

Sally Ainse
Table of Contents
Binder: H-2

1. Article: Old Cabin Restored (NC).....	1
2. Photographs: Sally Ainse Cabin	2
3. Fred C. Hamil, "Sally Ainse, Fur Trader" Historical Bulletin, 1925	5
4. Louis Goulet, "Phases of the Sally Ainse Dispute", Kent Historical Society Papers and Addresses, Vol. 1-7, 1914-51.....	54
5. Louis Goulet "Phases of the Sally Ainse Dispute" Burton Collection, Detroit Michigan 1880.....	58
6. Unknown Sally Ainse Article (NC).....	59
7. John Askin Papers.....	60
8. Article: Slave Exchanged for Dover Farm, later dies on Sandwich Gallows (NC).....	62
9. "Story of Sally Ainse", The Totem Pole, March 1, 1954, Vol. 33, No. 6.....	63
10. Gwen Robinson, "Southwestern Ontario.....	70
11. Untitled document (Windsor Public Library).....	80
12. Primary Document: The Report of the Bureau of Archives.....	82
13. Primary Document: Land Deeds.....	92







JOE SZUCS AND HIS NEARLY 200 YEAR OLD LOG CABIN

Built in 1791

Old log cabin restored

BY BOB BOUGHNER
News Staff Reporter

GRANDE POINTE — A log cabin nearly 200-years-old which some say rivals the famous Uncle Tom's Cabin near Dresden, has been restored close to its original condition on a farm in Dover Township.

The oak and walnut timber cabin, built along the banks of the Thames River in Dover in 1791 and served as home for Sarah Ainse, an Indian woman, will now be used as a museum on the Joseph Szucs farm on Concession 6.

Szucs was given the old building last year by the Napoleon King family and tore it down log-by-log and had it moved to his farm, some eight miles away. With the assistance of several friends and relatives, including his father, the history-filled log cabin has been pieced back together.

Szucs was planning to stage an

open house Saturday to show off the cabin, located at the rear of his 133-acre farm, but a day-long rain made it difficult to reach the old building. A dinner was held in the evening at Electric for those who participated in the reconstruction.

SPRING OPENING

"We've re-scheduled the opening for the spring," said Szucs. "I'm hoping for a good turnout of people, particularly those interested in Kent's pioneer history, to view the old cabin."

The 30-foot by 20-foot cabin, which features solid oak beams and ceiling timbers marked in Roman numerals, has side walls made of timber that are eight inches thick. Only four wooden pegs were used originally to hold all the wooden logs together.

Szucs said it took him and his friends nearly six months to piece the cabin back together. Today it is

furnished with a wide assortment of antiques including an old wood cook stove, a butter churn, old muskets and even a wooden oxen collar. Light is provided by three barn lanterns hanging from a wooden wagon wheel.

The cabin has been restored next to the Jacks family cemetery, located atop the highest hill in Dover Township. Szucs has planted more than 3,000 evergreen trees in front of the cabin and has landscaped the area with old wooden rail fencing supplied by a friend, Harold Simmons, of Toronto.

Next year he is planning to erect an old windmill near the cabin and build a three-tier water fountain on the side of the hill. Water will be pumped from a nearby creek.

Friends have already donated several items for display in the old cabin including an oil lamp and a pair of snowshoes that hang on the wall.

CARNEGIE LIBRARY

SALLY AINSE, FUR TRADER

By Fred C. Hamil, Ph. D.

Historical Bulletin No. 3

Issued by
THE ALGONQUIN CLUB
Detroit, January, 1939

ALGONQUIN

ALGONQUIN

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Algonquin Club, composed of history lovers in the Detroit River area who meet from time to time for social fellowship and historical discussion, presents to the reader its third historical bulletin. Preceding issues have dealt with the battle of Frenchtown, January 22, 1813, and with a description of the route from Niagara to Mackinac followed by the fur traders in 1767. The present offering, recounting the remarkable career of Sally Ainsc, Indian woman and Indian trader, was given as an address at the monthly meeting of the Club, October 14, 1938. Dr. Hamil, the author, is a native of Canada and a recent addition to the historical faculty of Wayne University. He is preparing a history of Kent County, Ontario, and his study of Sally Ainsc is a by-product of this larger enterprise. The Publication Committee feels that Dr. Hamil's offering affords a typical illustration of the character of the addresses which the Club has been privileged to hear during the several years it has been in existence. The Committee (M. M. Quaife and C. C. Ritze of Detroit and George F. Macdonald of Windsor) records with gratitude the patient volunteer labor of Robert H. Larson in mimeographing and otherwise superintending the task of publication of the bulletin.

7

During the last two decades of the eighteenth century a certain Sarah Ainse, alias Montour, alias Willson, was a well known figure about Detroit and the settlement on the lower Thames River. To students of the history of these districts she is known as a trader, and possessor of a large tract of land on the Thames by virtue of a grant from the Chippewas. It is also known that for several years she fought to retain possession of this tract after the government purchase of 1790. Ordered to be invested with eight 200-acre lots in 1792, various forces and interests resisted, until in 1798 a second Order-in-Council reversed the first and left her with but one lot, on which she had lived for several years. After this Sally Ainse recedes into obscurity, dying at Amherstburg about the year 1823.

From the fact that she was sometimes known as Montour, it has been surmised that she was a member of this famous family, which included such outstanding figures as Madame Montour, Catherine, French Margaret, queen Esther, and Andrew. But her origin and early life might have remained forever obscure if it had not been for her own statement made in 1789, as follows:¹

Your petitioner was brought up on the Susquehanna River, and at seventeen years of age married one Andrew Montour, Interpreter for the Crown, by whom she had several children who are now living. Her husband a few years after left her with her relations the Oneidas living on the Mohawk River, and being a little accustomed to civilized way of living, your petitioner requested of the said nation to give her the portion of land she was entitled to in order to improve upon it in the manner of white people. The nation in consequence had a council and granted to your petitioner six miles from each bastion of Fort Stanwix by deed signed, sealed, and delivered. From her attachment to the British Government she abandoned her possessions at Fort Stanwix and came into this district...

Reference to the career of Andrew Montour, whose Indian name was Sattelihu, throws new light on Sally's life before coming to Detroit. He was the son of Madame Montour, about whose origin much has been written. Her own story was that her father was a governor of Canada. Some have stated that she was a daughter of Frontenac; others that her father was a French nobleman named Montour. The truth seems to be that he was a half-breed named Louis Couc, who took the name of Montour, and about 1685 married a Saco Indian woman. He was killed by the elder Joncaire in 1709 on orders from the Governor of Canada, for deserting the French and influencing the Indians to trade with the English. Madame, whose Christian name is not known, was born in Canada about 1684, captured by warriors of the Five Nations when ten years of age, and brought up among the Oneidas. ~~Later she married Carondawana, or "Big Tree", alias Robert Hunter, a famous chief of that nation, who was killed in the Carolinas in 1729 when fighting against the Catawbas. Madame~~

8

appears as an Indian interpreter as early as 1711 and exerted her great influence with the Indians in the British interest, against the French. In 1734 she lived at the mouth of the Loyalsock creek on the site of present Montoursville, Pennsylvania. In 1745 she was living on an island in the Susquehanna River at Shamokin, now Sunbury. She probably died about 1752. ²

Andrew was the more famous of Madam's two sons. ³ The Moravian missionary Count Zinzendorf met him in 1742, and described him as follows: ⁴

Andrew's cast of countenance is decidedly European, and had not his face been encircled with a broad band of paint, applied with bear's fat, I would certainly have taken him for one. He wore a brown broadcloth coat, a scarlet damasked lappel waistcoat, breeches, over which his shirt hung, a black cordovan neckerchief, decked with silver bugles, shoes and stockings, and a hat. His ears were hung with pendants of brass, and other wires plaited together like the handles of a basket. He was very cordial, but on my addressing him in French, he to my surprise, replied in English.

At this time Andrew was married to a grand-daughter of the Delaware chief Olumpias, who lived near the Montours on the Susquehanna. By this wife he had a son John, born in 1744, and probably other children. During the Revolutionary War John was said to have had a brother named Checheas among the Delawares; and Andrew himself stated in 1756 that he had a daughter Madelina living with that tribe. ⁵

I believe John's mother died very soon after his birth. Andrew may have been married to Sally as early as 1745, for in 1758 one of her daughters was approaching womanhood. ⁶ Since Sally stated she was married at the age of seventeen, this would place the date of her own birth about the year 1728.

In 1745 Andrew and his family were living on the island of Shamokin, with Madame and French Margaret. Bishop Spangenberg mentions crossing to the island to deliver a message from Andrew to his wife. In 1748 he began his career as interpreter for the State of Pennsylvania. He was then described as living "among the six nations between the branches of the Ohio and Lake Erie." ⁸ A few months later Conrad Weiser, who had recommended him to the Government, wrote to Secretary Richard Peters that Andrew had "pitched upon a place in the proprietor's manner, at Canataqueany. He expects that the government shall build him a house there, and furnish his family with necessaries." Weiser commented that he seemed very hard to please. ⁹

In 1750 Andrew was still residing in Ohio, ¹⁰ but a year later he was granted a commission under the lesser seal of Pennsylvania to go and

9

reside over the Kittochtinny Hills. His duty was to warn off settlers on the Indian lands and report them to the Government. ¹¹ He chose a place on the Susquehanna River at the mouth of a stream called Montour's Run, in present-day Perry County. ¹²

Andrew's wife, Sally, is referred to in no very complimentary terms by Secretary Peters in February, 1753. "Andrew", he wrote, "has been arrested for fifty pounds, and indeed I would have suffered him to have gone to jail, for he is an expensive man having a wife who takes up goods at any rate and to any value, but as he is going to Onondaga in a public character, and is lately chosen a member of the Onondaga Council for the Ohio Indians, it may be dangerous to the public to suffer him to be imprisoned." ¹³ Sally is again mentioned by Conrad Weiser when he visited Montour's Run in September, 1754. He found there about fifteen Indians, men, women, and children. "Andrew's wife had killed a sheep for them some days ago. She complained that they had done great damage to the Indian corn, which was now fit to roast." ¹⁴

The State of Pennsylvania found that Andrew had such influence with the Indians, and was so valuable as an agent and interpreter, that it was worth while spending more money to keep him satisfied. In 1755 occurred Braddock's defeat, and the French and Indian irruptions of the American settlements. Andrew was active in gaining intelligence of their movements and warning the inhabitants of intended attacks. His own fortunes suffered, and on December 1 he presented a petition to the Assembly stating that he had suffered considerable damage at the defeat on the Monongahela, and had become indebted to various persons. His goods had been seized in execution, and his family thereby greatly distressed. He stated further that he was employed in the service of his country against the enemy, and had left his wife and children in the province. He prayed that the House would afford his family relief and provide for them during his absence. ¹⁵

This appears to have been done, for in February, 1756, the state paid nearly £75 in sundries for Andrew, his wife, and children. ¹⁶ Two months later the Six Nations Indians had a long conference with the Governor at Philadelphia. "They put Andrew Montour's children under his care, as well the three that are here, to be independent of the mother, as a boy of twelve years old, that he had by a former wife, a Delaware..." This boy was John Montour, who became well known during the Revolutionary War. The Governor also promised to send for Andrew's daughter Madeline, who lived among the Delawares. ¹⁷

The statement that three of the children were placed in Philadelphia to be independent of the mother, seems to indicate that Sally had already been left by her husband with her relations, the Onondas, near the Mohawk River. This is supported by the fact that a son was born to her later in the year, and on October 31, 1756, was baptized in the Dutch church at Albany with the name Nicholas. The parents are given as Andrew

18

and Sara Montour. ¹⁸ This child was the only one to remain with the mother.

How soon after coming to the Mohawk River she received from the Oneidas the grant of land at Fort Stanwix, we do not know, but it was probably not long after the fort was built in 1758. By 1759 she was already a trader, ¹⁹ perhaps driven to it by her expensive habits and ambitious mind. For the next few years her life is veiled in obscurity. It is tempting, however, to believe that she was the Oneida squaw at Fort Stanwix who in 1765 told the soldiers that the Oneidas were angry at the killing of some of their young men by the English. ²⁰ But of this there is no proof.

Sally appears again for a brief moment in November, 1766, when John Porteous met her on the north shore of Lake Erie with a boat and goods going to winter at Long Point. ²¹ She was thus extending her trading activities far to the west of her home at Fort Stanwix.

When the Revolutionary War broke out many of the Oneidas remained in New York State, but Sally abandoned her possessions there and removed to the Detroit district. Perhaps she had realized before this that she could not hold her land against the encroaching whites. In 1768 John Lees reported that the only settlers at Fort Stanwix were a few wagoners, who lived by transporting the goods of the merchants of Albany over the carrying place to Wood Creek, but the Governor of New York had granted away the lands on the Mohawk almost up to the fort, which created a jealousy among the Indians. ²² A few months later the Treaty of Fort Stanwix settled the differences, and the boundary was drawn west of that place.

After leaving New York State Sally appears only rarely under the name of Montour. She is now known as Mrs. Ainse, Ans, Hunds, Hains, or Hance. She appears first at Mackinac, where John Askin records the departure of Mrs. Ainse in April, 1774, for the Grand Traverse to meet the Ottawas, and her arrival with them a few days later. ²³ Now the well known Indian interpreter Joseph Ainse was living at Mackinac at this time, and some have supposed that Sally had become his wife. However, a year later Joseph Ainse married Therese Bondy of Detroit, so he could not have been Sally's husband. ²⁴ He was the only son of Joseph Ainse Senior, who died soon after his son was born. Even if Sally had lived with Ainse before his marriage to Therese, it is very improbable that she could have discarded her legal husband's name and carried that of Ainse for the rest of her long life. It is well known that Indian women commonly went by their maiden names after marriage, as was the case with Madame Montour. When Sally lived in Pennsylvania and New York we have only indirect references to her as Andrew Montour's wife. Now, as a trader on her own in a new land, she told people that her name was Ainse, or Hance. My guess is that her maiden name was Hance, which was common among the Indians of the Five Nations. Askin and other people at

16

Mackinac and Detroit were familiar with the name Ainse, which sounds similar to Hance, and confused the two. Since Sally could not write, she accepted their spelling of her name. Even in 1806, however, her name appears in Askin's ledger as Hands.²⁵ For a time she was known to some as the wife of a man named Willson, but she herself never accepted this name, and spoke of herself as Sally Ainse, or Hands, until her death. This affords further evidence that she would not have picked up a new name from a brief association with Joseph Ainse.

In April, 1775 " Sarah Ainse called Montour ", was trading with the Indians on the Clinton River, then called the Huron. She did a considerable business in selling cider, among other things, and taking furs in payment.²⁶ Ten years later she was still trading there, with the Moravian settlement. She stayed for three days selling goods to the Indians in November, and took in exchange seventy bushels of corn.²⁷

It was not until the spring of 1778 that Sally bought a house and lot in Fort Pentchartrain at Detroit. For this she paid £ 120 New York Currency. It was a lot sixteen feet wide, fronting on St. James Street and extending back fifty-five feet to St. Joseph Street. It was bounded on the north-east by St. Peter Street, and on the other side by a lot belonging to Antoine Chatelain.²⁸ Sally bought it from Jean-Baptiste Crete, who had acquired it two months before from Jean Guilbeau.²⁹ The following year she bought the Chatelain lot next to her own, which was the same size, for £ 80. Her property now had a width of thirty-two feet, and was bounded on the south-west by the lot and store belonging to Gregor McGregor.³⁰ A few years later McGregor sold this lot to Matthew Delson.

Sarah Ainse's name appears in the census of Detroit taken in 1779. She is described as having one male and three female slaves, three cows, four horses, and one hundred pounds of flour.³¹ The next year in Colonel De Peyster's list of merchandise ordered by the merchants of Detroit, she is credited with two bateau-loads.³² In the census of 1782 she had one female slave, five horses, one cow, two hogs, and a considerable amount of flour and corn.³³ The extent of her trading activities is shown by the size of her accounts with Macomb, Askin, and Tremblay.³⁴ During 1783 she did business with Askin to the extent of nearly £ 3000, and in 1781 her account with Tremblay was only a little less.

When Sally was visiting the Moravian settlement in 1783 she told one of the Indians that she had land on the eastern side of Lake St. Clair, and she would be glad to give them a strip of it. She was referring to property acquired in 1780 by a deed from the Chippewas. It was along the River La Franche, now the Thames, from the mouth up to the Forks, where the city of Chatham is now situated.³⁵ This was confirmed by another Indian deed in 1783. For this she made payments amounting to £ 500, New York Currency, and in 1788, to complete the purchase, she gave the Indians £ 150 in horses, guns, rum, and cider.

7
12

On first acquiring the land she had sent some Indians to take possession of it for her.³⁶

In May, 1787, Sally sold her property in the fort at Detroit to Grubb and Dowler, boat builders, and moved to the La Tranche.³⁷ She had already sold some of her land there; and other merchants of Detroit had been busy acquiring grants from the Indians. Charles Gouin and David Lynd secured the land on the south bank of the river, opposite Sally's, in 1780.³⁸ The next year Garret Teller obtained an Indian deed for the same territory; and in 1787 Arthur McCormick and Michael O'Neal were granted a lot twenty arpents wide on the south bank, next to a farm held by Daniel Field.³⁹ The Indians were not above selling the same land several times over.

On the north side Jonathan Schieffelin in 1788 secured a deed from twenty-three Chippewa chiefs, of a tract of land "beginning at a farm in possession of Sarah Ainse, alias Sarah Wilson", running up the river for twenty leagues, and with a depth of four leagues.⁴⁰ The year before, William Brown sold to Arthur McCormick, for £ 100, a farm nine arpents in front, by 150 arpents deep, bounded on the east by Sally's farm and on the west by that of her son Nicholas.⁴¹ In 1789 Sally sold to Joseph Cissnoy, for £ 200, a farm twelve acres in front, between William Brown's farm on the west, and Arthur McCormick's on the east. At the same time she sold to Cissnoy, for £ 100, "a negro man called Frank, about twenty-five years old."⁴²

Besides this farm, Sally had made improvements on two others. Patrick McNiff described these as he found them while surveying the river in April, 1791.⁴³ Her dwelling house was on the upper half of what became lot number ten, East Dover Township, Kent County, and her improvements extended from her house through almost two-thirds of lot number eleven. These consisted merely of a plain, clear by nature, which she had fenced in, and a small orchard planted on it. The clearing on her other farm, in front of lot fifteen, was also a small plain, part of which had been tilled by a negro, who had built a hut there. It was now deserted. Perhaps this was the negro Sally sold to Cissnoy.

The British government purchased from the Indians most of the territory comprised in the present counties of Essex and Kent in the spring of 1790. The Indian grants along the Thames were all disregarded, although these persons who had settled or made improvements were accommodated with one lot of two hundred acres. While the negotiations for the purchase were going on Sally was assured by the chiefs that her land would not be included in the sale to the government. Sally was still anxious, and when the chiefs were departing for Detroit she again reminded them of her claims and begged them not to forget her.⁴⁴

To make doubly sure, Sally addressed a petition, dated August 21, 1789, to Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General, setting forth her claims

8
13

to the land. ⁴⁵ She did not now claim all she had bought, but " would be satisfied with three hundred acres in front, beginning at the Forks running westward, and thirty-three and one-third acres in depth; but with leave to settle on it such people as are worthy. " She declared that her motives were not " for the sake of lucre, she dispiseth the idea, but merely for the purpose of settling herself amongst her friends whom she means to divide the said land, and pass the remainder of her life. "

Sally's next petition, dated May 6, 1791, was addressed to the Land Board for the District of Hesse. ⁴⁶ She said she " was the first that ever settled on the aforesaid lands before any white people ever thought to settle there, thinking to have it for herself and friends who were loyalists, and has served his Majesty since and before the late unhappy rebellion. " When the Government purchased the territory the chiefs told Colonel McKee, the deputy Indian agent, that her land was not included. McKee agreed to this, accepting a string of wampum, and said that she need not make herself uneasy about losing it.

Seven of the Chippewa chiefs signed a statement to the same effect on July 13, 1791. They declared that before they signed the deed they had told McKee they would not sell the tract belonging to their sister Sally Ainsc, who had always used them well. McKee promised he would do all he could, and would speak to the Commandant about it. ⁴⁷

When McKee notified the Land Board of the purchase on May 31, 1790, he made no mention of a reserve in favor of Sally. The Board therefore, in its meeting of March 30, 1792, considered little attention was to be paid to her claim, but nevertheless wrote to McKee about it. The latter denied that any reserve had been made for her, but that " some of the chiefs of the River La Tranche did indeed speak to me after the purchase and beg that Sally Ainsc not be turned off the lands she occupied on the river. " He told them that the matter had to be referred to the Land Board, and he did not doubt it would consider her. His testimony was supported by that of Montigue, one of the three members of the Board, who said he was present when the purchase was made. ⁴⁸

On April 6 the Land Board decided that no attention could be paid to Sally's claims, " further than any she may prefer by petition to the Governor-in-Council for a single lot of 200 acres. " ⁴⁹ But far from being discouraged, Sally appeared before the Board when it met the following week, armed with all her documents, including her Indian deeds, receipts for moneys paid for them, and the chiefs' statement that her land had been reserved in the sale made to the Government. She also presented a petition addressed to the Governor-in-Council, in which she stated she presumed it was " no infringement on his Majesty's rights, that she accepted and bought this land, supposing one Indian to have a right of conveying to another. " She now claimed only eight lots in the centre of the first township, on which she had made improvements. ⁵⁰

9
14

The Board still considered that Sally's petition could not be allowed, but agreed to send all the documents relative to her claim to the Governor, for instructions. This was done early in June. Sally meanwhile, on April 30, had addressed another petition to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe.⁵¹

Some time previous to this several persons had settled on Sally's land without authority. She sent a memorial to the Land Board concerning them in the spring of 1792. She stated that a Mr. Sharon and another Frenchman had settled and built on lot ten without any notice to her. The farm contained about thirty acres clear land, and was rented from her by Mr. Munro. James Donaldson had also taken part of the farm from her, about half of it cleared, and was about to sow wheat where her apple trees were planted. Sally said that she had hoped to get this farm for her brother. Another of her farms, containing about twenty acres clear land, had been taken from her by Andrew Hamilton and a Mr. Gibson, who had ploughed and sowed it, and lived on it in houses which they had built. She considered that she had been used very badly, as she had fenced her land and built several houses on the different farms, intending them for her friends, who were loyalists and Indians.⁵²

Sally also had trouble about the land she had sold in 1789 to Joseph Cissney. After the survey this was included in lot seven, and contained twelve acres in front, six of clear land, fenced in. On it was a good country house about forty feet in length, with a cellar, and a stable. Cissney had never lived on the farm and had permitted the house to go to ruin and several apple trees to be dug up and carried off. The Land Board had recently granted the lot to Thomas Duggan. Thereupon Cissney had petitioned the Board, saying he had bought the land from Sally. The Board told him she had no right to sell any land, and that he was to look to her for his money. Whether or not he succeeded in recovering it, we do not know. He secured a certificate for lot six from the Land Board, but he was entitled to one lot anyway, and he secured no more because of his earlier purchase.⁵³

In 1792 Sally sent a petition to Colonel England at Detroit, declaring that her land had cost her so much, and she had made such improvements on it, that she could not give it up for less than £ 1300, New York Currency, but it was worth several hundreds more. White people had come the year before and were living on her land, so that she had nothing left except the "mansion house."⁵⁴

Despite these petitions, and the fact that the matter had been referred to the Lieutenant-Governor, the Land Board proceeded to dispose of the lots claimed by Sally, which were numbered ten to seventeen inclusive. Lot ten, on which her house stood, was granted to Sally herself. Certificates for the rest were given as follows: lot eleven to James Donaldson, lot twelve to Thomas Smith, lot thirteen to George Cape and Isaac Dolsen, lot fourteen to John Dodson, lot fifteen to

10
15

Andrew Hamilton, lot sixteen to Richard Earpe, and lot seventeen to Joseph Elom.⁵⁵

Sally traveled to Newark to attend the meeting of the Governor and Council on October 17, 1792. Sincee called the attention of the Council " to the case of Sally Ainsc, an Indian woman deprived of her lands on the River La Tranche after she had considerably improved the same. " The various documents sent by the land board of Kent and Essex were referred to and since it was " clearly evinced she was entitled to have the prayer of her petition granted ", it was resolved that she should be given certificates for her claims, consisting of eight lots. ⁵⁶

When the Land Board received the order from the Council, they were dismayed. The president, Colonel England, wrote a long letter of protest to the Governor's secretary on November 4. He told how the lots had already been disposed of, and said the Board had considered Sally's Indian grant to be the same as the others, to which no attention was paid. The Government had repeatedly instructed them not to consider private purchases by individuals from the Indians. Her petitions had been " for some years past before the Commander-in-Chief and Council, and as no orders were sent to the Board relative to them, they consequently considered that they were to act by her as they were instructed to do by others in her situation, and as they have hitherto uniformly done. " The lots had been granted " principally to old serjeants, who have been already at considerable expense in cultivating them, and erecting buildings on them, as they have been for some time in their possession, or at least considered so by them, though they did not receive their certificates till I assumed the command here..." The Board now found themselves very delicately situated with regard to these lots, as they feared that recalling the certificates they had granted would alarm the settlers at large, making them feel insecure. This would not only check the growing settlement on the Thames, but in future would greatly weaken the authority of the Board. Consequently they had decided to take no steps until they heard again from Governor Sincee, and flattered themselves that he would sanction their proceedings. Colonel England suggested that land equally valuable, not yet located, could be found in the settlement for Sally, " who I suppose is considered entitled to protection and favor. " ⁵⁷

In reply, Sincee wrote to Colonel England on the 14th, stating that because of the Council's decision only Sally was entitled to the lands in dispute, and he regretted that the order in her behalf must be strictly complied with. The Council had made its decision after the matter had been submitted to it as a doubtful case. However, the Government did not wish to lessen the influence of the Board. Sincee therefore suggested that if it could find means to do justice to Sally by giving her lands elsewhere, or by satisfying the present possessors, he was sure the Council would agree to it. ⁵⁸

11
16

Nothing was done by the Board to settle the dispute, and in July, 1793, Sally traveled to Niagara to see Simcoe. On July 25 he wrote to Surveyor General Smith, sending the letter by Sally herself. "Do satisfy the poor woman," he requests, "that we have done her justice. Obtain the copy of the order of Council for her lands; and if you think it necessary write in my name to Colonel England to protect her in getting possession of her lands." In a postscript he adds: "I am so determined that she shall have justice that if it be necessary, the persons who withhold her lands from her shall be prosecuted by the Attorney General." 59

When the Land Board for Essex and Kent met on August 14, 1793, the members recorded in their minutes a justification for their conduct. 60 They had disposed of the lots claimed by Sally in conformity with the orders under which they derived their authority, as well as with repeated instructions from the Commander-in-Chief and Governor Simcoe. These instructions forbade them to accept as valid any grants by the Indians to individuals. They had been told by McKee that no reserve in her favor had been made by the Indians when the purchase of May 26, 1790, had been made, so they had granted the land to deserving discharged serjeants and soldiers from the British army, who proved to be among the most respectable settlers on the River Thames. Anxious, however, to comply with the Order-in-Council for restoring the lands claimed by Sally, the Board had recommended that she and the settlers on them should attend the Board on September 6.

On that date Sally and the five settlers appeared before the Board. It was first proposed to her that she should accept an equal quantity of land somewhere else. This she refused. Then the settlers offered to give her £ 50, New York Currency, for each of the lots, "and every reasonable effort was made, as well by the Board as by the possessors of the lots to accomodate Mrs. Ainsc, but nothing would content her but the immediate possession of her land." The settlers then decided to send petitions to Simcoe, and the Board agreed to do nothing further until it heard from him. 61

The Council refused these petitions and again confirmed Sally's grant. Littlehales wrote to Surveyor General Smith on November 3, asking him to acquaint Colonel England and the petitioners with this, and to see that Sally received her title deeds for the land as soon as possible. He told Smith to inform her that any persons who continued to occupy the lots would be prosecuted to the utmost rigor of the law by the King's Attorney; but she was also to be told that if she wished to compromise with any of them she was at liberty to do so. 62

Smith wrote to Sally to this effect on November 15, and also to the Board, to whom he sent a copy of Littlehale's letter. The Board immediately directed another copy to be sent to one of the possessors of the lots claimed by Sally, with directions that he should communicate the contents

12
17

to the others as soon as possible. Smith wrote again to the Board on the 17th stating that the Attorney General considered that the description given by Sally of her lands was far too general for the purpose of a grant without risking injury to her neighbors. He requested the Board to send a plan or rough sketch of her claims, or to answer a series of questions which he enclosed, as to the breadth of the lots, course of the side lines, where the roads were situated, and just where were her lowest and uppermost improvements. ⁶³

This communication was referred by the Board to Surveyor McNiff, who on December 5 sent to Colonel England a sketch of the lots. ⁶⁴ These were the six lots numbered ten to fifteen inclusive, Sally having relinquished her claim to the other two, no doubt because she had made no improvement on them. When England sent the sketch to Smith on December 14, he stated: ⁶⁵

In the different conversations I had with Sally Ainsie in the presence of the Land Board, and in private, if I may judge from her very confused statement, I find her claims are confined to six lots as now surveyed, one of which is reserved for her... but as little dependence is to be placed in any statement of hers, I don't mention this with a view to direct the proceedings of the Attorney General.

Although McNiff must have known that Sally was commonly called Mrs. Ainsie, he refused to recognize her by that name. "I do not know any such person as Sally Ainsie", he wrote, "Nor do I know of any lots or farms claimed by any person of that name on River La Tranche. Sarah Willson, an Indian woman, has laid her claim to a large tract as pointed out on the sketch. If it can be said that she has any just claim to lands there, the land cannot justly be deemed her property alone, as her husband Mr. Willson is now living, and at Niagara or near it." ⁶⁶

This is not the only indication that Sally had married, or lived with, a man by the name of Willson. In 1788 the Chippewa chiefs granted Jonathan Schieffelin a tract of land "beginning at a farm in possession of Sarah Ainsie, alias Sarah Wilson." ⁶⁷ There is one indication as to who this Mr. Willson was. In 1783 Sally's account with John Askin showed that she owed him over £ 1256. On September 12 her account was closed out by John Willson, who gave Askin two notes to cover her debt. These notes were paid off by Willson with various payments ending in April, 1784. In effect, then, John Willson took over Sally's account in September, 1783, and carried it as his own. ⁶⁸ It seems apparent that this was the Willson that Sally was living with about this time.

On December 16, 1793, Sally wrote to Smith requesting him to get the title deeds for her land. The persons occupying it refused to vacate, "telling me they are ignorant if ever I had a foot of land about this country", despite the fact that they had previously offered her £ 50 each for her right in it. ⁶⁹

13
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Smith replied to her letter on February 3, 1794, stating he would send it to the Attorney General, as he had nothing to do with making out title deeds. ⁷⁰ Sally seemed to think that Smith was responsible for her failure to get them. She wrote him a letter whose tenor can be inferred from the following reply ⁷¹ of Smith on April 13:

I have received your very extraordinary letter. I beg leave to call to your recollection that I first drew the petition for you and put you in the way to have proper inquiry made about your lands. You know that I attended the Governor Council and repeated there what I heard the chiefs say in your favor before Colonel Brandt. You know I procured you the order of that council for your land, the best authority you can have till your deeds are prepared. I have written several letters about you to the Board, to the Surveyor, and the Attorney General, and have done every thing in my power that I thought myself conscientiously called on to do. And you have well repaid me! I am sure Mrs Ainsc when you reflect on these circumstances you will be sorry for having written me such a letter.

I wrote you word I had sent your letter to the Attorney General because I have no power or authority to make out title deeds. I put your business in a proper train, and because I did so, you lavish your anger on me. I promised you my support, to have you done justice to. I have done it. Your land is secure to you, so far as my interference could operate.

I know nothing about the unjustifiable manner you talk of, nor have I had any hand in the difficulty you talk of labouring under.

His Excellency Lord Derchester as well as every person acting under him are inclined to do justice to every one.

You will think otherwise of this affair, if ever I see you.

On March 7 eight chiefs of the Chippewas sent a protest to the Council concerning Sally's lands. They declared that when Colonel McKee had applied to them for the land on the River La Tranche for the use of the Government, they said they would grant the south side of it, but not the north, because they needed land to hunt and plant upon for their sustenance. McKee replied that it was absolutely necessary that the King should have this land, and if they gave it up in a friendly and peaceable way they should be amply recompensed. He also said that the King wanted only the land for a little ways back on each side of

14
19

the river, and that the Indians could use any part of it for hunting and planting, except the river side. Upon this assurance the chiefs agreed to grant to the King the land on each side of the river, "except the tract of land which we had sold before that time to our beloved sister Sally Ainsie and who had for the above considerably overpaid us." McKee consented to this saying that Sally was a very good woman and their sister, and that they were to be commended for their honesty and fidelity to her. He said he did not require her land. As a token of the agreement McKee received a string of wampum from the chiefs. Two days later the deed was signed. The chiefs had asked McKee for writing to secure this land to Sally, which he promised to give them, but put them off from day to day, so that they never received it. ⁷²

This is the story repeatedly told by the Indians, but McKee always denied that any reservation in Sally's favor had been promised. It seems strange that the Indians did not insist on the reserve appearing in the Government's deed before they signed it. Apparently they were satisfied with McKee's promise to refer the matter to the Land Board.

Patents were granted to Sally for eight lots, comprising 1673 acres, on June 29, 1794. Although her later claims had been for only six lots, patents are registered in her name at the Kent County Registry office for lots nine to sixteen, inclusive. Nevertheless, it was another thing to get possession of the land.

Up to this time Sally had continued her regular trading operations. We find her the plaintiff in several suits for debt held before the Court of Common Pleas at L'Assumption (Sandwich) in August, 1792. She secured judgment against John Clearwater and Francois Latour for £ 1.17.6 each, Jordan Avery for £ 2.18.4, and J. B. Campeau for £ 2.19.-9, with costs.⁷³ In May, 1794 Colonel England complained to Simcoe about her conduct when he had requested the public not to sell rum to the Indians for three days while they were being collected at the Glaize. In general this had been cheerfully obeyed, "except Sally Ainsie, who availed herself of the general prohibition, and privately disposed of a sufficient quantity to keep an entire band drunk." ⁷⁴

Following Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers, we find Sally actively engaged in the negotiations for peace between the Indians and the Americans. In January, 1795, Joseph Brant received a message from the Lake Indians, who requested him to deliver his answer to Sally, who had been authorized to receive any message from him in their absence. ⁷⁵ On January 26 Sally sent a belt and a string of wampum to the Ottawa chief Aguishua, accompanied by two speeches, all from Brant, addressed to the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomi. Afraid that Aguishua might keep the speeches too long, she sent copies to the other chiefs at St. Joseph and Saginaw. Brant begged them to hold firm to the King and his Five Nations, as good soldiers ought. He also requested them to carry on every intercourse through Sally Ainsie, it being unsafe to carry on any correspondence except through people of their own color. ⁷⁶

15
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Sally acknowledged the receipt of Brant's letters and told him what she had done. " I am afraid that your wampum and speeches will be of little effect with the Indians, as they are sneaking off to General Wayne every day ", she wrote. The Indians at Sandusky had already gone to the Americans. Brant's messenger with a Huron and a Cognawaga had held a council at Sally's house the day before she wrote. The Huron, who had been present at the meeting of the Sandusky Indians and the American officers, related what had happened. Peace had been agreed upon, and the officers said they were glad the Indians had found out that since Simeco, McKee, and Brant were false people, promising much and performing nothing. " I am most afraid of the consequence ", Sally wrote, and concluded, " I hope, Sir, you will write to me often and let me know how things are carried on in that part, and I shall return you all the news I can collect here. You may rely that all the Indians bordering on the Americans will follow the example of the Hurons in less than a month. " 77

Brant received confirmation of these views from his messenger and from the Shawnees. His animosity to McKee, probably furthered by the latter's treatment of Sally, is shown in his complaint to Joseph Chew in February that " it was a pity Colonel McKee should have lost his influence with the Indians, or that he ever interfered in their councils. " 78 Chew commented on this in his letter to Thomas Coffin on March 26: " I am of opinion that Captain Brant's friend, Miss Sarah Ainsco, is of the party who endeavored to take the Indians from or lessen their confidence in Colonel McKee. " 79 There is no doubt that Sally was unfriendly to the latter.

Lord Dorchester wrote to Simeco in November that although Brant had said McKee interfered in councils, he also had complained of his absence in the treaty making. " Brant also instead of acting in concert with Colonel McKee and preventing his further interference, has opened a correspondence with Miss Sally Ainsco; has held councils and sent messengers without consulting McKee... " 80

During this time Brant was exerting his influence to secure Sally in possession of her lands on the Thames. Despite the fact that patents had been issued to her in June, 1794, she was unable to get the Attorney General to act against the men who had settled on it. Brant wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel John Butler on June 28, 1795, that Sally's lands, despite promises, had never been put in her possession. " She is one of ourselves ", he stated, " and has been of service to us in Indian affairs at this place. " He requested Butler to give all the assistance he could to her. 81

Two weeks later a council was held at Newark, where were present Simeco, Butler, Littlehales, and the chiefs and Indians from the Grand

16
21

River. One of the points raised by the Indians concerned Sally's lands, and whether they would be put in her possession. Simcoe replied that he would refer the matter to Lord Dorchester. Two days later, when he forwarded the proceedings of the council to Dorchester, Simcoe told him that Sally had long since been directed to be put in legal possession of her lands. ⁸²

The affair seems now, as before, to have been left in the hands of the Attorney General, John White. In December Simcoe ordered him to make out her deeds. Why this was necessary, when patents for the lands had been made out in June, 1794 and registered, is not clear. The Attorney General informed Simcoe that he had not instituted any suit to dispossess the people on Sally's lands. He had long since written in her favor to the agent of one of the men, but had not yet gone to trial, as he was waiting to perfect his case. ⁸³

Simcoe seems to have been sincere in his efforts to help Sally, but found the opposition of interested parties too powerful. In February, 1796 his secretary, Littlehales, wrote to Surveyor-General Smith: ⁸⁴

I am confidentially to request you will transmit to me an account of the quantity of land claimed by Sally Ainsc, of what she has possession, of the names of the persons who claim under grants of the Land Board, and also the names of the gentlemen who composed the Land Board.

In answer to a request for information from Sally, Smith wrote to her on March 29 that he thought the Government bore her good will; and that Simcoe in Council had shown it by procuring the original order for her lands. "Circumstances, I presume", he wrote, "which could not then have been anticipated, are the occasion of your present difficulties. I do not believe they arise from any want of inclination in the Lieutenant Governor to serve you, but originate from the singular situation in which you are placed, relatively with those who claim your land under certain regulations." ⁸⁵

Chief Joseph Brant continued his efforts in Sally's behalf. He wrote to D. W. Smith on April 3 as follows: ⁸⁶

You very well know that Sally Ainsc's land was her right, before the purchase was made by the Government, and that the land board cut it in pieces afterwards. Since, it has been promised in presence of the Five Nations several times to be restored to her, and is not restored yet, notwithstanding. I really must confess that I begin to think it too hard to see our friends the English so very strict about Indian lands... It grieves me to observe that it seems natural to whites to look on lands in the possession of Indians with an aching heart, and never to rest till

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they have planned them out of them.

A few days later Littlehales wrote to Brant: 87

In regard to Sally Ainse, there is no need of interference whatsoever. Your personal recommendations and the good will the Government bear to her, induced the Governor in council to grant her the land in question. Difficulties at that time unforeseen, have hitherto prevented her being put in possession thereof. They do not originate in any backwardness on the part of the Lieutenant Governor, but from our custom and regulations. These the Lieutenant Governor will fully explain to you when he sees you at Niagara, or should you be there before him, he has requested the Attorney General to have a communication with you on the subject, which he doubts not will satisfy your mind, that all has been done, and will be done that is possible to secure Sally Ainse.

Unfortunately for Sally's hopes, Simcoe departed for England in the autumn of 1796, never to return. For the next three years Upper Canada was administered by Peter Russell, the senior councillor.

On November 24, after the departure of Simcoe, another Indian council was held at Newark. In his speech Brant brought up the treatment of Sally, which he said, gave them great uneasiness. In two public councils they had laid before Governor Simcoe the hardships of their sister losing her lands. He had assured them that she should have her property, but matters remained as they were, and people were settled on her lands. 88

A marginal note to the proceedings of this council, sent by Brant, states: "And after all promises the Attorney General at last shewed me a ticket from the Land Board which he said could not be done away. "

Sally presented another petition to the Council at Newark on August 12, 1797. This was signed by her son Nicholas Montour as her agent and attorney. Curiously, she now stated that she was a Shawnee Indian, instead of an Oneida, as formerly. She recited again her claims for the land in question and presented her various documents in proof. 89 The Council decided that before any answer could be made it would be necessary to enquire as to the authenticity of the documents, and why the land ceded to her had not been reserved from the land sold to the king. Copies of the documents were sent to Colonel McKee, and he was asked to make a report to the Council.

McKee's report was made on September 3. He declared that in the cession made to the king in 1790, no reservation was made for Sally Ainse. He stated further: 90

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23

The Indians have, however, spoken to me since that period and have expressed a wish that she should hold her possessions. My only answer to them was, that in the distribution of lands, the King's Government would not doubt consider the claims of His Majesty's subjects, but how far Mrs Ainsc came within that description was not to be decided by me. I have also understood that many others besides Mrs Ainsc, and myself among the number, claimed lands upon the River La Tranche by Indian deeds prior to the cession, but no reservation was made by the Indians for any of these lands at the time of the purchase.

The Council took up Sally's petition again on April 9, 1798. After reading the various documents and McKee's report, it was resolved that, as it appeared from the letter " that no reserve whatever was made to the King in the year 1790, and that as a full valuable consideration was paid by His Majesty to the nation for the land then sold, Sally Ainsc can have no claim upon the Crown for any part of the lands then ceded", therefore the petition could not be granted.⁹¹

That not only Sally but the Indians were not reconciled to this decision is shown by Sir John Johnson's letter to Peter Russell on May 26, 1799. The Government was at this time negotiating with the Chippewa Indians for the purchase of lands north of the purchase line of 1790, from the upper Thames to the River St. Clair and Lake Huron. Johnson gave it as his opinion that a deed could be obtained with the assistance of Ebenezer Allen and Sally Ainsc, without much expense or trouble, if they could secure the lands they desired.⁹²

However, means were found to buy the territory without Sally's assistance. She never received the seven lots for which she had fought so long, nor any compensation for them. But she did not give up hope. In January, 1809 she addressed a petition to Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Gore, asking for relief and compensation. In March, 1813 Richard Pattinson, her attorney and agent, sent a petition to President Sir Roger H. Sheaffe, who promised that justice would be done her, but he was recalled a few months afterwards. Two years later Pattinson petitioned Lieutenant-General Gordon Drummond in her behalf. He requested a grant of 1400 acres (equal to what she had lot), in a favorable situation. This petition was read in committee, which was ordered to report. It is endorsed on the back in faded handwriting, " parties are dead".⁹³

As late as September, 1806, when Sally bought a quart of whisky from John Askin, she was still living on her farm on the River Thames. Her account was debited four shillings in the ledger, but underneath is written in red ink: " I don't mean to ask payment. " ⁹⁴ And none appears.

18
24

Soon after this Sarah must have moved to Malden, the present town of Amherstburg, near the mouth of the Detroit River, where she was living when she petitioned Sir Francis Gore in January, 1809. It is interesting to note that she again describes herself as an Indian woman of the Oneida nation, rather than a Shawnee, as in 1797. She continued to reside at Amherstburg until her death, which occurred about 1823. She must have been nearly ninety-five years of age. On February 11, 1824, George Jacob and James Gordon sought the administration of her estate, there being none of her kindred resident in the province. They were agents to the executors of the estate of Richard Pattinson, who had died about 1817. Jacob and Gordon stated that "Sarah Ainsie, late of the town of Amherstburg departed this life leaving goods, chattels, and credits within the said district", and at the time of her death was largely indebted to the late Richard Pattinson. Letters of administration for her estate were granted to Jacob and Gordon in Surrogate Court at Sandwich on May 10, 1824.⁹⁵

Sally probably outlived most of her children. We have seen that three of them, along with their half-brother John, had been left in the care of the Government of Pennsylvania. John Montour was educated in the English school of the College of Philadelphia, where his name appears in the list of students for 1757.⁹⁶ Sally's two oldest children were boarded by the state with Hannah Boyd.⁹⁷ One of them was named Polly. Two years after going to live with Hannah the State paid for a pair of stays for her.⁹⁸ The second child is not named in the accounts, but it might be surmised that a certain Andrew Montour who was a member of Captain James Fisher's company of the Cumberland County Militia in Pennsylvania, in 1782, was the son of the older Andrew.⁹⁹

Various expenditures for these three children appear in the state accounts until 1760. Payments for schooling were made to Rebecca Burchall.¹⁰⁰ An item appearing in May, 1757, shows that they ran away, and had to be followed and brought back.¹⁰¹

The youngest of Sarah's children in Philadelphia was named Debby. She was of such tender age that she was still being nursed more than a year after coming there.¹⁰² She did not live with Hannah Boyd, but with the family of Edward Cary. By 1761 she was old enough to begin her schooling.¹⁰³ The last reference to her that I have found is in the Votes of Assembly for Pennsylvania, September 19, 1766, as follows: ¹⁰⁴

It was represented to the House that the daughter of Andrew Montour who hath been supported from her infancy at the public expense, is in immediate want of necessary clothing, and that the person with whom she now lives being a poor man, cannot keep her longer, unless he be forthwith paid the arrears of her board and schooling for the last year. It was resolved by the House that Mr. Speaker be requested to take upon him the care of the said girl, so far as to defray

the charges which have already accrued for her maintenance, and provide her with decent clothing, at the public expense, till she can be bound out with the consent of her father, or otherwise disposed of.

We now take leave of these children, and follow the career of Nicolas Montour, who was baptized in the Dutch church at Albany in 1756. He went to Detroit and Mackinac with his mother in 1774, and when she acquired lands on the Thames River in 1780 she gave him a portion. 105 Before this, however, he had gone to the West as a fur trader. Early in 1779 a Nicolas Montour appears as a clerk for Frobisher and Company. In 1784 he became a partner in the North West Company, holding two shares in the sixteen-share concern of that year. Most of his time was spent on the Saskatchewan. In 1792 he retired with a large fortune, and three years later bought the seigniory of La Pointe-du-Lac near Three Rivers, in Lower Canada. Here he married Genevieve Wills, a Roman Catholic, although he remained a Protestant until his death. From 1796 to 1800 he represented the county of St. Maurice in the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada, where he voted generally with the English party. 106 There is every reason to believe that this Nicolas Montour was Sally's son. That he kept in touch with his mother is shown by the fact that he acted as her agent in presenting to the Council of Upper Canada her petition in 1797.

Nicolas' manor house at La Pointe-du-Lac had been built before 1790, and was likened to the elegant French chateaus of the Middle Ages. Here Nicolas lived in luxury, entertaining lavishly, and dispensing good cheer. But despite this, when he died on August 5, 1808, he left a large fortune to his widow, who lived until 1832. Nicolas was buried at Three Rivers, in the Protestant cemetery.

After the widow's death the seigniory went to three daughters, Julie, Caroline, and Melinda. The oldest married Senator Mailhot. They had no children. Caroline married a merchant of Three Rivers, named Kimber, who died four years after their marriage. Later she married Toussaint Biron of Pointe-du-Lac. They had one daughter who died in infancy. The youngest daughter, Melinda, became violently insane. She was so dangerous that she had to be confined in an iron-barred dungeon in the cellar of the manor, where she remained until her death in 1872. Her presence there gave rise to fantastic stories which circulated among the people.

After the death of Melinda the seigniory passed into other hands. Eventually it became the property of the Church, and a convent and other religious buildings were built. The old manor house, now restored, was long deserted and the windows boarded up, inhabited only by snakes, rats, lizards, and insects. The pupils of the convent had a horror of the place, believing it haunted. The story went that a heretic had died in the dungeon in the cellar, and had been buried there with

29
26

his dog. Thus the strange story of Sally's son Nicolas, and his mad daughter Melinda, was confuted to produce another ghost in a deserted chateau.¹⁰⁷

Nicolas left a son in the west, by an Indian woman, who was also called Nicolas. He was "a clerk at Fort des Prairies in 1804-6, was stationed in the Kootenay country in 1813, and was discharged on the Saskatchewan by Simpson in 1823." ¹⁰⁸

The fact that Sally's son Nicolas died fifteen years before his mother, explains why the administration of her estate went to the agents of the administrators of Richard Pattenson's estate, to whom she was indebted. Her grandson Nicolas was far away in the West, her granddaughters were in Lower Canada, and her three children left in Philadelphia had probably never seen their mother since 1756 and may not have been living in 1825. Sally's name does not appear among the lists of householders in Amherstburg during the time she must have lived there. Being very old, she probably lived with and was cared for by others.

63
27

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THE ALGONQUIN CLUB

Detroit, January, 1939

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Algonquin Club, composed of history lovers in the Detroit River area who meet from time to time for social fellowship and historical discussion, presents to the reader its third historical bulletin. Preceding issues have dealt with the battle of Frenchtown, January 22, 1813, and with a description of the route from Niagara to Mackinac followed by the fur traders in 1767. The present offering, recounting the remarkable career of Sally Ainsc, Indian woman and Indian trader, was given as an address at the monthly meeting of the Club, October 14, 1938. Dr. Hamil, the author, is a native of Canada and a recent addition to the historical faculty of Wayne University. He is preparing a history of Kent County, Ontario, and his study of Sally Ainsc is a by-product of this larger enterprise. The Publication Committee feels that Dr. Hamil's offering affords a typical illustration of the character of the addresses which the Club has been privileged to hear during the several years it has been in existence. The Committee (M. M. Quaike and C. C. Ritze of Detroit and George F. Macdonald of Windsor) records with gratitude the patient volunteer labor of Robert H. Larson in mimeographing and otherwise superintending the task of publication of the bulletin.

During the last two decades of the eighteenth century a certain Sarah Ainse, alias Montour, alias Willson, was a well known figure about Detroit and the settlement on the lower Thames River. To students of the history of these districts she is known as a trader, and possessor of a large tract of land on the Thames by virtue of a grant from the Chippewas. It is also known that for several years she fought to retain possession of this tract after the government purchase of 1790. Ordered to be invested with eight 200-acre lots in 1792, various forces and interests resisted, until in 1798 a second Order-in-Council reversed the first and left her with but one lot, on which she had lived for several years. After this Sally Ainse recedes into obscurity, dying at Amherstburg about the year 1823.

From the fact that she was sometimes known as Montour, it has been surmised that she was a member of this famous family, which included such outstanding figures as Madame Montour, Catherine, French Margaret, Queen Esther, and Andrew. But her origin and early life might have remained forever obscure if it had not been for her own statement made in 1789, as follows:¹

Your petitioner was brought up on the Susquehanna River, and at seventeen years of age married one Andrew Montour, Interpreter for the Crown, by whom she had several children who are now living. Her husband a few years after left her with her relations the Onidas living on the Mohawk River, and being a little accustomed to civilized way of living, your petitioner requested of the said nation to give her the portion of land she was entitled to in order to improve upon it in the manner of white people. The nation in consequence had a council and granted to your petitioner six miles from each bastion of Fort Stanwix by deed signed, sealed, and delivered. From her attachment to the British Government she abandoned her possessions at Fort Stanwix and came into this district...

Reference to the career of Andrew Montour, whose Indian name was Sattelihu, throws new light on Sally's life before coming to Detroit. He was the son of Madame Montour, about whose origin much has been written. Her own story was that her father was a governor of Canada. Some have stated that she was a daughter of Frontenac; others that her father was a French nobleman named Montour. The truth seems to be that he was a half-breed named Louis Couc, who took the name of Montour, and about 1685 married a Saco Indian woman. He was killed by the elder Joncaire in 1709 on orders from the Governor of Canada, for deserting the French and influencing the Indians to trade with the English. Madame, whose Christian name is not known, was born in Canada about 1684, captured by warriors of the Five Nations when ten years of age, and brought up among the Onidas. Later she married Carondawana, or "Big Tree", alias Robert Hunter, a famous chief of that nation, who was killed in the Carolinas in 1729 when fighting against the Catawbas. Madame

appears as an Indian interpreter as early as 1711, and exerted her great influence with the Indians in the British interest, against the French. In 1734 she lived at the mouth of the Loyalsock creek on the site of present Montoursville, Pennsylvania. In 1745 she was living on an island in the Susquehanna River at Shamokin, now Sunbury. She probably died about 1752. ²

Andrew was the more famous of Madam's two sons. ³ The Moravian missionary Count Zinzendorf met him in 1742, and described him as follows: ⁴

Andrew's cast of countenance is decidedly European, and had not his face been encircled with a broad band of paint, applied with bear's fat, I would certainly have taken him for one. He wore a brown broadcloth coat, a scarlet damasked lappel waistcoat, breeches, over which his shirt hung, a black cordovan neckerchief, decked with silver bugles, shoes and stockings, and a hat. His ears were hung with pendants of brass, and other wires plaited together like the handles of a basket. He was very cordial, but on my addressing him in French, he to my surprise, replied in English.

At this time Andrew was married to a grand-daughter of the Delaware chief Oluapias, who lived near the Montours on the Susquehanna. By this wife he had a son John, born in 1744, and probably other children. During the Revolutionary War John was said to have had a brother named Checheas among the Delawares; and Andrew himself stated in 1756 that he had a daughter Madeline living with that tribe. ⁵

I believe John's mother died very soon after his birth. Andrew may have been married to Sally as early as 1745, for in 1758 one of her daughters was approaching womanhood. ⁶ Since Sally stated she was married at the age of seventeen, this would place the date of her own birth about the year 1728.

In 1745 Andrew and his family were living on the island of Shamokin, with Madame and French Margaret. Bishop Spangenberg mentions crossing to the island to deliver a message from Andrew to his wife. In 1748 he began his career as interpreter for the State of Pennsylvania. He was then described as living "among the six nations between the branches of the Ohio and Lake Erie." ⁸ A few months later Conrad Weiser, who had recommended him to the Government, wrote to Secretary Richard Peters that Andrew had "pitched upon a place in the proprietor's manner, at Canataqueany. He expects that the government shall build him a house there, and furnish his family with necessarys." Weiser commented that he seemed very hard to please. ⁹

In 1750 Andrew was still residing in Ohio, ¹⁰ but a year later he was granted a commission under the lesser seal of Pennsylvania to go and

67
31

reside over the Kittochtinny Hills. His duty was to warn off settlers on the Indian lands and report them to the Government.¹¹ He chose a place on the Susquehanna River at the mouth of a stream called Montour's Run, in present-day Perry County.¹²

Andrew's wife, Sally, is referred to in no very complimentary terms by Secretary Peters in February, 1753. "Andrew", he wrote, "has been arrested for fifty pounds, and indeed I would have suffered him to have gone to jail, for he is an expensive man having a wife who takes up goods at any rate and to any value, but as he is going to Onondaga in a public character, and is lately chosen a member of the Onondaga Council for the Ohio Indians, it may be dangerous to the public to suffer him to be imprisoned."¹³ Sally is again mentioned by Conrad Weiser when he visited Montour's Run in September, 1754. He found there about fifteen Indians, men, women, and children. "Andrew's wife had killed a sheep for them some days ago. She complained that they had done great damage to the Indian corn, which was now fit to roast."¹⁴

The State of Pennsylvania found that Andrew had such influence with the Indians, and was so valuable as an agent and interpreter, that it was worth while spending more money to keep him satisfied. In 1755 occurred Braddock's defeat, and the French and Indian invaders of the American settlements. Andrew was active in gaining intelligence of their movements and warning the inhabitants of intended attacks. His own fortunes suffered, and on December 1 he presented a petition to the Assembly stating that he had suffered considerable damage at the defeat on the Monongahela, and had become indebted to various persons. His goods had been seized in execution, and his family thereby greatly distressed. He stated further that he was employed in the service of his country against the enemy, and had left his wife and children in the province. He prayed that the House would afford his family relief and provide for them during his absence.¹⁵

This appears to have been done, for in February, 1756, the state paid nearly £ 75 in sundries for Andrew, his wife, and children.¹⁶ Two months later the Six Nations Indians had a long conference with the Governor at Philadelphia. "They put Andrew Montour's children under his care, as well the three that are here, to be independent of the mother, as a boy of twelve years old, that he had by a former wife, a Delaware..." This boy was John Montour, who became well known during the Revolutionary War. The Governor also promised to send for Andrew's daughter Madeline, who lived among the Delawares.¹⁷

The statement that three of the children were placed in Philadelphia to be independent of the mother, seems to indicate that Sally had already been left by her husband with her relations, the Onondas, near the Mohawk River. This is supported by the fact that a son was born to her later in the year, and on October 31, 1756, was baptized in the Dutch church at Albany with the name Nicholas. The parents are given as Andrew

68
32

and Sara Montour.¹⁸ This child was the only one to remain with the mother.

How soon after coming to the Mohawk River she received from the Onoidas the grant of land at Fort Stanwix, we do not know, but it was probably not long after the fort was built in 1758. By 1759 she was already a trader,¹⁹ perhaps driven to it by her expensive habits and ambitious mind. For the next few years her life is veiled in obscurity. It is tempting, however, to believe that she was the Onoida squaw at Fort Stanwix who in 1765 told the soldiers that the Onoidas were angry at the killing of some of their young men by the English.²⁰ But of this there is no proof.

Sally appears again for a brief moment in November, 1766, when John Porteous met her on the north shore of Lake Erie with a boat and goods going to winter at Long Point.²¹ She was thus extending her trading activities far to the west of her home at Fort Stanwix.

When the Revolutionary War broke out many of the Onoidas remained in New York State, but Sally abandoned her possessions there and removed to the Detroit district. Perhaps she had realized before this that she could not hold her land against the encroaching whites. In 1768 John Lees reported that the only settlers at Fort Stanwix were a few wagoners, who lived by transporting the goods of the merchants of Albany over the carrying place to Wood Creek, but the Governor of New York had granted away the lands on the Mohawk almost up to the fort, which created a jealousy among the Indians.²² A few months later the Treaty of Fort Stanwix settled the differences, and the boundary was drawn west of that place.

After leaving New York State Sally appears only rarely under the name of Montour. She is now known as Mrs. Ainsc, Ans, Hands, Hains, or Hance. She appears first at Mackinac, where John Askin records the departure of Mrs. Ainsc in April, 1774, for the Grand Traverse to meet the Ottawas, and her arrival with them a few days later.²³ Now the well known Indian interpreter Joseph Ainsc was living at Mackinac at this time, and some have supposed that Sally had become his wife. However, a year later Joseph Ainsc married Therese Bondy of Detroit, so he could not have been Sally's husband.²⁴ He was the only son of Joseph Ainsc Senior, who died soon after his son was born. Even if Sally had lived with Ainsc before his marriage to Therese, it is very improbable that she could have discarded her legal husband's name and carried that of Ainsc for the rest of her long life. It is well known that Indian women commonly went by their maiden names after marriage, as was the case with Madame Montour. When Sally lived in Pennsylvania and New York we have only indirect references to her as Andrew Montour's wife. Now, as a trader on her own in a new land, she told people that her name was Ainsc, or Hance. My guess is that her maiden name was Hance, which was common among the Indians of the Five Nations. Askin and other people at

Mackinac and Detroit were familiar with the name Ainse, which sounds similar to Hance, and confused the two. Since Sally could not write, she accepted their spelling of her name. Even in 1806, however, her name appears in Askin's ledger as Hands.²⁵ For a time she was known to some as the wife of a man named Willson, but she herself never accepted this name, and spoke of herself as Sally Ainse, or Hands, until her death. This affords further evidence that she would not have picked up a new name from a brief association with Joseph Ainse.

In April, 1775 " Sarah Aines called Montour ", was trading with the Indians on the Clinton River, then called the Huron. She did a considerable business in selling cider, among other things, and taking furs in payment.²⁶ Ten years later she was still trading there, with the Moravian settlement. She stayed for three days selling goods to the Indians in November, and took in exchange seventy bushels of corn.²⁷

It was not until the spring of 1778 that Sally bought a house and lot in Fort Pentchartrain at Detroit. For this she paid £ 120 New York Currency. It was a lot sixteen feet wide, fronting on St. James Street and extending back fifty-five feet to St. Joseph Street. It was bounded on the north-east by St. Peter Street, and on the other side by a lot belonging to Antoine Chatelain.²⁸ Sally bought it from Jean Baptiste Crete, who had acquired it two months before from Jean Guilbeau.²⁹ The following year she bought the Chatelain lot next to her own, which was the same size, for £ 80. Her property now had a width of thirty-two feet, and was bounded on the south-west by the lot and store belonging to Gregor McGregor.³⁰ A few years later McGregor sold this lot to Matthew Dolsen.

Sarah Ainse's name appears in the census of Detroit taken in 1779. She is described as having one male and three female slaves, three cows, four horses, and one hundred pounds of flour.³¹ The next year in Colonel De Peyster's list of merchandise ordered by the merchants of Detroit, she is credited with two bateau-loads.³² In the census of 1782 she had one female slave, five horses, one cow, two hogs, and a considerable amount of flour and corn.³³ The extent of her trading activities is shown by the size of her accounts with Macomb, Askin, and Tremblay.³⁴ During 1783 she did business with Askin to the extent of nearly £ 3000, and in 1781 her account with Tremblay was only a little less.

When Sally was visiting the Moravian settlement in 1785 she told one of the Indians that she had land on the eastern side of Lake St. Clair, and she would be glad to give them a strip of it. She was referring to property acquired in 1780 by a deed from the Chippewas. It was along the River La Tranche, now the Thames, from the mouth up to the Forks, where the city of Chatham is now situated.³⁵ This was confirmed by another Indian deed in 1783. For this she made payments amounting to £ 500, New York Currency, and in 1788, to complete the purchase, she gave the Indians £ 150 in horses, guns, rum, and cider.

170
34

On first acquiring the land she had sent some Indians to take possession of it for her.³⁶

In May, 1787, Sally sold her property in the fort at Detroit to Grubb and Dowler, boat builders, and moved to the La Tranche.³⁷ She had already sold some of her land there; and other merchants of Detroit had been busy acquiring grants from the Indians. Charles Gouin and David Lynd secured the land on the south bank of the river, opposite Sally's, in 1780.³⁸ The next year Garret Teller obtained an Indian deed for the same territory; and in 1787 Arthur McCormick and Michael O'Neal were granted a lot twenty arpents wide on the south bank, next to a farm held by Daniel Field.³⁹ The Indians were not above selling the same land several times over.

On the north side Jonathan Schieffelin in 1788 secured a deed from twenty-three Chippewa chiefs, of a tract of land "beginning at a farm in possession of Sarah Ainse, alias Sarah Wilson", running up the river for twenty leagues, and with a depth of four leagues.⁴⁰ The year before, William Brown sold to Arthur McCormick, for £ 100, a farm nine arpents in front, by 150 arpents deep, bounded on the east by Sally's farm and on the west by that of her son Nicholas.⁴¹ In 1789 Sally sold to Joseph Cissney, for £ 200, a farm twelve acres in front, between William Brown's farm on the west, and Arthur McCormick's on the east. At the same time she sold to Cissney, for £ 100, "a negro man called Frank, about twenty-five years old."⁴²

Besides this farm, Sally had made improvements on two others. Patrick McNiff described these as he found them while surveying the river in April, 1791.⁴³ Her dwelling house was on the upper half of what became lot number ten, East Dover Township, Kent County, and her improvements extended from her house through almost two-thirds of lot number eleven. These consisted merely of a plain, clear by nature, which she had fenced in, and a small orchard planted on it. The clearing on her other farm, in front of lot fifteen, was also a small plain, part of which had been tilled by a negro, who had built a hut there. It was now deserted. Perhaps this was the negro Sally sold to Cissney.

The British government purchased from the Indians most of the territory comprised in the present counties of Essex and Kent in the spring of 1790. The Indian grants along the Thames were all disregarded, although those persons who had settled or made improvements were accommodated with one lot of two hundred acres. While the negotiations for the purchase were going on Sally was assured by the chiefs that her land would not be included in the sale to the government. Sally was still anxious, and when the chiefs were departing for Detroit she again reminded them of her claims and begged them not to forget her.⁴⁴

To make doubly sure, Sally addressed a petition, dated August 21, 1789, to Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General, setting forth her claims

92
35

The Board still considered that Sally's petition could not be allowed, but agreed to send all the documents relative to her claim to the Governor, for instructions. This was done early in June. Sally meanwhile, on April 30, had addressed another petition to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe.⁵¹

Some time previous to this several persons had settled on Sally's land without authority. She sent a memorial to the Land Board concerning them in the spring of 1792. She stated that a Mr. Sharon and another Frenchman had settled and built on lot ten without any notice to her. The farm contained about thirty acres clear land, and was rented from her by Mr. Munro. James Donaldson had also taken part of the farm from her, about half of it cleared, and was about to sow wheat where her apple trees were planted. Sally said that she had hoped to get this farm for her brother. Another of her farms, containing about twenty acres clear land, had been taken from her by Andrew Hamilton and a Mr. Gibson, who had ploughed and sowed it, and lived on it in houses which they had built. She considered that she had been used very badly, as she had fenced her land and built several houses on the different farms, intending them for her friends, who were loyalists and Indians.⁵²

Sally also had trouble about the land she had sold in 1789 to Joseph Cissney. After the survey this was included in lot seven, and contained twelve acres in front, six of clear land, fenced in. On it was a good country house about forty feet in length, with a cellar, and a stable. Cissney had never lived on the farm and had permitted the house to go to ruin and several apple trees to be dug up and carried off. The Land Board had recently granted the lot to Thomas Duggan. Thereupon Cissney had petitioned the Board, saying he had bought the land from Sally. The Board told him she had no right to sell any land, and that he was to look to her for his money. Whether or not he succeeded in recovering it, we do not know. He secured a certificate for lot six from the Land Board, but he was entitled to one lot anyway, and he secured no more because of his earlier purchase.⁵³

In 1792 Sally sent a petition to Colonel England at Detroit, declaring that her land had cost her so much, and she had made such improvements on it, that she could not give it up for less than £ 1300, New York Currency, but it was worth several hundreds more. White people had come the year before and were living on her land, so that she had nothing left except the "mansion house."⁵⁴

Despite these petitions, and the fact that the matter had been referred to the Lieutenant-Governor, the Land Board proceeded to dispose of the lots claimed by Sally, which were numbered ten to seventeen inclusive. Lot ten, on which her house stood, was granted to Sally herself. Certificates for the rest were given as follows: lot eleven to James Donaldson, lot twelve to Thomas Smith, lot thirteen to George Cope and Isaac Dolson, lot fourteen to John Dodemead, lot fifteen to

36⁷¹

to the land. ⁴⁵ She did not now claim all she had bought, but " would be satisfied with three hundred acres in front, beginning at the Forks running westward, and thirty-three and one-third acres in depth; but with leave to settle on it such people as are worthy. " She declared that her motives were not " for the sake of lucre, she dispiseth the idea, but merely for the purpose of settling herself amongst her friends whom she seems to divide the said land, and pass the remainder of her life. "

Sally's next petition, dated May 6, 1791, was addressed to the Land Board for the District of Hesse. ⁴⁶ She said she " was the first that ever settled on the aforesaid lands before any white people ever thought to settle there, thinking to have it for herself and friends who were loyalists, and has served his Majesty since and before the late unhappy rebellion. " When the Government purchased the territory the chiefs told Colonel McKee, the deputy Indian agent, that her land was not included. McKee agreed to this, accepting a string of wampun, and said that she need not make herself uneasy about losing it.

Seven of the Chippewa chiefs signed a statement to the same effect on July 13, 1791. They declared that before they signed the deed they had told McKee they would not sell the tract belonging to their sister Sally Ainsc, who had always used them well. McKee promised he would do all he could, and would speak to the Commandant about it. ⁴⁷

When McKee notified the Land Board of the purchase on May 31, 1790, he made no mention of a reserve in favor of Sally. The Board therefore, in its meeting of March 30, 1792, considered little attention was to be paid to her claim, but nevertheless wrote to McKee about it. The latter denied that any reserve had been made for her, but that " some of the chiefs of the River La Tranche did indeed speak to me after the purchase and beg that Sally Ainsc not be turned off the lands she occupied on the river. " He told them that the matter had to be referred to the Land Board, and he did not doubt it would consider her. His testimony was supported by that of Montigue, one of the three members of the Board, who said he was present when the purchase was made. ⁴⁸

On April 6 the Land Board decided that no attention could be paid to Sally's claims, " further than any she may prefer by petition to the Governor-in-Council for a single lot of 200 acres. " ⁴⁹ But far from being discouraged, Sally appeared before the Board when it met the following week, armed with all her documents, including her Indian deeds, receipts for moneys paid for them, and the chiefs' statement that her land had been reserved in the sale made to the Government. She also presented a petition addressed to the Governor-in-Council, in which she stated she presumed it was " no infringement on his Majesty's rights, that she accepted and bought this land, supposing one Indian to have a right of conveying to another. " She now claimed only eight lots in the centre of the first township, on which she had made improvements. ⁵⁰

43
37

Andrew Hamilton, lot sixteen to Richard Earpe, and lot seventeen to Joseph Elm.⁵⁵

Sally traveled to Newark to attend the meeting of the Governor and Council on October 17, 1792. Simcoe called the attention of the Council " to the case of Sally Ainsie, an Indian woman deprived of her lands on the River La Tranche after she had considerably improved the same. " The various documents sent by the land board of Kent and Essex were referred to and since it was " clearly evinced she was entitled to have the prayer of her petition granted ", it was resolved that she should be given certificates for her claims, consisting of eight lots.⁵⁶

When the Land Board received the order from the Council, they were dismayed. The president, Colonel England, wrote a long letter of protest to the Governor's secretary on November 4. He told how the lots had already been disposed of, and said the Board had considered Sally's Indian grant to be the same as the others, to which no attention was paid. The Government had repeatedly instructed them not to consider private purchases by individuals from the Indians. Her petitions had been " for some years past before the Commander-in-Chief and Council, and as no orders were sent to the Board relative to them, they consequently considered that they were to act by her as they were instructed to do by others in her situation, and as they have hitherto uniformly done. " The lots had been granted " principally to old serjeants, who have been already at considerable expense in cultivating them, and erecting buildings on them, as they have been for some time in their possession, or at least considered so by them, though they did not receive their certificates till I assumed the command here..." The Board now found themselves very delicately situated with regard to these lots, as they feared that recalling the certificates they had granted would alarm the settlers at large, making them feel insecure. This would not only check the growing settlement on the Thames, but in future would greatly weaken the authority of the Board. Consequently they had decided to take no steps until they heard again from Governor Simcoe, and flattered themselves that he would sanction their proceedings. Colonel England suggested that land equally valuable, not yet located, could be found in the settlement for Sally, " who I suppose is considered entitled to protection and favor. " ⁵⁷

In reply, Simcoe wrote to Colonel England on the 14th, stating that because of the Council's decision only Sally was entitled to the lands in dispute, and he regretted that the order in her behalf must be strictly complied with. The Council had made its decision after the matter had been submitted to it as a doubtful case. However, the Government did not wish to lessen the influence of the Board. Simcoe therefore suggested that if it could find means to do justice to Sally by giving her lands elsewhere, or by satisfying the present possessors, he was sure the Council would agree to it.⁵⁸

74
38

Nothing was done by the Board to settle the dispute, and in July, 1793, Sally traveled to Niagara to see Simcoe. On July 25 he wrote to Surveyor General Smith, sending the letter by Sally herself. "Do satisfy the poor woman," he requests, "that we have done her justice. Obtain the copy of the order of Council for her lands; and if you think it necessary write in my name to Colonel England to protect her in getting possession of her lands." In a postscript he adds: "I am so determined that she shall have justice that if it be necessary, the persons who withhold her lands from her shall be prosecuted by the Attorney General." 59

When the Land Board for Essex and Kent met on August 14, 1793, the members recorded in their minutes a justification for their conduct. 60 They had disposed of the lots claimed by Sally in conformity with the orders under which they derived their authority, as well as with repeated instructions from the Commander-in-Chief and Governor Simcoe. These instructions forbade them to accept as valid any grants by the Indians to individuals. They had been told by McKee that no reserve in her favor had been made by the Indians when the purchase of May 26, 1790, had been made, so they had granted the land to deserving discharged serjeants and soldiers from the British army, who proved to be among the most respectable settlers on the River Thames. Anxious, however, to comply with the Order-in-Council for restoring the lands claimed by Sally, the Board had recommended that she and the settlers on them should attend the Board on September 6.

On that date Sally and the five settlers appeared before the Board. It was first proposed to her that she should accept an equal quantity of land somewhere else. This she refused. Then the settlers offered to give her £ 50, New York Currency, for each of the lots, "and every reasonable effort was made, as well by the Board as by the possessors of the lots to accommodate Mrs. Ainsc, but nothing would content her but the immediate possession of her land." The settlers then decided to send petitions to Simcoe, and the Board agreed to do nothing further until it heard from him. 61

The Council refused these petitions and again confirmed Sally's grant. Littlehales wrote to Surveyor General Smith on November 3, asking him to acquaint Colonel England and the petitioners with this, and to see that Sally received her title deeds for the land as soon as possible. He told Smith to inform her that any persons who continued to occupy the lots would be prosecuted to the utmost rigor of the law by the King's Attorney; but she was also to be told that if she wished to compromise with any of them she was at liberty to do so. 62

Smith wrote to Sally to this effect on November 15, and also to the Board, to whom he sent a copy of Littlehale's letter. The Board immediately directed another copy to be sent to one of the possessors of the lots claimed by Sally, with directions that he should communicate the contents

75
39

to the others as soon as possible. Smith wrote again to the Board on the 17th stating that the Attorney General considered that the description given by Sally of her lands was far too general for the purpose of a grant without risking injury to her neighbors. He requested the Board to send a plan or rough sketch of her claims, or to answer a series of questions which he enclosed, as to the breadth of the lots, course of the side lines, where the roads were situated, and just where were her lowest and uppermost improvements. 63

This communication was referred by the Board to Surveyor McNiff, who on December 5 sent to Colonel England a sketch of the lots. 64 These were the six lots numbered ten to fifteen inclusive, Sally having relinquished her claim to the other two, no doubt because she had made no improvement on them. When England sent the sketch to Smith on December 14, he stated: 65

In the different conversations I had with Sally Ainsie in the presence of the Land Board, and in private, if I may judge from her very confused statement, I find her claims are confined to six lots as now surveyed, one of which is reserved for her... but as little dependence is to be placed in any statement of hers, I don't mention this with a view to direct the proceedings of the Attorney General.

Although McNiff must have known that Sally was commonly called Mrs. Ainsie, he refused to recognize her by that name. "I do not know any such person as Sally Ainsie", he wrote, "Nor do I know of any lots or farms claimed by any person of that name on River La Tranche. Sarah Willson, an Indian woman, has laid her claim to a large tract as pointed out on the sketch. If it can be said that she has any just claim to lands there, the land cannot justly be deemed her property alone, as her husband Mr. Willson is now living, and at Niagara or near it." 66

This is not the only indication that Sally had married, or lived with, a man by the name of Willson. In 1788 the Chippewa chiefs granted Jonathan Schieffelin a tract of land "beginning at a farm in possession of Sarah Ainsie, alias Sarah Willson." 67 There is one indication as to who this Mr. Willson was. In 1783 Sally's account with John Askin showed that she owed him over £ 1256. On September 12 her account was closed out by John Willson, who gave Askin two notes to cover her debt. These notes were paid off by Willson with various payments ending in April, 1784. In effect, then, John Willson took over Sally's account in September, 1783, and carried it as his own. 68 It seems apparent that this was the Willson that Sally was living with about this time.

On December 16, 1793, Sally wrote to Smith requesting him to get the title deeds for her land. The persons occupying it refused to vacate, "telling me they are ignorant if ever I had a foot of land about this country", despite the fact that they had previously offered her £ 50 each for her right in it. 69

76
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Smith replied to her letter on February 3, 1794, stating he would send it to the Attorney General, as he had nothing to do with making out title deeds.⁷⁰ Sally seemed to think that Smith was responsible for her failure to get them. She wrote him a letter whose tenor can be inferred from the following reply⁷¹ of Smith on April 13:

I have received your very extraordinary letter. I beg leave to call to your recollection that I first drew the petition for you and put you in the way to have proper inquiry made about your lands. You know that I attended the Governor Council and repeated there what I heard the chiefs say in your favor before Colonel Brandt. You know I procured you the order of that council for your land, the best authority you can have till your deeds are prepared. I have written several letters about you to the Board, to the Surveyor, and the Attorney General, and have done every thing in my power that I thought myself conscientiously called on to do. And you have well repaid me! I am sure Mrs Ainsie when you reflect on these circumstances you will be sorry for having written me such a letter.

I wrote you word I had sent your letter to the Attorney General because I have no power or authority to make out title deeds. I put your business in a proper train, and because I did so, you lavish your anger on me. I promised you my support, to have you done justice to. I have done it. Your land is secure to you, so far as my interference could operate.

I know nothing about the unjustifiable manner you talk of, nor have I had any hand in the difficulty you talk of labouring under.

His Excellency Lord Dorchester as well as every person acting under him are inclined to do justice to every one.

You will think otherwise of this affair, if ever I see you.

On March 7 eight chiefs of the Chippewas sent a protest to the Council concerning Sally's lands. They declared that when Colonel McKee had applied to them for the land on the River La Tranche for the use of the Government, they said they would grant the south side of it, but not the north, because they needed land to hunt and plant upon for their sustenance. McKee replied that it was absolutely necessary that the King should have this land, and if they gave it up in a friendly and peaceable way they should be amply recompensed. He also said that the King wanted only the land for a little ways back on each side of

the river, and that the Indians could use any part of it for hunting and planting, except the river side. Upon this assurance the chiefs agreed to grant to the King the land on each side of the river, "except the tract of land which we had sold before that time to our beloved sister Sally Ainsie and who had for the above considerably overpaid us." McKee consented to this saying that Sally was a very good woman and their sister, and that they were to be commended for their honesty and fidelity to her. He said he did not require her land. As a token of the agreement McKee received a string of wampum from the chiefs. Two days later the deed was signed. The chiefs had asked McKee for writing to secure this land to Sally, which he promised to give them, but put them off from day to day, so that they never received it. ⁷²

This is the story repeatedly told by the Indians, but McKee always denied that any reservation in Sally's favor had been promised. It seems strange that the Indians did not insist on the reserve appearing in the Government's deed before they signed it. Apparently they were satisfied with McKee's promise to refer the matter to the Land Board.

Patents were granted to Sally for eight lots, comprising 1673 acres, on June 29, 1794. Although her later claims had been for only six lots, patents are registered in her name at the Kent County Registry office for lots nine to sixteen, inclusive. Nevertheless, it was another thing to get possession of the land.

Up to this time Sally had continued her regular trading operations. We find her the plaintiff in several suits for debt held before the Court of Common Pleas at L'Assumption (Sandwich) in August, 1792. She secured judgement against John Clearwater and Francois Latour for £ 1.17.6 each, Jordan Avery for £ 2.18.4, and J. B. Campeau for £ 2.19.-9, with costs.⁷³ In May, 1794 Colonel England complained to Simcoe about her conduct when he had requested the public not to sell rum to the Indians for three days while they were being collected at the Glaize. In general this had been cheerfully obeyed, "except Sally Ainsie, who availed herself of the general prohibition, and privately disposed of a sufficient quantity to keep an entire band drunk." ⁷⁴

Following Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers, we find Sally actively engaged in the negotiations for peace between the Indians and the Americans. In January, 1795, Joseph Brant received a message from the Lake Indians, who requested him to deliver his answer to Sally, who had been authorized to receive any message from him in their absence. ⁷⁵ On January 26 Sally sent a belt and a string of wampum to the Ottawa chief Aguishua, accompanied by two speeches, all from Brant, addressed to the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomi. Afraid that Aguishua might keep the speeches too long, she sent copies to the other chiefs at St. Joseph and Saginaw. Brant begged them to hold firm to the King and his Five Nations, as good soldiers ought. He also requested them to carry on every intercourse through Sally Ainsie, it being unsafe to carry on any correspondence except through people of their own color. ⁷⁶

Sally acknowledged the receipt of Brant's letters and told him what she had done. " I am afraid that your wampum and speeches will be of little effect with the Indians, as they are sneaking off to General Wayne every day ", she wrote. The Indians at Sandusky had already gone to the Americans. Brant's messenger with a Huron and a Cognawaga had held a council at Sally's house the day before she wrote. The Huron, who had been present at the meeting of the Sandusky Indians and the American officers, related what had happened. Peace had been agreed upon, and the officers said they were glad the Indians had found out that since Simeco, McKee, and Brant were false people, promising much and performing nothing. " I am most afraid of the consequence ", Sally wrote, and concluded, " I hope, Sir, you will write to me often and let me know how things are carried on in that part, and I shall return you all the news I can collect here. You may rely that all the Indians bordering on the Americans will follow the example of the Hurons in less than a month. " 77

Brant received confirmation of these views from his messenger and from the Shawnees. His animosity to McKee, probably furthered by the latter's treatment of Sally, is shown in his complaint to Joseph Chew in February that " it was a pity Colonel McKee should have lost his influence with the Indians, or that he ever interfered in their councils. " 78 Chew commented on this in his letter to Thomas Coffin on March 26: " I am of opinion that Captain Brant's friend, Miss Sarah Ainsc, is of the party who endeavored to take the Indians from or lessen their confidence in Colonel McKee. " 79 There is no doubt that Sally was unfriendly to the latter.

Lord Dorchester wrote to Simeco in November that although Brant had said McKee interfered in councils, he also had complained of his absence in the treaty making. " Brant also instead of acting in concert with Colonel McKee and preventing his further interference, has opened a correspondence with Miss Sally Ainsc; has held councils and sent messengers without consulting McKee... " 80

During this time Brant was exerting his influence to secure Sally in possession of her lands on the Thames. Despite the fact that patents had been issued to her in June, 1794, she was unable to get the Attorney General to act against the men who had settled on it. Brant wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel John Butler on June 28, 1795, that Sally's lands, despite promises, had never been put in her possession. " She is one of ourselves ", he stated, " and has been of service to us in Indian affairs at this place. " He requested Butler to give all the assistance he could to her. 81

Two weeks later a council was held at Newark, where were present Simeco, Butler, Littlehales, and the chiefs and Indians from the Grand

River. One of the points raised by the Indians concerned Sally's lands, and whether they would be put in her possession. Simcoe replied that he would prefer the matter to Lord Dorchester. Two days later, when he forwarded the proceedings of the council to Dorchester, Simcoe told him that Sally had long since been directed to be put in legal possession of her lands. ⁸²

The affair seems now, as before, to have been left in the hands of the Attorney General, John White. In December Simcoe ordered him to make out her deeds. Why this was necessary, when patents for the lands had been made out in June, 1794 and registered, is not clear. The Attorney General informed Simcoe that he had not instituted any suit to dispossess the people on Sally's lands. He had long since written in her favor to the agent of one of the men, but had not yet gone to trial, as he was waiting to perfect his case. ⁸³

Simcoe seems to have been sincere in his efforts to help Sally, but found the opposition of interested parties too powerful. In February, 1796 his secretary, Littlehales, wrote to Surveyor-General Smith: ⁸⁴

I am confidentially to request you will transmit to me an account of the quantity of land claimed by Sally Ainsie, of what she has possession, of the names of the persons who claim under grants of the Land Board, and also the names of the gentlemen who composed the Land Board.

In answer to a request for information from Sally, Smith wrote to her on March 29 that he thought the Government bore her good will; and that Simcoe in Council had shown it by procuring the original order for her lands. "Circumstances, I presume", he wrote, "which could not then have been anticipated, are the occasion of your present difficulties. I do not believe they arise from any want of inclination in the Lieutenant Governor to serve you, but originate from the singular situation in which you are placed, relatively with those who claim your land under certain regulations." ⁸⁵

Chief Joseph Brant continued his efforts in Sally's behalf. He wrote to D. W. Smith on April 3 as follows: ⁸⁶

You very well know that Sally Ainsie's land was her right, before the purchase was made by the Government, and that the land board cut it in pieces afterwards. Since, it has been promised in presence of the Five Nations several times to be restored to her, and is not restored yet, notwithstanding. I really must confess that I begin to think it too hard to see our friends the English so very strict about Indian lands... It grieves me to observe that it seems natural to whites to look on lands in the possession of Indians with an aching heart, and never to rest till

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they have planned them out of them.

A few days later Littlehales wrote to Brant: 87

In regard to Sally Ainese, there is no need of interference whatsoever. Your personal recommendations and the good will the Government bear to her, induced the Governor in council to grant her the land in question. Difficulties at that time unforeseen, have hitherto prevented her being put in possession thereof. They do not originate in any backwardness on the part of the Lieutenant Governor, but from our custom and regulations. These the Lieutenant Governor will fully explain to you when he sees you at Niagara, or should you be there before him, he has requested the Attorney General to have a communication with you on the subject, which he doubts not will satisfy your mind, that all has been done, and will be done that is possible to secure Sally Ainese.

Unfortunately for Sally's hopes, Simcoe departed for England in the autumn of 1796, never to return. For the next three years Upper Canada was administered by Peter Russell, the senior councillor.

On November 24, after the departure of Simcoe, another Indian council was held at Newark. In his speech Brant brought up the treatment of Sally, which he said, gave them great uneasiness. In two public councils they had laid before Governor Simcoe the hardships of their sister losing her lands. He had assured them that she should have her property, but matters remained as they were, and people were settled on her lands. 88

A marginal note to the proceedings of this council, sent by Brant, states: "And after all promises the Attorney General at last shewed me a ticket from the Land Board which he said could not be done away. "

Sally presented another petition to the Council at Newark on August 12, 1797. This was signed by her son Nicholas Montour as her agent and attorney. Curiously, she now stated that she was a Shawnee Indian, instead of an Oneida, as formerly. She recited again her claims for the land in question and presented her various documents in proof. 89 The Council decided that before any answer could be made it would be necessary to enquire as to the authenticity of the documents, and why the land ceded to her had not been reserved from the land sold to the king. Copies of the documents were sent to Colonel McKee, and he was asked to make a report to the Council.

McKee's report was made on September 3. He declared that in the cession made to the king in 1790, no reservation was made for Sally Ainese. He stated further: 90

The Indians have, however, spoken to me since that period and have expressed a wish that she should hold her possessions. My only answer to them was, that in the distribution of lands, the King's Government would not doubt consider the claims of His Majesty's subjects, but how far Mrs Ainsc came within that description was not to be decided by me. I have also understood that many others besides Mrs Ainsc, and myself among the number, claimed lands upon the River La Tranche by Indian deeds prior to the cession, but no reservation was made by the Indians for any of these lands at the time of the purchase.

The Council took up Sally's petition again on April 9, 1798. After reading the various documents and McKee's report, it was resolved that, as it appeared from the latter " that no reserve whatever was made to the King in the year 1790, and that as a full valuable consideration was paid by His Majesty to the nation for the land then sold, Sally Ainsc can have no claim upon the Crown for any part of the lands then ceded", therefore the petition could not be granted.⁹¹

That not only Sally but the Indians were not reconciled to this decision is shown by Sir John Johnson's letter to Peter Russell on May 26, 1799. The Government was at this time negotiating with the Chippewa Indians for the purchase of lands north of the purchase line of 1790, from the upper Thames to the River St. Clair and Lake Huron. Johnson gave it as his opinion that a deed could be obtained with the assistance of Ebenezer Allen and Sally Ainsc, without much expense or trouble, if they could secure the lands they desired.⁹²

However, means were found to buy the territory without Sally's assistance. She never received the seven lots for which she had fought so long, nor any compensation for them. But she did not give up hope. In January, 1809 she addressed a petition to Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Gore, asking for relief and compensation. In March, 1813 Richard Pattinson, her attorney and agent, sent a petition to President Sir Roger H. Sheaffe, who promised that justice would be done her, but he was recalled a few months afterwards. Two years later Pattinson petitioned Lieutenant-General Gordon Drummond in her behalf. He requested a grant of 1400 acres (equal to what she had lot), in a favorable situation. This petition was read in committee, which was ordered to report. It is endorsed on the back in faded handwriting, " parties are dead".⁹³

As late as September, 1806, when Sally bought a quart of whisky from John Askin, she was still living on her farm on the River Thames. Her account was debited four shillings in the ledger, but underneath is written in red ink: " I don't mean to ask payment. " ⁹⁴ And none appears.

Soon after this Sarah must have moved to Malden, the present town of Amherstburg, near the mouth of the Detroit River, where she was living when she petitioned Sir Francis Gore in January, 1809. It is interesting to note that she again describes herself as an Indian woman of the Oneida nation, rather than a Shawnee, as in 1797. She continued to reside at Amherstburg until her death, which occurred about 1823. She must have been nearly ninety-five years of age. On February 11, 1824, George Jacob and James Gordon sought the administration of her estate, there being none of her kindred resident in the province. They were agents to the executors of the estate of Richard Pattinson, who had died about 1817. Jacob and Gordon stated that "Sarah Ainsie, late of the town of Amherstburg departed this life leaving goods, chattels, and credits within the said district", and at the time of her death was largely indebted to the late Richard Pattinson. Letters of administration for her estate were granted to Jacob and Gordon in Surrogate Court at Sandwich on May 10, 1824.⁹⁵

Sally probably outlived most of her children. We have seen that three of them, along with their half-brother John, had been left in the care of the Government of Pennsylvania. John Montour was educated in the English school of the College of Philadelphia, where his name appears in the list of students for 1757.⁹⁶ Sally's two oldest children were boarded by the state with Hannah Boyd.⁹⁷ One of them was named Polly. Two years after going to live with Hannah the State paid for a pair of stays for her.⁹⁸ The second child is not named in the accounts, but it might be surmised that a certain Andrew Montour who was a member of Captain James Fisher's company of the Cumberland County Militia in Pennsylvania, in 1782, was the son of the older Andrew.⁹⁹

Various expenditures for these three children appear in the state accounts until 1760. Payments for schooling were made to Rebecca Burchall.¹⁰⁰ An item appearing in May, 1757, shows that they ran away, and had to be followed and brought back.¹⁰¹

The youngest of Sarah's children in Philadelphia was named Debby. She was of such tender age that she was still being nursed more than a year after coming there.¹⁰² She did not live with Hannah Boyd, but with the family of Edward Cary. By 1761 she was old enough to begin her schooling.¹⁰³ The last reference to her that I have found is in the Votes of Assembly for Pennsylvania, September 19, 1766, as follows:¹⁰⁴

It was represented to the House that the daughter of Andrew Montour who hath been supported from her infancy at the public expense, is in immediate want of necessary clothing, and that the person with whom she now lives being a poor man, cannot keep her longer, unless he be forthwith paid the arrears of her board and schooling for the last year. It was resolved by the House that Mr. Speaker be requested to take upon him the care of the said girl, so far as to defray

the charges which have already accrued for her maintenance, and provide her with decent clothing, at the public expense, till she can be bound out with the consent of her father, or otherwise disposed of.

We now take leave of these children, and follow the career of Nicolas Montour, who was baptized in the Dutch church at Albany in 1756. He went to Detroit and Mackinac with his mother in 1774, and when she acquired lands on the Thames River in 1780 she gave him a portion. 105 Before this, however, he had gone to the West as a fur trader. Early in 1779 a Nicolas Montour appears as a clerk for Frobisher and Company. In 1784 he became a partner in the North West Company, holding two shares in the sixteen-share concern of that year. Most of his time was spent on the Saskatchewan. In 1792 he retired with a large fortune, and three years later bought the seigniory of La Pointe-du-Lac near Three Rivers, in Lower Canada. Here he married Genevieve Wills, a Roman Catholic, although he remained a Protestant until his death. From 1796 to 1800 he represented the county of St. Maurice in the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada, where he voted generally with the English party. 106 There is every reason to believe that this Nicolas Montour was Sally's son. That he kept in touch with his mother is shown by the fact that he acted as her agent in presenting to the Council of Upper Canada her petition in 1797.

Nicolas' manor house at La Pointe-du-Lac had been built before 1790, and was likened to the elegant French chateaus of the Middle Ages. Here Nicolas lived in luxury, entertaining lavishly, and dispensing good cheer. But despite this, when he died on August 5, 1808, he left a large fortune to his widow, who lived until 1832. Nicolas was buried at Three Rivers, in the Protestant cemetery.

After the widow's death the seigniory went to three daughters, Julie, Caroline, and Melinda. The oldest married Senator Mailhot. They had no children. Caroline married a merchant of Three Rivers, named Kimber, who died four years after their marriage. Later she married Toussaint Biron of Pointe-du-Lac. They had one daughter who died in infancy. The youngest daughter, Melinda, became violently insane. She was so dangerous that she had to be confined in an iron-barred dungeon in the cellar of the manor, where she remained until her death in 1872. Her presence there gave rise to fantastic stories which circulated among the people.

After the death of Melinda the seigniory passed into other hands. Eventually it became the property of the Church, and a convent and other religious buildings were built. The old manor house, now restored, was long deserted and the windows boarded up, inhabited only by snakes, rats, lizards, and insects. The pupils of the convent had a horror of the place, believing it haunted. The story went that a heretic had died in the dungeon in the cellar, and had been buried there with

his dog. Thus the strange story of Sally's son Nicolas, and his mad daughter Helinda, was confused to produce another ghost in a deserted chateau.¹⁰⁷

Nicolas left a son in the west, by an Indian woman, who was also called Nicolas. He was "a clerk at Fort des Prairies in 1804-6, was stationed in the Kootenay country in 1813, and was discharged on the Saskatchewan by Simpson in 1823." ¹⁰⁸

The fact that Sally's son Nicolas died fifteen years before his mother, explains why the administration of her estate went to the agents of the administrators of Richard Pattanson's estate, to whom she was indebted. Her grandson Nicolas was far away in the West, her granddaughters were in Lower Canada, and her three children left in Philadelphia had probably never seen their mother since 1756 and may not have been living in 1825. Sally's name does not appear among the lists of householders in Amherstburg during the time she must have lived there. Being very old, she probably lived with and was cared for by others.

NOTES

1. Upper Canada Land Petitions, Miscellaneous, 1789-1795. (MSS in Public Archives of Canada). Hereafter cited as Petitions, Miscellaneous.
2. Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail, I (New York, 1911), 199-201; William M. Darlington, "The Montours", in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, IV, 213-24.
3. For a detailed account of Andrew's activities as an interpreter and Indian agent, see W. M. Darlington, Christopher Gist's Journals (Pittsburgh, 1893), 159-75.
4. "Bishop Cammerhoff's Journey to Shamokin, Pa., 1748", in Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Bio., XXIX, 167.
5. Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, VII, 95; Louise P. Kellogg, Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, Wis. Hist. Colls. XXIII, 245.
6. Pennsylvania Archives, Series 8, Vol. VI, 4859. "Paid William Bromwich for a pair of stags for Polly Montour."
7. "Spangenberg's Notes of Travel to Onondaga in 1745", Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Bio., III, 64.
8. Colonial Records, V, 290.
9. Penn. Arch., Series I, Vol. II, 12.
10. Ibid., Series 4, Vol. II, 128.
11. Colonial Records, V, 567.
12. Darlington, "The Montours", 164.
13. Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Bio., XXXIX, 239.
14. Colonial Records, VI, 151.
15. Penn. Arch., Series 8, Vol. V, 4093.
16. Ibid., 4348.
17. Colonial Records, VII, 95.
18. Munsell's Collections on the History of Albany, IV (Albany, 1871), 148.

- 19. Papers of Sir William Johnson, III (Albany, 1921), 160. "To li-
quor of Mrs Montour for a burial."
- 20. F. B. Hough, Ed., Diary of the Seige of Detroit in the War with
Pontiac (Albany, 1860), 193.
- 21. Journal of John Porteous from Detroit to Schenectady, Oct. 23 -
Dec. 2, 1766. (MSS in Burton Historical Collection, Detroit).
- 22. Journal of John Lees (Detroit, 1911), 18-19.
- 23. M. M. Quaife, Ed., The John Askin Papers, I (Burton Hist. Records),
50.
- 24. Wis. Hist. Coll., XVIII, 489.
- 25. John Askin, Petty Ledger M, 1806-1812 (Burton Hist.Coll.),58.
- 26. Macomb Ledger, 1775 (Burton Hist. Coll.), 50.
- 27. David Zeisberger, Diary, trans. by E.F.Bliss, I (Cincinnati, 1885),
248.
- 28. Detroit Notarial Registers, B (Burton Hist. Coll.), 168.
- 29. Ibid., 156.
- 30. Detroit Notarial Registers, V, 1766-1780 (MSS in Public Archives of
Canada), 322-23.
- 31. Michigan Pioneer Collections, X, 316.
- 32. Ibid., XIX, 589.
- 33. Ibid., X, 609. In Thomas Smith's Journal (Burton Hist. Coll.),
final page, appears the memorandum, " Sally Hainses mark of a mare.
In the near shoulder H ". Dated 26 May, 1782.
- 34. Macomb Ledger, 1780-1787 (Burton Hist. Coll.), 52; John Askin's
Ledger, 1783-1787 (ibid.), 61; John Askin Papers, I, 193.
- 35. Detroit Notar. Reg., VI, 1776-1784 (Public Archives of Canada), 143.
- 36. Upper Canada Land Petitions, A, IV, no. 45 (Public Archives of
Canada). Hereafter cited as Petitions, A, IV, no. 45. See also
Petitions, Miscellaneous.
- 37. Detroit Notar. Reg., D (Burton Hist. Coll), 67.

- . Detroit Notar. Reg., II, 1780-1784 (Public Archives of Canada), 45.
- . Ibid., III, 1786-1792, 431, VI, 1776-1784, 221.
- . Ibid., III, 398-402.
- . Ibid., 78.
- . Ibid., 444-46.
- . Surveyor General, Letters Received, II (Ontario. Department of Lands and Forests), 344-45. Just east of Sally's house, the sketch shows two crosses, marked " graves".
- . Petitions, Miscellaneous.
- . Ibid.
- . Ibid.
- . Petitions, A, IV, no. 45.
- . Upper Canada. Land Board, District of Hesse. Minutes, Report K (Public Archives of Canada), 15, 21, 30.
- . Ibid., 33.
- . Ibid., 35-38; Petitions, Miscellaneous.
- . Ibid.; Upper Canada. Land Board, District of Hesse. Papers, 1765-1804 (Public Archives of Canada).
- . Petitions, Miscellaneous.
- . Ibid.
- . Ibid.
- . Ontario Archives Report, 1905, 208 and passim; Petitions, A, IV, no. 45; Surveyor General, Letters Received, II, 641.
- . Ibid., 288-89; Ontario Archives Report, 1905, 238.
- . Petitions, A, IV, no. 45 See a similar letter to Surveyor General Smith on the same date, Letters Received, II, 641.
- . Ontario Archives Report, 1905, 213.
- . Surveyor General, Letters Received, I, 189.

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60. Ontario Archives Report, 1905, 238-39.
 61. Ibid., 240.
 62. Surveyor General, Letters Received, I, 287-88.
 63. Ontario Archives Report, 1905, 243-46; Surveyor General, Letters Written, I, 250.
 64. Patrick McKiff, Letters, III (Ontario, Department of Lands and Forests), 76; Surveyor General, Letters Received, II, 344-45.
 65. Ibid., 341-42.
 66. McNiff's Letters, III, 76.
 67. Detroit Notar. Reg., III, 1786-1792 (Public Archives of Canada), 398-402.
 68. John Askin's Ledger, 1783-1787 (Burton Hist. Coll.), 61.
 69. Surveyor General, Letters Received, II, 350.
 70. Surveyor General, Letters Written, I, 298.
 71. Ibid., 337-38.
 72. Petitions, A, IV, No. 45.
 73. Ontario Archives Reports, XIV, 141, 145.
 74. Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe, II (Toronto, 1924), 252. Hereafter cited as Simcoe Papers. The purpose of this gathering was to oppose the army of General Wayne, then advancing northward from Greenville.
 75. Ibid., III, 258.
 76. Ibid., 274, V, 130.
 77. Ibid., III, 287-88.
 78. Ibid., 310.
 79. Ibid., 334.
 80. Ibid., IV, 126.
 81. Ibid., 33.

- 82. Ibid., 43, 45.
- 83. Ibid., 166-67.
- 84. Ibid., 196.
- 85. Surveyor General, Letters Written, V, 1310.
- 86. Gen. E. A. Cruikshank and A. F. Hunter (Eds)., Correspondence of the Honourable Peter Russell, I (Toronto, 1932), 2-3. Hereafter cited as Russell Papers.
- 87. Simcoe Papers, IV, 238.
- 88. Russell Papers, I, 96.
- 89. Petitions, A, IV, no. 45; Upper Canada. Land Book C (Public Archives of Canada), 175.
- 90. Petitions, A, IV, no. 45.
- 91. Upper Canada. Land Book D, 93.
- 92. Russell Papers, III, 212.
- 93. Petitions, Miscellaneous.
- 94. John Askin, Petty Ledger M, 1806-1812 (Burton Hist. Coll.), 58.
- 95. John Askin Papers, Vol. 27 (MSS. in Public Archives of Canada).
- 96. Horace W. Smith, Life and Correspondence of Reverend William Smith, I (Philadelphia, 1879), 152.
- 97. Penn. Arch., Series 8, Vol. VI, 4873, 5064. Probably Andrew and his family had stayed with Hannah before this time. Payments to her " for Andrew Montour, " were made in 1754 and 1755; ibid., V, 3737, 4070.
- 98. Ibid., VI, 4859.
- 99. Ibid., Series 3, Vol. XXIII, 721, 793.
- 100. Ibid., Series 8, Vol. VI, 4655, 4859, 5046, VII, 6218.
- 101. Ibid., 4655.
- 102. Ibid., 4656, 4860.

Phase of the Sally Ainse Dispute- by Louis Goulet.

Kent Historical Society Papers & Addresses, -Vol-1-7 1914-51.

When the reader has weight Mr. W. G. McGeorge's unique paper on the "Settlement and Survey, of the Thames in Kent" he will have concluded that previous to the English official colonization of the river about 1790, there were considerable pre-occupations. This pre-occupation not only established value of the Thames basin, but involved it in a long and vexatious- disputes of nearly a dozen years, which expressed, the fact, contrary to general acceptance, that the Indian woman under the Indian custom possessed the privilege of holding land in the "Frame Aleu Noble" or festived of the French or in the "Fee Simple" of the English. More than this the Indian woman's name, her deed of purchase for land bought on the 19th of September, 1780. in it's description of "One Hundred and Fifty acres in depth" as well as the fact of it's survey being under the "Brouillon" plan all point to the fact of French Tenure and cursory survey.

According to Mr. C. M. Burton's Detroit history previous to the fire in old Detroit in 1805 Sally Ainse was registered as owner of the East 16ft, of lot #42 old Detroit survey. The deed referring to the Dover lands reads: "Registered a deed from Teka-Megh-a-sii and Me-gi-riO-chi-pu-e Chiefs 22 August 1789 to Sarah Ainse, witnessed by T. Williams, Justice of the Peace and dated 19th, September 1780 for a tract of land on the north side of river a la Tranche beginning at the entrance of the said river running hence up opposite the fork and one hundred and fifty acres in depth bounded in front by said river A la Tranche- Registered by T. Williams in the Detroit Register."

The consideration is placed at "80 New York currency in goods and a belt of Wampum, witnessed by Thomas Smith and dated 11th October 1783. "Enregistered in the Register of Detroit page 60-61 William Montforton.-Recorded."

The petition of the Ochipues at River la Tranche reads and was subscribed to as follows. "The Chief Augushavay and three others of the same nation doth hereby declare that the Indians of River la Tranche when they sold their lands at River la Tranche that they told Capt. McKee that there was a tract of land that they gave their sister Sally Ainse which they would not sell as she had always used them well and like-wise they gave Col. McKee a string of wampum and he the said Col. McKee told them that she was a good woman and received the wampum saying he would do all he could and speak the commandment officer about it; this was before the deed was signed-as witness our hands in Detroit 13th day of July 1791-Tuckinagosey, Agushavay, Shunaduck, Warvisque, Maskeways, Ketwetiskino, Nuango. The Indian chiefs not knowing how to write have made their marks with totems in the presence of (Sgd.) James Graham, Wm. Dugan.

With the names attached to the Land Board petition and those to the deed concerned there are towards a dozen and half of chiefs connected with the dispute. Meeting after meeting was held by the Detroit Land Board with Indian Agent McKee and Deputy surveyor McNiff present. The Attorney General asks a series of questions re-original lines of Ainse property, the woman appears at the Navy Hall, Niagara, and Gov. Simcoe writes in person, March 14th 1792 that "the decision of the Lieutenant Governor and Council of Upper Canada upon the claims of Sally Ainse referred to them by special letter (I believe in May last) their decision has been favorable to the claims of Mrs. Ainse and of

course she is legally entitled to the lands in dispute."

The complication is increased by Mrs. Ainse real estate transfer. Folio 607 of the land registers reads under date of 30th April, 1792 "Appearing before the Board J. Cissnee produces a deed from Sally Ainse for lot 6, con. 1, N. side 1st tp. River la Tranche."

Enough is here recited to show the magnitude of dispute amongst the officials as well as between the Land Board on the one side and the executive and the Indians on the other.

No such a dispute would have reached such proportions had the Thames been an unsettled wilderness at the time. Surveyor McNiff in a letter to Hon. Hugh Finlay, 3rd May 1791, writes "In the townships surveyed on River La Tranche I found twenty eight families in front, some with considerable improvements should the present order of survey be carried into effect there, it will remove every one of them from their improvements."

The advanced stage as well as extensiveness of the Sally Ainse district is further supplemented by entries found in the Zeisberger journal. Under date of April 17, 1792 is found "Came to Sally Land" a colony composed of French, English, and German settlers." On Saturday June 30, 1792 is read; "Coming here we bought 100 bushels of corn at "Sally Hand" and now we have bought some more at Munceytown. Corn is \$1.00 a bushel at Munceytown.

Not alone on the settlement, Zeisberger terms, "Sally Hand," but further up does the Missionary show the productions of the district to the extent of the introduction of the culture possibly the first in the province. Under date of June 27, 1793 Zeisberger makes the entry, "The Indian Peter's hive of bees which he brought here from Pettquoting swarmed today for the second time."

All point to the fact, that the Thames was a keen centre for colonization and had more than begun "the life in the clearing" in the 1705. Its colony of whites and its Indian fields prove its fertility was of earlier concern than generally dated.

The intensity and length of the Sally Ainse dispute would not have applied to an unsettled district. Nothing but the trend of civilization made the Indian woman fight so long and so valiantly against Indian agent, land board, and squatter rights.

From Sally Ainse we have the English equivalent of Sally Hand. Sally Ainse apparently comes from the Sallie Ainee, signifying Salted Or preserved Elder, and such a name would not have evolved without considerate contact with the French "acre" as a linear measure would not have been employed. The French "acre" is about 192 feet and does not handily find an English equivalent.

The instructions issued to Abraham Iredell surveyor in 1803 from the Surveyor-Generals office, directed Iredell to follow the "brouillon place" and Engineer Hambly in 1804 was asked to follow them in this Thames and Kent surveys. While not itself a technical work, or indicative of a French survey is more than noticeable that the word "Brouillon" should be used because of the fact that it possesses such common equivalent in the English tongue.

If we have not had a French cursory survey in parts of the county as well as a French coasting survey of its waters we have in the Ainse deeds and early names of streams such a free use of French words it would be strange if the French settlement of Detroit had not foreseen the advantages of the La Tranche (Thames) and De Luce (Bear Creek) as it had nearly every other stream discharging into the lake and river waters about Detroit.

Now the Sally Ainse contestation about these Dover lands supported by the legion of Indian Chiefs attests that the Indian woman was something more than a chattel for the braves and the warriors. It shows she was not denied the privilege of land possession in her own

right and that she bartered and exchanged land under these tribal privileges.

Again the persistent use of the word "acres" in her Dover deeds as well as the use of the "brouillon" or rough plan of survey by English surveyors would have been more than pertinent in French descriptions and a French survey at the time.

Sally Ainse a french name. Sept. 19, 1780. Prior to 1791 before which were 28 houses built on the river.

The names of , south side of the river, going up the river.

Richard Merry, John Peck Jr., St. Carty, Robert Peck, Eliza Peck, John Peck Sr., Daniel Fields, Samuel Newkirk, Thomas Williams, Charles McCormick, Issac Dolsen on the North side Thomas Holmes, Meldrum Park, Arthur McCormick, Sarah Wilson a negro Matthew Dolsen, Clark a millwright.

Sally Ainse, lot 10 Maiden name Hance, Sally Hand (French name).

1. Husband Andrew Montour whose habitments had astonished count Zinendorf for almost fifty yrs.

2. Joseph Louis Ainse an interpreter on her land she conducted a trading post and was kept informed of Indian affairs infro to Joseph Brant.

Sally born possibly in 1728 or so.

1795 survey by Abraham Iredell, 113 lots of one acre each in double tiers along the river and creek fronts.

Sally Hand Ainse or Thames settlement had its own stores for trade that of Dolsen and of a man named Scott in Harwich, a little to the east of Chatham on the river around which there had grown up a considerable hamlet.

300 - 33 one third acres in depth.

Sally Ainse, fur trader Fred Hamil. Sally, continued Montour-Wilson-Ainse Grant from Chippewas after government pruchase. Sally fought to retain her tract of land.

200, acre lots in 1792, various forces and interest resisted, until 1798 a second order in council reversed the first and left her with but one lot on which she lived for several years dying in Amherstburg in about 1823.

1775 trading with Indians selling cider among other thing taking fur in payment. Census, Detroit, 1779, male slave and 3 female slaves, 3 cows, 4 horses.

Census, 1882, 1 female slave, five horses, one cow, two hogs.

In January, 1795 Joseph Brant received messages from Sally and requested and the other chiefs to hold fast to the King and his five nations as good soldiers right also to keep up every intercourse through Sally Ainse.

Simcoe seems to have sincere in his effort to help Sally but found opposition. Feb. 1796.

I am confidentially to request you will transmit to me an account of the quantity of land claimed by Sally Ainse of what she has possession of the names of the person who claim under grants of the Land Board and also the names of the gentlemen who composed the Land Board. March 29, 1796.

Problem originates from the singular situation in which you are placed relatively with those who claim your land under certain regulations. April 3 Chief Joseph Brant continued on Sally's behalf to a G. W. Smith. After the facts about the land being paid for and presence of the five nations several times etc.

Brant, (ver=batim) It grieves me to observe that it seems natural to whites to look on lands in the possession of Indians with an aching heart, and never to rest till they have planned them out to them.

Sally Ainse (continue) (4) 51

Son Nicolas presented another petition to the council at Newark on Aug. 12, 1797.

Ebinezer Allen and Sally Ainse to help secure lands for crown, died at nearly 95 years in about 1823.

George Jacobs and James Gordon executors of the Richard Pattinson who died about 1817 and stated Sally Ainse was largely indebted to Pattinson Letters of adm. for her estate were granted to Jacobs and Gordon in surrogate Court at Sandwich on May 10th, 1824.

Hannah Boyd, Pennsylvania reared Sally's 2 oldest children.

Polly 2nd child not named? but Andrew Montour a member of Captain James Fisher's Company of Lumberland County militia in Pennsylvania in 1782 was the son of old Andrew.

Debby lived with Edward Cary Nicolas Montour baptized in Dutch Church at Albany in 1756 stayed with mother went west as a fur trader.

In 1779 Nicolas appears as a fur trader and clerk for Frobisher and Company Company retired in 1792 with a large fortune married-Genewieve Wills.

Micolas lived in luxury and died August 5th, 1803? his widow lived until 1832 buried at three rivers.

Sibbling, Julie, Caroline, Melinda.

Property acquired in 1780 by a deed from the Chippewas it was along the River La Tranche (Thames) from the mouth up to the forks, where the city of Chatham is now situated. Indian Deed in 1783 payment amounting to 500 lbs. New York currency to complete the purchase she gave the Indians 150 horses, guns, rum cider.

Sold Detroit property in May 1787 to Grubb and Dowler, boat builders and moved to La Tranche. (North)

Opposite to Sally's land on River South Bank were Charles Gorian and David Lyrd in 1780 running up the river twenty leagues and depth four leagues. Sally's son Nicolas owned the West portion of the farm.

She also sold property to negro named Frank (25 yrs. old)

Sally improved her farms.

Her dwelling house was on the upper half of what became lot no. ten East Dover Twsp. Kent County her improvements extended to almost two thirds of lot no. 11 fenced in a small orchard other farm lot 15 farmed by a negro. Perhaps this was the negro Sally sold to Cissney. The Montours of Pennsylvania.

Council on Oct. 17, 1792 the Case of Sally Ainse.

John Willson took over Sally's account in Sept. 1783 and paid John Askin 1256 it appears Sally was living or married to Willson at this time.

Lord Dorchester.

The land was granted to the King on each side of the river except the tract of land which we had sold to our beloved sister Sally Ainse and who has overpaid us.



**Chatham-Kent Black Historical Society
Presents the 11th Annual John Brown Festival
Friday and Saturday, April 30-May 1, 2010
WISH CENTRE 177 King St. E.
Chatham, Ontario**

Friday, April 30 At 6:30 P.M. the John Brown Festival will open with a musical/vocal performance by Jane Ripley Studio Singers followed by an engaging drama by talented performer Leslie McCurdy in "Things My Fore-Sisters Saw" for our Family Night.

Saturday, May 1 9:00 3:30 pm.

Morning Guest Speakers:

Lt Col Lawrence Millben and Lt Col Alexander Jefferson, will speak on Blacks in the military and Tuskegee Airmen. Eric Shaw, a local actor, artist and writer will explain military dress through pictures. At noon, weather permitting, Denis Schryer, a local pilot, will honour our military guests with a ceremonial fly-past over our Freedom Park in a 1941 Boeing Stearman biplane.

The finale for our Festival will be a one-act play based on the life and letters of John & Mary Brown presented by award winning folk duo Maggie, Greg Artzner and Terry Leonino will bring the characters to life with their moving performance of "Sword of the Spirit".

**Tickets: \$35.00 per person, or two for \$60 and includes lunch
Call 519-352-3565**

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- SANKOFA -
One must return to the past in order to move forward into the future.



Denis Schryer - 1941 Boeing Stearman

Historical Society
Papers and Addresses

Kent
1880

Phases of the Sally Ainse Dispute
By Louis Goulet

When the reader has weighed Mr. W. G. McGeorge's unique paper on The Settlement and Survey of the Thames in Kent he will have concluded that previous to the English official colonization of the river about 1790 there were considerable pre-occupations. This pre-occupation not only established the value of the Thames basin but involved it in a long and vexatious dispute of nearly a dozen years, which expresses the fact, contrary to general acceptance, that the Indian woman under the Indian custom possessed the privilege of holding land in the "franc alevu noble" or festived of the French or in the "fee simple" of the English. More than this the Indian Woman's name, her deed of purchase for land bought on the 19th, September 1780 in its description of "one hundred and fifty acres in depth" as well as the fact of its survey being under the "brouillon" plan all point to the fact of French tenure and cursory survey.

According to Mr. C. M. Burton's Detroit history previous to the fire in old Detroit in 1805 Sally Ainse was registered as owner of the East 16 ft. of lot 42 old Detroit Survey. The deed referring to the Dover lands reads: "Registered a deed from Teka-Megh-a sii and Me-gi-ri o-chi-pu-e Chiefs, 22 August 1789 to Sarah Ainse, witnessed by T. Williams, Justice of the Peace and dated 19th, September 1780 for a tract of land on the north side of river a la Tranche beginning at the entrance of the said river running hence up opposite the fork and one hundred and fifty acres in depth bounded in front by said river A la Tranche - Registered by T. Williams in the Detroit Register."

The consideration is placed at "80 New York currency in goods and a belt of Wanipum, witnessed by Thomas Smith and dated 11th October, 1783." Enregistered in the Register of Detroit Page 60-61 by William Montforton. - Recorded."

The petition of the ochiques at River la Tranche reads and was subscribed to as follows: "The Chief Augushavay and three others of the same nation doth hereby declare that the Indians of River la Tranche when they sold their lands at River la Tranche that they told Capt. McKee that there was a tract of land that they gave their sister, Sally Ainse which they would not sell as she had always used them well and like-wise they gave Col. McKee a string of wampum and the said Col. McKee told them that she was a good woman and received the wampum saying he would do all he could and speak to the commandment officer about it, the was before the deed was signed - as witness our hands in Detroit 13th day of July 1791 - Tuckinagosey, Agushavay, Shunaduck, Warvisque, Maskewayo, Ketwetiskino, Nuango. The Indian chiefs not knowing how to write have made their marks with totems in the presence of (Sgd.) James Graham, Wm. Dugan."

With the names attached to the Land Board petition and those to the deeds concerned there are towards a dozen and half of chiefs connected with the dispute. Meeting after meeting was held by the Detroit Land Board with Indian Agent McKee and Deputy surveyor McNiff present. The Attorney General asks a series of questions re original lines of Ainse property, the woman appears at Navy Hall, Niagara, and Gov. Simcoe writes in person, March 14th, 1792 that "the decision of the Lieutenant Governor and Council of Upper Canada upon the claims of Sally Ainse referred to them, by special letter (I believe in May last) their decision has been favorable to the claims of Mrs. Ainse and of the lands in dispute, legally entitled."

The complication is increased by Mrs. Ainse real estate transfer. Folio 607 of the land registers reads under date of 30th April, 1792 - "Appearing before the Board J. Cissness produces a deed from Sally Ainse for lot 6, con. 1, N. side 1st Twp. River la Tranche."

Enough is here recited to show the magnitude of the dispute amongst the officials as well as between the Land Board on the one side and the executive and the Indians on the other.

The existence of blacks on the River Thames goes back to the late 1700's and one of the first was a slave belonging to Sally Aitse and simply called Frank. Early records show some blacks living on the north side of Chatham, then known as the "Forks," and indicate that over the years the black contributed immensely to the building and growth of this present day City of Chatham. The remarkable life of Sally Aitse is intertwined with the Montour family. Montour, a French nobleman who settled in Canada in 1665, became the father of a son by an Indian woman in all probability a Huron, Andrew and two daughters. This son of Montour grew up among those Hurons, who at the time were in alliance with the French. In the year 1685, while in the French service, he was wounded on Lake Champlain. Subsequently, he deserted the French cause to live with the upper nations of Indians. In 1708, Lord Cornbury, with the assistance of Andrew Montour, succeeded in persuading 12 of these western tribes including the Miami and the Hurons to trade at Albany, New York, with the English. For his part in alienating the upper nations from the French cause, young Montour was killed in 1709, by the order of the Marquis de Vandrovil, Governor of Canada. One of the daughters of Montour, while living on the Susquehanna and the Ohio Rivers became a noted interpreter and friend of the English. She became known as Madame Montour.

Authorities on the Montour family are not always consistent, but Madame Montour appears to have been born in Canada previous to 1684, and about age 10, was captured by some Iroquois and adopted by the Seneca's for at maturity, she married a Seneca who took the name Roland Montour and by whom she bore 5 children: Andrew, Henry, Robert, Lewis and Margaret. After the death of her husband Roland, Madame Montour married the noted Oneida Chief, Carondowanen, also known as "Big Tree," who later took the name Robert Hunter in honour of the Royal Governor of the Province of New York. About 1729, this husband Robert, was killed in a battle with the Catawba against whom he was waging war.

Madame Montour first appears in the official records of a conference in Albany, New York, in 1711, between the delegates of the Five Nations and Governor Hunter, while serving as interpreter. This was probably the occasion when her second husband "Big Tree," adopted the name Robert Hunter. The murder of her brother, Andrew, was bitterly ^{Resented} ~~resented~~ by Madame Montour and she employed her great influence among the Indians with such telling effects against the interests of the French, that the French Governor sought to entice her to remove to Canada, by an offer of great compensation and valuable emoluments. All his efforts were unsuccessful and finally in 1719, he sent her sister to try and prevail on her to forsake the ^{people} ~~people~~ of her adoption and the English cause, whereupon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, learning of the overtures of the French Governor and appreciated Madame's valuable service and fearing the effect of her possible defections, invited her to Albany. It was discovered that for a year she had not received her pay, so ^{it} ~~it~~ was agreed by the Commissioner that she thereafter would receive a "man's pay" and she was apparently satisfied.

under

In 1727, in Philadelphia, she acted as interpreter between Lieutenant Governor Gordon and his Council on one hand and the several chiefs and delegates of the Six Nations on the other.

It was claimed that Madame Montour was a lady in both manner and education and was very attractive in mind and body.

Her son, Andrew Montour, whose Indian name was Satteliu, was the person historians believe married Sally Aitse. However, Andrew was apparently previously married to the granddaughter of a Delaware Chief, who lived near the Montours on the Susquehanna and by this wife he had a son John, born in 1744. It would seem that other children were also born to this union, with John being the youngest, because during the Revolutionary War, John was said to have had a brother, Checheas, living among the Delawares, and Andrew, himself stated ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ 1756, that he had a daughter Madelina, living with the Delaware tribe. It is believed John's mother died shortly after his birth. Since

John was born in 1744, Andrew could conceivably have married Sally Aines as early as 1745, for in 1758, one of her daughters was approaching womanhood. Since Sally stated she was married at age 17 years, this would place her birth about the year 1728.

In the year 1748, Andrew began his career as an interpreter for the State of Pennsylvania, although living in Ohio. He was decidedly European in countenance plus he dressed in the European manner, but he wore some paint on his face which was a part of his Indian culture. He was fluent in English, French and Indian languages, which fitted him for the job of interpreter. The family lived among the Six Nations Tribes between the branches of the Ohio River and Lake Erie. In 1750, Andrew was still residing in Ohio, but a year later he was granted a commission in Pennsylvania, which prompted him to remove to a place on the Susquehanna River at the mouth of a stream called "Montour's Run," in present day Perry County, Pennsylvania.

If Andrew and Sally married in 1745, it appears they remained together for at least 10 years or so. They appear to have had four children, for in 1756, after the Six Nations Indians had a conference with the Governor at Philadelphia, those in authority put Andrew Montour's children under his care, to be independent of their mother. This must refer to Sally Ainese as Andrew's previous wife had died in 1744. This arrangement would naturally include John, who became well known during the Revolutionary War and Madelina, who was still with the Delawares. Andrew travelled considerably and prayed that the government would provide for his family during his frequent and extended absences. Of the children Sally left or was forced to leave, upon her separation from Andrew, at least one was raised by Hannah Boyd in Pennsylvania. After her separation from Andrew, history records Sally as living on the Mohawk River with the Oneidas. This fact is supported by the fact that a son, Nicholas Montour, was born to her on October 31, 1756, and was baptised in the Dutch Church at Albany, New York. The parents were given as Andrew and Sara Montour, this was the only child to remain with Sally.

The life Sally lived for the next few years was shrouded in obscurity with but few exceptions . From the Oneidas she received a grant of land at Fort Stanwin, New York, probably not long after it was built in 1758. The expensive lifestyle to which Sally had become accustomed while living with Andrew did not abate after the separation, consequently, she was forced to her talents and resources to become a trader in 1759. She appears again in November, 1766, when John Porteous met her on the North shore of Lake Erie with a boat and goods planning to winter at Long Point, which indicates that she was extending her trading activities far to the west of her home at Fort Stanwin.

When the REvolutionary War broke out many of th Oneidas remained in New York, but Sally abandoned her possessions there and removed to the Detroit, Michigan, area. The Governor of New York had granted away most of the lands on the Mohawk River almost up to the Fort, which created much jealousy and unrest among the Indians, and Sally, probably realizing that she could not hold her land against the encroaching whites made her move to Michigan.

After leaving New York, Sally appears only rarely under the name of Montour, although his son Nicholas, retained the name Montour. She is now know as Sally Ainse or Hance, usually Ainse, as all the legal documents (petitions) use the name Ainse. Being a trader, she happened to be at Mackinac when the well known Indian interpreter Joseph Ainse, was living there in 1774, and some have supposed she either lived with or married him. However, this is highly unlikely since Joseph Ainse married Therese Bondy of Detroit a year later. It is commonly known that Indian women went by their maiden names after marriage, as was the case of Madame Montour. Now as a trader on her own with a son to rear, Sally told people her name was Ainse or Hance. Hance was a common name among the Indians of the Five Nations. Since Sally could not write, she could have accepted their spelling of her name as Ainse. This appears to be the reason why Sally is referred to at times as Sally Ainse, alias Hance, Hands and Ans.

It was not until 1778, that Sally bought a house and lot in Fort Pontchartrain at Detroit, for which she paid 120 pounds (L120) in New York currency. The name Sally Ainse, appears in the census of Detroit taken in 1779. In this census, she is described as

having one male and three female slaves. This is the association this book has with Sally Aitse since it is known that she brought some slaves with her to her property on the North side of the Riviere La Tranche (now known as the Thames River) in Dover Township and the property in question ran from Lake St. Clair to the Forks (Chatham).

The Chatham Land Registry Office has on file an ownership registration dated June 29, 1794, which shows the Grantor of the land as being the Crown, the grantee as being Sally Aitse. The lots number from 9 to 16 on Concession One of the Township of Dover East. Each of the said lots contained 200 acres. This means Sally owned 1,600 acres of property in Dover Township in 1794.

Sally, when trading at the Moravian settlement in 1785, told one of the Indians that she owned land on the eastern side of Lake St. Clair. She was referring to the land she acquired from the Chippewas in 1780. This is confirmed by another Indian deed of 1783. She made payments amounting to 500 pounds (£500) New York currency in 1788, to complete the purchase, she gave the Indians 150 pounds (£150) in horses, guns, rum and cider.

In the year 1787, Sally sold her property at Detroit to Grubb and Dowles, boat builders. This appears to be the time she settled on the Thames River. Sally chose Lot 15 to build her house - it was a beautiful spot with willow trees, located on a hill overlooking the river. The property is presently owned by King Grain Experimental Farms.

(PRINT SOME PETITIONS AT THIS POINT)

The house in which Sally lived was given to Joseph Szucks and his wife and with the help of neighbours, ^(the cottage was torn down) they tore down the cottage board by board, and removed (it) to their property on Lot 18, Concession 6, Dover East on the Rivard Drain. The sight on which the Szucks chose to rebuild the cottage is located near an old cemetery, on a hill with the house in the valley and the stream behind it. Mr. Joseph Peel, during an interview just before he died, confirmed my belief that this was the home of Sally Aitse. He himself, was born in the house and lived there many years. The

present structure contains some changes but he stated that the changes were built around the original structure. When we visited the cottage, we took notes of the original markings on the floor boards and the wall markings which I didn't totally understand, but which made me feel as though I was truly seeing some of our great historical past. The hands of the slave called Frank could have possibly helped build this humble home of Sally and Nicholas. Frank the slave later sold to Joseph Cissney, had his hut on another one of the lots owned by Sally. The number of slaves who came to this area with Sally cannot be confirmed but she must have brought more than Frank, because where she settled and planted an orchard, along with other improvements, leads one to believe she brought the slaves she owned in the Detroit area to her new home.

When the British government purchased land from the Indians in the spring of 1790, most of the territory (they) acquired comprised the present day counties of Essex and Kent with total disregard for previous Indian grants along the Thames River. However, while the negotiations for the purchase were going on, Sally was assured by her friends, the negotiating chiefs, that her land would not be included in the sale to the government.

This was the beginning of Sally's problems and initiated several years of petitions to the Land Board all of which bore her claim to the 1,600 acres in Dover Township.

After reading the original documents and letters in the Simcoe papers, it would appear some similar petitions seem to have been handled fairly, while apparently depending on the agent, others were ignored.

Sometime previous to 1790, several persons had settled on Sally's property without her authority. Despite the petitions and the fact that the matter had been referred to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, The Land Board proceeded to dispose of the lots claimed by Sally. Upper Canada Land Petition Records show that the other lots on the Thames River were granted to James Donaldson, Thomas Smith, John Dodamide, George Cope, Isaac Dolsen and Andrew Hamilton.

The lake Indians held Sally Aines in high esteem and in 1795, Joseph Brant, the great Mohawk Chief, received notification from these Indians that she (Sally) had been authorized to receive any and all messages from him on their behalf in their absence. Brant referred to Sally as his personal friend and begged his people to hold fast to the King & British during these troubled times. He further directed his people to communicate only through Sally Aines, it being unsafe to carry on correspondence except through people of their own colour. Brant became involved in the Ainese property dispute with the government and his letters (Simcoe papers) indicate that both he and Sally seemed to lack confidence in Colonel McKee.

While Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe seemed to have been sincere in his efforts to uphold justice, the opposition of persons interested in acquiring the lands was too powerful an adversary. In 1791, Joseph Brant wrote a most fascinating note to Reverend Samuel Kirkland, wherein he states: "It has been my constant study since the peace between Great Britain and the United States to unite the Indians together, and make such a peace between all parties, as would remove all prejudices and enable us to sit quietly down on our seats free from apprehensions and jealousy, and if not become more respectable at least, ^{in the right spirit} not become more contemptable."

This reasoning and desire for Indian respectability must be what prompted Brant to continue his efforts to help Sally Ainese regain her property. In one of his letters to the Surveyor General D. W. Smith, he wrote:

"You very well know that Sally Ainese's land was her right before the purchase was made by the government, and the land board cut it in pieces after the purchase. Since it has been promised in the presence of the Five Nations several times to be restored to her and is not restored yet, notwithstanding,

I really must confess that I begin to think it too hard to see our friends, the English, so very strict about Indian lands. It grieves me to observe that it seems natural to whites to look on lands in the possession of Indians with an aching heart, and never to rest till they have planned them out of them."

Sally Ainse never really gave up hope of regaining her property but many unfortunate things beset her such as the loss of one of her most influential allies in the person of Lord Simcoe, who returned to England in 1796, to never again return to Canada; also the land on which the people lived was steadily being improved by them, making it a hard decision, for those in authority to uproot them. Nicholas, her son, appears to have moved west as a fur trader about 1779, even though she had given him a portion of her land on the Thames River. He became a partner in the North West Company and lived most of this time in Saskatchewan. In 1792, he retired with a large fortune and moved near Three Rivers in Lower Canada, where he married Genevieve Wills and lived in luxury. To this union, three daughters were born, Julie, Caroline and Melinda. Nicholas died some 15 years before his Mother and 24 years prior to his wife to whom he left a large fortune. Nicholas was buried at Three Rivers in the Protestant Cemetary.

As near as we can figure, Sally moved from her home on the Thames River in 1809, to Fort Malden which later became the town of Amherstburg, where she died about 1823. This saga of trader Sally Ainse came to a close in an interview with Amherstburg historian, Alvin McCurdy. He related to me the story of Sally Ainse, a Loyalist, Indian woman, who was buried in the old Catholic cemetary. While excavating basements and foundations for new homes in this cemetary area, apparently contractors extended a bit too far resulting in the desecration of several graves, one of which differed from the others.

An area historian of note, George McDonald, was called to Amherstburg from Windsor to investigate this peculiarity, and it was concluded that the grave in question was the final resting place of Sally Ainse. Buried with her was her canoe, along with several other Indian artifacts.

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Sally Ainse died leaving no kindred in Upper Canada and one Richard Pattison assumed control of her affairs. Following Pattinson's death, letters of administration for the Estate of Sarah (Sally) Aines were granted to Geroge Jacobs and James Gordon, executors for the Richard Pattinson Estate on May 10, 1824.