

# SISTERS IN CRIME

## The Glascott Infanticides

On the evening of Tuesday, April, 25, 1848, a servant in the household of Perth merchant and Upper Canada Legislative Council member Roderick Matheson (1793-1873)<sup>1</sup> noticed a cloth-wrapped object lying in the pit beneath the household privy. When the bundle was removed the following morning, it was found to contain the body of a newborn child.

A coroner's inquest concluded that the child had been born alive but died shortly after birth due to the actions of its mother, Anne Glascott, a nursery maid employed by Matheson.

Six years later, on the evening of Tuesday, December 20, 1853, a passer-by discovered a very similar cloth bundle lying on the Perth Road between Brockville and the hamlet of Unionville/Forthton.<sup>2</sup> That bundle also contained the body of a newborn.

The subsequent inquest concluded that infant had also been born alive and returned a verdict of death by foul play, leading to the arrest of Susan Glascott.

Born at Perth, Anne and Susan Glascott were sisters.

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Their father, John Glascott Jr., (1892-1871) was a native of Creacon Townland, near New Ross, County Wexford, Ireland, the son of John Glascott Sr. (1760-1817) and Susannah Tree (1765-1818)<sup>3</sup>. John Sr.'s father had been born at Kilkenny, Ireland, to Francis Glascott (1723-1798) and Sarah Anne Stevens (1732-1809), but married Susannah Tree in Newfoundland in 1790 where he worked as a seasonal trader. Susannah Tree-Glascott was a native of Boston, Massachusetts, USA, the daughter of Francis Tree (1730-1780) and Bridget Murphy (1740-1800), but grew up in Newfoundland where her mother ran a hotel near Ferrylands on the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Matheson, born in Scotland, was a half-pay officer of the Glengarry Light Infantry, Perth merchant, District Magistrate, Upper Canada Legislative Council Member, and later a Canadian Senator.

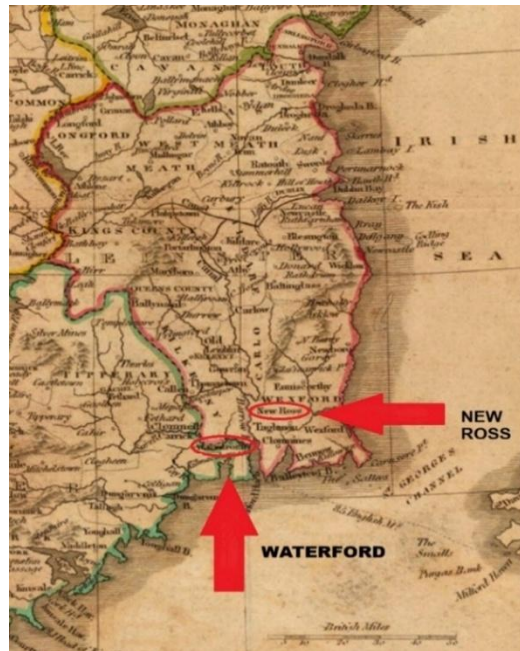
<sup>2</sup> The hamlet was named Stone's Inn in 1818, then Stone's Corners. When a post office was established in 1841, it was renamed Unionville and then renamed Forthton c1884. At Unionville the Perth Road forked, one branch (now Highway #42) turned west to Athens, Delta, Phillipsville, Forfar, Crosby, and Newboro, the other branch (now Highway #29) went on to Perth.

<sup>3</sup> Susannah Tree had been born in Newfoundland.

<sup>4</sup> According to an on-line genealogy credited to Anne Belanger, John Glascott Sr. and Susannah Tree-Glascott were the parents of at least seven children – Sarah (b.1792), Anne (1794-1795), Lucinda (1795-1845), Francis (b.1795), Anne (1800-1867), John Jr. (1802-1871), and William (1805-1875).

John Glascott Jr. and his younger brother William (1805-1875), boarded the ship *Thomas* at Waterford, Ireland, in the spring of 1817 and after a passage of 35 days arrived at Quebec City on July 17<sup>th</sup>.<sup>5</sup> A month later they reached the Perth Military Settlement, where, on August 24<sup>th</sup>, John was ticketed for 100 acres of land at Bathurst C-9/L-15(NE) and William took up a 100 acre plot at Bathurst C-8/L-16(SW). The Glascott brothers soon left for the United States, but after working for a season on the Erie Canal near Lockport, New York, they returned to Upper Canada to clear their Bathurst Township farms.

Back at Perth, John Glascott married Elizabeth Williams (1811-bfr,1871) in about 1825, and they became the parents of seven children: Anne (b.1826), Susan (b.c1830)<sup>6</sup>, John (1832-1887)<sup>7</sup>, Frank (1837-1919), Elysia (b.1841), Thomas (1843-1821)<sup>8</sup>, James (b.1844)<sup>9</sup>, and Eliza (b.1845).



*Southeast Ireland*

Younger brother William Glascott married Catharine Campbell (c1811-1886)<sup>10</sup> at Perth in 1825, and they became parents to nine sons and four daughters. In 1838 William moved from Bathurst Township into the village of Perth and built a substantial three-storey stone building at #1 Gore Street West (corner of Gore and Foster Streets)<sup>11</sup> where for the next 12 years he operated Glascott's Hotel. For eight of those years, he also held the Royal Mail contract, operating the daily stagecoach service between Perth and Brockville<sup>12</sup>. In the mid-1850s he gave up innkeeping<sup>13</sup> and emigrated with most of his family to Monroe, Wisconsin, USA.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The brig *Thomas* carried 137 Irish immigrants, 16 of whom came to the Perth Military Settlement.

<sup>6</sup> Susan Glascott's exact birthdate is undocumented.

<sup>7</sup> Married Hannah Little (c1841-1919).

<sup>8</sup> Married Elizabeth Long.

<sup>9</sup> Married Hannah Welsh (b.c1854).

<sup>10</sup> Genealogies on *ancestry.ca* etc., show Catharine Campbell's date of birth as 1811, but she was probably born several years earlier. If born in 1811, she was married in 1825 at the age of just 14 years. Catherine was the daughter of John Campbell (1781-1850) and Mary McGregor (1782-1853) who located on Drummond Township C-6/L-4(E) on December 9, 1816, having arrived at Quebec City from Scotland via the ship *Sophia* on September 6, 1818, with a family of three sons over age 7, one son under 7, 2 daughters over 7, and 1 daughter over 7.

<sup>11</sup> From 1817 until about 1835 the site at the corner of Gore and Foster Street had been occupied by an inn and tavern owned by William Matheson (1788-1852), a former Sergeant of the Canadian Fencibles, who at one time or another also served as the local jailer, pound keeper and tax collector. Glascott's hotel was later owned by William Hicks and known as the Hicks House. Under a series of ownerships, it operated as the Hick's House until 1910 when it was renamed the Commercial Hotel, and then as the Perth Hotel from 1930. Between 1917 and 1930 the hotel was owned and operated by William James Glascott (1860-1928), but the common surname appears to be coincidental; William James (1860-1928) does not seem to have been related to William (1805-1875) and John (1802-1871). In 1958 the hotel was heavily damaged by fire and the third storey removed but it continued to serve as a hotel until the mid-1970s and then as a bar only until the late-1990s. Today it houses a café, various retail stores and apartments.

<sup>12</sup> In the 1842 census the William Glascott household at Perth numbered 12, three 'born there' and nine 'born here'.

<sup>13</sup> Although he left Perth in the mid-1850s, Glascott did not sell his hotel until 1870 when it was purchased by William Hicks (1816-1902) who had probably been leasing it for a number of years prior to purchase.

<sup>14</sup> Perth's Glascott Street, between Wilson and Lewis Streets, appears to have been named for hotelier William Glascott, although it was not opened or named until about 1870, more than a decade he left for the United States.

John and William Glascott were followed to the Perth Military Settlement by two of their sisters in about 1820. Lucinda Glascott (1795-1845) married soldier-settler Jean Baptiste Poublon (1795-1840) (aka John Publow)<sup>15</sup> and Anne Glascott (1800-1867) married soldier-settler Jean Baptiste Vanexhiem (1787-1850) (aka John Vanexan/Vanisen).<sup>16</sup>

Bathurst Township assessment records for 1821 show that John Glascott Jr. was living on a farm at C-5/L-6 rather than the C-9/L-15(NE) property he had been ticketed for in 1817, but by 1842 he and his family had also moved into the village of Perth.<sup>17</sup>

In about 1850 John Glascott Jr. and family relocated to Brockville<sup>18</sup>. The 1861 census enumerates John, a laborer, his wife Elizabeth, and three of their youngest children, Elycia, James and Elizabeth, resident in Brockville's West Ward. Their older children, daughters Anne and Susan, and sons John, Frank, Thomas and James were no longer part of the household. A decade later, in the census of 1871, laborer John Glascott, by then a widower, is recorded living alone in the West Ward of Brockville where he died later that year.

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### Matheson House Murder 1848

Spacious as it was, in 1848 the Perth home of merchant, magistrate and militia colonel Roderick Matheson was a crowded place. In addition to Matheson and his wife Annabella Russell (1811-1854), the household included their 10 children<sup>19</sup>, aged one to 16 years, and 23-year-old Roderick Edward Matheson (1825-1901), a son of his first marriage<sup>20</sup>. There were also at least a dozen live-in servants<sup>21</sup>, including 22-year-old nursery maid Anne Glascott, daughter of John and Elizabeth Glascott.

According to fellow servants Jane Griffiths (b.1827) and Jane Cosgrove (b.1831)<sup>22</sup>, at about 2:00 p.m. on Thursday April 13, 1848, Glascott said she was feeling unwell and retired to her bed in the second-floor nursery, remaining there until about 4:00 p.m.

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<sup>15</sup> Born in Belgium, Poublon/Publow was a soldier-settler from the Swiss de Meuron Regiment granted land at Bathurst Township C-7/L-26(W) in June 1816. He later established himself as a wagonmaker. Jean Baptiste Poublon (John Publow) and Lucinda 'Lucy' Glascott-Publow died at Perth and are buried in the Craig Street Cemetery.

<sup>16</sup> Born in Belgium, Vanexhiem had also served with the de Meuron Regiment. He was located on Bathurst Township C-7/L-26(E) in 1816 and later worked as a plasterer. He died at Smiths Falls and Anne Glascott-Vanexhiem died at Merrickville.

<sup>17</sup> The 1842 census enumerated a total household of 10, eight of whom had been born in Canada. However, in that year, only three of the eight could have been the children of John Glascott.

<sup>18</sup> John Glascott is mentioned in *Brockville Recorder* (Pg-1) as early as February 13, 1851.

<sup>19</sup> William Marshall (1832-1895), Isabella Russell (1834-1911), Flora Maelina (1836-1894), Mary Fraser (1837-1851), Anna (1840-1919), Eliza Jean (1841-1929), Joanna (1842-1916), Charles Albert (1844-1917), Arthur James (1845-1913), Alan Frederick (1847-1928). One more child would be added to the family in 1851, Rose Thyeur (1851-1895).

<sup>20</sup> Mary Fraser Robertson (1802-1825).

<sup>21</sup> In all, there were at least 17 servants working at Matheson House: a butler, housekeeper, governess, cook, cook's helper, serving maid (for meals), two downstairs maids, two upstairs maids, two nursery maids, laundress, coachman, stableman, gardener, and handyman. Most of these slept in the servant's quarters, a frame annex attached to the south end of the main house, while a few seem to have been accommodated in the attic garret. Nursery maid Anne Glascott slept with the children on the second floor of the main house.

<sup>22</sup> In *Bathurst Courier* reporting on the case Jane Cosgrove is incorrectly named Mary Cosgrove.



*Matheson House, 17 Gore Street East, Perth Ontario  
Now Perth Museum*

Having noted Glascott's recent weight gain, Griffith and Cosgrove suspected she was pregnant and surmised that she had suffered a miscarriage or delivered a child that afternoon.

While scrubbing the floor the following morning, Cosgrove found blood under the bed and noticed new patches had been sewn on the bed tick. Prompted by those discoveries, Griffith searched the second-floor bedroom further but found nothing more out of place.

Twelve days later, however, on the evening of Tuesday April 25<sup>th</sup>, Jane Griffith spotted the bundle in the privy pit. Using a garden rake, she and Cosgrove retrieved it the following morning and *"found the body of a dead child, wrapped in black glaze cotton and a red flannel child's frock"*.<sup>23</sup>

Informed of the shocking discovery, Roderick Matheson immediately summoned corner Robert Muirhead (b.1782)<sup>24</sup> who convened an inquest and arranged for examination of the body by Dr. James Wilson (1798-1881)<sup>25</sup>. *"After careful dissection of the body"* Dr. Wilson concluded that the infant was a fully-developed male, born alive, and that, although *"its neck was broken ... no marks were discoverable on its body to induce the belief that it had been strangled"*.<sup>26</sup> In addition, Dr. James Stewart Nicol Sr. (1804-1864) carried out a physical examination of Anne Glascott *"with a view of ascertaining whether she had recently given birth to a child and found the usual symptoms. His belief was that she had"*.<sup>27</sup>



Although 12 days had elapsed between the presumed day of the baby's birth and the discovery of its body, exactly how long the child had lived was uncertain. Dr. Wilson later testified that, when found, it had been *"dead for six or seven days ... or for 10 days, the weather being cool"*.<sup>28</sup> Considering, however, the difficulty of concealing a living newborn in the crowded conditions of the Matheson house, it was likely the infant had survived for only a few hours.

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<sup>23</sup> *Bathurst Courier*, May 12, 1848.

<sup>24</sup> Robert Muirhead (b.1782) - Former Sergeant 37<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot, granted Lanark Township C-7/L-7(W) and C-7/L-11/L-25(W) for War of 1812 service; Private 2<sup>nd</sup> Lanark Militia 1829; Lieutenant 2<sup>nd</sup> Lanark Militia 1830s; Captain 7<sup>th</sup> Battalion (Lanark), Regiment Berthier, Militia 1847; Coroner c1848-1854.

<sup>25</sup> Physician, mineralogist and geologist.

<sup>26</sup> *Bathurst Courier*, May 19, 1848.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Judge's Bench Book, Bathurst District Court Spring Assizes, May 9 & 10, 1848, Anne Glascott trial.

On consideration of the evidence, the coroner's jury ruled that the child "came to its death through willful neglect of its mother" and that "Anne Glascott, nursery maid in the employ of Hon. R. Matheson is the mother of said infant".<sup>29</sup>

When Anne Glascott stood trial in the Lanark County Court House at Perth on the May 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>, 1848, her case was the only criminal matter on the docket. She was not, however, arraigned on a felony charge of 'infanticide' or 'child murder'. The Grand Jury chose instead to indict on the lesser charge of 'concealing the birth of a child', to which Glascott pled not guilty.

The case was heard by judge and jury<sup>30</sup>, the judge that day being John Beverley Robinson (1791-1863), Chief Justice of Upper Canada.<sup>31</sup> Prosecution was in the hands of Q.C. John Ross (1818-1871)<sup>32</sup> of Belleville, while Perth lawyer Daniel McMartin (1798-1869) represented the defense.



*Lanark County Court House,  
Perth, Ontario*

Sitting with Justice Robinson as Associates were District Court Judge John Glass Malloch (1806-1873)<sup>33</sup> as well as local magistrates Alexander McMillan (1783-1850)<sup>34</sup> and Roderick Matheson. Matheson's presence on the bench raised eyebrows as he could hardly be considered disinterested. The crime had been committed in his house; the defendant was his employee; and he himself would be called to testify. The *Bathurst Courier* observed that,

*... at least while the case was being tried, he should have had forethought enough to have seen that a seat on the bench was not the place for him. We are far from attributing unworthy motives to the Hon. gentleman; but to our mind, and to that of many others, it seemed exceedingly out of place to see him there both at the trial and when sentence was passed. We deny not the right of anyone who is honored with a seat as an Associate on the Bench to sit there; but we strongly question the expediency of exercising the right under such circumstance ...*<sup>35</sup>

When Matheson briefly stepped down from the bench to give evidence, he swore that he had no suspicion of Anne Glascott being the mother of the child, and that "her appearance and size before the dead body was found did not excite his suspicions".<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> *Bathurst Courier*, May 5, 1848.

<sup>30</sup> The jurors were James Duncan, William Moffat, Russell Lawrence, John Graham, Allan MacDonald, Peter Cram, Samuel Pittard, John Sillery, Robert Moffat, John MacCrosty, Hugh M. Mullen, and Duncan McGregor.

<sup>31</sup> John Beverley Robertson was Chief Justice of Upper Canada and Canada West 1829-1862 and had formerly held the posts of Solicitor General and Attorney General.

<sup>32</sup> John Ross later served as Solicitor General, Attorney General and Receiver General of Canada West.

<sup>33</sup> Malloch was judge of the Bathurst District Court 1842-1873.

<sup>34</sup> McMillan was a half-pay army officer, Government Land Agent, and later County Registrar.

<sup>35</sup> *Bathurst Courier*, May 19, 1848.

<sup>36</sup> *Bathurst Courier*, May 12, 1848.

The *Bathurst Courier* opined that, through his testimony and presence on the bench, Matheson had attempted to influence the court in the defendant's favor.

*That this unfortunate circumstance should happen in the family of the Hon. Mr. Matheson is a source of regret to many besides himself; and it is only natural that Mr. Matheson should be anxious for her acquittal if he believed her to be innocent. This is what any benevolent mind would manifest under such a feeling.*<sup>37</sup>

When called to the stand, Matheson's eldest son, 23-year-old Roderick Edward Matheson, corroborated his father's testimony. He told the court that he had seen nothing to excite his suspicion of Anne Glascott's state, even when, "upon hearing that she was unwell, he went up to the nursery where she slept to see her", although he was in the nursery for "only a few minutes".<sup>38</sup>



Roderick Matheson Sr. (1793-1873)

The court also heard that the Matheson children were "in and out of the room where she lay and (as it was supposed) she was delivered of the child".<sup>39</sup>

Matheson servants William Livingston<sup>40</sup> and William Stewart also stated in evidence that they had seen nothing in the appearance or conduct of Anne Glascott to raise any suspicions in their mind that she might have been pregnant or the mother of the dead child.

When they were called to testify, maids Jane Griffith and Jane Cosgrove<sup>41</sup> told the court that they were not positive that Anne Glascott was the mother of the child, "but they thought so".<sup>42</sup> They identified the dead child's frock as similar to those used by the Matheson children but would not swear positively that it belonged to any one of Matheson's family.

In addition to the testimony of multiple witnesses that they had seen no indication Anne Glascott had ever been pregnant, and the uncertain physical evidence linking the child to Glascott or the Matheson house (i.e. the cloth wrapping), the defense also argued that the dead baby could have been deposited in the privy by almost anyone. Witnesses also agreed that as the Matheson privy was located "in the garden, about 20 yards from the house" with an unlocked "gate leading to it ... people could get to it from the street".<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> *Bathurst Courier*, May 19, 1848.

<sup>38</sup> *Bathurst Courier*, May 12, 1848.

<sup>39</sup> *Bathurst Courier*, May 19, 1848.

<sup>40</sup> Named as William Livingston in court records and as John Livingston in the *Perth Courier* report on the proceedings.

<sup>41</sup> Named Jane Cosgrove in court records and as Mary Cosgrove in the *Perth Courier* report on the proceedings.

<sup>42</sup> *Bathurst Courier*, May 12, 1848.

<sup>43</sup> Judge's Bench Book, Bathurst District Court Spring Assizes, May 9 & 10, 1848, Anne Glascott trial.



Justice John Beverley Robinson  
(1791-1863)

When charging the jury, Justice Robinson admitted that *“the evidence presented did not appear as satisfactory as he would have wished ... The evidence of the servant girls went to prove her guilt ... that of Mr. Matheson and his son was in favor of her innocence ...”* However, Dr. Nicol’s testimony that Glascott had been recently delivered of a child weighed heavily against her and the judge concluded he was more *“impressed with her guilt rather than otherwise”*.<sup>44</sup> The jury followed his lead and found Anne Glascott guilty, and Robinson sentenced her to one year in jail.

In keeping with the social norms of the day, when sentencing Glascott Justice Robinson held her solely responsible for both the death of the child and the illegitimate pregnancy that led to the crime. The punishment assessed was, he said,

*... of light moment in comparison with the loss of her character; that, had she shunned the tempter’s path, she might be free of crime – continue in respectable employment, and obtain a comfortable and happy settlement in life. Instead of the punishment that she was getting, it might have been far worse for her; had she been indicted for murder of the child, as the evidence on the trial afforded room for the jury to convict her of that offence.*<sup>45</sup>

Who the *“tempter”* (i.e. father of the child) might have been was not touched upon in the corner’s report, the trial record or by the *Bathurst Courier*. Nevertheless, at the time and over nearly two centuries since, there was much speculation. As the trial wrapped up, diarist Reverend William Bell (1780-1857)<sup>46</sup> observed that,

*... in a village the gossips must always have something to talk about, and, in the absence of more important matters, they are at no loss to magnify a mole hill into a mountain. The discovery of a murdered child, however, in the privy of the Hon. Roderick Matheson furnished [an] abundance to talk about, for weeks, without the need of exaggeration. The mother, a servant in the family, was tried at the next assizes, convicted, and sentenced to a year’s imprisonment, for concealing the birth of a child.*

Fingers were pointed at head-of-household 55-year-old Roderick Matheson. It was recalled that a quarter century earlier he had impregnated another of his house maids and, as he had fathered a legitimate daughter (Rose) only a year earlier, he was clearly capable of having fathered Glascott’s child. Matheson’s decision to take his place on the bench at Glascott’s trial, and his testimony tending to favor her acquittal, also condemned him in the view of many.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> *Bathurst Courier*, May 19, 1848.

<sup>46</sup> Bell, the first Presbyterian Minister at the Perth Military Settlement, serving 1817-1857, was a dedicated diarist and his surviving journals capture much of Perth’s early history.

<sup>47</sup> Some with long memories also recalled that, at about the same time Matheson had fathered that illegitimate child in 1821, his fellow magistrate Alexander McMillan, sitting beside him on the bench at the Glascott trial, had also fathered a child by his own house maid.

Matheson Sr.'s son, Roderick Edward, a virile young man of 23, was equally suspect, as it was well known that Roderick the younger was considered a wastrel even by his father.<sup>48</sup> Roderick Jr.'s concern for Glascott, as evidenced by his visit to the garret as she lay abed on April 13<sup>th</sup>, and his favorable testimony on her behalf, raised more questions and speculation.

Many asked if the Matheson men's testimony might not suggest one was intent upon providing cover for the other by seeing Glascott acquitted – but who was covering for whom?

There were, however, numerous other possibilities. The Matheson household employed at least five male servants, any one of whom might have been the father. There were also tradesmen and other men visiting the house on a regular basis. The court also heard that Glascott left the Matheson house to visit her mother on most days. If Anne Glascott ever named the culprit, his identity has been lost to time.

Soon after the trial, John Glascott Jr. and family left Perth, taking up residence in Brockville, probably prompted by the scandal surrounding their eldest daughter.

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### Perth Road Murder 1853

Five years later, on the cold moonlit evening of Tuesday, December 20, 1853, farmer Enos Beach (1792-1881) set out along the Perth Road north of Brockville on a visit to his brother Joseph's neighboring farm. As he drove his plodding team past Cole's Tavern, he noticed a ragged cloth-wrapped bundle lying on the roadside. Drawing his horses to a stop, Beach extricated himself from his buffalo robe, climbed down from the sleigh, retrieved the package, remounted, and carried on. He supposed "*from the size and feel, it contained a goose*"<sup>49</sup> but, when he arrived at his destination and unwrapped the package, he and his brother were stunned to find "*the body of a newly born male child, wrapped up in the under garment of a female*".<sup>50</sup> Joseph Beach (1802-1871) later recalled that,

*... it was about ¼ past seven when my brother brought in the child. On trying to turn it over, I found the head would move on one side and then the other. It appeared as if lately born and was not rigid. It was wrapped up in ... cloth [and] was tied with a piece of cloth. There was blood on both. It was a rather cold night, [but] it was not frozen nor was it stiff. I thought from the appearance that the child had had a blow on the side of the head. I think the right side.<sup>51</sup>*

The Beach brothers decided to wait until morning before contacting the authorities and, to ensure its preservation, stored the body in a barrel in Joseph's barn for the night.

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<sup>48</sup> Roderick Edward Matheson worked in his father's store in Perth and briefly ran a branch store at Smiths Falls, but relations between the two were always hostile. In 1862 Matheson Sr. removed his son from the family businesses, exiled him to a Drummond Township farm and left him nothing but the farm when he died in 1867.

<sup>49</sup> *Brockville Recorder*, as reprinted by the *Perth Courier*, January 6, 1854.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Bench Notes, Court of Common Pleas, United Counties of Leeds & Grenville, Brockville Spring Assizes, May 16, 1854.



On the following morning Enos Beach took his grim find to the nearest doctor, John Booth (1804-1856), who operated Hydergia Hall Hospital<sup>52</sup> at Unionville/Forthton, two miles from the Joseph Beach farm. Dr. Booth, however, urged that the body be taken directly to County Coroner Dr. Robert Edmondson (1802-1871)<sup>53</sup>. Beach turned his sleigh about and carried the dead child 10 miles (16 kilometres) back to Brockville but, when he found the coroner, he was told to make another about-turn and take the body back to Cole's Tavern, a short distance from where it had been found.

An inquest was convened at Cole's Tavern that afternoon and when the Coroner's Jury examined the body they found,

*The appearance of the child gave ample and satisfactory evidence that foul play had been used, for besides a mark over the right eye, medical tests were made by several physicians, who all concurred in stating that the child must have breathed after it was born.*<sup>54</sup>

On completion of the inquest and a postmortem examination, innkeeper Peter Cole (1788-1860) was engaged to bury the corpse. He did so, but a few days later was called upon to exhume the body as the coroner had mistakenly allowed the cloth in which the child was wrapped to be buried with it.

Two days after the inquest further inquiries by Coroner Edmondson and High Constable James Kincaid (1808-1886) led to the Brockville residence of Susan Glascott.

*She was not at home, but her mother informed Dr. Edmonston that she had gone on a visit to Mr. Armstrong's, her brother-in-law, who lives on the Perth Road a little beyond where the body was found.*<sup>55</sup>

Coroner Edmondson and Constable Kincaid immediately proceeded to the home of Samuel Cromwell (b.1794), near Unionville/Forthton, where William Armstrong and his wife Anne Glascott-Armstrong were then lodging.<sup>56</sup> There they found Susan Glascott whom Edmondson interrogated.

*She admitted she had had a child. I asked her where it was. She said in the next room, and she showed me a child of two or three years old. I told her it was not that child, but one of which she had been delivered within a week. She said she had not had a child within that time.*

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<sup>52</sup> aka the Electric Infirmary.

<sup>53</sup> Dr. Robert Edmondson practiced medicine at Brockville 1830-1871.

<sup>54</sup> *Brockville Recorder*, as reprinted by the *Perth Courier*, January 6, 1854.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> In the 1851 census Samuel Cromwell, born USA 1792, was enumerated as an innkeeper in Elizabethtown Township and seems to have been unmarried as no wife appears in the census. The Armstrongs may have been lodging at his inn or have been employed by Cromwell as farmhand and housekeeper.

*I then asked her to let me examine her breasts. To this she reluctantly consented. In one I found milk and the other was considerably inflamed ... When I asked how she had milk in her breasts, she said she had nursed her child a long time. I told her that child had been weaned for some time.*

*She had the smell about her of being in the puerperal state.<sup>57</sup> I told her that unless she allowed me to examine her vagina, I should take her into custody. This she wholly refused to permit me to do.<sup>58</sup>*

As Edmondson questioned Glascott, Constable Kincaid searched the house and discovered a basket under a bed containing articles of clothing spattered with blood.

*... the upper part of a woman's chemise, with some stains of blood on the back part which seemed to correspond with the lower part found round the body of the infant.<sup>59</sup>*

Glascott admitted that the basket and its contents belonged to her, and when asked about the blood stains she said she “*had had her usual times*”<sup>60</sup> (menstrual period). Edmondson took possession of the evidence, “*much against the wish of Glascott and Mrs. Armstrong*” and Kincaid took Glascott into custody. She was transported to Brockville gaol where Coroner Edmondson summoned four local doctors, Garvey<sup>61</sup>, Christopher Leggo Jr. (1813-1902), Thomas Reynolds (1820-1859), and George Dunham (1812-1876), to further examine his prisoner. They found her,

*... vagina very much swollen and tender and considerably relaxed. The natural wrinkles of the internal part almost completely obliterated. The mouth of the womb very much enlarged ... also a discharge (lochia), which was also a test of recent delivery. The abdomen was rather flat and the skin was loose.<sup>62</sup>*

From this evidence the medical men concluded that Susan Glascott “*had been recently delivered. Within less than 10 days*”. Following further investigation by Judge George Malloch (1797-1870)<sup>63</sup> and Dr. Dunham, Susan Glascott was bound over for trial. The cloth in which the body had been wrapped (retrieved from the baby's grave), and the basket of clothing seized at the Armstrong home, were placed in the custody of Dr. Leggo.

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<sup>57</sup> The puerperal state (puerperium), or postpartum period, is the roughly six-week period after childbirth (starting from placental delivery) during which maternal physiological changes return to a nonpregnant state.

<sup>58</sup> Bench Notes, Court of Common Pleas, United Counties of Leeds & Grenville, Brockville Spring Assizes, May 16, 1854.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Probably Brockville native Dr. Joseph Garvey (1829-1879) who graduated in 1852 and from about 1856 was a prominent physician in Ottawa.

<sup>62</sup> Testimony at Glascott trial, May 16, 1854.

<sup>63</sup> Judge George Malloch, born at Perth, son of Edward Cruickshanks Malloch (1783-1859) and Anne Barland (1774-1840), brother of Judge John Glass Malloch (1806-1873).

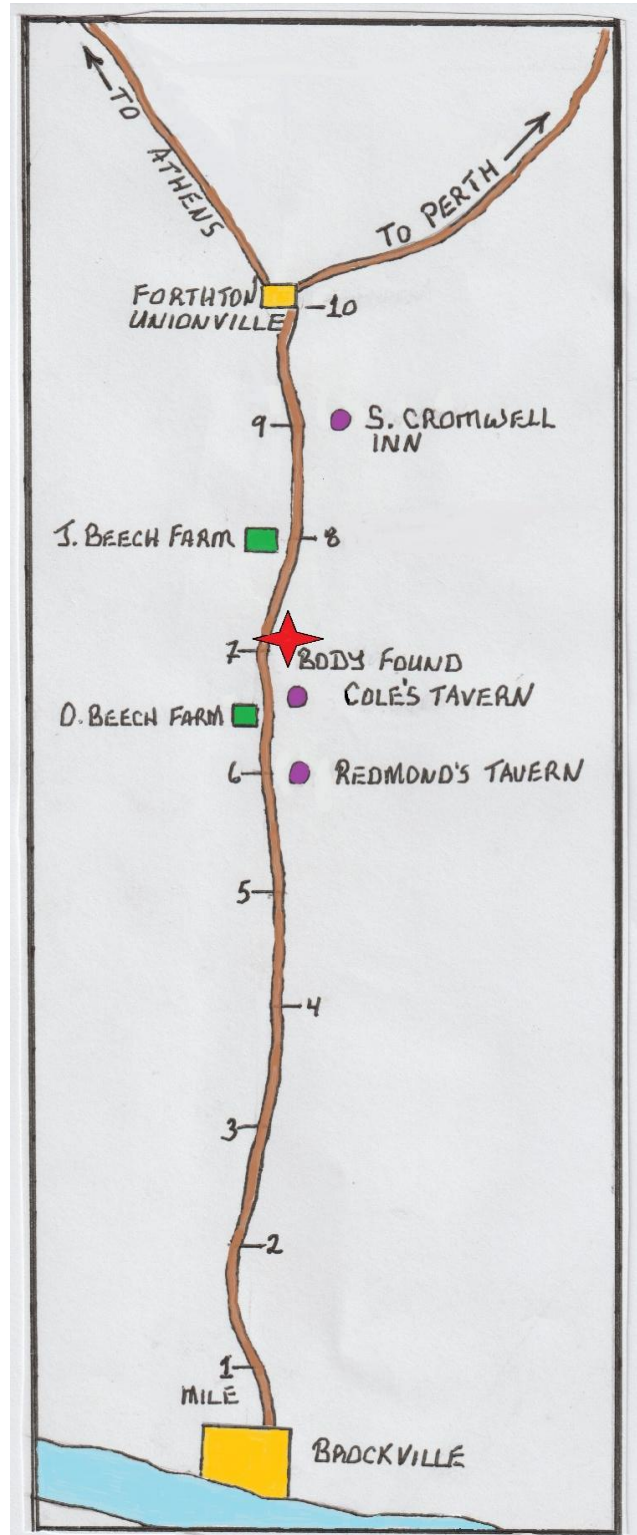
The events leading to discovery of the dead child on the Perth Road emerged as Susan Glascott stood trial at the Leeds & Grenville Spring Assizes of the Court of Common Pleas, held in the Brockville Court House on May 16<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>, 1854.

William Cromwell's testimony established that, on Tuesday, December 20, 1853, together with Ephraim Mott (1828-1876), and William and Anne Armstrong, he made a trip from his home near Unionville/Forthton to Brockville. When they arrived in town, they dropped Mrs. Armstrong at the home of her parents, John and Elizabeth Glascott. On completing their business, the men returned to the Glascott home and William Armstrong went into the house to collect his wife. When the Armstrongs emerged, Susan Glascott was with them, "*leaning on their shoulders*", and they assisted her into the sleigh "*as she appeared to be very feeble*". She had "*a basket with her [that] appeared to have some clothes in it*".<sup>64</sup>

Ephraim Mott confirmed that, on their departure from Brockville, Susan Glascott had been, "*... assisted into the sleigh by Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong. She appeared very feeble. There was a basket put in the sleigh*".<sup>65</sup>

Cromwell estimated that it was about an hour before sunset when the party set out along Perth Road. When they reached Redmond's Tavern, six miles north of Brockville, they,

*... concluded to stop about 15 minutes and get warm. We all got out and went into the house. The women went into the sitting room to get warm and we (that is Mott and myself) went into the bar room. Armstrong came in and joined us shortly after and took a dram [of] hot stuff with us.*<sup>66</sup>



<sup>64</sup> Bench Notes, Court of Common Pleas, United Counties of Leeds & Grenville, Brockville Spring Assizes, May 16, 1854.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

For his part, Mott recalled that,

*It was after candlelight when we got to Redmond's. The women got out there and went into the [sitting] room. [Mr.] Armstrong may have gone into the room with them. I do not know if the basket was taken out of the sleigh at Redmond's. We stopped an hour or more at Redmond's. Mr. Armstrong joined us in the bar room and was there with us a half hour. He might have been there more than that time.<sup>67</sup>*

In her testimony tavern keeper Susan Redmond (1796-1884)<sup>68</sup> confirmed that Susan Glascott, the Armstrongs, Cromwell and Mott had visited her establishment on the evening of December 20<sup>th</sup>.

*I recollect Armstrong and his wife assisting her [Susan Glascott] into the room. I left the room very shortly after and went into the room once again and went out immediately. The women were sitting at the fire. They were about an hour at my place. I did not observe the women go out nor see them after they were out.<sup>69</sup>*

Another tavern customer, Archibald Fletcher, was already in the bar room when the party from Brockville arrived. He told the court he was sitting at a window which looked “toward a shed”.

*During the time Cromwell, Mott and Armstrong were in the bar room I saw Mrs. Armstrong and the woman who came with her [Susan Glascott] go out into the shed. This was about 20 minutes before the men went out. The woman who was with Mrs. Armstrong [Glascott] appeared to be standing up leaning against the sleigh on the side opposite from the window with her back towards the sleigh.*

*The other woman seemed to be standing in front of the woman who was leaning against the sleigh and sometimes stooping down, forward of the other, for two or three times. They may have changed positions whilst I went from the window, which I did two or three times to get something to drink.*

*I think the women were 20 or 25 minutes under the shed. Mrs. Armstrong assisted the other woman out.<sup>70</sup>*

After nearly an hour at the Redmond Tavern, Mott went out to check on the horses and found,



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<sup>67</sup> Bench Notes, Court of Common Pleas, United Counties of Leeds & Grenville, Brockville Spring Assizes, May 16, 1854.

<sup>68</sup> Susan Redmond was the widow of John Redmond.

<sup>69</sup> Bench Notes, Court of Common Pleas, United Counties of Leeds & Grenville, Brockville Spring Assizes, May 16, 1854.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

*... the women were standing near the sleigh on the side opposite from the bar room. The women asked if the rest were ready to go home, that they were waiting. I turned back to the house, and when I returned the women had got into the sleigh. The basket was in the sleigh. When we started from Redmond's it was a moonlight night.<sup>71</sup>*



*Leeds & Grenville County Court House, Brockville, Ontario*

When Susan Glascott finally appeared before Judge William Buell Richards (1815-1889) on Tuesday, May 16, 1854, she had been in gaol awaiting trial for nearly five months. As the trial opened, Judge Richards addressed the grand jury with some legal guidance.

*I am glad to inform you that there are only two criminal cases on the calendar claiming your attention, and which will be brought before you. One of these cases, however, is of much importance – child murder.*

*... I may remark, that like all similar cases of homicide, it is necessary to prove 'onus probandi'<sup>72</sup> against the*

*mother. Formerly the law held that, in such cases, it was the duty of the mother to prove that the child had not been born alive, but such is not the case now, and it is necessary, before returning a true bill, to be satisfied the child was born alive – in such a case, the law presumes malice.*

*After hearing the evidence, which you will recollect will only be on one side, if you are satisfied that it will make a prima facie<sup>73</sup> case, then you [the grand jury] are bound to return [a true bill to the] court, where it will be decided by the petty jury.*

*Even should you bring it into court as a prima facia case of child murder, still, the petty jury has it in their power to find only for justifiable or excusable homicide, or concealment of birth, which latter crime, however, is one of a serious nature and punishable.<sup>74</sup>*

With the groundwork thus laid, Judge Richards adjourned the proceedings so that the members of the bar and others could attend the funeral of Mary Baldwin-Sherwood (1782-1854), wife of the County Sheriff, Adiel Sherwood (1779-1874). When the court reconvened on the morning of May 20, 1854, the grand jury returned a true bill of child murder, a petty jury was sworn in, and the trial began.

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<sup>71</sup> Bench Notes, Court of Common Pleas, United Counties of Leeds & Grenville, Brockville Spring Assizes, May 16, 1854.

<sup>72</sup> Burden of proof.

<sup>73</sup> When the evidence seems sufficient on its face.

<sup>74</sup> *Brockville Recorder*, May 18, 1854.

Twelve witnesses were called to the stand in their turn: Samuel Cromwell, William Armstrong, Susan Redmond, Ephraim Mott, Archibald Fletcher, Enos Beach, Joseph Beach, Peter Cole, Dr. Christopher Leggo, Dr. Terence Peter Sparham (1813-1902)<sup>75</sup>, Dr. Terence Waverly Smythe (1823-1906), and Coroner Dr. Robert Edmondson.

Coroner Edmondson testified that,

*The child appeared to be a recently born child. The umbilical cord had been severed about four or five inches from afterbirth, cut with some instrument not very sharp. It had not been secured [tied off]. The umbilical cord was not cut as if it intended the child should live, it was wrapped around the feet and legs.*

*There was also a contusive wound on the right side of the head above the eyebrow, this may have been caused by a fall, but that fall should be of several feet to produce so extensive a contusion. The scalp [was] considerably contused, and it appeared that the bones of the skull had been depressed, but they were so soft that there was no fracture. The vessels of the brain were turgid with blood which extended over the whole side of the head.<sup>76</sup>*

Dr. Edmondson explained that he had performed a hydrostatic test, removing the lungs and placing them in clear water where they “*floated lightly*”, demonstrating that there had been “*a complete inflation of them before death*”. He then cut off a piece and examined the air cells and found “*they had been developed completely*”.

*There was no decomposition and I was satisfied that the child had been born alive. Either the contusion or omission to secure the umbilical cord could have caused death, but if both together, death would seem inevitable.*

*The contusion came down near the side of the head to the ear. I do not think the contusion could have been caused by a fall in birth, it was more likely to be produced by striking the head against a door or the floor or something of that sort, or it might be by striking it with a billet of wood or some flat blunt substance, but in either case very violently.<sup>77</sup>*

When called to the stand, William Armstrong testified that he was “*married to a sister of the prisoner*” and that he and his wife were living at Samuel Cromwell’s in December 1853. Susan Glascott, he said, was “*not married that I know of, [but] she had a child which I think is well on to three years old*”.<sup>78</sup> Cromwell told the court Susan Glascott had previously “*lived at my house. When she came there the year before last [1852], she had a child with her more than a year old. The child would be rising between two and three years*”.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Alternately this could have been Dr. Eric Benzel Sparham (1832-1894) who was also practicing in Brockville in 1853.

<sup>76</sup> Bench Notes, Court of Common Pleas, United Counties of Leeds & Grenville, Brockville Spring Assizes, May 16, 1854.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

Armstrong confirmed that as they left the Glascott home in Brockville, his sister-in-law “*had a cloak on and was standing up*” but that he had to assist her into the sleigh “*as she appeared to be very feeble ... and that “she appeared very feeble when I helped her into Redmond’s [Tavern]”*”.<sup>80</sup>

Whatever may have been implied by Archibald Fletcher’s account of the women’s odd behaviour in and around the Redmond’s shed, the other witnesses (all men) were all of the opinion that the stop at the Tavern was too brief to have allowed for childbirth.

Samuel Cromwell opined that he did “*not think there was time for either of the women to have been delivered of a child whilst we were at Redmond’s. It might possibly have been, but I do not think it could have been.*” Ephraim Mott recalled that “*when I heard that the child had been found, it never occurred to me that either of women had had a child that night*”. William Armstrong said he was “*satisfied that neither prisoner [Susan Glascott] nor my wife [Anne Glascott-Armstrong] could have delivered a child while we were at Redmond’s*” or later, as he was “*very sure prisoner was not delivered of a child at my house [i.e. Cromwell’s]*”.<sup>81</sup>

While it was also agreed that a basket, apparently containing clothing, had been placed in the sleigh at Brockville, there was less certainty about whether or not it had been removed from the sleigh at Redmond’s. Nevertheless, all witnesses agreed that it was in the sleigh when they left the tavern on the final leg of their journey to the Cromwell-Armstrong home.

Exactly where and when Susan Glascott’s baby was born and died was never established. The trial record offers no conclusions or even theories. Why was she so ‘feeble’ that she had to be helped into the sleigh at Brockville and, later, into the tavern? Had she given birth at her parent’s home or was she still in labor? Was the child already dead at Brockville and its tiny body concealed in the basket? Or did she deliver at Redmond’s Tavern, in the sitting room, or in the shed, or standing beside the sleigh? Was the baby’s body in the basket or under her cloak before it was jettisoned on the road near Coles Tavern?



*Judge William Buell Richards  
(1815-1889)*

Putting the case before the jury, Judge Richards directed that

*... the first question to decide is - was the Prisoner delivered of a male child on or about the time alleged? Second, was that child wholly born alive? Third, was its death caused substantially in the manner charged in the indictment? If not (if in another way) they must acquit. Fourth they must then enquire was the violence done by the Prisoner. As they find on three points they will convict or acquit. If they acquit the murder they may convict of the concealment of the birth.*<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Bench Notes, Court of Common Pleas, United Counties of Leeds & Grenville, Brockville Spring Assizes, May 16, 1854.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> *Brockville Recorder*, May 18, 1854.

The jury voted unanimously to acquit Susan Glascott on the charge of child murder and, instead, exercised its option to convict on the reduced count of concealment of a birth. Judge Richards then sentenced Glascott to “4 calendar months imprisonment”<sup>83</sup>, presumably taking into account that she had already been in pre-trial custody for nearly five months.

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Although evidence showed that both Susan and Ann Glascott had almost certainly killed their babies, either intentionally or through gross mishandling and neglect, and although they could have been found guilty of the capital offense of ‘child murder’, both juries chose the option of ‘concealing the birth of a child’.

Until 1831, secretly disposing of a child's dead body to conceal the fact of its birth had been considered prima facie evidence of infanticide and carried the possibility of a death sentence. By 1848 and 1854 however, where a woman was charged with the murder of her infant, the jury could instead, at its discretion, convict of the lesser charge of concealing the birth.<sup>84</sup> The prevailing criminal code of the United Province of Canada, stated that,

*Everyone who in any manner disposes of the dead body of a child, with intent to conceal the fact that its mother has been delivered of it, whether the child died before, during or after birth, is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.*<sup>85</sup>

Canadian juries had long been reluctant to convict on any charge that carried the ultimate penalty and sentencing a young woman to hang, whatever her crime, was more than most juries could contemplate. Moreover, the Glascott trials took place at a time when the death penalty was rapidly falling out of favor. From the 1840s, an abolition movement was afoot in the Canadas and, in 1849, a Montreal petition supporting the campaign secured nearly 600 names.<sup>86</sup>

Nothing in the Susan Glascott trial record, nor in reports on the case published by the *Brockville Recorder*, *Brockville Examiner*, and *Perth Courier*, mentioned the fact that only six years earlier her sister, Anne Glascott-Armstrong, had been convicted of the same crime. The *Recorder* did imply that Anne was an accomplice or accessory to Susan's crime, but no charges were ever brought against her.

As with Anne Glascott, both the trial record and press reports of the Susan Glascott case failed to address the question of who might have been the father of her unfortunate child (or of her first child born c1850).

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The deaths of the Glascott infants at Perth and on the Perth Road were not as exceptional as one might suppose. During the years of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century the *Perth Courier* reported several similar incidents.

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<sup>83</sup> Bench Notes, Court of Common Pleas, United Counties of Leeds & Grenville, Brockville Spring Assizes, May 16, 1854.

<sup>84</sup> Infanticide was reintroduced to the Canada Criminal Code in 1948.

<sup>85</sup> Criminal Code of the United Province of Canada.

<sup>86</sup> Despite growing opposition, however, capital punishment would not be abolished in Canada until 1976.

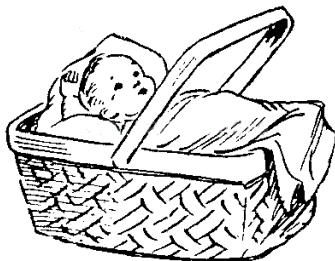
In October 1851 *“the body of a female infant was found floating in Adams’ Lake, Burgess Township, a stone of about two pounds tied very carefully in its clothes, but not sufficiently heavy to keep the body under water”*.<sup>87</sup>

An inquest was held in June 1857 *“in view of the body of an infant child which had been left at the door of Mr. Atkinson ... the child was dropped by its grandmother. It died after being taken in”*.<sup>88</sup>

Mourners attending a funeral in the Craig Street Burying Ground in April 1866 accidentally kicked over *“a small pile of leaves and stones”* and were shocked to discover *“the body of an infant packed in a little flower box, the head and lower part of the body wrapped in cloths, which were pinned through the flesh. A female, it appeared to have been exposed for some two or three months”*.<sup>89</sup>

Incidents of abandonment and infanticide were not, of course, confined to the Perth. In March 1869 at Almonte,

*... a little boy passing over the stone bridge observed something rolled up in cloth lying upon the ice below and upon looking closer, and others being called, it was soon made out to be a newborn infant. The wretched mother, in trying to hide her shame and misery, had thrown the child over the bridge believing that it would find there a silent and unknown grave in the rushing river beneath”*.<sup>90</sup>



In the Victorian era, an unmarried girl or woman who fell pregnant very often found herself in a most desperate situation. If the child’s father failed to marry her and she delivered an illegitimate child, she was a ‘fallen woman’ and her future prospects were grim. In many cases she would be cast out by her own family, refused employment, ostracized by society at large, and might soon be too poor to find accommodation or to feed her baby or herself. Writing in 1864, one commentator observed that,

*When a woman falls from purity – there is no return for her – as well may one attempt to wash the stain from the sullied snow. Men sin and are forgiven; but the memory of a woman’s guilt cannot be removed on earth.*<sup>91</sup>

Of course, most illegitimate births did not end in infanticide, but an unwed mother too often had little choice but to take other desperate measures -- abandoning her child on a clergyman’s porch or even on the steps of Perth Town Hall as happened in 1865.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> *Perth Courier*, October 24, 1851.

<sup>88</sup> *Perth Courier* - June 5, 1857.

<sup>89</sup> *Perth Courier* – April 27, 1866.

<sup>90</sup> *Almonte Gazette*, March 20, 1869.

<sup>91</sup> *A Woman Against the World*, by William Gayer Starbuck (1864).

<sup>92</sup> See *Corporation Baby* elsewhere on this website, <https://www.perthhs.org/documents/corporation-baby.pdf>

## Epilogue

Anne Glascott, however, appears to have put her crime behind her and made a conventional life. Shortly after her release from jail in mid-1849, she married a man named William Armstrong and, as we have seen, by 1852 was living with her husband near Unionville/Forthton, 50 kilometers (31 miles) south of her birthplace at Perth. Anne Glascott-Armstrong was later widowed but, at age 42, married again. On April 23, 1868, at Ottawa, she became the wife of George Aikens/Aikin (b.1817).<sup>93</sup> Anne Glascott-Armstrong-Aitkin is, however, unaccounted for after 1868. If she had other children, and where and when she died, are unknowns.

Anne has never been forgotten at Perth, however. The scandalous tale of the baby in the latrine holds a place in Perth's historical memory nearly on par with the last fatal duel of 1833 – perhaps, in part, because the scene of her crime, Matheson House, became the Perth Museum in 1966. In 2015, Anne Glascott revisited Perth as the ghostly lead character in the drama *The Maid and the Merchant* staged by the local Classic Theatre Festival.<sup>94</sup>

The destiny of Anne's sister, Susan, remains a complete mystery.

Name	Anne Armstrong [Anne Glaskett]
Age	42
Gender	Female
Birth Place	Perth
Residence	Ottawa
Spouse Name	George Aikens
Spouse Age	51
Spouse Gender	Male
Spouse Birth Place	Ireland
Spouse Residence	Ottawa
Marriage Date	23 Apr 1868
Father Name	John Glaskett
Mother Name	Elizabeth Williams
Spouse Father Name	James Aikin
Spouse Mother Name	Jane Job
County	Carleton
Microfilm Roll	1030062

**Registration of Anne Glascott-Armstrong  
marriage to George Aitkin, 1868**

As all historians and genealogists know, women frequently 'disappear' from the documented record. Traditionally, when women marry, their surnames change and, unless documentation of that marriage can be located, the curtain often falls.

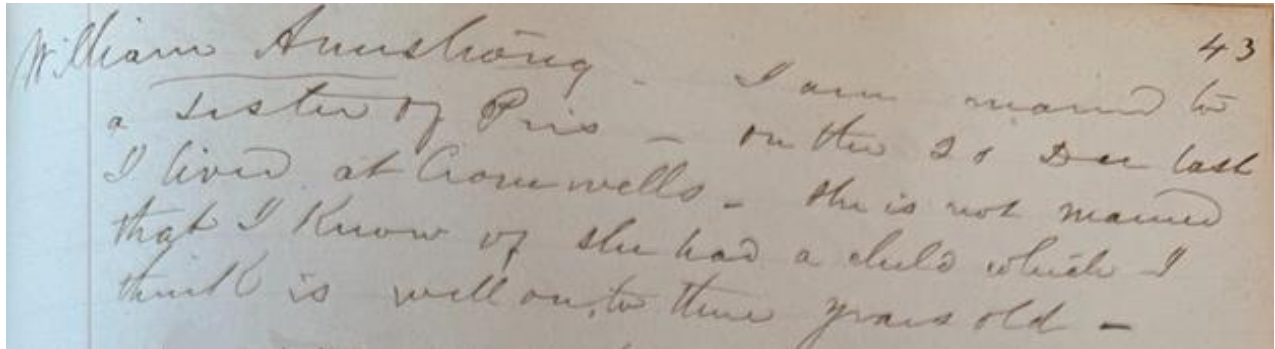
If Susan Glascott ever married, no record has been found, and even if she did not marry no trace of her has been found after the May 1854 trial. She does not appear under the name Glascott (or its various spellings) in the Canadian censuses of 1861 through 1901 or the U.S. Federal censuses of 1860 through 1900. Likewise, the name has not been found on a death certificate or tomb stone inscription index. Susan is not even named among the descendants of John Glascott Jr. in family trees posted to websites such as *ancestry.com*, *familysearch.org*, *myheritage.com*, etc.

In fact, in those postings Susan's sister Anne appears only as a name with no other information beyond her date of birth. One can only suspect that both women have been intentionally erased from the Glascott family history.

<sup>93</sup> Son of James Aikin and Jane Job.

<sup>94</sup> Written and directed by Toronto playwright Laurel Smith, with the assistance of Historical Consultant Susan Code of Perth, *The Maid and the Merchant* is only loosely based upon the events at Matheson House in 1848 and serves primarily as a framework to touch upon other local historic events.

That they were indeed sisters, however, is proven by the 1868 Carleton County registration of the marriage of Anne Glascott-Armstrong to George Aitken<sup>95</sup> identifying her parents as John Glascott/Glaskett and Elizabeth Williams, combined with the 1854 trial testimony of William Armstrong confirming that he was married to Susannah Glascott's sister.<sup>96</sup> His wife could only be Anne as the other daughters of John & Elizabeth Glascott were too young to be married in 1854.)<sup>97</sup>

A photograph of a handwritten document on aged paper. The text is written in cursive and reads: "William Armstrong - I am married to a sister of Piss - on this I see last that I know of she had a child which I think is well on to three years old -". The number "43" is written in the top right corner.

**Testimony of William Armstrong, Susan Glascott trial, May 1854**  
(Proceedings of the 1854 Spring Assizes of the Court of Common Pleas, United County of Leeds & Grenville)

After her May 1854 trial, Susan Glascott disappears without a trace. She may have died young, or she may have changed her name and moved to Toronto or Montreal, or some American city.

**Ron W. Shaw (2026)**  
**With research support from Wendy Roberts & Amy Binning**

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<sup>95</sup> Ontario County Marriage Registers, 1858-1869.

<sup>96</sup> Bench Notes, Court of Common Pleas, United Counties of Leeds & Grenville, Brockville Spring Assizes, May 16, 1854

<sup>97</sup> In 1854 Elysia was 13 old and Eliza was nine years old.