. D.

H ----

W I D

[the following is written on a slant]

James Jones
James Jones
James Jones
Stoney Creek

Out

James

[this entire page has been left blank]

[The faint scrawl has disappeared, and the handwriting that was encountered throughout the whole second half of the account book has returned]

Thomas

D'

May	for Cash	£	1	12
	do do			8
June	a pair pantaloons		1	8

	Shelington received					
M ^h 20	65 ^(??) Settled					
A ^l 24	66 ^(??) do Settled					
	Cash			28/	1	8
May 11	63 ^{lbs?} Flour Settled					
22	Cash to Thomas				1	12
	do do					8
	1 pair made trousers				1	8
Jan ^y 5	By Sheligton					
	2 ½ yd. Black Cloth	10/	£ 1. 5. -			
	4 yd. Brown	8/	3.12. -			
	Cost (?) (???)		1.			
			<u> </u>			
					5	17 -
					<u> </u>	
					9	5
1831	July Cash				4	
					<u> </u>	
					13	5
	Michael Rails Hawled					
	By Murry	648				
1830	By Bill	900				
		<u> </u>				
		1548				
interested (?)						
31	By Thompson	150				
(?) 3	By Osberry	155				
9	By Do	143				
		<u> </u>				
	Am ^t of Rails 1996					
	Thomas commenced work					
	on the 24 May at 8 Dollars a Month					

P. Hogeboom C'

1 Box Tea 66 lbs
 17 3/4 16 Tallow 1/6

	66		
	1	5	6
£	67	5	6
	64	11	
£	2	14	6

To Am' of his Ac'

Balance Due him

[What follows may be Beasley's Mill enterprise]

threshed 200 Sheaves Wheat for (day?)
 do 100 do for Henry
 do 500 for (Seed?)

11 Bu'
 7 1/2
 30

Sept' 800
 130 for Henry
 300 do
 for Seed 50
 for do 150

9
 17
 3
 10

Oct' 1450
 for Bread 500

38

Bushells

125

Dec' 18 - threshed 100 Sheaves for Henry

7 1/2

do 150

July 6 do 270 Sheaves

10 1/2

M^h 1 do 250

15

10 do 250

15

1020

17 do 250

18

24 do 250

15

1829 M^rMurray Halled in August 16 Load of rails 648
 Feb^r 1830 by Bill 850
 24 by do. 1 load 50

1548

Hauled wood Cut by Jess

24 Dec^r boards 5
 July 2 do 6
 2nd week Do 2 3/4
 3 week Do 3
 Last do Do 7
 Feb^r do 3

26 1/4

M^o 1 Load Dry Ash 1

[there is no date on this page - could it be the goods damaged during the War of 1812 Military Occupation?]

Memorandum

		each
fence from the Barn towards the point	127 penal	8 Rails
Do a Cross where the Ditch is dug	75 do	
the Cross fence between the Orchard	} 100	
and Buckwheat Stubble	} 20	
Barnyard fence in front	20	
fence potato patch	80	
fence in front of my house and towards	} 92	
the Lake as far as my hog pen	} 160 penal	
fence at the meadows	115	
fence from the gate to Smoker fence	134	
fence from the hog pen to Smoker fence		
fence South side lane		

Wheat in the Sheaffe in the Barn

700 Sheafes yielding 8 Bushells p' hundred sheaffes

Wheat threshed in the Bran 26 Bushells

Rye 14 do

2 tang forks.

a Calash broke and served as an (???) to carry wounded

a Waggon Body

a Board fence 1000 feet Inch Boards

1 Ton Hay in my Barn

fence at the rye field next the (work?) 102 penal

Beding sent to Lockwood

in July 1814

1 Bundle 2 Coverlets

10 Blankets

12

a Bundle 1 Coverlet

11 Blankets

24 pieces

Mitchels Rails Hawled

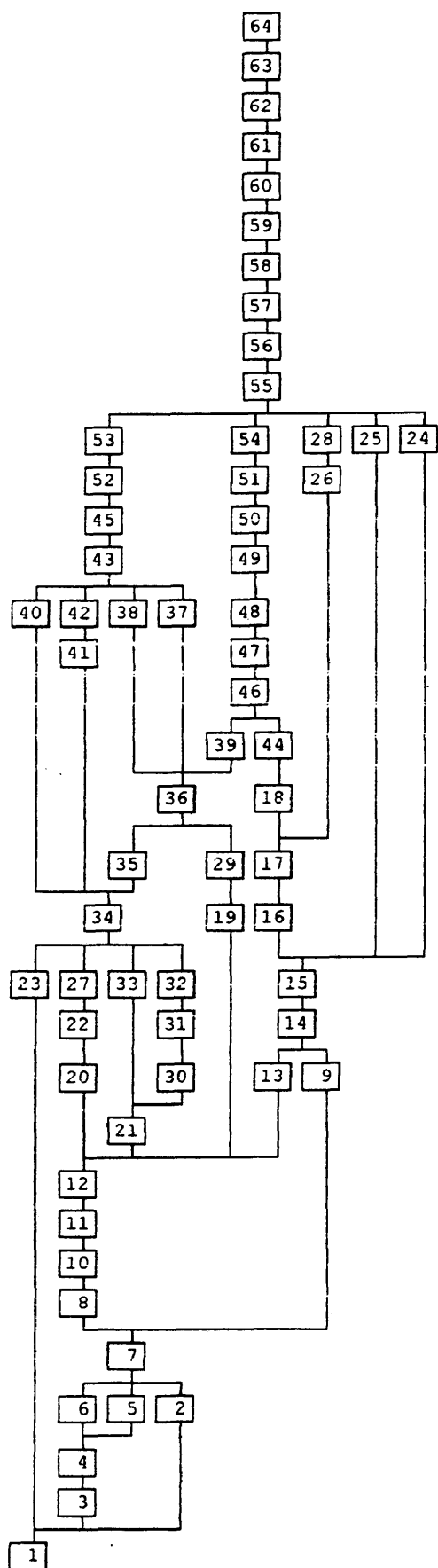
August 13

13 loads	40 each	320
1 do	48	48

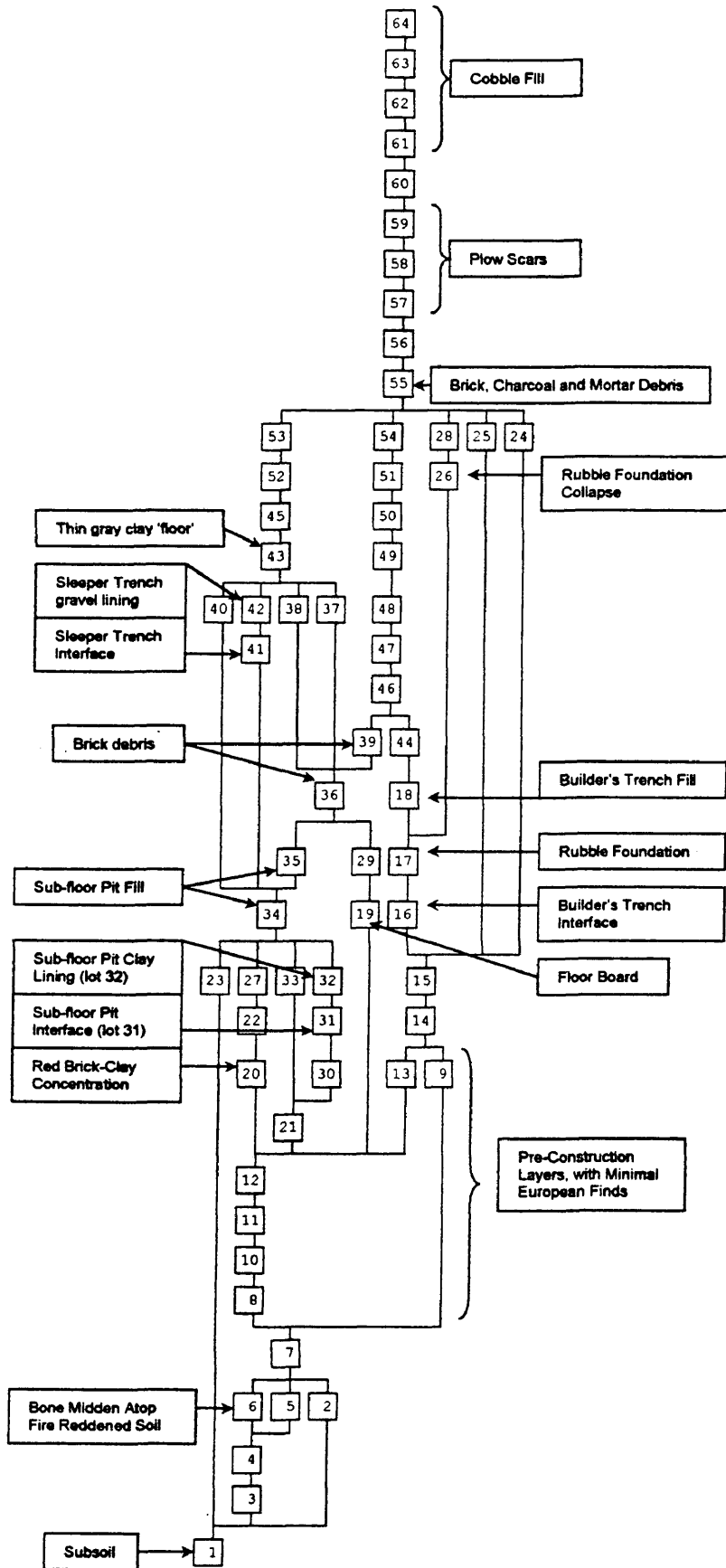
APPENDIX B

Harris Matrices
and
Assemblage Summary

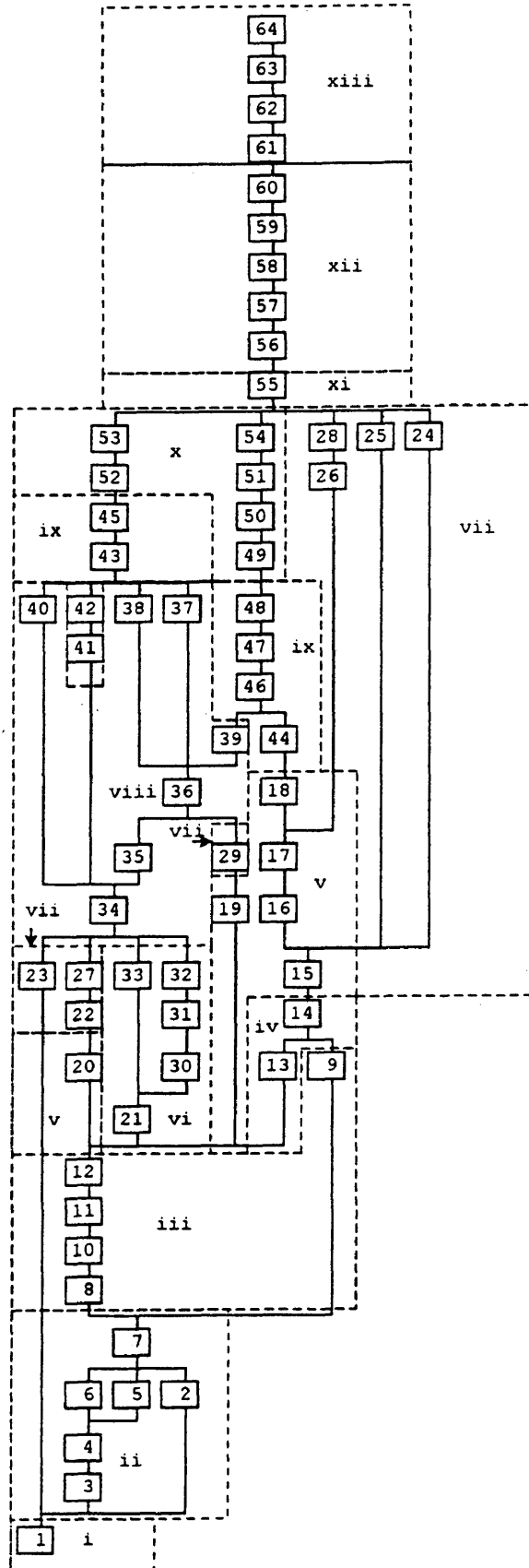
Harris Matrix for Beasley Excavations



Harris Matrix for Beasley Excavations
With Descriptors



Phase Matrix for Beasley Excavations



DATES FOR PHASES
(See documentary analysis for details)

- PHASE I: Subsoil
- PHASE II: Prehistoric
- PHASE III: Protohistoric
- PHASE IV: Early Historic – No Buildings (pre-1780).
- PHASE V: Construction of Beasley’s First Home at the Lakeshore, late 1780s.
- PHASE VI: Occupation of Beasley’s First Home, from late 1780s to 1800.
- PHASE VII: Destruction of Beasley’s First Home, c. 1800 (Beasley moves upslope into brick home).
- PHASE VIII: Destruction Debris (differentiated from phase VI by the degree of debris association with the remains of Beasley’s first home).
- PHASE IX: Construction of Wharf and First Storehouse (at an ANGLE to the lakeshore), c. 1800
- PHASE X: Occupation of Wharf and First Storehouse, from c.1800 until at least 1813. Between these two dates, two additional storehouses are added. They may have been in use up until 1823, after which point they have definitely been razed, with three new structures being built just to the north of them that are parallel to the lakeshore.
- PHASE XI: Destruction of Wharf and Storehouses, sometime between 1813 and 1823.
- PHASE XII: Agricultural Phase, post-1823
- PHASE XIII: Cobble fill event across entire area.

ARTIFACT SUMMARY

The artifacts from the Beasley excavations were databased according to the scheme already in use at Dundurn Castle in Hamilton, Ontario. The first section of the database scheme is from Stanley South (1977), while the second section (dealing only with ceramics) is from the Fort Frontenac Ceramic Typology developed by Dr. John R. Triggs.

Group: This is an artifact function category taken from Stanley South. Each functional group reflects a set of related activities.

KIT	Kitchen
BON	Bone
ARCH	Architectural
FURN	Furniture
ARMS	Arms and Armament
CLO	Clothing
PER	Personal
SMO	Smoking
ACT	Activities

Description: The artifact description is simply a unique 'word' that describes a specific type of material within the above groups. This section does not include ceramics, which are dealt with separately. Below is the list of class numbers and their corresponding artifact descriptions. This list is not identical to Stanley South's (1977); some items have had to be added.

AMPU	Medicinal Ampule
ANT	Antler
AXE	Axe head
BAHO	Barrel hoop
BELL	Harness / Sleigh bell
BOB	Bone button
BOBR	Bone brush
BOCA	Bone case
BOLT	Bolt
BOOT	Boot heel plate
BOT	Ethnobotanical
BOTL	Unidentifiable bottle glass
BOTL	Pharmaceutical bottle
BPLA	Boot plate
BRB	Brass button
BRK	Brick sample
BRPL	Brass plate
BRS	Brass object
BSL	Bale seal
BT	Brass tacks

BU	Buckles
BUCK	Bucket
BUCK	Buckle for musket strap
BUHA	Bucket handle
CASE	Case bottle
CBED	Copper alloy bead
CFLK	Cuff link
CHAR	Charcoal sample
CHRT	Chert debitage
CK	Cock
CLOK	Clock key
CLPG	Clay pigeon
COAL	Coal sample
COIN	Coin
CONE	Tinkler cone
DOLL	Doll parts
DP	Drawer pull
EP	Escutcheon plate
F	Forged or wrought nail
FEB	Ferrous button
FIL	File
FORK	Fork
GBED	Glass trade bead
GEO	Geological sample
GIL	Gilt
GILT	Ornamental gilt uniform accoutrement
GIM	Gimlets
GL	Glazing
GLB	Glass button
GLB	Glass bead (non-trade bead)
GLS	Glass ware
H&E	Hook and eye fastener
HAM	Hammer
HAR	Harpoon
HI	Hinge
HOOK	Hook
HSHO	Horseshoe
INK	Inkwell
JEWH	Jew's Harp
JEWL	Jewellery
KEY	Key
KNIF	Knife
LANC	Lancet for blood letting
LCHY	Lamp chimney
LDBR	Lead bar

LEAD	Molten lead
LEAT	Leather
LED	Lead, not molten
LP	Lock plate
LPBR	Kerosene lamp burner
LS	Lead shot
M	Cut or machine-made nail
MAR	Marble
MB	Modified bone
MB	Musket ball
MF	Musket flint
MISC	Miscellaneous hardware
MLDC	Molded fired clay
MMB	Modified musket ball
MMF	Modified flint – fire steel
MODR	Modern artifact
MORT	Mortar sample
MPB	Modified pistol ball
MPF	Modified pistol flint
MTH	Modified thimble
NPOT	Native pottery
NUT	Nut
PB	Pistol ball
PBST	Lead bottle stopper
PEB	Pewter button
PELL	Pellet
PEST	Pestle
PEWT	Pewter fragment
PF	Pistol flint
PG	Pane glass
PI	Pintle
PIP	Smoking pipe
PLB	Plated button
PLHR	Pan lamp hanger
RAMR	Ramrod sleeve
RASP	Raspatory
REGB	Regimental button
RING	Finger ring
RIV	Rivet
SALT	Salt shaker
SBED	Shell bead
SCAL	Scalpel
SCI	Scientific instrument
SCIS	Scissors
SCRW	Screw

SED	Sediment sample
SHAK	Shako chin strap plate
SHB	Shell button
SHEL	Shell cartridge
SHH	Shutter hardware
SHL	Shell
SHTC	Sheet copper
SHTI	Sheet tin
SINK	Sinker
SILV	Silver trade item
SLAG	Slag sample
SLEN	Spectacle lens
SLPE	Slate pencil
SPA	Spade
SPEC	Spectacles
SPOO	Spoon
SPRG	Spring
SPRU	Sprue; lead waste from musket ball molding
ST	Staple
STEM	Stem ware
STPI	Straight pin
TH	Thimbles
TMSP	Trade musket side plate
TOOL	Worked stone tool
TRGU	Trigger guard
TUMB	Tumbler
UB	Unmodified bone
UBUT	Uniform button
UNI	Unidentifiable
UNIN	Nail, unidentifiable type
W	Wire nail
WASH	Washer
WED	Wedge
WFOB	Watch fob
WHET	Whetstone
WINE	Wine bottle glass
WOOD	Wood sample

Ceramics: As has been mentioned above, ceramics are dealt with separately from the other artifacts. Each ceramic type has a code describing first its fabric type, then its decoration style.

Fabric Description:	BIRO	Blue bodied ironstone
	BUF	Buff coloured earthenware
	CBE	Coarse bodied earthenware

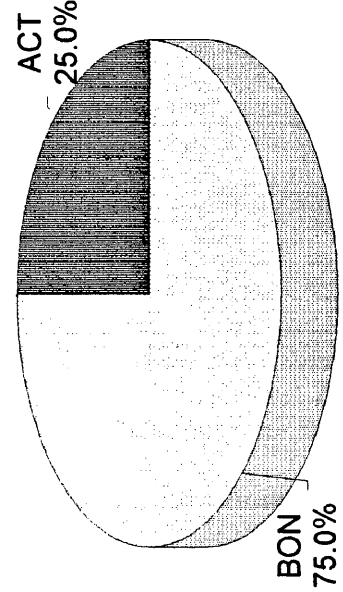
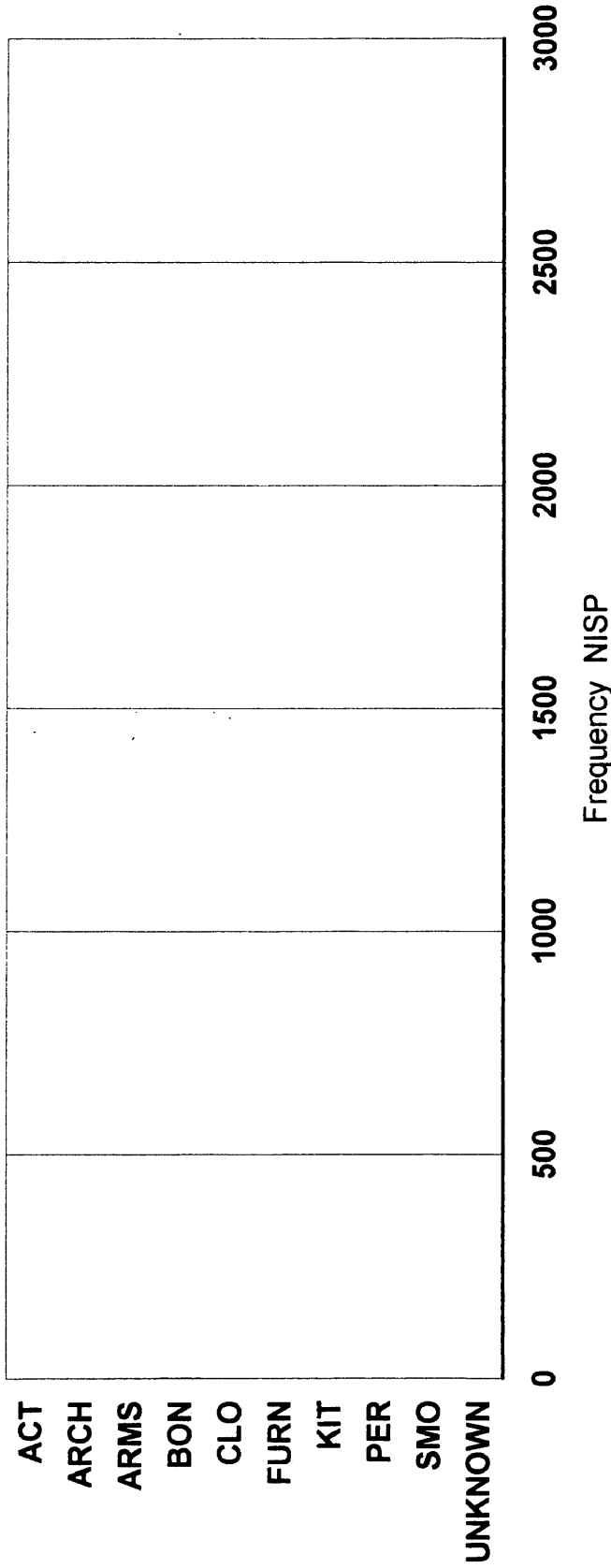
CCE	Creamware
HPP	Hard paste porcelain
PSTO	Porcelaineous stoneware
PWL	Pearlware
RE	Refined earthenware
RRE	Refined red earthenware
SGS	Salt glazed stoneware
SPP	Soft paste porcelain
TIN	Tin glazed earthenware
WBE	Whiteware
WCAN	Caneware
WIRO	White bodied ironstone
YEL	Yellow ware

Decoration codes: Since this list is actually quite extensive, only the ceramic decoration styles encountered during excavation will be listed here.

2.5	Hand-painted, early palette creamware
4.8	Banded creamware
5.10	Plain undecorated creamware
6.11	Blue transfer printed pearlware
6.12	Blue transfer printed pearlware, chinoiserie
6.14	Blue “ “ “ , floral / abstract.
6.17	Blue “ “ “ , Willow pattern.
9.22	Blue painted pearlware
9.23	Blue painted pearlware, chinoiserie
9.24	Cobalt blue painted pearlware
11.27	Hand-painted, early palette pearlware
13.29	Overglaze painted pearlware
16.42	Green shell edge pearlware
17.48	Banded pearlware
19.59	Plain undecorated pearlware
20.60	Blue transfer printed whiteware
20.64	Blue “ “ “ , floral / abstract.
33.107	Blue painted whiteware
41.127	Green shell edge whiteware
47.145	Plain undecorated whiteware
49.147	Black basalt
51.149	Plain undecorated refined red earthenware
51.150	Brown glazed refined red earthenware
76.190	Blue painted soft paste porcelain
79.198	Red overglaze painted soft paste porcelain
81.202	Plain undecorated soft paste porcelain
82.203	Overglaze painted hard paste porcelain
84	Plain undecorated coarse earthenware
85.206	Jackfield

90.215	Undecorated tin glazed earthenware
91.001	Utilitarian salt glazed stoneware
93.001	Molded rim salt glazed stoneware plate

Phase I - Subsoil



ACT : TOTAL 4 (less 3 sample = 1)
 = 1 CHRT
 = 3 CHAR

BON : TOTAL 3
 = 3 UB

Phase II - Prehistoric

	0	500	1000	1500	2000	2500	3000
ACT	33						
ARCH	7						
ARMS	14						
BON							11528
CLO	0						
FURN	0						
KIT	10						
PER	27						
SMO	2						
UNKNOWN	0						

Frequency (NISP)

ACT : TOTAL 49 (less 16 sample = 33)

- = 24 CHRT
- = 16 CHAR
- = 9 BOT

ARCH : TOTAL 7

- = 3 WOOD
- = 3 PG
- = 1 F

ARMS : TOTAL 14

- = 14 LS

BON : TOTAL 11,528

- = 11,524 UB*
- = 2 SHL
- = 2 MB (Cut marks)

KIT : TOTAL 10

- = 10 NPOT (Two incised, one punctate)

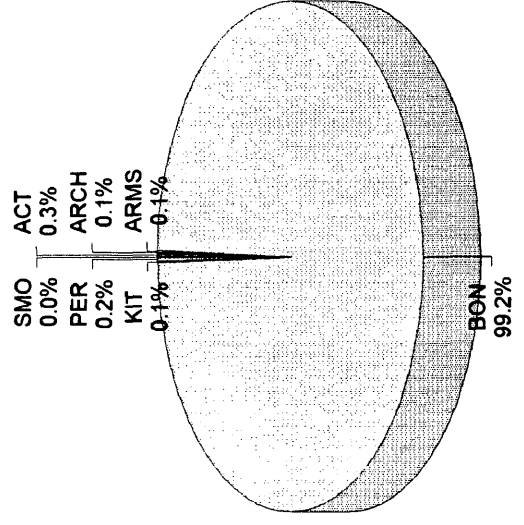
PER : TOTAL 27

- = 18 GBED Ia4
- = 7 GBED IIa12
- = 2 GBED IVa3

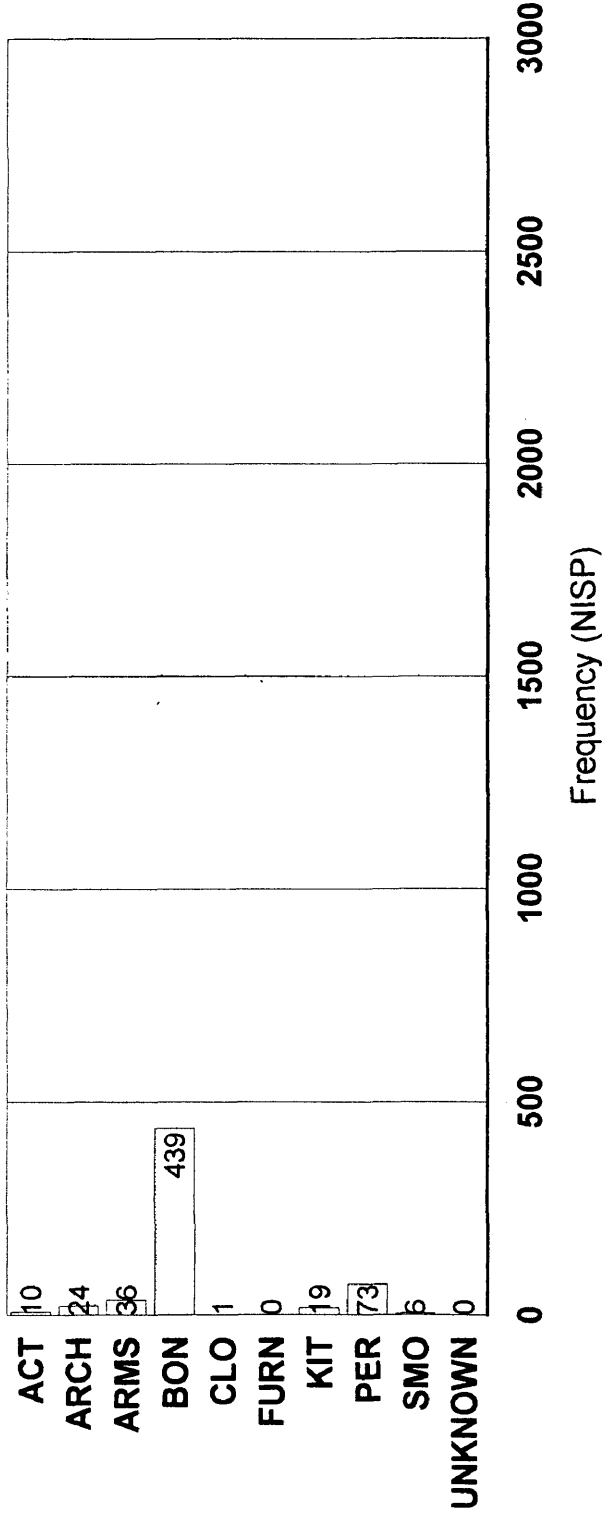
SMO : TOTAL 2

- = 2 PIP

* Midden bone count extrapolated from weighed samples.



Phase III - Protohistoric



ACT : TOTAL 11 (less 1 sample = 10)
 = 8 CHRT
 = 1 TOOL
 = 1 LEAD
 = 1 SLAG

ARCH : TOTAL 26 (less 2 sample = 24)
 = 2 MORT
 = 11 PG
 = 4 F
 = 8 MISC
 = 1 UNIN

ARMS : TOTAL 36
 = 36 LS

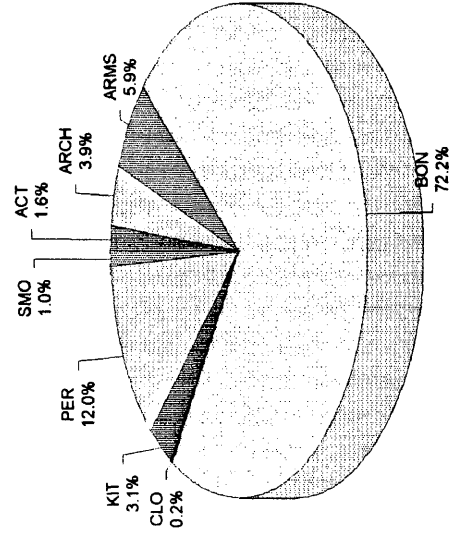
BON : TOTAL 439
 = 434 UB
 = 2 MB (Cut marks)
 = 3 SHL

CLO : TOTAL 1
 = 1 BU

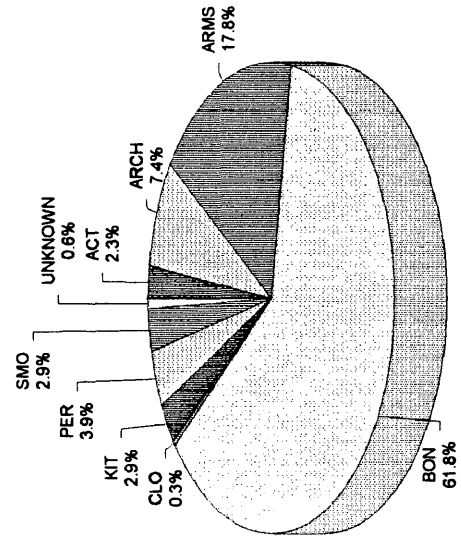
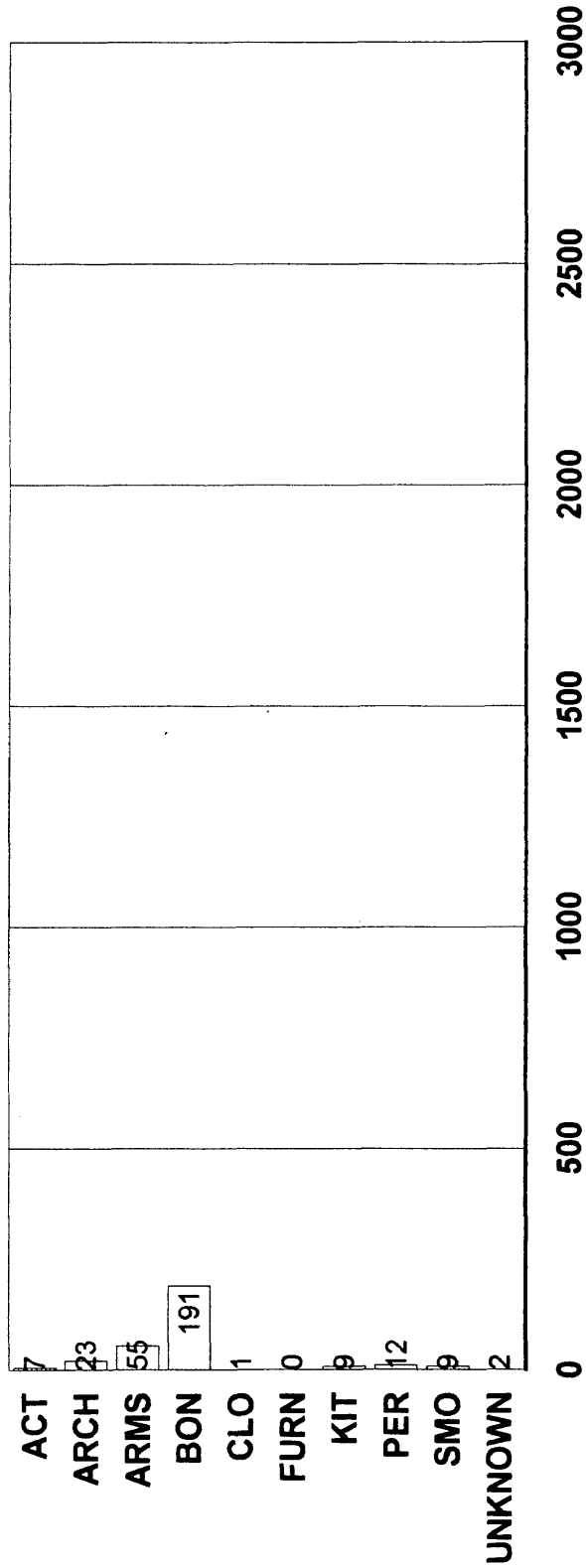
KIT : TOTAL 19
 = 5 NPOT (two incised)
 = 8 CCE 5.10
 = 2 PWL 19.59
 = 1 BOTL
 = 2 GLS
 = 1 WINE

SMO : TOTAL 6
 = 6 PIP

PER : TOTAL 73
 = 1 STPI
 = 3 GBED Ia2
 = 2 GBED Ia3
 = 23 GBED Ia4
 = 13 GBED Ia5
 = 1 GBED Ia11
 = 1 GBED Ia19
 = 22 GBED Ia12
 = 3 GBED Ia14
 = 1 GBED IVa3
 = 1 GBED IVa13
 = 1 SBED



Phase IV - Early Historic



ACT: TOTAL 11 (less 4 sample = 7)
 = 7 CHRT
 = 4 CHAR

ARCH: TOTAL 27 (less 4 sample = 23)
 = 9 PG
 = 6 F
 = 2 UNIN
 = 7 MISC
 = 4 BRIK

ARMS: TOTAL 55
 = 55 LS

BON: TOTAL 191
 = 186 UB
 = 5 SHL

CLO: TOTAL 1
 = 1 H&E

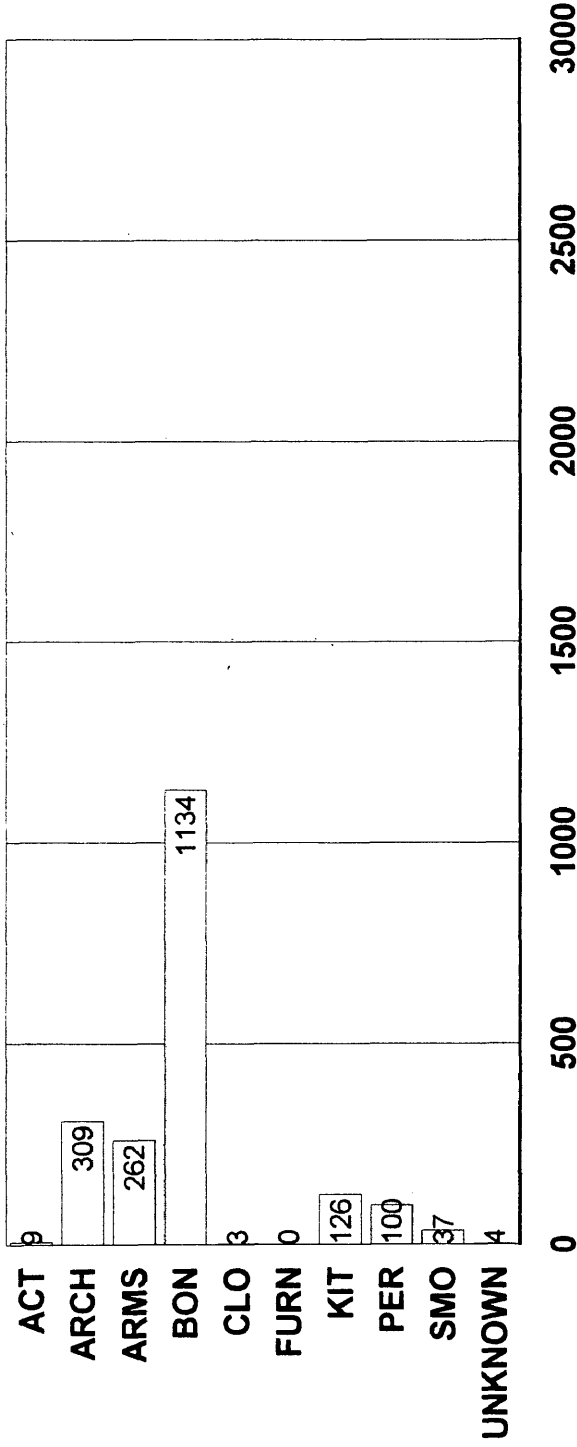
KIT: TOTAL 9
 = 4 CCE 5.10
 = 1 PWL 6.11
 = 2 PWL 19.59
 = 1 RRE 51.149
 = 1 WINE

PER: TOTAL 12
 = 1 GBED Ia2
 = 5 GBED Ia4
 = 3 GBED Ia5
 = 1 GBED Ia6
 = 1 GBED Ia12
 = 1 GBED IVa3

SMO: TOTAL 9
 = 9 PIP

UNKNOWN: TOTAL 2
 = 1 Coral / Antler?
 = 1 Copper Alloy Wire Fragment

Phase V - Construction of First Residence



Frequency (NISP)

ACT :
 TOTAL 9
 = 1 MISC (Mooring Hardware)
 = 3 LED
 = 3 CHRT
 = 1 CLPG?
 = 1 BSL

ARCH :
 TOTAL 323 (less 14 sample = 309)
 = 2 WOOD
 = 68 F
 = 168 PG
 = 7 M
 = 19 UNIN
 = 41 MISC
 = 13 BRK
 = 1 SLAG
 = 4 UNI

ARMS :
 TOTAL 262
 = 250 LS
 = 4 PF
 = 6 SPRU
 = 2 PB

CLO :
 TOTAL 3
 = 1 LEAT
 = 1 PEB
 = 1 BRB

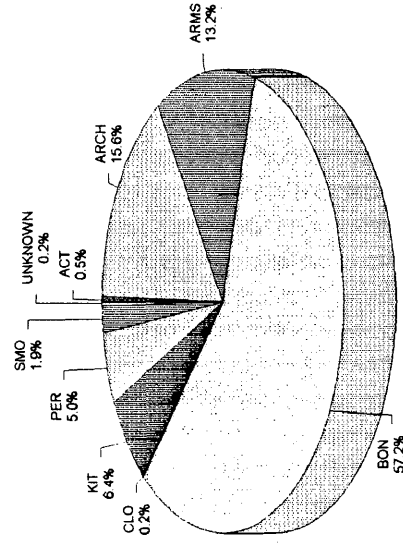
KIT :
 TOTAL 126
 = 11 CBE 84
 = 74 CCE 5.10
 = 1 PWL 6.11
 = 2 PWL 9.23
 = 6 PWL 19.59
 = 3 RE 48.147
 = 2 RRE 51.149
 = 2 SPP 81.202
 = 1 SPP 76.190
 = 2 BOTL
 = 9 WINE
 = 11 GLS
 = 2 BAHO

BON :
 TOTAL 1134
 = 1112 UB
 = 12 SHL
 = 10 MB (5 possible awis)

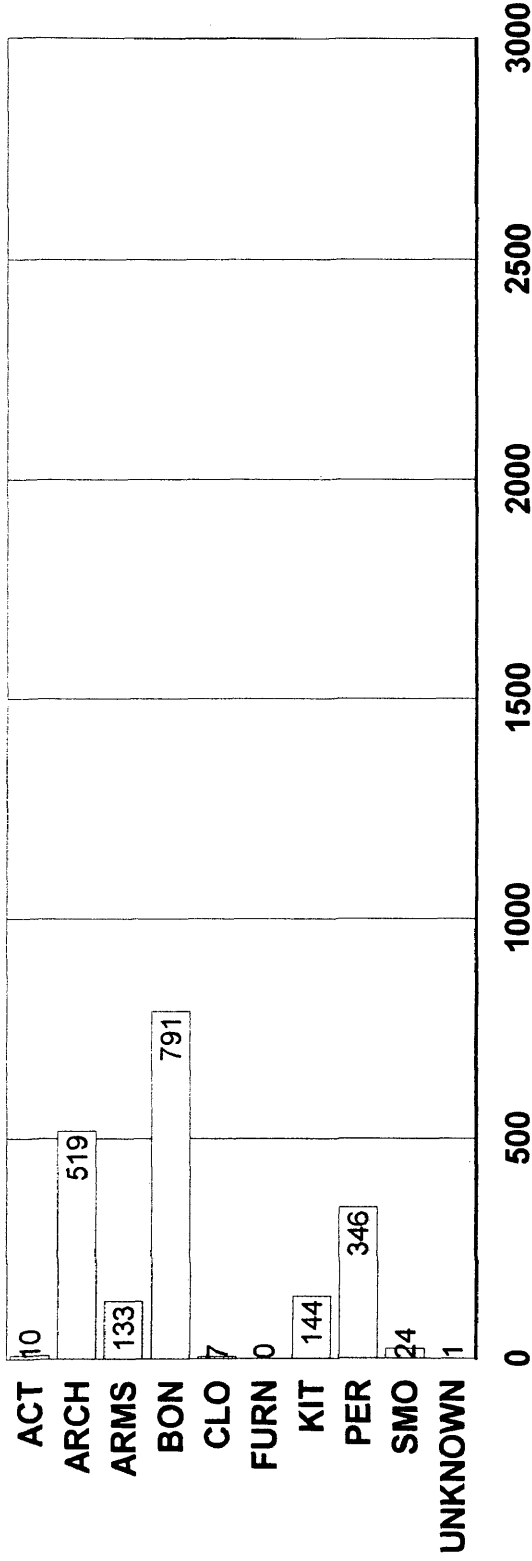
PER :
 TOTAL 100
 = 1 SILV
 = 2 STPI
 = 2 RING (Copper alloy)
 = 2 JEWEL (Trade silver earring and brooch time)

SMO :
 TOTAL 37
 = 1 CBED
 = 2 CONE
 = 6 GBED la2
 = 1 GBED la3
 = 27 GBED la4
 = 17 GBED la5
 = 4 GBED la19
 = 1 GBED la20
 = 25 GBED la12
 = 7 GBED la14
 = 1 GBED la15
 = 1 GBED Wlc1

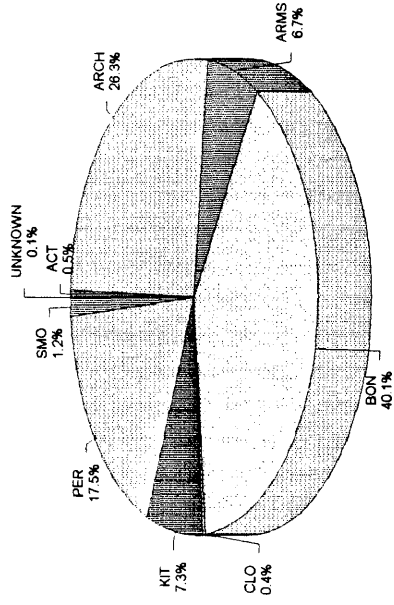
UNKNOWN : TOTAL 4
 = 3 Molten silver & lead pieces
 = 1 Possible worked stone



Phase VI - Occupation of First Residence



Frequency (NISP)



ACT :
 TOTAL 23 (less 13 sample = 10)
 = 4 CHRT
 = 13 CHAR
 = 3 LED
 = 2 LEAD
 = 1 TOOL

ARCH :
 = TOTAL 529
 = 440 PG
 = 46 F
 = 18 UNIN
 = 2 M
 = 11 MISC
 = 1 ST
 = 1 HI
 = 6 BRIK
 = 3 CHAR
 = 1 MORT

CLO :
 TOTAL 7
 = 4 BOB
 = 1 BRB
 = 2 PEB

ARMS :
 TOTAL 133
 = 130 LS
 = 1 TRGU
 = 1 RAMR

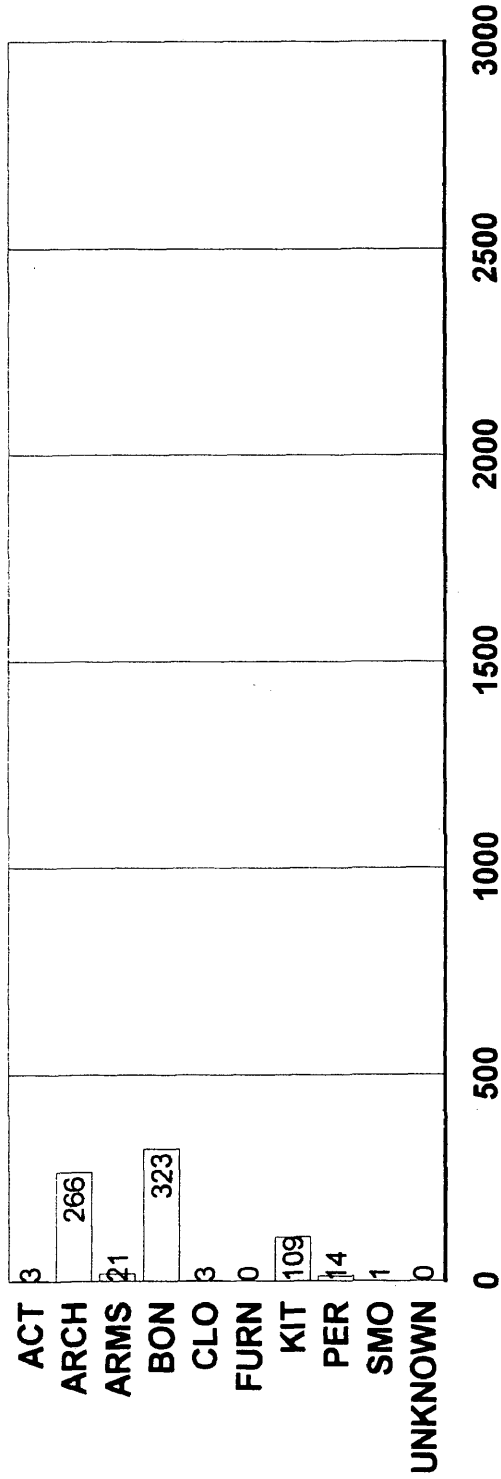
PER :
 TOTAL 346
 = 1 KNIF
 = 280 GBED Ia2
 = 15 GBED Ia4
 = 10 GBED Ia5
 = 15 GBED Ia7
 = 19 GBED Ia12
 = 2 GBED IIa16
 = 1 GBED IIIa1
 = 2 SBED
 = 1 BOTL (Pharmaceutical)

KIT :
 TOTAL 144
 = 2 CBE 84
 = 25 CCE 5.10
 = 1 PWL 6.12
 = 1 PWL 13.29
 = 3 PWL 19.59
 = 38 SGS 93.001
 = 1 SPP 76.190
 = 20 TIN 90.215
 = 6 BOTL
 = 11 WINE
 = 33 GLS
 = 3 BAHO

SMO :
 TOTAL 24
 = 24 PIP

UNKNOWN : TOTAL 1
 = 1 Copper Alloy (stock clasp?)

Phase VII - Destruction of First Residence



Frequency (NISP)

ACT : TOTAL 5 (less 2 sample = 3)
 = 3 CHRT
 = 2 CHAR

ARCH : TOTAL 269 (less 3 sample = 266)
 = 135 PG
 = 44 F
 = 1 W
 = 52 UNIN
 = 2 M
 = 1 HI
 = 30 UNI
 = 3 BRIK
 = 1 CAUK

ARMS : TOTAL 21
 = 17 LS
 = 3 PF
 = 1 PB

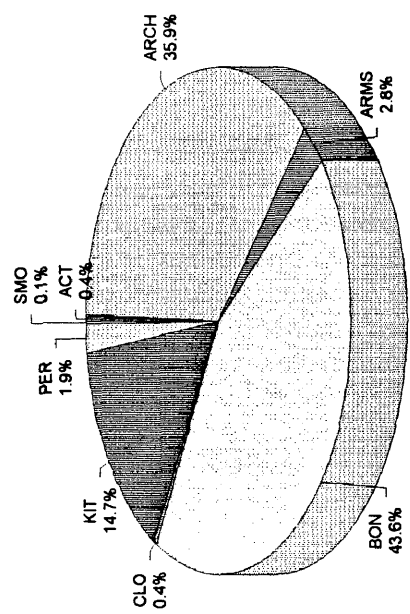
BON : TOTAL 323
 = 321 UB
 = 2 SHL

CLO : TOTAL 3
 = 3 FEB

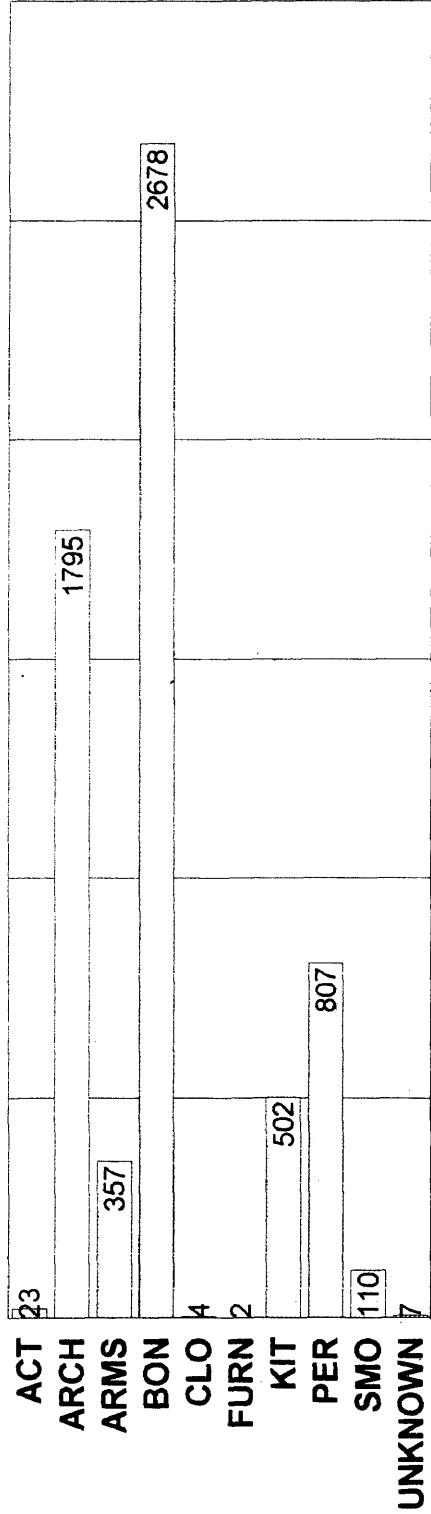
KIT : TOTAL 109
 = 7 CBE 84
 = 4 CBE 85.206
 = 58 CCE 5.10
 = 6 PWL 6.11
 = 4 PWL 9.22
 = 1 PWL 11.27
 = 6 PWL 19.59
 = 1 SPP 81.202
 = 1 WBE 47.145
 = 9 BOTL
 = 1 WINE
 = 11 GLS

PER : TOTAL 14
 = 4 GBED Ia4
 = 8 GBED Ia5
 = 2 GBED IIa12

SMO : TOTAL 1
 = 1 PIP

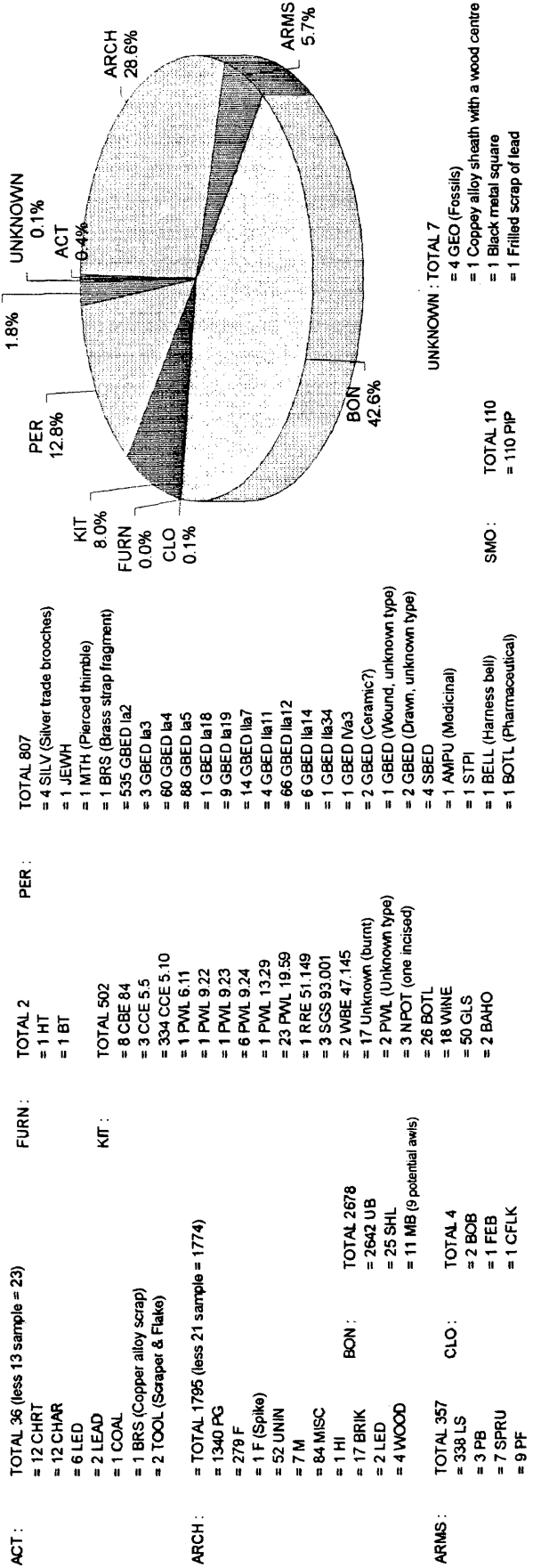


Phase VIII - Destruction Debris



0 500 1000 1500 2000 2500 3000

Frequency (NISP)



ACT:
 TOTAL 36 (less 13 sample = 23)
 = 12 CHRT
 = 12 CHAR
 = 6 LED
 = 2 LEAD
 = 1 COAL
 = 1 BRS (Copper alloy scrap)
 = 2 TOOL (Scraper & Flake)

ARCH:
 TOTAL 1795 (less 21 sample = 1774)
 = 1340 PG
 = 278 F
 = 1 F (Spilke)
 = 52 UNIN
 = 7 M
 = 84 MISC
 = 1 HI
 = 17 BRIK
 = 2 LED
 = 4 WOOD

ARMS:
 TOTAL 357
 = 338 LS
 = 3 PB
 = 7 SPRU
 = 9 PF

BON:
 TOTAL 2678
 = 2642 UB
 = 25 SHL
 = 11 MB (9 potential awls)

CLO:
 TOTAL 4
 = 2 BOB
 = 1 FEB
 = 1 CFLK

FURN:
 TOTAL 2
 = 1 HT
 = 1 BT

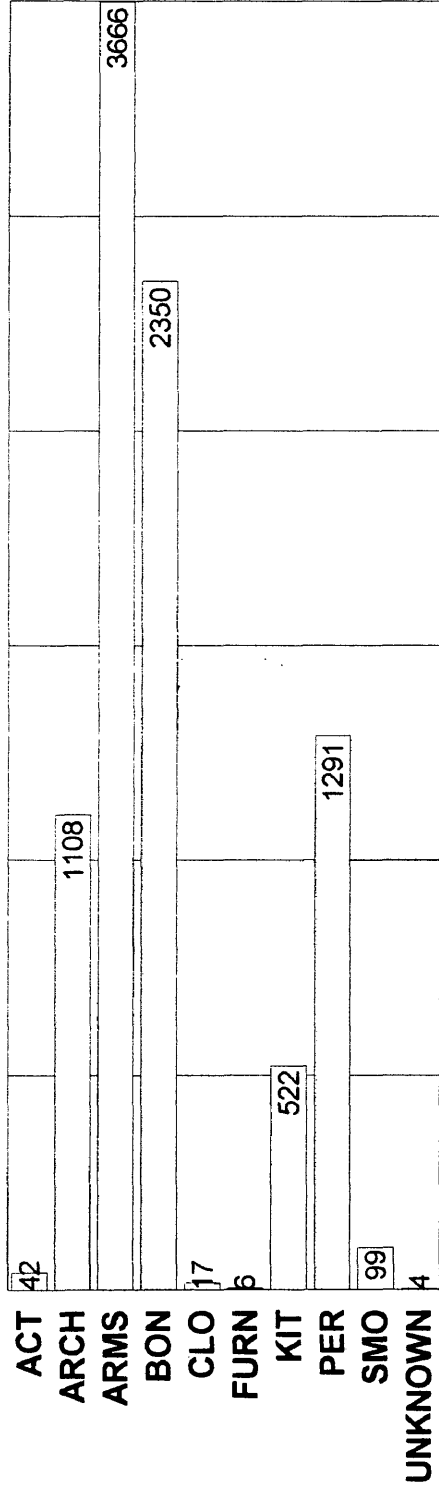
KIT:
 TOTAL 502
 = 8 CBE 84
 = 3 CCE 5.5
 = 334 CCE 5.10
 = 1 PWL 6.11
 = 1 PWL 9.22
 = 1 PWL 9.23
 = 6 PWL 9.24
 = 1 PWL 13.29
 = 23 PWL 19.59
 = 1 RRE 51.149
 = 3 SGS 93.001
 = 2 WBE 47.145
 = 17 Unknown (burnt)

PER:
 TOTAL 807
 = 4 SILV (Silver trade brooches)
 = 1 JEWEL
 = 1 MTH (Pierced thimble)
 = 1 BRS (Brass strap fragment)
 = 535 GBED Ia2
 = 3 GBED Ia3
 = 80 GBED Ia4
 = 88 GBED Ia5
 = 1 GBED Ia18
 = 9 GBED Ia19
 = 14 GBED Ia7
 = 4 GBED Ia11
 = 66 GBED Ia12
 = 6 GBED Ia14
 = 1 GBED Ia34
 = 1 GBED Ia63
 = 2 GBED (Ceramic?)
 = 1 GBED (Wound, unknown type)
 = 2 GBED (Drawn, unknown type)
 = 4 SBED
 = 1 AMPU (Medicinal)
 = 1 STPI
 = 1 BELL (Harness bell)
 = 1 BOTL (Pharmaceutical)

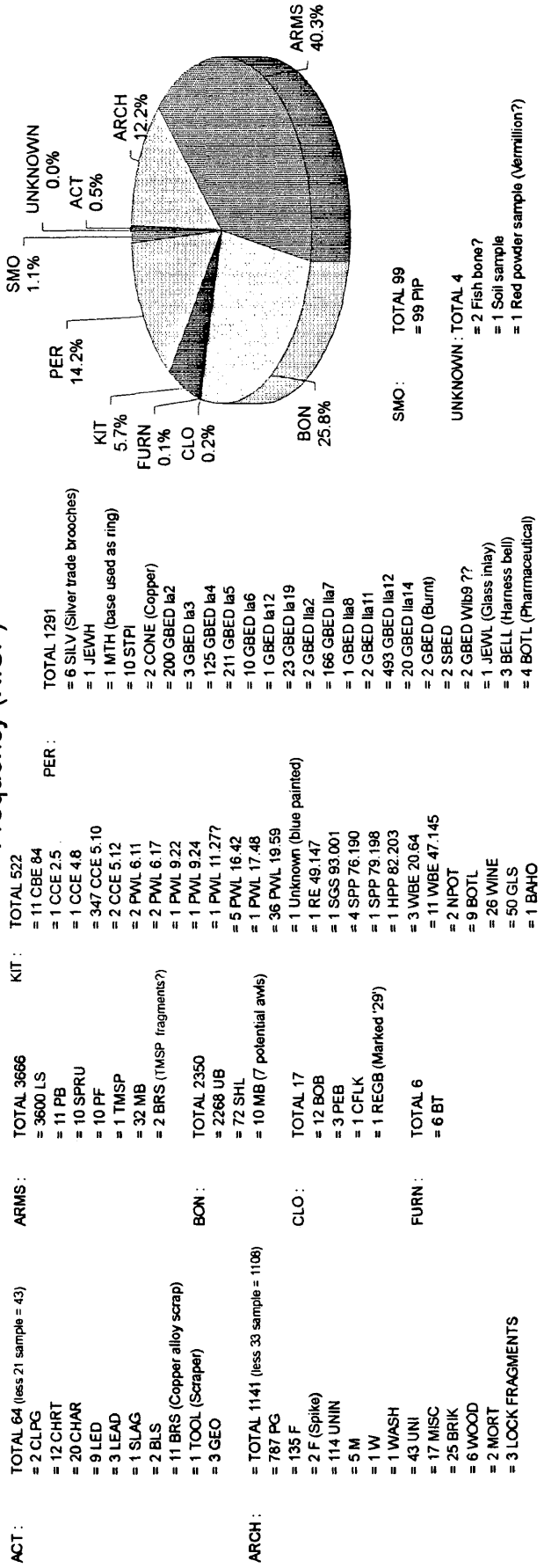
SMO:
 TOTAL 110
 = 110 PIP

UNKNOWN:
 TOTAL 7
 = 4 GEO (Fossils)
 = 1 Coppey alloy sheath with a wood centre
 = 1 Black metal square
 = 1 Filled scrap of lead

Phase IX - Construction of Storehouse



Frequency (NISP)



ACT: TOTAL 64 (less 21 sample = 43)
 = 2 CLPG
 = 12 CHRT
 = 20 CHAR
 = 9 LED
 = 3 LEAD
 = 1 SLAG
 = 2 BLS
 = 11 BRS (Copper alloy scrap)
 = 1 TOOL (Scraper)
 = 3 GEO

ARCH: TOTAL 1141 (less 33 sample = 1108)
 = 787 PG
 = 135 F
 = 2 F (Spike)
 = 43 UNI
 = 114 UNIN
 = 5 M
 = 1 W
 = 1 WASH
 = 43 UNI
 = 17 MISC
 = 25 BRIK
 = 6 WOOD
 = 2 MORT
 = 3 LOCK FRAGMENTS

ARMS: TOTAL 3666
 = 3600 LS
 = 11 PB
 = 10 SPRU
 = 10 PF
 = 1 TMSF
 = 32 MB
 = 2 BRS (TMSF fragments?)

BON: TOTAL 2350
 = 2268 UB
 = 72 SHL
 = 10 MB (7 potential awfs)

CLO: TOTAL 17
 = 12 BOB
 = 3 PEB
 = 1 CFLK
 = 1 REGB (Marked 29')

FURN: TOTAL 6
 = 6 BT

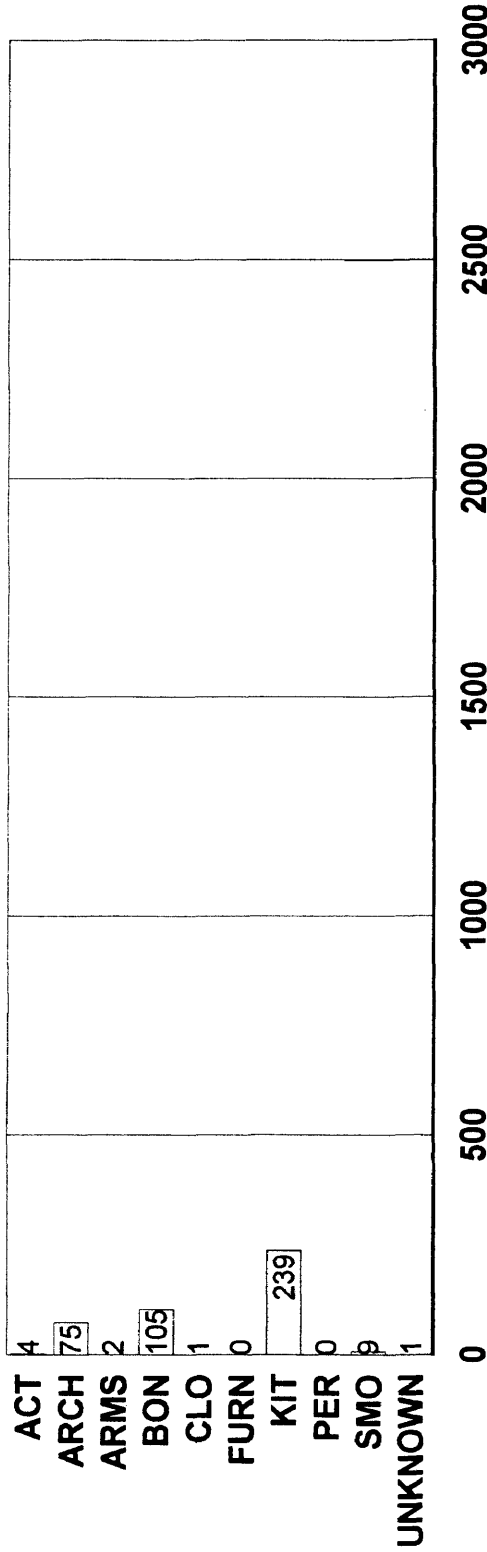
KIT: TOTAL 522
 = 11 CBE 84
 = 1 CCE 2.5
 = 1 CCE 4.8
 = 347 CCE 5.10
 = 2 CCE 5.12
 = 2 PWL 6.11
 = 2 PWL 6.17
 = 1 PWL 9.22
 = 1 PWL 9.24
 = 1 PWL 11.277
 = 5 PWL 16.42
 = 1 PWL 17.48
 = 36 PWL 19.59
 = 1 Unknown (blue painted)
 = 1 RE 49.147
 = 1 SGS 93.001
 = 4 SPP 76.190
 = 1 SPP 79.198
 = 1 HPP 82.203
 = 3 WBE 20.64
 = 11 WBE 47.145
 = 2 NPOT
 = 9 BOTL
 = 26 WINE
 = 50 GLS
 = 1 BAHO

PER: TOTAL 1291
 = 6 SILV (Silver trade brooches)
 = 1 JEWEL
 = 1 MTH (base used as ring)
 = 10 STPI
 = 2 CONE (Copper)
 = 200 GBED la2
 = 3 GBED la3
 = 125 GBED la4
 = 211 GBED la5
 = 10 GBED la6
 = 1 GBED la12
 = 23 GBED la19
 = 2 GBED la2
 = 166 GBED la7
 = 2 GBED la11
 = 493 GBED la12
 = 20 GBED la14
 = 2 GBED (Burnt)
 = 2 SBED
 = 2 GBED Wils9 ??
 = 1 JEWEL (Glass inlay)
 = 3 BELL (Harness bell)
 = 4 BOTL (Pharmaceutical)

SMO: TOTAL 99
 = 99 PIP

UNKNOWN: TOTAL 4
 = 2 Fish bone?
 = 1 Soil sample
 = 1 Red powder sample (Vermillion?)

Phase X - Occupation of Storehouse



Frequency (NISP)

ACT : TOTAL 8 (less 4 sample = 4)

- = 2 CLPG
- = 1 CHRT
- = 3 CHAR
- = 1 COAL
- = 1 GEO

ARCH : = TOTAL 94 (less 19 sample = 75)

- = 35 PG
- = 19 F
- = 11 UNIN
- = 1 M
- = 2 W

ARMS : TOTAL 2

- = 1 BRPL (India pattern post-1809 musket side plate)
- = 1 PB

BON : TOTAL 105

- = 89 UB
- = 14 SHL
- = 2 MB (cut marks)

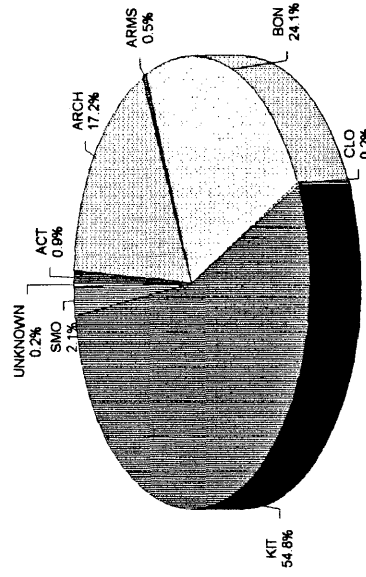
CLO : TOTAL 1
= 1 BRB

KIT :

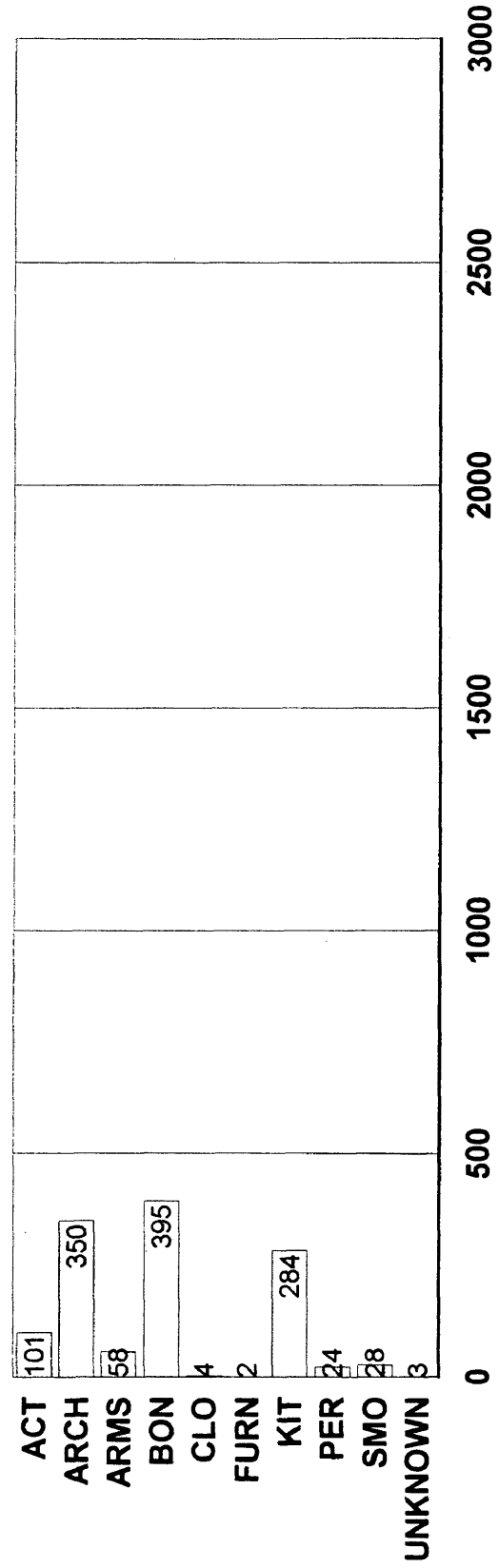
- TOTAL 239
- = 4 CBE 84
- = 165 CCE 5.10
- = 4 PWL 6.11
- = 11 PWL 11.27?
- = 1 PWL 16.42
- = 24 PWL 19.59
- = 1 SPP 79.198
- = 2 SPP 81.202
- = 1 HPP 82.203
- = 1 WBE 20.60
- = 1 WBE 20.64
- = 1 WBE 33.107
- = 1 WBE 41.127
- = 16 WBE 47.145
- = 3 BOTL
- = 2 WINE
- = 1 GLS

SMO : TOTAL 9
= 9 PIP

UNKNOWN : TOTAL 1
= 1 MODR



Phase XI - Destruction of Storehouse



Frequency (NISP)

ACT : TOTAL 107 (less 6 sample = 101)
 = 95 CLPG
 = 5 CHRT
 = 4 CHAR
 = 2 COAL
 = 1 BOT

ARCH : TOTAL 389
 = 258 PG
 = 45 F
 = 29 UNIN
 = 5 M
 = 1 UNI
 = 13 MISC
 = 33 BRIK
 = 5 MORT

BON : TOTAL 395
 = 376 UB
 = 18 SHL
 = 1 MB (cut marks)

ARMS : TOTAL 58
 = 55 LS
 = 2 SHEL
 = 1 SPRU

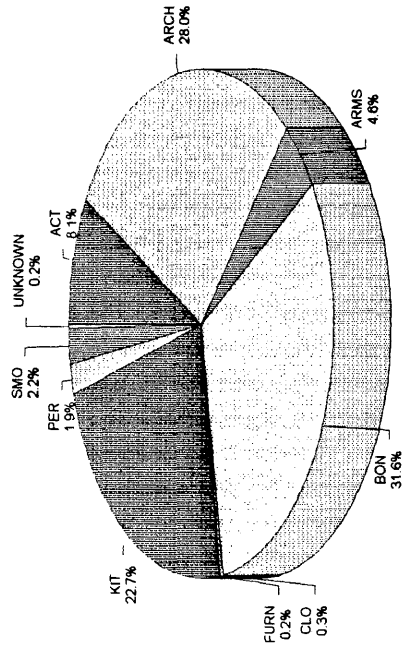
FURN : TOTAL 2
 = 1 BT
 = 1 DP

KIT : TOTAL 284
 = 4 CBE 84
 = 1 CBE 85.206
 = 169 CCE 5.10
 = 2 PWL 6.11
 = 21 PWL 19.59
 = 1 RRE 51.149
 = 1 RRS 51.150
 = 1 SPS 91.001
 = 1 SPP 76.190
 = 1 SPP 81.202
 = 9 BOTL
 = 31 WINE
 = 33 GLS
 = 1 BAH0
 = 6 Unknown ceramics

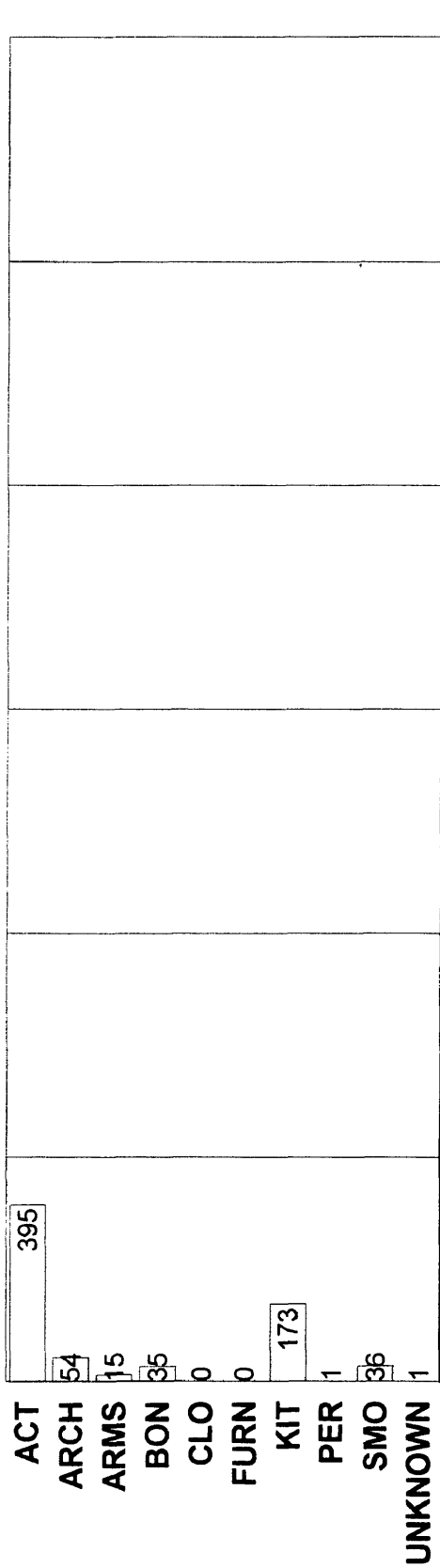
PER : TOTAL 24
 = 3 STPI
 = 1 BOCO
 = 7 GBED Ia4
 = 4 GBED Ia5
 = 1 GBED Ia6
 = 6 GBED IIa12
 = 2 GBED IIa14

SMO : TOTAL 28
 = 28 PIP

UNKNOWN : TOTAL 3
 = 3 Smooth stones



Phase XII - Agricultural Phase



ACT : TOTAL 421 (less 29 sample = 392) KIT : TOTAL 173
 = 387 CLPG = 1 CBE 84
 = 6 CHRT = 1 CCE 2.5
 = 8 CHAR = 109 CCE 5.10
 = 10 COAL = 1 PWL 6.11
 = 11 SLAG = 1 PWL 6.14
 = 2 PWL 9.22
 = 2 PWL 11.27
 = 1 PWL 16.42
 = 5 PWL 19.59
 = 1 TIN 90.215
 = 1 RRE 51.149
 = 2 SPP 81.202
 = 1 WBE 20.60
 = 6 WBE 20.64
 = 1 WBE 33.107
 = 10 WBE 47.145
 = 2 Unknown ceramics
 = 12 BOTL
 = 10 WINE
 = 4 GLS

ARCH : TOTAL 143 (less 89 sample = 54)
 = 49 PG
 = 7 F
 = 3 UNI
 = 73 BRIK
 = 12 MORT
 = 4 WOOD

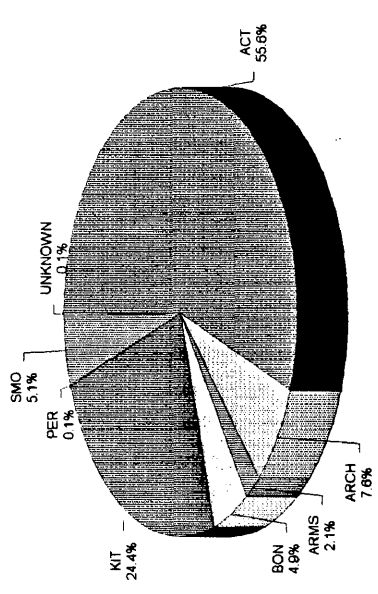
ARMS : TOTAL 15
 = 15 SHEL

BON : TOTAL 35
 = 30 UB
 = 5 SHL

PER : TOTAL 1
 = 1 GBED Ia5

SMO : TOTAL 36
 = 36 PIP

UNKNOWN : TOTAL 1
 = 1 MODR



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