

CAPTAIN JOHN SAVAGE AND THE SETTLEMENT OF SHEFFORD: FROM 1792 TO 1801 (PART 2)

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Abstract

The first part of A.J.H. Richardson's thesis on Captain John Savage was presented in JETS 24. Written as an undergraduate honours thesis in 1936, Richardson's research on Captain Savage was discovered by Professor J.I. Little in 2002. Part 1 presented Savage's early life in New England and his involvement in the American Revolution. Readers left Captain Savage as he was forced to abandon his farm at Alburgh and made his way to the Eastern Townships. This second part focuses on the settlement of Shefford and the development of the community. On 10 February 1801, after nine years of petitioning and developing the land, a grant of 35 490 acres under the name of Shefford was given to John Savage and his 39 associates.

Résumé

A.J.H. Richardson a rédigé cette thèse de baccalauréat en 1936. Ce document qui porte sur John Savage, un loyaliste new-yorkais, nous a été envoyé par le professeur J.I. Little. Dans la première partie de cette thèse, publié dans le vingt-quatrième numéro de la Revue d'études des Cantons de l'Est, l'auteur révèle les grands moments de la vie du Capitaine John Savage en Nouvelle-Angleterre et sa participation à la Révolution Américaine. Contraint d'abandonner sa ferme à Alburgh, Savage s'expatrie vers les Cantons de l'Est. Cette seconde partie se concentre sur l'établissement du Canton de Shefford et le développement de sa communauté. Le 10 février 1801, après neuf ans de revendication sous forme de pétitions auprès du gouvernement et d'exploitation du territoire, 35 490 acres sont enfin accordés à John Savage et ses associés.

Captain John Savage lodged his family probably at St. John's, and struck out into the woods with an assistant on 20 October 1792, "Exploring for road" so that he might take his wife and children into the location he had chosen on the Yamaska River, in the

south-west corner of his new grant. For three weeks, he and his hand worked alone with compass and axe, blazing a "spotted line" through the woods to Shefford and felling logs to bridge the stream. Mrs. Day, in her *History of the Eastern Townships*, describes in detail such a "tour of exploration". Camp Kettle, axe, gun and ammunition, occasionally fishing tackle, and very little provision were carried and the explorer usually relied on a gun or rod for his meal. "Partridges which were then exceedingly numerous, often made the principal share in these repasts". Instead of the usual tripod for cooking, the kettle was usually suspended from a short pole supported at either end by crutches. On November 15, Savage started the four-week task of cutting the road along the "spotted" line from St. John's to the "Mascow" (Yamaska) River with the aid of six men.¹ These men bushed out the road – that is, cleared away the forest undergrowth. Only then could he send in his family and household goods on the ox-sled, following on foot with his son John. It was now winter, but that was all the better, for the road was easier over snow than over stones and mud.

The new township into which he had moved was rolling country, becoming mountainous toward the west. Savage's location was in the valley between Shefford and Brome mountains. The soil in most places was exceedingly rich, but the uplands and high ridges were too stony to be of much value. The timber, as Bouchette explained, was "almost universally of the best species". Two branches of the Yamaska entered Shefford and along their banks were many stretches of beaver-meadow, good grazing land. Savage had chosen one of the best locations in the township, for his shanty was on the first large stream east of the Richelieu – within easy reach of St. John's and also, northward along the river of the St. Lawrence and the northern Richelieu villages. The cabin or shanty he had erected for his family was made of rough logs with a roof of hemlock bark. The dimensions of these first-year cabins (and Savage's seems to have been typical – asserts Mrs. Day), were often not more than twelve or fifteen feet square; the only floor was the smoothed earth. The logs had notched ends, fitting over each other, and any holes in the walls would be filled with moss or clay – in fact, much like a modern boy's cabin built with more primitive materials. Windows of course, had no glass, and it was probably impossible at first to hinge on doors. Blankets or animal skins took the place of both. There was an opening in the roof for the smoke to pass out, if the cabin was big enough to hold a fire, if not, a fireplace of stones was built behind the cabin, under a frame of poles covered with bark.

The stones of Savage's first "Dutch Back", as they were called, still remained by the stream in West Shefford in 1921. Hemlock boughs took the place of a bed at first.

Necessity compelled Savage to locate on his township before the letters patent were issued. He was, in fact, one of the first three or four white men to make a permanent home in the Townships, and may even have been the first. Thus, he fulfilled the conditions of early settlement and opening of roads before the associates of most other townships. This cannot be attributed entirely to external conditions, if Savage had not been of the pioneer temperament and an independent spirit, he might have stayed for years at St. John's or Montreal, and obtained some sort of position there.

Once in Shefford, he and his family were alone for the whole winter and had to subsist as they could on the provisions they had brought with them. They had arrived too late even to gather hay from the beaver-meadows for the cattle, thirty head of which he had brought in – a considerable amount for an early settler. That first winter was trial enough of their determination to settle in this country. The cold was intense. All of the cattle died save three, and the daughters of the family had been reduced to cutting down evergreens and using the foliage as fodder for the animals. One night that winter, the cabin was attacked by a bear when Savage was away. There was still only a blanket in the doorway, and the whole night Mrs. Savage had to ward him off with burning sticks from the fire.

In the spring, Benjamin Towner came in and built his cabin near Savage's. During the summer, a few other settlers arrived; David Davies was in Shefford by July 1793, and Thaddeus Tuttle by August. Davies and Tuttle may not have started building; certainly there was no great clearing in the forest which extended for miles around them. Throughout this first year, Savage always refers to Shefford as "the woods" or "in the woods". However, he had cut a second road out of the town sixteen miles to the southern part of Sutton. His energy had thus opened two early routes of access into Shefford and could induce settlers, from the seigneuries by the road from St. John's and from the United States up the Missisquoi River route to Sutton and then in by the new road, to come in and locate on the land.

It seemed as if Savage was making rapid progress toward obtaining his Charter for the township. Then, through no fault of his, occurred the first of a long series of delays that became a recurrent theme in the settlement of Shefford for eight years. The

Government's survey, when only half completed, was declared to be totally useless by the Surveyor-General, Samuel Holland, due to "the erroneous course of the adjoining lines", that is, the adjoining townships had been badly surveyed. A new survey was necessary, but Savage had considerable difficulty making the required arrangements. In July and August 1793, he went three times to St. John's and Chambly with David Davies to get the instructions from the Surveyor-General – spending 58 days in all. Even then, he did not seem to obtain them, for Tuttle finally brought the instructions from Chambly to Missisquoi. There was also correspondence with Quebec on this matter, for in a 1793 account book he notes letters from the Surveyor-General on August 8 and 18. Finally, however, Savage got the second Warrant of Survey on September 8, the instructions were to follow later. On September 18, he set out for Chambly to get John Clark, the associate who had been appointed Deputy Surveyor in charge of the new survey of Shefford. He was also to bring back with him men for the surveying. They were to become settlers of the town; others were probably already living in Shefford and immigration had certainly begun. In a year and a half, he had done the real work in the initial opening-up of a new Canadian township to settlement, and had helped to push back the forest frontier of Lower Canada beyond the Richelieu.

The process had temporarily put him a good deal out of pocket. The roads to St. John's and Sutton had cost him around £30. His expenses on the journey to Quebec were £23:15:0, with an extra £2:10:6 for the tours of exploration. He had paid the hand with him 10/- a week in addition, and the six men cutting the road received the same pay. Then, there was the £15 deposit before the survey of which the Government eventually paid all the expenses. Add to these items David Davies' eight pounds for going with Savage to Chambly, and we have a total expenditure of about £70 for the year, no small sum at that time. The "inhabitation of St. John's", however, had given him £5 towards the road from their town to the Yamaska, and Savage was supposed to be reimbursed by the associates for all his expenses, with an addition 10/- a day for his journeys which could net him nearly a hundred pounds. It would eventually be very much worth while. Yet, it is doubtful he ever collected any of this money. Already by 1796, he had cut down his personal claims for the year's work to £40, probably finding it impossible to collect more. Whether he received even this amount is uncertain, nor do we know how much he collected from the £70 he paid out. The leader of the township usually had to sustain a heavy financial loss.

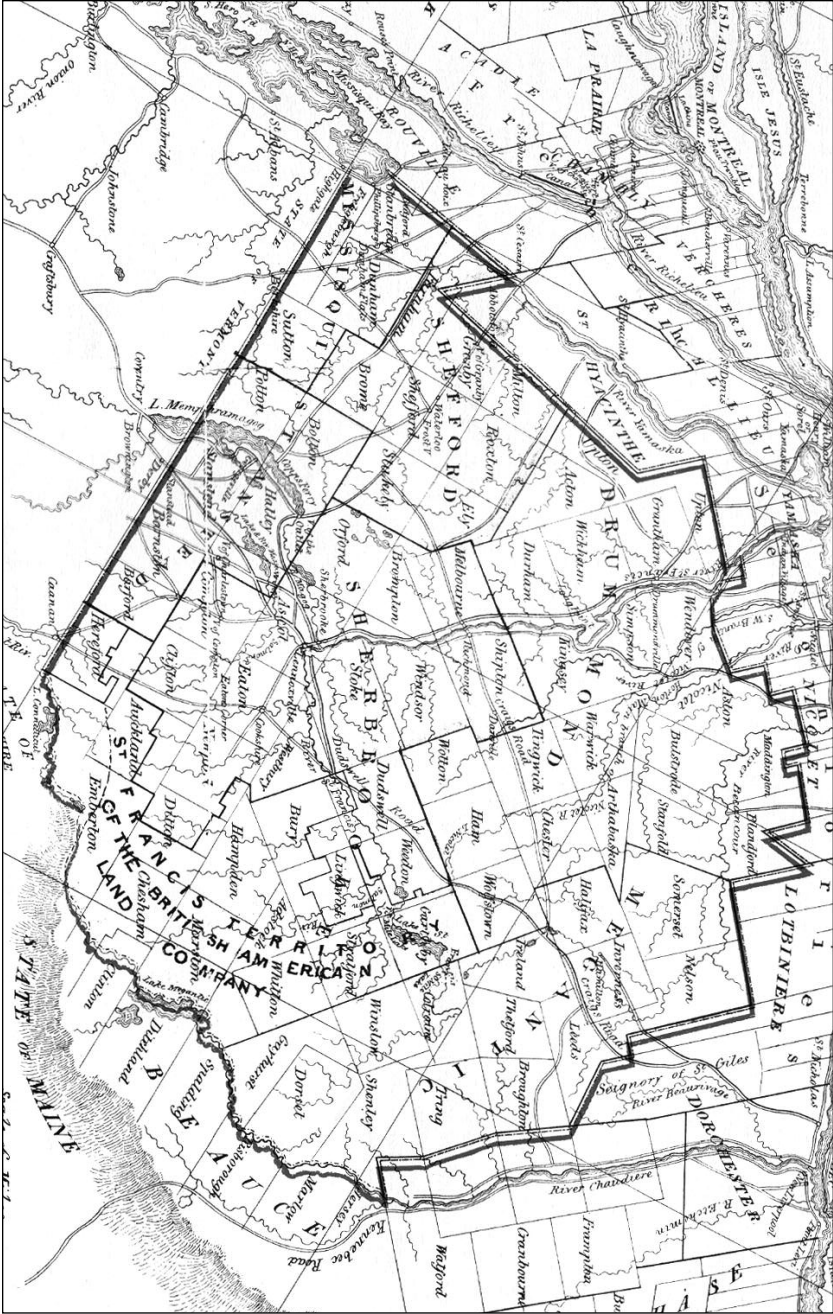
In addition to these payments, which Savage had to supply out of his own money at the time, there was the cost of provisions for the first winter in Shefford,² and other personal expenses. In September 1793, for instance, he paid an 18/9 account for David Davies at Schutt and Grigg's store in Alburgh, from which Shefford settlers were already beginning to buy provisions. Still, he was not always paying out money. In June, he obtained a note of hand for £310 in cash and goods from another Alburgh firm, Dodge and Hawkins, his son obtained one of £250 payable in two year's time and another for £210 payable on November [1]5. How he paid for these notes, of which Dodge and Hawkins issued a number, it is not known. Savage did not use them until he went to Quebec three years later, when they were placed in the hands of Joseph Huckins for collection. No one, it is evident, can lay the charge of lack of energy in settling his township against Savage. As he had done in the American Revolution, when he did not spare himself in supporting the Loyalist cause, he freely gave ready money as well as time in the work to which he had set his hand.

Name and Locality for Savage's Township

Savage's petition in July 1792, is for a "Township of ten miles square situated between the rivers St. François and Chambly (Richelieu), bounded on the south by the Township of Brome and on the east by the Township of Stukley lately ordered to be laid out". The name of Shefford is first mentioned in a letter of 1 August 1792 (the following day) from the Surveyor-General. There is no record of any exploration tour made by Savage before he petitioned. It is possible that the Government had already sub-divided the whole region into townships and named them even before he applied. Savage was given or chose Shefford.

Survey & Settlement: 1793–1797

Captain Savage reached Chambly on September 22. Clark had not yet received his instructions, but they decided to set off for Shefford after Savage had been in town a few days. They took a canoe up the Richelieu and left St. John's on September 29, but did not get to Grand Isle until October 2, the wind delayed them. It seems that at this point Abraham Savage joined the party, and they paddled around the Missisquoi Tongue into the Bay, reaching the settlement there on October 4. The night of the fifth they lay in the woods; the following day they arrived at Shefford. Preparations for the survey



Shefford as it should have been surveyed. Map of the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada, from British American Land Company, by W.J. Duffy, London, 1833. Source: The Eastern Townships: A Pictorial Record p. 2, 1962. Charles P. deVolpi and P.H. Scowen.

were now almost made. Savage's team set out for Missisquoi Bay on October 7 for provisions. There were three new men in the township to help Clark in his work – Abraham Savage, Samuel Mott and John Dean – and the instructions brought by Tuttle from Chambly had reached them on September 30, probably when they were resting at Hill's farm on their way down the Richelieu.

Ahead of the surveyors were the two tasks of running the boundaries of the new town and of dividing it into lots. Instructions diagrams were included for both. The latter was comparatively simple, but the "Boundary Lines" presented some difficulty, since two of them had already been run wrongly during the surveys of adjoining townships. The northern line of Brome and Bolton, commenced at the western end, had been carried too far north and did not meet the south-west corner of Orford. Similarly, the western line of Shefford, a prolongation of the Brome boundary, ran in a slightly too westerly direction – the fault of the Brome surveyors. The eastern boundary of Savage's township had also been run as the west line of Stukeley. Clark's first work, then, was to run a new southern line for Shefford; for this purpose he needed also to re-run part of Stukeley. Commencing at the south-western post of Orford, the instructions said he had to produce the southern boundary of that township westward ("North seventy-eight degrees West" if his needle agreed with the former surveyor) until he met the line between Brome and Bolton, and there "establish the south-easterly corner of the Township of Shefford". Beyond that he was to produce the line further until it intersected the western boundary of Shefford and Brome, and there fix the south-west corner.³

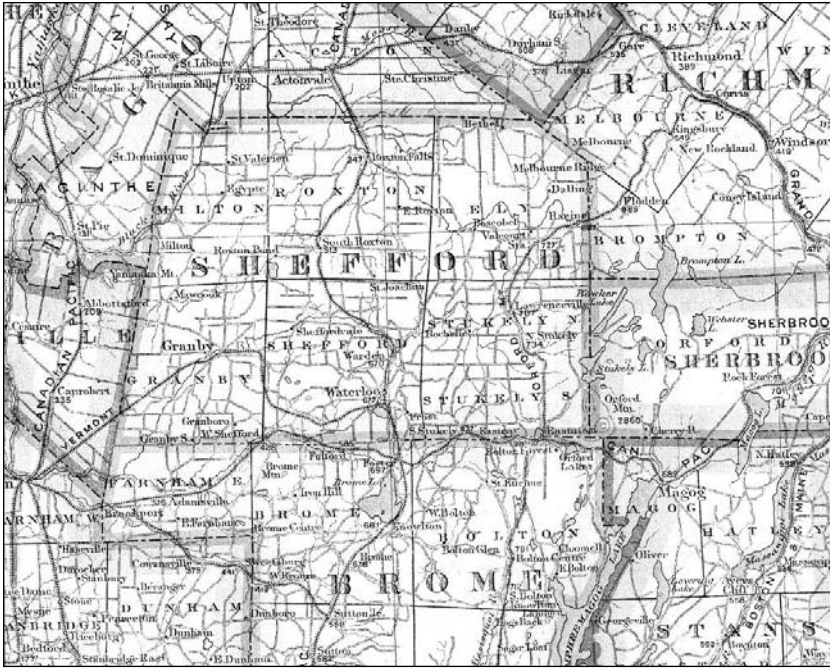
The southern boundary and corners of Shefford settled, he was to measure the western Stukeley line to the northeastern corner-post of that town, which was to serve as the north-east of Shefford. This line had been started from the old boundary of Bolton, and so should be 848 chains, instead of 803 chains 50 links. From this north-east post of Shefford he was to run the north line parallel to the south for 805 chains. Since the western line of the township was wrong, this northern boundary might not reach it. If it was found within a quarter mile radius,⁴ he was merely to prolong the two lines until they met. Otherwise, he was to re-survey the western boundary, making it parallel to the eastern.

As to the lotting, Shefford was to be divided into eleven ranges of twenty-eight lots each, as nearly as possible of equal breadth and length. The Crown and Clergy Reserves were specified in the instructions.

The corners of the township were to be marked with posts, each bearing the names of the four townships. The northeastern post, as we saw, was already standing. There were detailed instructions as to the blazing of the trees. Those along the boundaries were to bear two blazes on each side in the direction of the line, while the neighboring trees bore one on each side in the direction of, and a third facing the boundary. There the lotting lines met the boundaries on the east and west sides or north and south sides of the town (whichever would be more convenient for the settlers). The trees were also to be blazed, and posts to be placed at the corners of the lots.

Finally, the surveyor was to deposit the map at Quebec with his field-book marking the exact length of all lines surveyed, whether the land was suitable for hemp and flax, timber and mineral deposits, and the streams suitable for mills. The Government, which badly needed a system of financing at that time, took no chances over losing any part of its prerequisites.

Surveying began on October 8. Curiously enough, they started running out the lots first. They may have wished to decide where each one's land was situated. Clark, Savage, Abraham Savage, Mott and Dean worked on this lotting until the fourteenth. On the fifteenth, Richard and John Allen joined the surveyors. Richard (and probably John) had made an agreement with Savage similar to Franks' for 200 acres, with the clause that he would "go with the surveyor one month in the woods" which substituted for payment of survey fees and settlement. Clark, Savage, Abraham Savage, Mott and the two Allens "set out on the line of the town" immediately. On the twenty-second, Savage returned home and David Davies went out to join the others at the south-east corner of Orford. The surveyors returned for a few days on the twenty-fifth and some of them helped Savage to clear his land. During this interval "Mr. Dean", Tuttle and "two French men" arrived from the Richelieu settlements. When they went off again at the end of the month to finish the survey of the south line, the Frenchmen joined the surveyors, while Dean and Tuttle joined Savage in looking for a mill-site in the woods. The winter, however, was coming on now. In the first week of November, Clark and his fellows came in from their last surveying of the year, and not until the following May did they recommence work. The whole of the south boundary of the township had not been run. Clark and Savage completed the work in May 1794 with the help of two of the latter's relatives from Spencertown, Adolphus and Elias Pratt. All that early summer of 1794 the



The survey, as this map shows, had not been very good.

Shefford as actually surveyed, 1793–94. Source:

Canada, Department of the Interior, 1917 Quebec: Montreal and Quebec Sheet.

surveyors worked, with brief intervals, on the boundaries of Shefford and then the lotting, and then the boundaries again. Parties went off into the woods from time to time with provisions for the “surveyors”. The Pratts went home, new men appeared in the township and joined the surveying party – William Todd, John Mitchell, Elijah Spencer, Aaron Mills, Dr. William Hill, Ebenezer Clark, James Ruitter and John Knatchback. Savage noted the arrival of each of them in his account book. John Knatchback brought with him, for Savage at least, the problem of the spelling⁵ of his guttural Dutch name and John “Chacapaw”, “Cachpaw”, “Chachpach”, “Checapa”, “Catabach”, “Katchbook”, (there are even more variants) appears frequently now in his accounts. By the end of July the survey was finished, though they had to run more than one line over again, and Savage settled with the last of the workmen – for this second survey had been entirely at his own expense. Now at least he could go off, in August, to St. John’s.

Even with the corrections they made, Dunham in his report mentions Shefford and Orford as two townships whose surveys were notoriously inaccurate. But the work had been done to the satisfac-

tion of the Surveyor-General, and Savage had fulfilled one of the most necessary conditions required for the granting of the charter. In two separate accounts, Savage lists the expenses of the survey (not including provisions) as Clark's salary and the pay of seven men for three months and two days each. More than seven different men worked with Clark and some, Richard Allen and John Knatchback for instance, were only with him for one month, while others for shorter intervals, as David Davies ("To eleven days with the surveyor") taking time off to work his land. Actually (though this is not borne out by the diary, which often mentions who went out with Clark day-by-day) there were seven men working each day for the surveyor. The whole work certainly seems to have taken about three months and two days, if we consider the intervals between surveying journeys, and the Sundays, which were strictly observed as days of rest in the forest ("Sunday we lay still" is a common entry).

Many of these men who helped Clark had settled on the land, though some obviously only came in for the surveying. Others mentioned in his accounts for 1793 are Samuel and Elijah Lawrence. Elijah must have been up in Shefford to look over the land, for he did not settle on the lot until the next year, when his relatives Isaac Lawrence and Isaac Lawrence Jr., brought up their goods from Hinesville, Vermont. The elder Isaac had been a pioneer himself for years. Before the Revolution he had come up with his wife from Connecticut and founded Hinesburgh, spending a dreadful first winter there eating only dried pumpkins and seeing no other human being. In 1793, only John Allen (who was to become Savage's son-in-law), Knatchback, Ezakiel Lewis and Elias Bell "came on their lots," but the following summer a number of others followed their example – the Lawrences, Abraham Kinneson, Tuttle, John Mock, and his sons John Jr. and Joseph. The majority settled near Savage, on the "west stripe"⁶; but the Mocks, Isaac Lawrence (who shared Towner's shanty for a while), and Lewis built their shanties on the "fourth stripe: considerably further east, north of the present town of Waterloo", where John Mock next year was to build a grist mill that was the nucleus of Warden village. Savage, as we saw, had in addition to settling those men on the town started to look around for a place for his own mill, though he had not yet built it.

Not all of these settlers were associates. Elias Bell, the Mocks, Knatchback, Tuttle, the Lawrences (except Samuel), Abraham Savage and the Allens were, but the others had no sort of claim on the

land they had settled. It is a fact worthy of notice, for much of the trouble in obtaining the Charter arose from the nature of this settlement. These people also represented a very large and important new element in the opening up of Shefford and, indeed, of the Townships as a whole. The majority of the associates were Loyalists of St. John's or Caldwell's Manor. They were Vermonters, brought up under a republic, who had moved north with the forest frontiers, or whose economic conditions had driven them to seek a home in Canada – such as Isaac Lawrence.

Savage had made his first real misstep. He had moved to the township, and allowed these settlers to come in, “relying in the faith of Government” that they would be granted lands and “unwilling to render himself troublesome by a premature demand of grant”. The Government, however, required that no settler should come on his lot before he had taken the oaths and been surveyed by the Council. Moreover, a definite amount of land had been promised to each associate to the grant. Savage committed his second error by making a private agreement with the associates in 1793; possibly his experience as land agent at Caldwell's Manor had gone to his head. By the terms of this, each associate paid his three dollars and a half (7/6) per right for his expense in taking out the warrant, being charged (until the township should be lotted) for as many rights as they had agreed with Savage to settle. When the township was lotted, each was to pay his quota of surveying costs and settle their land immediately. When the Charter was outlined, each was to pay his quota of the costs of obtaining this, fees and the like. The amount of land each man was to have depended on individual agreements. By 15 November 1793, the following inhabitants of St. John's had one right (200 acres): Ithiel Crosby and William Towner, John and William Wood, Daniel Munro, John Clark, Israel Lumick, Abraham and Sally Griggs, Alexander and Mary Schutt, Thomas Waywood, Abijah Cheeseman, Patrick Conroy and Minard Yoemans. Several of the 1792 associates, from Caldwell's Manor, seemed to have dropped out already. At St. John's, Patrick Fleming and Mr. Petit had two rights each, and Henry Hardie had ten rights. That same year Savage also made agreements with Thaddeus Tuttle (one right), John Lockhart Wiseman of Montreal (one right), John Knatchback and Richard Allen (one right each, as we have seen, on the condition of helping the surveyor), and James Bell (four rights), while Cheeseman agreed for three extra lots. In 1794, John Mock got twelve rights of land and Dr. Solomon Davies of St. John's one right. Joseph Mott bought four lots around this time for £100 Halifax, the money to be refunded if he failed to

reconvey the land. Besides these seventeen, there were probably other associates by the fall of 1794. Yet none of them had taken the oath.

On 10 October 1794, a government proclamation appointed land commissioners in the chief Canadian Townships; all leaders of townships were required to supply to these men a list of their associates with full particulars of sex, place of goods, occupation, denomination, and age, to be forwarded for the approval of the Council at Quebec before the associates could take the oaths and settle. The proclamation was reinforced by advertisements in the *Quebec Gazette*. Savage, anxious to carry through his settlement as quickly as possible, went over to the commissioners at Missisquoi Bay and supplied them with a full list of 48 associates and the necessary particulars. The known associates in this first list of December 1794 are John Savage, John Savage Jr., John Allen, Hezekiah Wood, John Griggs, Patrick Carigain, Richard Mott, Richard Allen, Peter Savage, John E. Savage, Abraham Savage, Angus McBane, Peter McCallum, Henry Hardie, Thomas Franks, Abraham Griggs, Abijah Cheeseman, Malcolm McFarlane, Ithiel Crosby, William and Benjamin Towner, Thomas Waywood, Alexander Schutt, John L. Wiseman, James Bell, John Mock, George Mitchell, John Sax, Christian Snyder, Thaddeus Tuttle, John Knatchback, James Just Ware, and Derick and Peter Fosbury. Many of the St. John's associates were dropping out. John Clark, the surveyor, had left to become an associate of Dunham, which was to get its charter before any other township. Savage's friends Patrick Conroy and Minard Yoeman had also gone. They were inseparable as ever. To hear of "two men from St. John's named Conroy and Yoemans" who bought the first grist-mill in Frelighsburgh in 1796, added a sawmill and built a house for themselves, selling out later to Abraham Freligh. Conroy had become a land commissioner and Yoemans the customs officer of the port of St. John's, and the latter finally became leader of Ditton.

Of the 48 associates, the commissioners approved of the first 32 named above, "the remaining sixteen not precluded from bringing proof of their being fit persons to become settlers". In January 1795, the council ratified the Commissioners' action and directed that the 32 take the oaths and subscribe the declaration. Once more, Savage made a mistake; he did not see to it that all the associates took the oaths, though he did so himself with John Griggs and Richard Allen on January 28. John Mock followed suit January 30, Savage's son on February 25, James Bell on April 5, Peter Savage on May 5, William

Bell three weeks later, and Tuttle, John Allen, Hezeriah Wood, Hardie, Knatchback, John Mock Jr., Joseph Mock, Isaac Lawrence Jr., Elijah Lawrence, John Bell, with others who were not yet associates, by the middle of 1796. That still left, however, half of the approved associates unsworn a year and a half later. Of course, the infrequency and difficulty of travel to Missisquoi may have been an important factor. Certainly, Savage carried out the other requirements of settlement as quickly as possible, he was eager to fulfill the necessary conditions. The Order in Council of January 1795 had required the approved associates to settle as soon as they could. On March 10, Savage posted a notice requiring all landholders in Shefford to come on their lots by May 24. Those who had not paid their quota would be considered as not intending to settle, "and I shall consider myself not holden to them by any former agreement". He would settle deserving people on the land instead. Soon after, he transmitted to Quebec the names of eight new associates recommended by the commissioners at Missisquoi Bay. It may have been at this time that most of the St. John's associates were dropped.

Savage spent all of 1795 further clearing the forest, John Griggs finally arrived on his lot that summer from Alburgh, where he had been a partner in a store Savage had patronised, and where the leader had probably persuaded him to move into Canada. There was quite an influx of settlers that year, Richard Allen, Hezekiah Wood, Isaac Kinneson, Peter Hays, James Berry, and the three Bells (John, William and Samuel) moved in. In 1796, five more moved in. These settlers were Solomon Kineson, Edward Graves, Alexander Douglas, William Moffitt, John Spaulding. There were now over 30 families in the township, most settled near Savage in the south-eastern corner, or at Mock's Mill on the other side of the township. The settlers on the "west stripe" had spent over £1000 in improving the land by this time, and those on the "fourth stripe" had spent over £800. All of the above became associates later, but there were some who settled on the land and never got a share in the patents. John Dodge was one of these, as were Resolvent Richardson, Abraham Stevens, Urial Chapin and James Yuit.

Just as it seemed to Savage that he was making real progress towards the point where he could apply successfully for a charter, his real difficulties began. They took at first a form too common in the Eastern Townships in these years: land-jobbing. A William Grant, citizen of Montreal, applied to the Government for a charter to Shefford, and it looked as if he might be successful. Savage in despair turned to Caldwell, and Caldwell came to his rescue. The

latter drew up a petition for him⁷ advising that he would come to Quebec to back it up. On 15 May 1796, Savage left Shefford, he had with him a number of papers to enclose with his memorial – the Minutes of Council of August 1792, Clark's instructions and map to prove that he had surveyed the town at his own expense, together with three letters from the Surveyor-General's office, and ten from Colonel Caldwell himself.

He stopped at Missisquoi on the seventeenth and there he procured a recommendation from five land commissioners who were only too ready to help a friend they knew to be an honest and persevering settler – Henry and John Ruiter, Philip Luke, Jesse Pennoyer, and Patrick Conroy. Both on account of his services during the Revolution and his character and industry since, they thought him “a person well deserving His Majesty's Bounty in the Crown lands or any other indulgment which a true and faithful and level subject can have reason to expect from the great liberality of the British Government”.

In that liberality he placed his faith. For Savage believed he had more than thoroughly earned his right to a charter. For twenty years, Savage had spent his great energy unselfishly, first in fighting for the king and now in founding a valuable and useful community in his new country. He had given years of raising men for King George, of imprisonment, and of valuable service to Haldimand's scouts during the Revolution. In Shefford, he had re-surveyed the town at his own expense, he had opened roads, he was building a mill (and John Mock had completed his the previous year), he had cleared out the forest until 1795, he had been able to raise 500 bushels of all kinds of grain, and all the inhabitants had raised enough for their support. Finally, he had just recently been appointed a Captain of Militia for Shefford, had been able to raise a company of 37 men, and he had settled, as we have seen, over thirty families on the land, thinking that the “immediate industry, toward rescuing the tract in question from a state of wilderness would be perfectly consistent with the views of Government and strengthen his pretensions to those lands”. Savage gave Clark's instructions and map to William Vandervelden of the Surveyor-General's office and presented his petition on June 11. It was different in form, but substantially the same in content as that which Caldwell had made out. He ended it with a plea for confirmation in the township of Shefford and a grant of 1200 acres to each of his associates.

Savage was fairly soon undeceived. His petition was referred by Dorchester to the Land Committee on July 1 and received by them

on the eighteenth (the machinery of eighteenth-century government worked slowly). On August 8, the Chairman, Hugh Finlay, presented their report:

The Committee does not discern that the Faith of Government has ever been pledged to John Savage the petitioner for more than 1200 acres of land in the township of Shefford to himself as leader and 200 acres to each of his Associates Conditionally, as expressed in the warrant of survey dated the 18th day of August, 1792,

(the tone is slightly acid)...

the Committee is humbly of opinion that if the reasons assigned by the Petitioner for having taken possession of Lands in the Ungranted Tract known by the name of Shefford were admitted to be satisfactory, it would be considered as an invitation to every person, as well in this province as in the United States who had obtained warrants of survey (that were of no validity often six months from the date thereof) to follow the example of the petitioner; the consequence, in the opinion of the committee would certainly be, that in a short while a very considerable part of the waste lands of the crown, would be held by a set of men who would not deem Patents necessary after they had once got possession, it might require an armed force to remove them from the Lands they had taken hold of ...

In order to prevent similar trouble in the future, they recommended that a government advertisement be circulated through the northern States, declaring that no one could settle on Crown Lands before they had taken the oaths and that a warrant of survey was not equivalent to a grant of the land to be surveyed. In consideration of the strong recommendations in his favor, Savage was allowed to continue as leader of Shefford and obtain 1200 acres in the town. Any twelve associates who had taken the oaths might also have 1200 acres each, but the rest must be content with one 200 acre lot.

The impact of the official mind on pioneer conditions is well shown. The Committee was probably influenced by the Government's need of finances and also by the fear of too large a republican element seeping in from the south. They took a more general view than Savage. There is very little doubt that in his particular case no harm would have been done. Savage would have applied eventually for his land; he had almost every claim on the Government for a grant, but he had omitted the formalities of the taking

of oaths (in some instances) and the return of the survey until he could back up his petition for a grant by proof of actual settlement. The fact that the survey had not been returned (though he told them it had been made, at very great personal expense) probably influenced their report most.

The report had not been only a rebuke; it had confirmed his title to Shefford, though it had turned his former condition into that of a squatter, and it might easily have made him now a squatter on land given to Grant. From 1796 on, Savage would be considerably more careful of the forms required by Government.

For a year and a half his prospects of an immediate grant were dampened. He notes four journeys to the commissioners at Missisquoi Bay during this period. The "land business" was in the doldrums; it must have seemed a long time of waiting to Savage, but he was still to have more experience of these delays. Meanwhile there were three newcomers, Anthony Cutler, Silas Lewis and Timothy Hoskins, and some of whom had already settled and commenced clearing their lots. Savage's partial rebuff from the Land Committee had probably caused the falling-off in the number of new settlers. Then, at last, in December 1797, Caldwell wrote him a decidedly encouraging letter from Quebec. On November 9, he told Savage, there had been an advertisement in the *Quebec Gazette* from which it seemed likely that several of the townships petitioned for would be granted. What was necessary for Savage was to bring proof of what had been done in the survey and at what expense, "as in proportion to what you have done, such a proportion of the Township Will be Allowed you". Savage might even get 1200 acres for every settler actually on the town. There would also be a fee of £19:9:0 for every 1000 acres to "defray the expenses of Government"⁸. "It is likely you will be in a better situation than for some time past you expected". A ray of light for Savage at last shone through.

The Self-Sufficing Community: 1793–1801

All this time, the internal development of "the township of Shefford, which (except that of the Honourable Th^s Dunn)⁹ is farther advanced than any in Lower Canada", as Savage claimed in 1796, was going steadily forward. Before long, the community moved away from the stage of very first settlement when it is entirely dependent on the outside world for supplies, and the settlers provide their homes, their furniture and even the forage for their cattle with the most primitive means from materials found on the spot. It became, for a while, more or less self-sufficing. Then, with the con-

quest of the forest, came surplus production and the desire for luxuries. More trade with Montreal and other settlements developed, and Shefford became an economic and social unit in the Province instead of an isolated community, just as it became a political unit on the granting of the Charter.

The amount of forest cleared by the end of the year 1800 was about 800 acres, in quantities ranging from John Savage's 70 acres to Steven Stevenberg's single acre. The majority of this was in the south western corner of the tract, where a village had developed around the Leader's location, or at the eastern end, where John Mock's mills had attracted a number of settlers since 1795. There was also a good deal of cleared land under the southern side of the mountain. The extensive clearing really began in 1795 and 1796, when a comparatively large number of settlers came in. Even by the latter year, Savage and his son had spent £475 on their improvements, the Mocks £450, and John Griggs, Isaac Lawrence, Ezekiel Lewis, Peter Hays, Knatchback and Douglas all over £100 each. In one or two instances, several settlers worked together on one lot. For example, Peter and John Savage helped James clear his land, and Elias and Samuel Bell neglected their own lots in order to improve John Bell's lot situated between them. Wiseman of Montreal and James Bell of Quebec had not settled, but they had freely helped Savage with money and provisions. Bell, like Hardie (another town man, from St. John's) had labourers clear his land after Savage, with the help of Bell's friends McFarland and Tuttle, had laid out his lots for him. Savage himself, though "located" in the town, had by no means made all his own improvements. He had hired workers for the survey and now he continued to engage new settlers regularly to clear land, sometimes for their first month or so at Shefford and around 1799, for as much as six months. Some of them worked for him also in harvesting and thrashing his grain and peas. He was the leader of the community, to whom many probably applied for work on arrival.

Not all of Savage's money was spent on clearing out the forest, however. He replaced his shanty by the usual log house and later by a frame house when facilities arrived. The other settlers' dwellings also gradually passed through these "three stages of the pioneer home". Barns seem to have been rather late in building. Savage had one (it may not have been his first) put up in 1800 by Samuel Hinckley, a carpenter from outside the township. There were apparently no real carpenters in Shefford until Thomas Ives came in 1801. The settlers had been able to build their own homes, but by the end of the century we see the disappearance of self-sufficiency

and the use of outside expert labour for the erection of barns and bridges. Savage's first carpenter-built barn was probably considered almost a piece of "swank" on his part. It certainly shows the growth of demand for more than mere necessities. In 1796, he began building a mill, though as far back as three years he, Dean and Tuttle had gone off into the woods "for to luck (look) a Mill Site". The Mocks were before him in this work, having begun a grist mill probably in 1794¹⁰ and a sawmill soon after. Ezekiel Lewis built the fourth mill at the outlet of Waterloo Pond some time between 1796 and 1800. The mills at these three places naturally helped to attract settlers, and they grew into the three villages of the township – West Shefford, Warden and Waterloo. Indeed, before his mill was begun, Savage's energy had brought a number of settlers to West Shefford, and throughout the early years it was the largest village, though the coming of the railway in 1860 resulted in Waterloo overtaking it.

Before the erection of these mills, what is known as a "plumbing mill" must have been used – a section of log standing upright, with a cavity in the top, as mortar, and a pestle fastened to a spring-pole so as to rebound on the corn. There were naturally no crops raised in the township during the first year or two, and even by the spring of 1794 Savage with his son-in-law, John Allen, and Towner spent some time bringing in flour (90 cwt), wheat (12 bushels) and one bushel of potatoes some of the wheat at any rate from "Spencer - - -". Probably from the farm of Thomas Spencer in Sutton, for a road had been opened to that town and Spencer, one of the first settlers in the Townships, had come to his lot in 1792. In May, John Mock was selling wheat to Savage at 6/6 a bushel, flour at less than 3d. a lb., and beans at 3/9 the bushel. By 1795, Savage was raising 500 bushels of all kinds of grain himself, and all the inhabitants "Suffict, for their own support". His account books for 1795 are missing, but by 1796, when his mill had started, he was selling flour, Indian meal, corn wheat and bread to many of the other settlers. The demand fell off in later years, probably since the others were raising more. The demand seemed to have been generally strongest and the price highest from March to June. It is unlikely that many produced a surplus besides Savage. He had more land cleared and employed labour, therefore, Savage would have most of the corn at this time of year. "Corn" in 1796 was 5/6 per bushel in March, 5/- in April, and 4/- by August, but "ears of corn" were only half the price. "Indian meal" was 5/- in March. Savage sold his flour at 3/7d. the pound, higher than Mock's price, which had never risen above three dollars, though varying often. Savage never notes the price he charged for

"wheat". Mock had originally asked 6/6 the bushel (something like the Vermont price ten years before but it included carriage), but in the interval his price had ballooned to 12/6 and then to 15/- (dates uncertain). It is quite possible he was profiteering, as so many did when provisions were scarce in the Townships; men thought nothing of making a three or four hundred per cent profit.

Savage appears to have supplied most of the salt for the township for years. In 1796, he charged 15/- the bushel. Later the price went down to 13/4 (March 1797), rising suddenly in April to 16/-, and being down again to 13/9 in 1799, and 12/6 in 1800. There is no record, unfortunately, of where he obtained this salt, but items of the sale of it are very common in his account book. Savage bought 12 lbs. of butter at 10d. the pound from Mock in 1794, but in general the settlers must have been able to supply themselves, for they nearly all had cattle.

Every now and then Savage recorded the sale of beef and tallow – the tallow at 10d. the pound, more than twice what he had charged at Caldwell's Manor but he must have been selling at the price others in Shefford did. He did not go in extensively for the sale of beef, as in 1783, but only killed one of his oxen every now and then, for the beef sales range, at wide intervals, from 1796 to 1800. He borrowed some pork in 1797 from Elijah Lawrence; this is the only mention of it until 1801, when he and his son John were both raising "hoges".

The people drank rum, bitters and grog chiefly. Tea is not often mentioned before 1799; that year Savage sold a considerable amount either at 5/- or 5/6 the pound. In 1802, green tea at 6/8 could be obtained from Joseph Cartier at St. Hyacinthe, up the Yamaska, and Savage may have procured his tea here or from Montreal. The consumption of liquor was heavy, though Savage seems to have used moderation. John Clark came down to board for three weeks in December 1794, with John Griggs, probably at the latter's first home in Alburgh; his bill for "sundrays" on departure ran:

to 1 boul of Grog & 2 Glass is bittors	0 1 3
to 1 boul grog & 1 Glass Do	0 1 0 ½
to 1 Nip Grog	0 0 5
to 1 Nip & 1 glass Bittors	0 0 7 ½
to 1 Nip for Christery	0 0 5
to 1 Boul & 1 Nip Grog	0 1 3
to 1 Bitter	0 0 3
to 1 Nip	0 0 5
to 3 Nips at Sundrays	0 1 3

to Nips and one boul at Sundrays	0 2 1
to 1 Gill bitters	0 0 5
to 5 Gills Grog & 1 Glass bitters, sundrays	2 4
to Sundrays	3 6
to Sundrays	0 4 0
to 2 Gills one Glass	0 1 0 ½
to 2 Nips Grog at 5d pr.	0 1 0
to 2 bouls Grog at 10d pr.	1 8
to 1 Gill	5
to 3 Boules Grog	2 6
to 3 Boules Grog	2 6
to 1 pt Rum	1 2
to 3 bouls Grog	2 6
to 1 Grog & Glass Bitters at 8d pr	0 8
to 2 bowls Grog	1 8
to 2 bowls & 1 nip	2 2
to 1 Nip & 3 bowls grog	2 11
to 4 glass bitters	0 10
to 4 Nips Grog at 5 pr	<u>1 8</u>
Total	2 1 8 ½
to 2 nips 3 Glass bitters	1 5 ½
to Sundrays	3 0

Of course, it was the festive Christmas season. Cutting the roads through Shefford was thirsty work, too, to judge by Savage's purchases for labourers. Griggs seems to have supplied most of the liquor for the township, even after he settled in Shefford; there is no mention of any inn or tavern until after 1801. In 1799, Savage records "John Savage Jr. to John Griggs [...] to two Quarts of home made gin", in the nature of an experiment, for it is the only mention of any drink other than rum, grog, bitters and tea.

The items for tobacco sold by Savage occur as often as anything else in his notebook – from the very earliest days of the settlement, so it is not likely he grew any himself – and he could always find a ready customer in "John Chacpaw". Both "pigtail tobacco" and "carrot tobacco" sold for about 2/- a pound (2½d. the yard) in 1793 and 1794. By 1799, the price had fallen to 1/8 a pound, though Savage retailed "Carrit tobacker" in the first half of 1796 at 2/6 per pound. There is also a "levit tobacker".

On the whole, prices for food seem to have fallen during these first eight years but not greatly. The township was still more or less self-sufficing in 1800, and it was not for nothing that some individuals practically held "corners" in various goods, or that they came from Yankee stock. However, the land produced well, and

supplies of grain were not scarce. There is no mention or indication of a year of bad harvest or destitution in Shefford.¹¹ In some part of the Townships, the introduction of sheep and the cultivation of flax was so late that families were forced to make clothing out of blankets, and patch their old clothes with the skins of animals. There was no such trouble here; Savage, with foresight, had brought in sheep sometime during the first two years of settlement.¹² Mrs. Savage was an energetic worker. By October 1793, her husband was able to shell $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards of woolen check to Abraham Savage. The next day, he sold another $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards, while his wife made a coat and shirt for Abraham and two woolen shirts for John Clark. It was not until the next year that sufficient flax was raised to make a tow cloth. He sold it then at $1/8$ per yard; in 1799 the price was $2/6$. There was obviously no outside competition here either. Then in 1798–99 there was the more expensive broadcloth, blue or grey, which would cost anywhere from $10/-$ to $5/-$ for the yard. Cotton, which of course was imported, is first mentioned in 1799, when Savage asked $3/-$ per yard for striped cotton, and a “linen shirt” appears in the accounts for 1801. Until the last two years of the century, then, the ordinary woolen or tow cloth was sufficient, or had to be.

Besides preparing the cloth itself, Mrs. Savage was kept busy making clothes for her husband to sell to new settlers, or to those who had no wives, that is, unless she was cleverer at the work than the other wives of the settlement or had a greater range of materials, for all through this period Savage was selling coats, frock, woolen shirts, overalls, greatcoats, and socks to a number of people. They were cheap enough too, compared to other goods: Coats (“thread and button”) at $5/-$, frocks at $7/-$, shirts at $2/6$, overalls at $1/-$ a pair. The price of socks rose between 1794 and 1801 from $1/-$ a pair to $1/6$ a pair, and it cost an extra shilling to have them fulled. The greatcoat was a bigger task, and probably of exceptionally good material and so Savage priced it at 25 shillings. On the whole, however, clothing formed a small part of expenses in Shefford.

Leatherwork, on the other hand, commanded a higher price. Savage himself must have been an expert leather-worker, and had a good supply of leather on hand, for many wore the moccasins he sold. These “magginsons”, or “mogsons” were practically the only footwear used by the settlers for their first few years, being better adapted than shoes to a forest country. A pair would be priced at $5/-$ in the first year of the settlement. Around 1794, they began to give way to shoes costing $7/6$ the pair right down to the end of the century. Savage supplied these too, and replaced taps and heels for $1/6$.

The mittens he sold in 1798, 1797 and 1800 for 1/3 a pair were probably leather too. Often he supplied the leather alone, and the buyer made up his moccasins, or other leather goods, such as bell-straps. In 1797, Savage purchased sole-leather from Joel Pratt at 2/- the pound with seal skins and boot legs.

In the pioneer settlement the dress was naturally plain, though of good material. The homespun cloth that was made into shirts at 2/6 and overalls at a shilling a pair is the same cloth that has in many cases lasted down to the present day in good condition. There was a small amount of luxury, but a "Sixpence for powder" owned by John Spaulding in 1799 is more likely to have been for gun-power than hair-powder!

Though much of the clothing was thus made in the township, it was not all bargained for privately by individuals. In 1800, "Henry Powers & Co." was selling a variety of cloths and sundries to Thomas Wood – blue broadcloth at 15/- per yd, blue serge at 4/-, red flannel at 4/-, a vest pattern at 11/-, sticks of twist and skeins were sold at 8d. each and 26 vest buttons at a penny each. Wood was obviously going to make himself a complete and colourful new suit of clothes. The cloth is mostly simple and in all likelihood made in Shefford, but even before that time Savage was buying more elaborate clothes and cloths from outside. As the head of the settlement, he probably felt bound to dress better than the rest. At first he bought from people coming into the town. From the Pratts who came up to help in the survey in 1794, he got nine pairs of shoes at 11/- each, three hats at 11/- each and two blankets each 14 shillings, the price showing the quality compared with what Savage supplied in Shefford. Then, on his visits to Alburgh he would buy more cloth. In January 1795, he bought "foreist cloath" at 11/-, "Sheloon" at 3/4 and lace at 3/6 per yard from John Griggs. In 1796, he bought black Callimanco at 2/9 and a skein of sewing silk from John Grant; the prices compare favourably with the simpler cloths obtainable in Shefford.

Savage was a harness and saddle-maker as well as a shoemaker, but even he at first got his saddles and harness from the Pratts, at considerable cost – £6 for one saddle and bridle. Both horses and harness were highly prized in the pioneer settlement. Savage bought two horses from the Pratts for £40. How many he had altogether there is no indication (there was a bay mare and a white mare in 1801), but in 1799 and 1800 he often accommodated the horses or oxen of friends for the night (the charge was usually 1/- for each cow or horse). Likewise, he pastured the cows of other settlers

whose own land was not yet sufficiently cleared. As was previously mentioned, most of Savage's cattle died during the first winter in Shefford; the cost of replacing is suggested by the price of a cow Savage bought from John Mock in 1799 – 4:10:0. Sheep, which were also brought in by 1793, cost anywhere from 7/6 to 12/6 each.

Wild animals are hardly mentioned, though bears, wolves and lynx were common enough in those early days. Muskrat and raccoon skins occur more than once, however, in bills or accounts. Thomas Waywood paid the fees of his land in 1793 with "15 muskrats skins and one rackcone skin"; all these were only valued at 7/6, and as late as 1800 muskrat skins sold for 7½d. each and coon skins at 2/6. A grouse is mentioned once, sold by Savage for half a crown.

Horses made a blacksmith necessary. As well, metal tools were much needed, for the first settlers had little besides axes and knives. Hezekiah Wood supplied Savage with "horse botes" in 1800; by 1801 Edward Graves was doing regular "Black Smith work". The leader himself sold axes, knives and razors to other pioneers, and at least one reaping hook (worth 3/-); iron goods, though, were not yet common. Such a thing as a tea-kettle was a luxury. The iron was at any rate smelted at the St. Maurice Forges or in the United States, though the ore may have come from the Townships. We have already noted the late arrival of carpenters, therefore, early furniture was very crude. Old bits of board or box brought from former homes, sticks and elm-bark basket-work were used for tables and "catamount" beds. By 1800, Savage had built his sawmill and was in a position to supply boards to the neighbourhood.

Savage, and others such as Griggs and Hezekiah Wood, lodged many of his workmen in his house. Nine to ten shillings a week was usually what he asked and board cost was much the same in 1800 as in 1794. His accounts show, however, the workmen's pay to be less than the cost of lodging. Those who worked on the survey got forty shillings a month (with John Clark drawing 10/- a day); in later years Savage paid them from six to ten dollars a month. Still, most of them would not be boarding with him, and by giving them a regular salary for their first few months in the town he helped to start them in at the work of settling. The day-by-day account of John See's work for Savage in November and December 1801, shows the sort of labour for which they drew this pay: helped to kill hogs; cut underbrush; got wood with Savage's son; fetched two loads of hay and cut wood at the door; thrashed wheat; broke flax; thrashed oats; got wood and a load of hay; etc. Except in the harvest season,

these men were usually employed in clearing the land, a business which cost about three [dollars] the acre, for Savage realized that the more land cleared the better chance he would have of getting his Charter.

His relations with the settlers were generally good. They respected him and realized he was doing his best to forward their chances of obtaining title to their lands. Several of them became relations, John Allen, Hezekiah Wood, John Clark and Silas Lewis all marrying his daughters, and his son John marrying one of the members of the Mock family who were progressing as well on the other side of the township. This helped make Savage even more the benevolent patriarch of Shefford. In such a small community most of the families soon came to be related and there was consequently much sympathy and kindness between the settlers. Indeed, as Mrs. Day explains, throughout the Townships in the earliest days, "mutual regard and consideration for each other's comfort and convenience" was characteristic. "[T]he people seemed bound to each other by a community of interest and sympathies as well as trials [...] man would hardly feel justified in refusing to lend his property if not using it himself, when his neighbor was in want." Savage's notebooks give the same general impression of a group of people all coming into almost daily contact with each other, and interested in each other's doings: "Get me two bushels of wheat and one of corn [...] don't do it if it is like to distress you" reveals Savage's kindness. In one of his notebooks is an item to another settler "one dollar for Christmas". Dishonesty was rare, and regarded with horror. Everyone trusted his fellows.

Even Savage's handwriting and spelling mark him as a different type of man from his friends Conroy, Ferguson, Luke and Pennoyer at St. John's and Missisquoi. Theirs is the flowing, urban eighteenth century hand; his writing is painfully crabbed. Yet it is no worse than that of many other of the settlers and it has more character and a certain form which the latter often lack. Parts of his account books are in a neater hand, probably Mrs. Savage's. Hezekiah Wood has a fancy writing replete with long ditto marks. Savage notes having paid John Clark for making out the returns of settlers. It is as well he did not do it himself. His financial accounts are not models of clarity, though better than those written at Caldwell's Manor. The method of finishing letters is amusing, everyone arranging his mater so that he can work "Yr Assured Friend" or "Yrs faithfully" neatly into the end of the sentence.

There were no schools in the Townships before 1805. Clergy were

practically as late in coming. Savage never mentioned a clergyman at Shefford before 1801. There may have been an occasional itinerant Methodist preacher, but Savage's was one of the most northerly townships at the time. These preachers helped spread American republican influence, and Savage would probably not have welcomed them. Nevertheless, he was a comparatively pious man even before his old age, during the survey for example, the workers always "lay still" on Sundays. Savage's influence was important in a region where Sabbath-breaking, Mrs. Day complains, was all too common.

Hardly a single doctor practiced in the Townships at this early date. In April 1796, Joseph Davis, working for Savage, lost half a day's work on the twelfth and on the thirteenth "he lost that day by a fit". Three days later he was well enough to "go after the doctor", this must have been to Missisquoi.

No school, no church, no doctor, and no law-court, nearly all the institutions of modern life were lacking. The administration of justice was not yet properly organized. Militia officers were authorized to act "where a magistrate's warrant could not readily be obtained", but the system was very sketchy and not adequate to the demands on it. The nearest appeal court and the only goals were at Montreal and Three Rivers, and the delay and expense of taking a case there scared people off appeals. Henry Lawrence and John Savage Jr., carried a case to Montreal in 1800, Samuel Willard testifying for Savage. The leader would preside in any local cases, for he had early been appointed Captain of Militia again, on Henry Ruiters's promotion to Major (and had turned out a company of 37 Shefford men in 1796). He did not become a J.P. until after Shefford had received its Charter. Not many of the inhabitants were fugitives from justice in the States (except John Griggs), too common a type of settler in the Townships. The land commissioners at Missisquoi occasionally visited the settlement to deal with legal affairs relating to the land.

Savage's expenses in obtaining the Charter had been heavy. By 1801, with journeys, cutting the roads, and the whole cost of the second survey, he had spent altogether around £4, with an extra charge of £3:6:8 per 1000 acres for granting fees. He also asked greatly varying amounts for lots of actual land which he promised to secure to the purchasers in the Charter – a sale of lands which were not his.

The cost of his journeys to Quebec were less than half in 1796 what they had been in 1792, and three years later they were again halved. He made frequent trips to Missisquoi on land business and

to Alburgh as the nearest market. By 1798, however, a road had been opened to the Black River at St. Pie, and St. Hyacinthe also became a market. In the meantime, Savage's road from St. John's to the Yamaska was extended to Shefford, making journeys to Montreal quicker. Letters, of course, went by private hand. There was a post office at St. John's and occasionally letters would be forwarded to Savage from there via Philip Ruiter at Missisquoi. Transportation costs are shown by the Lawrence's bill for moving their families and effects 100 miles from Hinesburgh, Vermont, in 1794 – it cost Isaac $\underline{150}$ and Elijah $\underline{137:10:0}$. Ox-carts were used for most journeys.

Improvements in transportation, of course, were what finally transformed Shefford to a self-sufficing community. It had always been dependent on Alburgh, however, for some goods and thus had never really been self-sufficing. There Savage dealt with Schutt and Griggs, or Dodge and Hawkins.¹³ The latter issued notes; Savage took three "Dodge and Hawkins notes" (totaling 780d.) to Quebec in 1796. Savage records more than one note against Joel Pratt for large amounts. Notes of hand and orders were used similar to those at Caldwell's Manor in 1783, and three-cornered transactions were just as common. Indeed, lending was very frequent and Savage did not seem to charge any interest. Interest on bills, which sometimes remained ten years entirely unpaid or was paid off gradually, was in one instance at least 7%. Several receipts are quaintly phrased like this: "Received of Hezekiah Wood in full of all accounts from the beginning of the world to this day". The currency now used was usually York, often called "Lawful Money", but many transactions are marked "Halifax Currency" which was worth $\frac{6}{5}$ as much. The crown, or 5-shilling piece (worth $\frac{5}{6}$ currency) was a common coin. After 1795, dollars also came into use from the States.

Domestic exchange, then, was still mostly of simple material and between individuals. Savage and his wife providing a good many of the needs of the settlers; there were obviously hardly any stores. The community imported its luxuries and some of its necessities from the south. Until the end of this period, it can hardly be said that it had passed much beyond the self-sufficing stage, and had scarcely become a real part of the general economic life of Canada.

The Charter: 1793–1801

Henry Caldwell's letter of 8 December 1797, must have roused Savage to action. Unfortunately, the records for the following two years are very brief. He attended on the Committee at the Bay, and

when first Jesse Pennoyer and then Samuel Willard went down to Quebec, they did what they could towards promoting Savage's interest. Yet somehow, the Government paid little attention to him. The truth was that from 1796 to 1799, Governor Prescott and his Council were at loggerheads over the land question, and little could be done towards granting lands when they could not agree. The Governor believed "that those who had actually become occupiers and begun the work of settlement, should be confirmed their lands in full". If Prescott had his way, then, Savage might have received his charter far sooner. The Council took the Land Committee's view of 1796 and charged the Governor with "giving preference to those who had occupied land without having been granted any legal title".

Such a debatable case as Savage's (though he had been confirmed in his leadership in 1796) was obviously not likely to be settled at a time like this. Prescott was right when he wrote to the British Government that

industrious farmers, who would wish to obtain a grant for the purpose of actual settlement, but who cannot spend their time in tedious solicitation, stand little chance of obtaining it, compared with speculators who can devote their time to the attainment of this object.

During 1798 and 1799 Savage cut several roads through the township and continued his steady cultivation and improvements of his land. "Paid ... for his month's work" is a common entry in his account book for these years. Settlers were still coming in as rapidly as before, and most of them had not taken the oaths, in the hope that they might share in the patent, for a number of the original associates had died or obtained land elsewhere in other townships. John Griggs was among the dead. In February 1799, he had improved his land sufficiently to warrant moving in his wife and their seven children from Alburgh. His decision to settle finally may have been hastened by a charge of debt against him in Vermont. He had brought his family and effects across the line and was resting on his way at his brother's house, a very short distance in Canada, when the deputy sheriff of Franklin County, Vermont, rode up. He broke into Grigg's room, "arrested and bound him, put him into a sleigh, and proceeded southward on the ice of the lakes". The party on its return made its way round the "tongue" of Alburgh and there the sleigh went through the ice and Griggs drowned. Another "International incident" was the result. Allen and his party were

indicted in Montreal and in July Governor Milnes received

[t]he Petition of Hannah Griggs in behalf of herself and seven children [...] left in a manner destitute and her only expectation in a future support for herself and family must rest on the Charity Bounty and goodness of Your Excellency in Council in extending to her the said Bounty of Government in a portion of the waste lands of the Crow;

she asked for 1200 acres.

That summer Savage himself hoped at last to get his “portion of the waste lands of the Crown”. He thought of taking somebody as partner of the grant. The result was an alarmed letter from his brother-in-law, Colonel David Pratt at Spencertown. For Savage had apparently made a private agreement with Pratt and his son Erastus by which he promised them a large grant in Shefford. He had made many such promises in the past, for he did not seem to have realized at first that he was not free, even as a leader to whom a Warrant of Survey had been given, to dispose of the land in the township as he thought fit. It was this that had mainly aroused Finlay’s anger in 1796. Savage had been there in Shefford as a sort of autocrat in the little community, an energetic, benevolent autocrat, but one who had been promising and taking payment for land not in his power to sell. He had falsely raised his brother-in-law’s hopes.

All that we hear cant be trew, *said Pratt*. Nor do I believe that to be trew but if it should prov trew I must depend on your securing one thousand acres more of the Pratts strips for me and Erastus as Erastus has paid a large sum of money for his land in your Patton.

Pratt’s alarm shows itself in the way his words rush out;

Sir I wish you to rite me what will be the Granting fees and cost of obtaining it and when you Expect to go after the Grant and who is to be your partner if any should be which I Cant yet believe...

Savage’s earlier mistakes were going to trouble him now.

He decided to go down to Quebec and petition once again. His friend Vandervelden tried to dissuade him, for Prescott was going to England and “whether any thing will be done [...] in regard to the waste lands cannot at present be known”. If Savage should come he ought to prepare papers as a proof of his settlement: “let them be drawn in proper form observe every thing is very formal in the Quebec officers, every trifling omission may occasion a delay”, and he had advised getting a skilled person to do this. He had struck at

the root of many of Savages' troubles; the leader was a pioneer, a man of action impatient with forms, and he had come into contact with the Quebec Government at a time when it was particularly ridden with formality, in efficiency and corruption. Vandervelden's advice was wise. Under the circumstances of communication, a few slips due to the carelessness or ignorance of a man who had no legal experience (or indeed much but a pioneer background) might cause him months or years of delay; indeed, it had done.

Nevertheless, Savage decided to go. On June 24, he had already paid another of his visits to the Committee at Missisquoi; two of the Commissioners were in Shefford on July 10, probably to examine his improvements, and administered the oath to Thomas Wood, one of the settlers. At the end of that month he left for Quebec. Once again, his journey brought no results and Savage realized at last that he needed to pay more attention to the conditions of settlement. First, he had the rest of the associates or prospective associates sworn in by February 1800, with the exception of John Lockhart Wiseman at Montreal. In March, Wiseman was sworn before the Hon. James McGill and Savage got Jesse Pennoyer and John Ferguson, land commissioners at Missisquoi Bay, to certify that 17 of the associates had been sworn before them – Savage, his son, Henry Hardie, John Mock, James Bell, Joseph Mott, Timothy Mott, George Mitchell, Christian Synder, Hezekiah Wood, John Allen, Richard Allen, John Knatchback, Thaddeus Tuttle, Patrick Carigain, and the leader's nephews Peter and John Savage (who had settled in Shefford the previous year). The two Motts were new to the list. They may have obtained the claim of Richard Mott, a 1795 associate who is not mentioned.

Many associates were no longer interested in obtaining land in Shefford: Richard Mott and Abraham Savage resided in the United States; Angus McBane and Peter McCallum had never come forward to settle their lands; Abijah Cheeseman had obtained a warrant of survey for Stanhope township; Ithiel Towner and Thomas Waywood were associates in Sutton; Crosby Towner in Stanstead; Alexander Schutt in Farnham; John Sax in Clifton; Benjamin Towner in Dunham; the Fosburys had neither come forward nor taken the oaths and were still living on Caldwell's Manor; Thomas Franks and Abraham Griggs were dead, and so were James Just Ware and John Griggs, who had started improvements on their lands. Grigg's widow, indeed, "absolutely refuses to indemnify or reimburse the leader for his trouble and expenses; and ill advised by designing men, has broken her late husband's engagements and sets

him, the leader, at defiance". Savage wished to see Simon Griggs, the eldest son, confirmed in his father's land. In place of all these defaulters, Savage suggested a number of new men as associates, and forwarded a list of names to Quebec mostly of actual settlers on the land – William Bell, John Bell, John Spaulding, John Mock Jr., Ezekiel and Silas Lewis, James and John Berry, Henry, William and Richard Powers, Edward and James Savage, Thomas Wood, Roswell Spaulding, Edward Graves, William Moffit, Steven Stevenburgh, Peter Hays, Alexander Douglas and Joseph Mock.

Still, however, there were associates who had not actually settled on the township, though they had not relinquished their pretensions. "In all this I shall at any time comply with my dividend and be happy to see you in possession of your patent" wrote one of these from Quebec (James Bell, who had helped Savage greatly in his settlement).

And be Ashouered when that is in your hand I shall settle in your township as I allweis told you amideatly but cannot think of settling upon unsertentyes – I have experienced so much of that already I'm quite tiered of it.

Bell added that "[t]he land business is now going on Briske". Many leaders had been successful beyond expectations, and he strongly advised Savage to make yet another journey to Quebec, for this time he would surely be successful. Savage does not appear to have gone, but he sent the list of seventeen associates (with Wiseman's name added), and the list of twenty-one new ones suggested, together with a personal recommendation from Colonel Abraham Cuyler, now Inspector of Refugees Loyalist.

For years Savage had concentrated on the actual settlement of his land and had petitioned in vain for a grant. Now, he paid more attention to complying with all the forms required and immediately began to have some success. The first real indications came in August. Finlay, the Chairman of the Land Committee who had rebuked Savage four years before, had to make a trip through the Eastern Townships. He decided to break his journey for a few days at St. Armand at the house of his friend Philip Ruitter, a land commissioner, the son of Lieut. John Ruitter. The old stormy days of the Missisquoi Colony under Haldimand had gone. Christian Wehr was dead, Conrad Best had died in the first years of the settlement and Ruitter, who had succeeded his father as Dunn's land agent, was now (with Philip Luke) one of the chief men of the town. Finlay wrote to Ruitter, "if by any means I could meet the Leader's of Shefford,

Hatley, Compton, Easton, Ascot and Melbourn, at your house it might tend greatly to facilitate the issuing of their Patents". Ruiters hastened to tell Savage:

I don't doubt but you will wish to see him to get every information from him you can in order to know how to proceed to get your patent for Shefford as soon as possible, for I am sure they have tried your patience, (as well as the Lord did old Job) and the Lord found him a faithfull Servant which I hope will ever be yours.

Ruiters' honest sympathy is typical of the feelings of Savage's friends for him. They knew how well he deserved to get the land on which he had worked so hard.

Picture the room in Ruiters' house in the growing settlement at Missisquoi, with Ruiters himself, Finlay, the veteran official of the Crown, the leaders of the Townships, five of the most outstanding of the pioneers – Jesse Pennoyer, Colonel Henry Cull, Gilbert Hyatt whom Savage had known on the Manor, Josiah Sawyer, and Savage gathered around him, pumping him with questions as to settlement. Finlay must have told Savage that it was imperative all his associates should have taken oaths and it would help greatly if they were all settled on the land. Such men as Patrick Carigain of Alburgh, and George Mitchell and Christian Synder of St. Armand must be dropped and actual settlers substituted. There is a list in one of Savage's notebooks almost identical with the combined lists he had already sent to Quebec, but with the three men above and James Bell omitted, Malcolm McFarland now included, and also four tentative associates to take their place – William Moffit, Solomon Kinneson, Henry Hays, Philip Luck and Abraham Stevens.

Savage spent the next few months trying out various men as associates, until he found a completely satisfactory group. On October 27, he sent a list of men proposed as associates and recommended by the Missisquoi commissioners, for ratification at Quebec – Samuel Bell, Elias Bell, John Mock Jr., Henry Powers, Peter Hays, Edward Graves, Alexander Douglas, Silas Lewis, William Moffit, Richard Powers, James Berry, and Solomon Kinneson in the place of Abraham and John Griggs, Thomas Franks, Crosby Towner, Ithiel Towner, Thomas Waywood, William Towner, Alexander Schutt, John and Abraham Savage, Benjamin Towner and Abijah Cheeseman, on whose lands they had settled. As well, Savage sent the name of seven associates who were replacing nobody, but were additional to his 32 approved in 1795 or their substitutes. These

seven were Isaac Lawrence (to whom Savage had just promised two lots for £18:10:0), Isaac Lawrence Jr., Elijah Lawrence, John and William Bell, John Spaulding and Joseph Mock, and all were actual settlers.

In November, Savage went up to Quebec with a full list of the old associates approved in 1795, and any who were to substitute for them, and any new men proposed, with full particulars with each as to settlement and taking oaths. Simon Griggs was, at last, suggested in place of his father, and two new names, Issac Kinneson and Anthony Cutler as substitutes for Abraham Griggs and Thomas Franks instead of Elias Bell, Samuel Bell and John Mock Jr., now proposed as additional associates and to be given new lots. Timothy Hoskins, William Powers, Steven Stevenburgh, Thomas Wood, Abraham Kinneson and Ezekiel Lewis took the place of George Mitchell, Richard Mott, Christian Snyder, Peter McCallum, J.J. Ware, and Angus McBane, not settled. Richard Powers (an old Spencertown friend of revolutionary days, or his son of the same name) substituted for Patrick Carigain instead of Abraham Savage (whose lot was to be taken by James Savage). Finally, Timothy Mott and Joseph Mott were dropped from the list.

Of the names now suggested, all had been sworn except the two Fosbury's. As well, all had actually settled on the lot except Peter and John Savage (who were helping James Savage), Henry Hardie (who had hired labourers to clear his land), Wiseman and James Bell (who had both "liberally encouraged and assisted the leader with occasional supplies of money to defray the expenses of surveying and to purchase provisions, in full faith and confidence of being admitted as an Associate") and the Fosburys; all had cleared part of their lots (Savage being foremost with 70 acres) unless they were assisting relatives to clear theirs (the Fosburys again excepted), John Mock and Ezekiel Lewis had erected mills; nine of the associates were "Loyalists" and five "Loyal Subjects".

This list went before the Permanent Committee at Quebec. The Fosburys were dropped and all the substitutions approved by Elias Bell (who had cleared no land of his own), Thomas Wood, Stevenburgh and James Savage. Those in this revised list were certified sworn by Patrick Conroy and John Ferguson in a document of 29 December 1800, and the year went out with the final 39 associates chosen. There was the usual governmental delay, and then, at long last, on 10 February 1801, the Governor in Council was pleased to grant 35 990 acres in the township of Shefford (two-thirds of the associates to hold 1200 acres and the remaining third

200 acres) to John Savage (Leader), John Savage Jr., John Allen, Hezekiah Wood, Richard Powers, William Powers, Richard Allen, Peter Savage, John Savage the son of Edward Savage, Ezekiel Lewis, Henry Hardie, Anthony Cutler, Issac Kinneson, Malcom McFarland, Solomon Kinneson, Peter Hayes, Edward Graves, Henry Powers, Alexander Douglas, Silas Lewis, John Knatchback, James Bell, John Mock, Timothy Hoskins, William Moffit, Thaddeus Tuttle, Isaac Lawrence, Issac Lawrence Jr., Elijah Lawrence, James Berry, Abraham Kinneson, John Spaulding, John Mock Jr., Simon Griggs, Joseph Mock, William Bell, John Bell, Samuel Bell, and John Lockhart Wiseman.

That Lord had found John Savage “a faithful” and had rewarded him with the one thing he most desired – the ownership of a plot of land which he had worked for years to change from 35 000 acres of forest to a useful and valuable part of King George III’s Province of Lower Canada.

NOTES

- 1 The assistant and these men were probably hired at St. John’s. They may have been some of the associates, but this is hardly likely, as they were paid for their work.
- 2 There is no financial account of these in existence.
- 3 The south-west corners of Orford, Stukeley and Shefford should be 805 chains apart.
- 4 This provision shows the general uncertainty of the accuracy of the surveyor.
- 5 As mentioned in part 1, Savage’s spelling was atrocious. Penmanship was not a premium in pioneer life, which is evident in the quotes inserted in this thesis, leadership and social sense were.
- 6 Savage had obviously marked the ends of the lots on the north and south sides of the town, and divided the “rights” into five northern and southern stripes.
- 7 The rough draft still exists in Caldwell’s own hand.
- 8 Caldwell adds, characteristically: “In case I should be able to procure some grant of land I wish to know where I could make a good patch”.
- 9 Dunham, the first township to be granted. Dunn, as a Councilor at Quebec, would naturally have an advantage over a private individual like Savage. Besides, Dunham was nearer to Missisquoi Bay and the outside world.

- 10 Mrs. Day states "the fall of 1795", but some of her dates are inaccurate. Savage was buying flour from Mock in May 1794.
- 11 There is, curiously enough, no single mention of potash (the real support of so many settlers) in Savage's early papers.
- 12 In October 1793, during the survey, John Allen is noted as going into the woods to look for the sheep.
- 13 Joseph Hawkins was an enterprising Alburgh merchant who made a commercial journey to West Africa in 1795.

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