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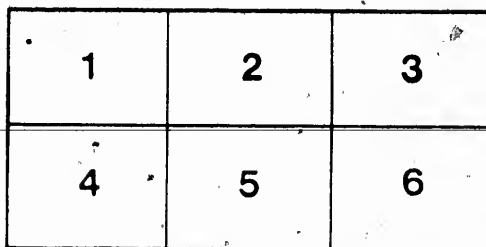
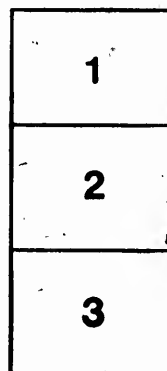
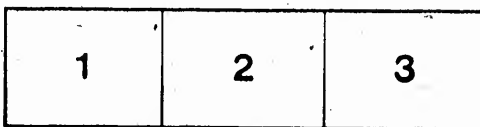
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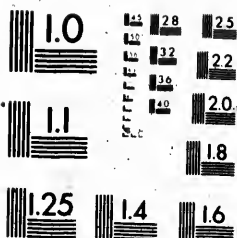
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MEMOIRS
OF THE
FOUR DECADES
OF
YORK, UPPER CANADA.

BY
HENRY SCADDING, D.D.

AUTHOR OF "TORONTO OF OLD," ETC.

TORONTO:
HUNTER, ROSE & COMPANY, PRINTERS.
1886.

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HIS

GREEN

MEMOIRS
OF THE FOUR DECADES OF
YORK, UPPER CANADA.

BY THE REV. HENRY SCADDING, D.D.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

OBJECT AND METHOD OF THE WORK.

I AM about to make a record of certain memoirs of Toronto before it was incorporated as a city. I employ the term memoirs, because I do not profess to present here a continuous history of the town from the day of its foundation. All that I am able to do, is to produce selections from such notices of the place and its inhabitants as I may discover in the few contemporaneous documents that are extant.

In 1793, on the northern bank of the bay theretofore known as the Bay of Toronto, the site of a town intended to be made the capital of Upper Canada was selected, and the name of York was prospectively given to it. At the same time the Bay of Toronto became the Bay of York, and the surrounding township the Township of York. Previously, for some time, it had, through some caprice in the Surveyor-general's office, borne the name of Dublin; at which period Scarborough, from a like cause, was Glasgow, Darlington Bristol, and Whitby Norwich.

On the 6th of March, 1834, the name York, as applied to the town projected in 1793, and actually begun to be built in 1794, was displaced by the appellation "Toronto." Thus the annals of the town known as York, Upper Canada, comprise the events of four decades. Accordingly this is the division of my narrative which I have adopted. I set forth brief memoirs of persons and incidents at York during the successive

periods: 1794-1804, 1804-1811, 1811-1824, 1824-1834. The ancient York, once the chief Station in Roman Britain, has had an existence of at least four times four hundred years. It is an authentic fact that the Emperor Severus died there on the 4th of February, A.D. 211. Our Upper Canadian York was, it will be seen, but an "infant of days" in comparison.

CHAPTER II.

PREVIOUS HISTORY OF THE SITE OF YORK. THE MIGRATORY CHARACTER OF THE NAME APPLIED TO IT.

It will appear that the appellation "Toronto" has been migratory. In 1793 it was applied familiarly to the locality on which the present City of Toronto stands; and the harbour of the present city was equally well known as the Bay of Toronto. But one hundred and seventeen years earlier, these names, written precisely as we write them now, belonged to localities, not on the shore of Lake Ontario, but to a region about forty miles farther north, lying between the waters of Gloucester or Matchedash Bay on Lake Huron and those of Lake Simcoe.

Thus, in a despatch of the Marquis de Denonville, Governor-General of Canada, to the government of Louis XIV., dated 1686, we have the word employed in this relation. In the despatch referred to, it is recommended that two military posts should be established to guard the two entrances to Lake Huron; one at its southern end on the strait there; and the other at the upper or northern end, at "the Pass by Toronto." Both posts were intended to bar the way against the English fur-traders, who would persist in penetrating to Michilimackinac by these routes, against the will of the Canadian authorities. The post on the strait at the southern end of Lake Huron was forthwith established. It was known as Fort St. Joseph, and its site afterwards became that of the American Fort Gratiot. But the order for the post at the upper or eastern end, at "the Pass by Toronto," was temporarily countermanded, as we are told in a despatch of Denonville's, dated 1687.

The intended site of the fort at "the Pass by Toronto" may be gathered from a map accompanying Lahontan's Letters, some of them

written at this period. On this map a fort is conspicuously marked, not far from the site of the present Penetanguishene, as suggested to be built there, not simply as a bar to the English, but as a bulwark against the Iroquois invaders, now threatening the very existence of the colony of New France. In the letter which alludes to the map, the proposed fort is described as being "at the mouth of the Bay of Toronto upon Lake Huron;" and this is the name given at full length on the map to Gloucester and Matchedash Bay: "Baie de Toronto." In this manner, what Denonville meant by "the Pass at Toronto, the other end of Lake Huron," is determined with great certainty. On the same map, which, no doubt reproduces earlier maps in the possession of the authorities at Quebec, our Lake Simcoe is Lake Toronto, and the Indians inhabiting its shores are the Torontoguerons, the Toronto nations; that is, the Hurons, or Wyandots, as we shall hereafter learn. (Sagard in his *Grand Voyage du pays des Hurons*, writes the word Houandates.) It is thus proved that in 1686-9, the dates of Denonville's despatches and Lahontan's letters and map, the name Toronto was largely identified with the environs of the present Lake Simcoe; while, at the same period, no such name is applied to any locality on the shores of Lake Ontario in any known map or document, printed or manuscript. Herman Moll, also, in his large map dated 1720, and based on the best authorities of the period, uses the local nomenclature just indicated.

A few years later, the water-communication eastward, between Lake Simcoe and Lake Ontario, by way of the rivers Otonabee and Trent, is marked on maps as "Toronto river;" while the Humber, a line of communication southward between Lakes Simcoe and Ontario, is designated by exactly the same title.

Recalling now what has just been narrated, that Matchedash Bay was also "Bay of Toronto," we can account for the language of the maps only by supposing that there was an important interior district generally known as the Toronto region, to and from which these water-communications were regarded as highways, on the west, north-west, east and south respectively.

After a further lapse of time, a change takes place in the wording of the maps. The name Toronto vanishes from the environs of Lake Simcoe, and appears attached to a locality on Lake Ontario, the spot to which it still adheres. The change can be explained thus: the large Huron or Wyandot population, which had given rise to the expression TORONTO, was now dispersed by the incursions of the Iroquois, and the country rendered comparatively a desert. The region was, therefore, no

MEMORIAL VOLUME.

longer resorted to as in years by gone; and so the word Toronto, as applied to it, dropped out of use.

The spot on Lake Ontario which thus by some happy fortune received the name, had been long a well-frequented landing-place for trading and hunting parties when on their way to the former populous Toronto district.

The name Toronto was thus perpetuated; and although curiously fated to be lost again for awhile, and again to be recovered, it continues to this day, an appellation not without distinction, full of memories connected with its earlier use, and suggestive of the chequered antecedents of the locality which it at present designates.

CHAPTER III.

PREVIOUS HISTORY OF THE SITE OF YORK (CONTINUED). SIGNIFICATION OF THE NAME APPLIED TO THE LOCALITY.

AS to the signification of the term "Toronto"—one very definite tradition which has come down to us, is that it is "place of meeting"—place of concourse, or rendezvous. That this is a near approximation to the sense of the expression may be gathered thus: Gabriel Sagard, a Franciscan missionary, who collected his information in the neighbourhood of Lake Simcoe, just before the time of Denonville's despatches, gives in his "Dictionary of the Huron Language," published at Paris in 1632, the word "Toronton" as signifying in French "*beaucoup*," in English "much, or plenty;" and the instance of its use which he adds shews that it was applied to men as well as things; thus: "*Toronton S. ahouyo*"—he killed many S.—Somontouans or Seneca Iroquois, we will suppose.

The word "Toronton" probably first struck the ear of voyageurs and traders, uttered with energy by their Huron guides and companions when on their way to the interior Huron country, repeated again and again, to denote the great populousness of that region. The sonorous term would be caught up by the French and converted by them into a local name. It served to denote to them *là où il y a beaucoup de gens*—a place where numerous allied and well-disposed tribes did congregate.

I observe in the French letter of M. de Belettes to Major Rogers, at Detroit, in 1761, the expression "Beaucoup de nations," which seems to translate "Toronto" so well, used in reference to Indian bands: "On leur a annoncé qu'il y avait beaucoup de nations à votre suite, à qui on avait promis de pillage."

A second additional interpretation of the term Toronto must now be noticed: "trees rising out of the water." When in the course of events the name Toronto was transferred, as we have seen, from the Lake Simcoe region to the spot to which it is now applied, a fancied resemblance in sound to a Mohawk word having some such sense as that just intimated, led persons acquainted with the Mohawk dialect to imagine an allusion in the word to the peninsula in front of Toronto, with its dwarf trees as seen at a distance on the lake. But all this was manifestly an afterthought, and mere guesswork, like so many other explanations of Indian words offered us by interpreters and others, especially by those familiar only with one of the aboriginal modes of speech.

One observation must be added in regard to the original full form of the word Toronto. The word Toronto, as we now have it, in official documents dated nearly two hundred years back, seems to have suffered a loss at both ends. Not only has a final *n* dropped off, but an initial *o* has disappeared. In Sagard, besides the instance already given of Toronto in the sense of *beaucoup*, we have "Otoronton" also, with exactly the same meaning, as in the expression "O-toronton dachenequoy — l'en mange beaucoup:" "I eat much of it." "Ouentarunk," a name applied to Lake Simcoe, preserved in D. W. Smyth's Gazetteer, 1799, probably shews traces of the losses at the beginning and end of the present word Toronto. Let *ouen* be taken to represent the nasal sound so often heard at the beginning of Indian words, and let the *unk* at the end stand for the nasal sound heard with equal frequency in that place, and we virtually have Otoronton under a disguise. In the word Niagara, it may be remembered, as in Toronto, an initial Indian *o* has been dropped off. The word was formerly Oniagara. In like manner Chippaway used to be Otehipway, which it has again become. In Alexander Henry's "Travels," Tessalon river, running into Lake Huron, is the Otessalon. So Chonéguen, at the mouth of the Oswego river, is in the Jesuit Relations "Och-onéguen," where doubtless we have the full form of "Oswego" itself, from which the *n* at the end has been dropped, as in Toronto. To conclude: our Consecon, in Prince Edward County, ought, I am informed, to be written Oonsecon. Some utterly baseless and unhistorical interpretations of "Toronto" circulated by writers of books of travels and others, are the

following. In his "Subaltern's Furlough," Lieutenant Coke makes it to be a corrupt form, in some way, of the French *Ronde d'eau*: "It is so called from the circular bay upon whose margin the town is built." Sir Richard Bonnycastle, in his "Canada in 1841," will have it to be "the name, as it is supposed, of the Italian officer of engineers who built the fort, there being no word of this kind in any Indian language now understood in Canada." Lossing, in his "Field-Book of the War of 1812," accepting probably the guess of some interpreter unacquainted with any dialect but his own, says that the word is correctly "Taron-tah—Trees in the water," and "so," he asserts, "the French called the fort when they built it."

CHAPTER IV.

PREVIOUS HISTORY OF THE SITE OF YORK (CONTINUED). FORT ROUILLÉ.

THE name Toronto—with greater propriety, probably, if written at full length "Otoronto"—found a resting place at last, as we have already learned, at the locality which still retains it. More specifically, it became affixed to a French trading-post established on the spot in 1749, the proper official designation of which was Fort Rouillé, so named in compliment to Antoine Louis Rouillé, Count de Jouy, French Colonial Minister, 1749-54. In popular language Fort Rouillé came to be Fort Toronto, that is to say, the fort at Toronto; and as time went on, the popular expression appeared on the maps, while the official title of the station was almost forgotten.

This Fort Toronto—correctly speaking Fort Rouillé—was the building of which conspicuous traces continued to be visible down to 1878, when the ground was levelled for the purposes of the Toronto Industrial Association. The spot, with its grass-grown hillocks and shallow trenches, shewing the lines of the cedar pickets, was familiarly spoken of and described in the topographical books as "The Old French Fort." The establishment itself was burned in 1759 by order of the French Commander-in-chief, as we shall presently learn.

It has been stated by some writers, by Garneau for example, that Fort Toronto was a structure of stone; but this was not so. We have particulars of the fort from various sources. It was simply a stockaded, wooden store-house, with quarters for a keeper and a few regular soldiers. The rule of the Governor-General, who gave the order for the erection of a fort here, M. de la Calissonnière, was brief. The building of the fort was accomplished by his successor, the Marquis de la Jonquière. It was expected to intercept the Indian trade which was being drawn to the English post across the lake, at Chouéguen (Ochouéguen, Oswegon, Oswego). Persons interested in the trading-posts at Fort Frontenac and Niagara demurred to the establishment of the fort at Toronto; but the authorities overruled the objections. In 1752, the Abbé Picquet visited Fort Toronto. He found there, he says, "good bread and good wine, and everything requisite for the trade; while they were in want of these things at all the other posts." According to the Abbé, some of the Mississagas expressed their sorrow to him here that the French had only established a canteen at Toronto, and not a church.

The situation and dimensions of the fort at Toronto are given with a good deal of minuteness by M. Pouchot, the last French commandant at Fort Niagara, in his "Memoir upon the War in North America, 1753-60." "The Fort of Toronto," he says, "is at the end of the bay (*i. e.*, the west end) upon the side which is quite elevated and covered with flat rock. Vessels cannot approach within cannon shot. This fort or post," he continues, "was a square of about thirty toises on a side, externally with flanks of fifteen feet. The curtains formed the buildings of the fort. It was very well built, piece upon piece; but was only useful for trade. A league west of the fort is the mouth of the Toronto river, which is of considerable size. This river communicates with Lake Huron by a portage of fifteen leagues, and is frequented by the Indians who come from the north."

In 1752 war was in active progress between England and France. The keeper of the solitary fort at Toronto was full of anxiety. He was convinced that the English were stirring up the Indians to destroy his post. "The store-keeper at Toronto," M. de Longueuil reports in 1752, "writes to M. de Verchères, commandant at Fort Frontenac, that some trustworthy Indians had assured him that the Salteaux (the Otchipways of the Sault, the same in fact as the Mississagas) had dispersed themselves round the head of Lake Ontario; and seeing himself surrounded by them, he doubts not but they have some evil design on his fort. There is no doubt," M. de Longueuil continues, "but 'tis the English who are inducing the Indians

to destroy the French, and that they would give a good deal to get the savages to destroy Fort Toronto, on account of the essential injury it does their trade at Chouéguen (Oswego)."

The keeper had good grounds for his alarm. In 1757 the fort at Toronto was the scene of a plot which M. Pouchot, commandant at Niagara, was the means of frustrating. It appears from M. Pouchot's narrative (i. 82), that a contingent of Mississagas, to the number of ninety, proceeding to Montreal to assist the French, conceived the idea of pillaging Fort Toronto as they passed, notwithstanding that it belonged to their friends. The brandy known to be stored away somewhere within its palisades was the temptation. M. Varren, the keeper, and ten men under M. de Noyelle, were the only persons within the fort. M. de Noyelle, we are told, was secretly apprised of the plot by a French domestic. He sent a canoe with two men across the lake to Niagara to M. Pouchot in command there. M. Pouchot at once despatched M. de la Ferté, captain of Sarre, and M. de Pinsun, an officer of Bearn, with sixty-one men, each having a swivel gun at the bow of his bateau. They reached Toronto at four o'clock in the evening of the next day. They found the Indians encamped near the fort, and passing in front of them saluted their wigwams with "artillery and musket balls," but fired only into the air, as M. Pouchot had given orders. The Indians were immediately summoned to attend a council. They were greatly astonished at the adventure, M. Pouchot tells us, and "confessed everything: they had had false news delivered to them they said, to the effect that the English had beaten the French. But the true reason of their action," M. Pouchot adds, "was that they felt themselves in force, and could get plenty of brandy for nothing."

In 1758, Fort Frontenac was captured by the English under Colonel Bradstreet. M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, the second of that name, gave orders that should the enemy appear at Toronto, the buildings there should be burned, and that the men stationed there should retire to Niagara. In 1759 M. de Vaudreuil summoned down troops from the Illinois and from Detroit to protect Fort Niagara, in case it should be besieged by the English, and for a like purpose "I have sent orders to Toronto," he says, "to collect the Mississagas there, and other nations, and to dispatch them over to Niagara." Doubtless on this occasion Fort Toronto was burned, and its contents and military guard transported to Niagara, which itself, after a formal siege by Sir William Johnson, was surrendered July 20th, 1759.

In 1760 the site of Fort Toronto was visited and reported on by Major Rogers. He has left a narrative of his movements. On the 13th of

September he started from Montreal with two hundred Rangers in fifteen whale-boats. After describing the several stages of the journey up to about what is now Port Hope, his approach to Toronto is thus narrated: "The wind being fair, the 30th of September (1700) we embarked at the first dawn of day, and with the assistance of sails and oars, made great way on a south-west course, and in the evening reached the river Toronto (*i.e.*, the Humber), having run seventy miles. . . . There was a tract of about three hundred acres of cleared ground round the place where formerly the French had a fort that was called Fort Toronto. The soil here," he observes, "is principally clay. The deer are extremely plenty in this country. Some Indians were hunting at the mouth of the river, who ran into the woods at our approach, very much frightened. They came in, however, in the morning, and testified their joy at the news of our success against the French. They told us we could easily accomplish our journey from thence to Detroit in eight days; that when the French traded at that place the Indians used to come with their peltry from Michilimackinac down the river Toronto; that the portage was but twenty miles from that to a river falling into Lake Huron (Holland river, Lake Simcoe and the Severn considered as one stream.) . . . I think Toronto," Major Rogers adds, "a most convenient place for a factory (a trading-post); and that from thence we may easily settle the north side of Lake Erie. We left Toronto on the 1st of October, steering south, right across the west end of Lake Ontario. At dark we arrived at the south shore, five miles west of Fort Niagara, some of our boats having now become exceeding leaky and dangerous." In 1767, Sir William Johnson, in an official report on Indian affairs, stated to the Earl of Shelburne that experienced traders would have willingly given one thousand pounds for the monopoly of the trade with the Indians at Fort Toronto for one season.

CHAPTER V.

PREVIOUS HISTORY OF THE SITE OF YORK (CONTINUED). THE SITE
SURVEYED. YORK PROJECTED.

FROM the period of the conquest of Canada onward, the expression "Toronto," as denoting the locality where the old French trading-post, Toronto, had stood, was very familiar among all who had any occasion to visit the spot, or to speak of it. In 1788, Mr. Collins, deputy surveyor-general of the Province of Quebec, in a report presented to Lord Dorchester, thus writes: "The harbour of Toronto is capacious, safe, and well sheltered." Shrewd inhabitants at Quebec had their eye on this region. In 1791, Lord Dorchester, we are told by Mr. Collins, "was pleased to order one thousand acres of land to be laid out at Toronto for M. Rocheblave; and seven hundred acres each to Captain Lajoë and Captain Bouchette, at the same place." The order was never carried into effect. Upper Canada was organized, and Lord Dorchester had no longer any power to make grants of land there.

On the fine map of the Province of Quebec constructed by Major Holland, an officer of engineers, the peninsula in front of the present Toronto is marked "Presqu'isle, Toronto;" what we now call Humber bay, is "Toronto bay;" and a triangular tract on the bank eastward is "Toronto;" meaning, doubtless, the comparatively cleared space round the old trading-post.

In 1791, the distinguished early provincial land surveyor, Augustus Jones, of whom we shall hear more, surveyed the whole of the north shore of Lake Ontario, and his termini of exploration are "Toronto and the Trent, head of Bay of Quinté," when laying off the concessions. In passing, he takes note of a pond (probably Frenchman's Bay), commonly called, he says, "below the Highlands;" "this," he remarks, "is the first harbour for boats from Toronto bay." September 15th, 1791, Augustus Jones makes an entry: "Went from Toronto to the river of Credit; high winds prevented us from going farther. 16th. From the river of Credit, went to the Forty Mile creek, and called that distance from the fort, I suppose." On the 17th he reaches Newark, and discharges his men. In 1792, he is engaged in surveying again, back of what is now

Humber bay; and we have him noting, July 22nd, that he came across "an Indian footpath leading to Lake la Clie (one of the names of Lake Simcoe during the French period), near a pond of St. John's or Toronto creek," i.e. the Humber. St. John's meant a primitive inn at the mouth of the Humber kept by a landlord of that name. In April in the following year, 1793, Augustus Jones is at Niagara, making ready for another journey to Toronto. But now he will be in attendance on the Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Simcoe, who is going himself to make a personal inspection of the locality. At one o'clock on Thursday, May 2nd, the party set off. On Thursday, the 9th, they are at St. John's, having coasted round the head of the lake. On that day Augustus Jones makes the following entry in his Journal:—"Went into Toronto bay, and proceeded up the creek that empties in through the marsh, about five miles, to see a mill seat." The stream thus examined had no name; but it evidently was our Don.

In the *Gazette* of May 9th, 1793, published at Newark (Niagara), we have a fuller notice of the Governor's excursion to Toronto. It was an expedition of great moment. A site for the new capital of Upper Canada was to be selected. On the 5th of the preceding April, the Governor had written to Major-General Alured Clarke at Quebec in the following strain:—"Many American officers give it as their opinion that Niagara, i.e. the Fort, should be attacked; and Detroit must fall of course. I hope by this autumn to shew the fallacy of that reasoning, by opening a safe and expeditious communication to La Trenché," i.e. the modern Canadian Thames. "But on this subject I reserve myself," he adds, "until I have visited Toronto." The *Gazette* of May 9th mentions the setting out of the party, of which, as we have already learned, Augustus Jones was one: "On Thursday last, May 2nd, his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, accompanied by several military gentlemen, set out in boats for Toronto, round the head of Lake Ontario by Burlington Bay." The *Gazette* then adds: "In the evening H. M. vessels, the *Caldwell* and *Buffalo*, sailed for the same place." The *Onondago* was already there with its commander, Joseph Bouchette, engaged in the memorable first survey of the harbour so graphically described by him. I transcribe the passage, although it is well known already to all readers of Canadian history:—

"It fell to my lot," Bouchette writes, in his "British Dominions in North America," i. 89, "to make the first survey of York harbour in 1793. Lieut.-Governor the late General Simcoe, who then resided at Navy Hall, Niagara, having formed extensive plans for the improvement of the colony, had resolved upon laying the foundations of a provincial capital.

I was at that period in the naval service of the lakes, and the survey of Toronto (York) Harbour was entrusted by his Excellency to my performance. I still distinctly recollect the untamed aspect which the country exhibited when first I entered the beautiful basin, which thus became the scene of my early hydrographical operations. Dense and trackless forests lined the margin of the lake, and reflected their inverted images in its glassy surface. The wandering savage had constructed his ephemeral habitation beneath their luxuriant foliage, the group then consisting of two families of Mississagias, and the bay and neighbouring marshes were the hitherto uninvaded haunts of immense coveys of wild fowl. Indeed, they were so abundant as in some measure to annoy us during the night."

Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe was absent from Niagara on the occasion of this his first visit to Toronto until May 13th. His return is announced in the *Gazette* thus: "On Monday (May 13th), about 2 o'clock, the Lieutenant-Governor and suite arrived at Navy Hall from Toronto. They returned in boats round the lake."

CHAPTER VI.

1793—YORK, STILL ONLY IN IDEA, OR ON PAPER.

AFTER the personal inspection by the Governor of the site of the proposed capital, the name of York, instead of Toronto, begins to appear. The new name was expected to yield pleasure to King George III., as it was given in honour of his second son, the Duke of York, now coming into notice as a military commander on the continent of Europe. For a time, we have, in letters and other documents, the expression "Toronto, now York," or "York, late Toronto." In a despatch to General Clarke at Quebec, of May 31st, the Lieutenant-Governor writes: "It is with great pleasure that I offer to you some observations on the military strength and naval convenience of Toronto, now York, which I propose immediately to occupy. I lately examined the harbour, accompanied by such officers, naval and military, as I thought most competent to give me assistance thereon, and

upon minute investigation, I found it to be, without comparison, the most proper situation for an arsenal, in every extent of the word, that can be met with in this Province."

The change of name from Toronto to York was very quietly made. I had hoped to find in one of the *Gazettes* a proclamation on the subject; but no such document is there. On Wednesday, the 28th of May, 1793, the second session of the first Parliament of Upper Canada began at Niagara. On the 9th of the following July it terminated. There is no allusion in the opening or closing speech to the works about to be undertaken on the north side of the lake. But we may suppose that the minds of the members and other influential persons were made familiar with the Governor's intentions in the course of friendly communications constantly had with him.

Immediately after the 9th, steps began to be taken preparatory to the contemplated removal of the government from Niagara. Troops were transported across to the north side of the lake. "A few days ago," reports the *Gazette* of August 1, 1793, "the First Division of Her Majesty's Corps of Queen's Rangers left Queenston for Toronto, now York, and proceeded in battaux round the head of the Lake Ontario by Burlington Bay. And shortly afterwards another division of the same regiment sailed in the King's vessels, the *Onondago* and *Caldwell*, for the same place." It is evident that the Governor, as he expressed himself to General Clarke, is about "immediately to occupy" the site that seemed to him so eligible for an arsenal and strong military post.

Having sent forward two divisions of the regiment whose name is so closely associated with his own, to be a body-guard to receive him on his own arrival, and to be otherwise usefully employed, he himself embarks for the same spot. "On Monday evening" (this would be July 29th, 1793,) the *Gazette* just named informs us, "His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor left Navy Hall, and embarked on board His Majesty's schooner, the *Mississauga*, which sailed immediately with a favourable gale for York, with the remainder of the Queen's Rangers."

We should be glad to have minute particulars of each day's proceedings immediately after the arrival of this considerable force, naval and military, at York. But on this subject we are left for an interval without precise information. We must suppose the Rangers busily engaged in establishing themselves under canvas about the grassy knoll on which the garrison buildings were afterwards erected. We must imagine them landing stores and cannon and other munitions of war from the ships; landing and unpacking the numerous parts and appurtenances of the famous

canvas house, which the Governor had purchased in England for the accommodation of himself and his family, when Captain Cook's effects were sold there. That celebrated navigator had caused it to be contrived for his own use while engaged on his scientific expeditions. It must have been a pavilion of considerable dimensions, and was doubtless planted with considerable care by the soldiers and others. It was literally the *Praetorium* of the camp; the General's head-quarters; only unlike *praetoria* of old, it was movable, and made of perishable materials. To quote Bouchette's well known words once more: "His Excellency inhabited during the summer and through the winter a canvas house, which he imported expressly for the occasion; but frail as was its substance, it was rendered exceedingly comfortable, and soon became as distinguished for the social and urbane hospitality of its venerated and gracious host, as for the peculiarity of its structure." We can conceive, too, all hands, sailors as well as soldiers, busy in opening eastwards through the woods a path that should be more respectable and more practicable for all purposes than a mere trail to that far-east portion of the shore where the town plot was going to be laid out.

Towards the close of August news of a striking nature from the outer world, from the far European East, reached the camp at York. It was known that hostilities were in progress between the allied forces of Europe and the armies of revolutionary France. Intelligence now came that the English contingent on the continent had contributed materially to a success over the French in Flanders on the 23rd of May. Now, this contingent of 10,000 men was under the Duke of York, the King's son. A happy thought strikes the Governor. What could be better, more appropriate, or more politic, than to celebrate the event in a demonstrative manner on a spot which had just been named after that prince?

Accordingly, on the 26th of August, the following General Order was issued:—"York, Upper Canada, 26th August, 1793. His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor having received information of the success of His Majesty's arms under His Royal Highness the Duke of York, by which Holland has been saved from the invasion of the French armies, and it appearing that the combined forces have been successful in dislodging their enemies from an entrenched camp supposed to be impregnable, from which the most important consequences may be expected, and in which arduous attempt the Duke of York and His Majesty's troops supported the national glory; it is His Excellency's orders that on the raising of the Union Flag at 12 o'clock to-morrow, a Royal salute of twenty-one guns is to be fired, to be answered by the shipping in the harbour, in

respect to His Royal Highness, and in commemoration of the naming this harbour from his English title, York. E. B. Littlehales, Major of Brigade."

This running up of the Union Flag at noon, on the 27th of August, 1793, and the salutes that immediately after began to reverberate through the neighbouring solitary woods, and roll far down and across the silvery surface of Lake Ontario, may be taken, as doubtless they were designed to be, for the formal inauguration of the Upper Canadian York, though it had existence as yet only in the idea of its projector, or as roughly sketched out for him on paper, perhaps by the hand of Augustus Jones.

The rejoicing at York over the triumph of the British arms proved to be somewhat premature. The success which attended the first operations of the Royal Duke did not continue to crown his efforts. But the report of the honours rendered him in this remote corner of the globe would, nevertheless, be very grateful to the fatherly heart of the King.

On the Saturday after the royal salutes the first meeting of the Executive Council ever held at York took place in the Garrison, in the canvas house, as we may suppose. The words of the late Mr. Lee, who searched the records at Ottawa for me on this point, are as follow:—"The first Council held at Garrison, York, late Toronto (once more), at which Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe was present, was on Saturday 3rd August, 1793." It was continued, Mr Lee stated, to the following 5th of September, when the Government returned to Navy Hall.

The following winter, however, 1793-4, was passed by the Governor and his family at York. Bouchette speaks of his inhabiting the canvas house "through the winter." In the following February the Governor writes to Mr. Secretary Dundas in London; and, after his now prolonged experience, he speaks of the newly established post thus glowingly: "York," he says, "is the most important and defensible situation in Upper Canada, or that I have seen in North America. I have, Sir, formerly entered into a detail of the advantages of this arsenal of Lake Ontario. An interval of Indian land, six-and-thirty miles, divides this settlement from Burlington Bay, where that of Niagara commences. The communication with Lake Huron is very easy, in five or six days, and will in all respects be of the most essential importance."

In the memoranda of Augustus Jones, we meet with the expression "the town of York" for the first time. On the 3rd of August, 1793, he writes, "Waited on his Excellency in Council; and went with him to look at the situation of the town of York." All that is to be seen is still, we observe, only its situation or site. After this the intended capital is more

generally alluded to. On the 9th of September, Mr. Talbot, afterwards the famous Colonel Talbot, a member of the Governor's suite, playfully refers to the new place, in a letter to his friend Colonel McKee, at Niagara, dated at York: "There is a most magnificent city laid out which is to be begun in the spring." Mr. Secretary Jarvis had already rather humorously written to a friend, of the Governor's expedition from Niagara, before it was accomplished, as a tour in search of a city. "Our Assembly," he said, "are to meet on the 12th of next month, and a motley crew they are. After the Assembly is prorogued, the Colonel and his suite (i. e. the Lieut.-Governor) are to go to Toronto a city-hunting. I hope they will be successful." Mr. Talbot, in the letter just mentioned, gives us some idea of the discomforts of camp-life at York at this period. "Col. Simcoe and the Queen's Rangers are encamped here," he tells Colonel McKee, "and are preparing huts for the winter." Mr. Talbot had recently been quartered with his regiment at the Falls of the Miami; a wild region doubtless; but he writes: "The foot of the Rapids [i. e. of the Miami river], is quite London to this spot. However, I fear it will be my fate to pass some months here."

One other mention of the camp at York in Augustus Jones's journal is noticeable: "Went to Camp," he writes, on the 1st of September, 1793: "attended Prayers." We thus incidentally learn that the good Governor did not neglect in his camp the recognition of Almighty God, whose instrument he assuredly was in the implanting of English civilization here in 1793. The Chief Brant was for a time lodged in this camp; and Colonel Butler, the identical officer whose name was associated with his in "Gertrude of Wyoming." Augustus Jones mentions the arrival of these two personages during his own stay at York. Mr. Jones was despatched from York on professional duty to Niagara on the 6th of November; but he is ordered to be back in January. He is then to track out and clear, through the primeval forest, a practicable route from York to Lakes Simcoe and Huron. This route had been already personally explored by the indefatigable Governor, accompanied by a party of officers, in October, 1793. It was quickly seen by him that this would be in the future a most important highway of commerce between the two great lakes, Ontario and Huron. Mr. Jones inserts a memorandum that while remaining at York, the men under him had been employed in "making a road from the camp to Toronto Old Fort."

The First Decade.

1794-1804.

CHAPTER I.

YORK UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF GOVERNOR SIMCOE, DOWN TO 1796.

A FEW years since we rightly regarded the founding of New Westminster, in British Columbia, as an event of great interest, indicating, as it conspicuously did, an important advance of English civilization into regions of the earth hitherto wholly undeveloped and savage. With the same feeling, at a later period we beheld Winnipeg, in Manitoba, projected, and springing instantly into vigorous life. An incident of a parallel character to the origination of these places was the founding of York, Upper Canada, in 1794. It was, at the time, the establishment of an entirely new centre of influence and power in the domain of savagery. Accomplished, however, in great obscurity, and while the attention of men in general was turned to stirring events taking place elsewhere in the world at the moment, it was long before the importance and significance of the founding of this York were adequately recognised. Its growth, too, at a time when transit from point to point was beset with every conceivable difficulty, and when the migration of the European peoples to the west had only begun, was, when compared with that of new communities in the present day, far from rapid.

The precise site chosen for the original town-plot of York fills modern beholders with astonishment. It was towards the extreme east of the bay, commanding, indeed, a good water prospect towards the west; but low in situation, and flanked and backed by an extensive marsh. This physical circumstance, however, did not disconcert the purchasers of lots in the proposed town. Some were even enthusiastic in their views of the marsh. Mr. D. W. Smyth, in his *Gazetteer*, writes:—"The river Don empties itself into the harbour a little above the town, running through a

marsh which, when drained, will afford beautiful and fertile meadows. This has already been effected in a small degree, which will no doubt encourage further attempts." This refers, in all likelihood, to a work commenced by Mr. Justice Boulton in this quarter, which failed of its laudable object. Again, Mr. D. W. Smyth, in another place, writes: "The ground which has been prepared for the Government House"—he means the Parliament Building—is situated between the city and the river Don, in a beautiful spot; and its vicinity well suited for gardens and a park. The oaks are large, the soil excellent, and watered by various streams." Some analogies derived from the Fen-country of England led to the idea that the marsh could be drained, and converted into meadow; but the character of the marsh in the present case, consisting of a mass of floating vegetation, was not well considered; nor its cause, a sluggish creek passing into a land-locked piece of water, Ashbridge's Bay, before finding an exit in the harbour of York. But the whole locality must have worn an encouraging look while the surrounding forest remained intact. Mr. Smyth speaks of the fine firs hereabout to be seen; some of which adorned the margin of the bay at York down to a late period. In addition to oaks, "black and white," Augustus Jones, in his primitive field-notes of the vegetation observed along here, names also "pine, larch-wood, hickory, maple, beech and ash." He also met with "hazel-nut bottoms" and "hazel flats." Near what is now the Humber he noticed a "birch bush."

By March 6th, 1794, building materials would be seen lying about, at points, few and far between, along the as yet scarcely distinguishable King Street: hewn logs and beams, sawn scantling and plank, with bundles of cleft shingles, drawn there over the snow from the several shades of the adjoining woods, where, by the help of broad-axe, adze, and wheel, such objects were prepared; a few heaps of lake-shore stone or surface boulders to aid in foundations, and a few bricks for the chimneys from a lonely kiln not far off, in the grounds probably of the expected "Palace," of which we shall soon hear. Clay suited to such a purpose was plentifully found here, and in a very few weeks after the 6th, Mr. W. Smith, or one of the Messrs. Geyers—as to the precise individual there is some dispute—was busy employed in "raising" the first house in York. Other buildings followed in due course: Mr. Small's house for one, a building which is still in existence, improved and enlarged, at the south-east corner of King Street and Berkeley Street. An old contemporary plan, which shows Mr. Small's house here, shows also the roadway, which at this point veers slightly to the north, marked "Road to Quebec," with

an arrow indicating the direction. Thus, then, the "most magnificent city," of which, as having been "laid out," Mr. Talbot wrote joyously to Colonel McKee in the preceding autumn, now actually began to be a visible and palpable entity.

The town-plot, as defined at this time, was a compact little parallelogram bounded on the west by George Street, on the east by Ontario Street, on the north by Duchess Street, and on the south by Palace Street—streets that still retain their original names. The loyal, monarchical character of the Governor appears in nearly every one of these street names, as also in the names given to other streets, as well as in the name of the town itself. The main thoroughfare was King Street; the next street parallel to it on the north was Duke Street; the street north of that, Duchess Street. The boundary westward was George Street; the next street parallel to that, eastward, was Frederick Street, and the street following that was Caroline Street, while the one succeeding that was Princess Street. The last street running north and south was Ontario Street. George Street bore the name of George Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. Caroline Street commemorated his wife, the unfortunate Caroline of Brunswick. Duke Street alluded to the Duke of York, Duchess Street to his wife, and Frederick Street was distinguished by his Christian name. The general name, Princess Street, was a comprehensive compliment to the other royal princesses, without specifying them. Ontario Street indicated the track which doubtless from time immemorial led down to the canoe-landing nearest to the "Carrying-place" on the Island where the small craft passing up and down the lake and trading at York were wont to be lifted across the narrow neck of land there. Palace Street was so styled because it was expected to be the *via sacra* to the "Palace of Government," to speak in French style; i. e., the public buildings, for Parliamentary and other purposes, to which in fact it did lead, down to 1824.

How the Lieutenant-Governor himself was employed during a portion of this month of March, rendered ever-memorable as the era from which the forty years of York took their start, we gather from a contemporary map which is extant, and from which I once had an opportunity of making a transcript of a number of written memoranda. This map was drawn to show the track of the Lieutenant-Governor in the several exploratory expeditions in which he was personally engaged during his administration of Upper Canada. During the spring of 1794, he was making a flying visit all the way to the upper of the two Miami rivers, from York. The record on the map is brief and simple. The hardship and toil and risk incurred must have been formidable. Red dotted lines mark the line of travel;

and the memorandum in the margin is as follows:—"Lientenant-Governor Simcoe's route from York to the Thames; down that river in canoes to Detroit; from thence to the Miamis, to build the fort Lord Dorchester ordered to be built. Left York March 18th, 1794; got to Detroit April 3rd; returned by Lake Erie and Niagara to York, May 5th, 1794."

Down to the year 1796, a portion of every summer was still passed at his old quarters at Navy Hall, Niagara, the Provincial Parliament continuing to assemble there until accommodation for them should be provided at York.

That preparations were being made at York during the summer of 1794 for the erection of the public buildings, we learn from an advertisement in the *Gazette* of July 10th in that year. It is remarkably brief, and runs as follows:—"Wanted—Carpenters for the Public Buildings to be erected at York. Applications to be made to John McGill, Esq., at York, or to Mr. Allan MacNab, at Navy Hall." This Mr. Allan MacNab was the father of the gentleman who afterwards became widely known throughout Canada as Sir Allan MacNab.

In 1795, the French Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt visited Upper Canada from Philadelphia. He was hospitably entertained for eighteen days at Navy Hall, Niagara. Collecting information for the volumes of travels which he afterwards published, he took the trouble to send two young friends, who were accompanying him, over to York, as reporters; having been assured that it was really not worth his while to go there in person. M. de Petit-Thouars and M. Guillemard, the gentlemen thus employed, brought back word that there had as yet been erected at "Yorck"—so the name reads throughout the narrative—only twelve houses. "They stand on the bay near the river Don." There was a block house on each side of the entrance to the harbour. The barracks, occupied by the governor's regiment, stood near the lake, two miles from the town. "In a circumference of one hundred and fifty miles, the Indians are the only neighbours of Yorck. They belong to the tribe of the Mississagas."

The Duke informs his readers that York was intended by the Governor to be the centre of the naval force on Lake Ontario. Only four gunboats are at present on the lake; two of which are constantly employed in transporting merchandize. The other two, which alone are fit to carry troops and guns, and have oars and sails, are lying under cover until an occasion occurs to convert them to their intended purpose. It is the Governor's intention to build ten similar gunboats on Lake Ontario, and ten on Lake Erie. "The ship-carpenters employed," he says, "reside in the United States, and return home every winter."

A little further on he remarks that York is an unhealthy place, and will long remain so; "from the nature of the ground which separates the bay from the lake." And next the Duke ventures to say, rather sweepingly, of the inhabitants of York, that "they do not possess the fairest character." Such is the very direct way in which the Duke is made to speak by his translator, H. Neuman, in the quarto edition of the "Travels," published in London in 1799, and in most books on York these are usually quoted as the Duke's words. What the Duke really said, having reference of course to rumours brought over by MM. de Petit-Thouars and Guillemand, was: "Les habitans n'y sont pas, dit-on, de la meilleure espèce"—words not quite so harsh. (See the Paris edition, "An vli de la Republique," tome ii., p. 112.) The head and front of the offending of the persons alluded to, who were, in fact, rather settlers on Yonge Street than "habitans" of the town of York, consisted, with the Duke, in their having abandoned the Pulteney settlement in the Genesee country across the lake, and transferred themselves to Upper Canada. The Duke specially mentions as the leader of these deserters "le nommé Berezy"—in Neuman, "the noted Berezy"—as then resident at York. For the action of Mr. Berezy and his German friends satisfactory reason could probably be found. Mr. Berezy, and his son after him, both became men of much consideration in Upper Canada. In my quotations from Liancourt I have corrected the orthography of Mr. Berezy's name. From indistinctness in the Duke's handwriting, it was printed "Batzy" in the French edition. From the same fault in the handwriting of H. Neuman it appeared as "Baty" in the English translation. In both cases, readers of Liancourt's "Travels" may have been mystified.

In 1796 other works of a public nature, besides the Government buildings, were in progress at York. I have a warrant before me, dated in June, from the Lieutenant-Governor to Mr. McGill, Commissioner of Stores, authorizing him "to supply from time to time from the government stores such quantities of rum as may be required to be given to the men (Queen's Rangers) employed on the wharf and canal at York." A landing pier was being constructed at the garrison, and a navigable opening made into the Garrison creek. In an old map, store-houses, afterwards converted into a military hospital, are seen up this creek. And Mr. D. W. Smyth, in the *Gazetteer*, informs us that the Garrison creek, "being improved with sluices, affords an easy access for boats to go up to the stores." At this time we also have Oxen advertised for in the *Gazette*, as wanted in connection with the canal at York. Mr. D. W. Smyth likewise suggests a work which was too bold to be attempted in 1796. He says a small

creek in the neighbourhood—(was it the rivulet in the cemetery ravine?)—may, by means of a short dam, be thrown into all the streets of its town.

The opening up of the great northern road, known throughout its whole length as Yonge Street, was a matter of no slight moment to the trade and general interests of York. This was effected, in a rough way, as has already been once intimated, by Augustus Jones and his men. On the 4th day of January, 1796, he began the formal survey of the route, and the opening, as he writes, of "a cart-road from the harbour of York to Lake Simcoe." On Saturday, the 20th of February, the work was completed. The entry in the energetic surveyor's Journal on that day is: "Went to the Garrison, York, and waited on His Excellency, the Governor; and informed him that Yonge Street is opened from York to the Pine Fort Landing, Lake Simcoe." The name "Yonge Street," it may be well to add, was so named in honour of Sir George Yonge, Secretary at War, 1782-1794. He died at Hampton Court, Sept. 26th, 1812, aged 80; when the baronetage which he had inherited became extinct.

One structure erected by Governor Simcoe himself, at or near York, remained a visible reminder of his former presence, down to 1829. This was the building known as Castle Frank, on a steep declivity overlooking the valley of the Don. Its site was a few yards outside the northern boundary of St. James's cemetery. Portions of a well-engineered bridle-road leading out to it from York can still be traced. The building, simply a summer-house of logs, carefully hewn and neatly fitted together, and then weather-boarded, was a private undertaking of the Governor's, on land belonging nominally to his young son, Frank. It was never permanently occupied by the Governor or his family; but pleasant excursions were repeatedly made to it while in course of erection and afterwards, in boats up the Don, as well as by the bridle-road.

The little stream which is still to be heard pleasantly gurgling down in the deep ravine of the cemetery, was "Castle Frank brook." The building was destroyed by fire in 1829. On a plan of the vicinity of York made by the Americans when in occupation of the place, Castle Frank is conspicuously marked. That buckwheat had been sown in the clearing round Castle Frank in 1796 we have curious evidence. Mr. George Playter, in a letter written from his house on the Don, on the site of the residence now known as Drumsnab, thus addresses Mr. McGill, Commissioner of Stores, in the peculiar phraseology of the religious society of which he was at that time a member:—"River Don, Sept. 24, 1796. Respected Friend,—If the buckwheat that is growing at Castle Frank

is to be disposed of, I shall be willing to buy it. It will be ripe in a few days; and as thou art going from home, it may suit to have it secured before thou returns, or it will be lost. Be pleased to send answer by the bearer, Sergeant Lydan. I am thine, respectfully, etc., George Playter." Mr. Playter had also aided in "sledding" from Isaiah Skinner's mill some of the lumber used in the construction of the chateau, as all may conclude from another characteristic letter addressed to Mr. McGill, which reads thus:—"Respected Friend,—Sergeant Lydan informs me thou art desirous I should sled some boards from Skinner's mill to Castle Frank. If I do, thou must pay me one quarter of a dollar for every hundred feet not exceeding one inch thick, which I may sled, as it is the customary price; and really it is worth it. I am thine to serve, etc., George Playter."

A pleasant reference to this Castle Frank occurs in a letter written by Mr. Russell at Niagara to Mr. McGill at York, in December, 1796. "I hope," says Mr. Russell, "that the ladies may be able to enjoy the charming caroling which you must have on your Bay, and up the Yonge Street road, and to the Humber, and up the Don to Castle Frank, where an early dinner must be picturesque and delightful." And here Mr. Russell's expressive "caroling," which has quite gone out of use among us, suggests a remark on the history of the term which has now universally taken its place. At the time of Mr. Russell's writing, "sleigh" and "sleighbing," thus written, had not come fully into vogue. Major Rogers always writes "slay;" and in a MS. letter of Mr. Russell's, I observe "slaying" was first written by him; but the word is there corrected to "sleighbing." Had the good old English surname "Sleigh" anything to do with the gradual transformation of "slay" to "sleigh?" Brougham, Stanhope and Buggy, we know, are proper names applied to vehicles. It was soon felt throughout this continent that "sledge," at all events, badly expressed the French *traineau* or *cariole*; and that "sledding" was quite inappropriate for locomotion on the ice or snow in swift, smoothly-gliding vehicles. "Sled," which was slightly better than "sledge," became appropriated to the plaything of boys, or to a cumbrous apparatus on runners used by lumbermen and farmers.

CHAPTER II.

YORK UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF PRESIDENT RUSSELL,
DOWN TO 1800.

IN 1796, Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe was rather abruptly transferred from Upper Canada to a post in the West Indies. Important duty was assigned him in or about St. Domingo. It is believed that the United States authorities quietly communicated to the Home Government complaints of the bearing of his policy in this Province, and in regard to the surrounding Indian tribes, on the relations between the two countries. The Governor was frank, as we learn from Liancourt's narrative, in discovering his ideas and plans.

The conversations of the Duke on his return to Philadelphia, followed soon by his work, may have drawn particular attention to Governor Simcoe. General Simcoe, as we shall remember, had been actively and conspicuously engaged in the war of the Revolution, and the soreness occasioned by the conflict had not quite passed away. He was very outspoken sometimes in regard to the enemy of only a few years before. To a friend he had expressed the conviction that "an army of 10,000 men and a good navy could knock the United States into a nonentity." He did not believe in the permanence of the Union. The revolted territory might yet one day be under the sway of Great Britain. Even the contrast presented by the happy and dignified state of things which would speedily characterize Upper Canada, would, he thought, in time put many in the United States out of conceit with the republican system. Meanwhile it was expedient that the country should be put and kept in a good state of defence. The naval and military armament along the frontier should be efficient.

More than five years had elapsed since the Governor's appointment; and, according to a later rule, a translation to another sphere was to be expected. In many points of view, however, in the case of the first founder and organizer of the Province, a second term of office was very desirable. So that the change was more or less of a surprise to all concerned.

In the proclamation dated September 11th, 1796, issued by his temporary successor, Mr. Russell, the Governor's departure was set forth simply

as consequent on a royal leave of absence, thus:—"Whereas his Most Gracious Majesty has been pleased to grant his royal leave of absence to his Excellency Major-General Simcoe, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of this Province," therefore, the supreme power had now devolved on him, Peter Russell. The last Parliament presided over by Governor Simcoe was prorogued by him at Newark, or Niagara, on the 3rd of June, 1796. He had probably looked forward with pride to meeting the same body in the following year at York, where the Public Buildings were in progress. But this was not to be. Governor Simcoe may have been mistaken in his anticipations of the future of the United States; but he was statesmanlike and comprehensive in his views. He believed that he was laying the foundation, if not of a nation, of a great and important community. A letter of his addressed to Sir Joseph Banks, January 8th, 1791, before leaving England for Canada, displays so well what he hoped to effect in the vast wilderness which he was about to penetrate, that I will venture to transcribe some paragraphs from it. It will be seen that the founder of York, Upper Canada, was a man of enlightened mind, and that we at this day actually partake in many particulars of advantages which he consciously designed and pre-arranged that the inhabitants of this capital and the people of Upper Canada generally should enjoy.

"The liberality of your character, the high station you fill, and the public principles which I apprehend that you entertain, leave upon my mind no hesitation in communicating to you, confidentially, my views of the object which irresistibly impels me to undertake this species of banishment, in hopes that you will see its magnitude, and, in consequence, afford your utmost support to the undertaking." In this chivalrous strain he speaks of the undying regret which he feels for the loss of the revolted colonies, and of the hope which he cherishes of being able to help forward a peaceful reconciliation between them and the mother country. "I am one of those," he says, "who know all the consequence of our late American dominions, and do not attempt to hide from myself the impending calamity, in case of future war; because neither in Council, nor in the Field, did I contribute to their dismemberment. I would die by more than Indian torture to restore my King and his Family to their just inheritance, and to give my Country that fair and natural accession of Power which a union with their Brethren could not fail to bestow and render permanent. Though a Soldier, it is not by arms that I hope for the result. It is *volentes in populos* only that such a renewal of Empire can be desirable to his Majesty; and I think even now, (though I hold that the last supine five years, and

every hour that the Government is deferred detracts from our fair hopes) —even now, this event may take place." He next speaks of the physical situation of the proposed Province, and of the spot within it which he was intending to select as its capital. At this time, what afterwards became London was before his mind's eye, and the capital's name was to be "Georgina." We can see how carefully he had been studying his maps before setting out. For the purpose of commerce, union, or power, he says, "I propose that the site of the Colony should be in that great Peninsula between the lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario, a spot destined by nature sooner or later to govern the interior world. I mean to establish a capital in the very heart of that country, upon the River La Tranche, which is navigable for batteaux, 150 miles, and near to where the Grand River which falls into Erie, and others that communicate with Huron and Ontario, almost interlock. The capital I mean to call Georgina; and am to settle in its vicinity Loyalists who are now in Connecticut, provided that Government approve of the system. . . . Now, sir, not to trespass on your time" he continues, "you will see how highly important it will be that this Colony (which I mean to shew forth with all the advantages of British protection, as a better Government than the U. S. can possibly obtain) should in its very foundations provide for every assistance that can possibly be procured for the Arts and Sciences, and for every embellishment that hereafter may decorate and attract notice, and may point it out to the neighbouring States as a superior, more happy, and more polished form of government. I would not in its infancy have a hut, nor in its maturity a palace, built without this design." He thus speaks of a Public Library, of a kind of Royal Society, and of a College, which he hopes in time to establish.—"My friend, the Marquis of B—, has suggested that Government ought to allow me a sum of money to be laid out for a Public Library, to be composed of such books as might be useful to the Colony. He instanced the Encyclopædia, extracts from which might occasionally be published in the newspapers. It is possible private donations might be obtained, and that it would become an object of Royal munificence. If any Botanical arrangement could take place [this would especially appeal to the sympathies of Sir Joseph,] I conceive it might be highly useful, and might lead to the introduction of some commodities in that Country, which Great Britain now procures from other nations. Hemp and Flax should be encouraged by Romulus." He regards himself, we see, as the founder of a state, as a Romulus. As to hemp, for a series of years, its cultivation was expected to be a source of much wealth to Upper Canada, the navy of Great Britain incessantly requiring rope. "In the literary way,

I should be glad to lay," he says, "the foundation of some Society that, I trust, might hereafter conduce to the extension of Science. Schools have been shamefully neglected; a College of a higher class would be eminently useful, and would give a tone of principles and of manners that would be of infinite support to Government." Finally, I subjoin a list of books, of which I possess a copy, contained in three cases forwarded to Navy Hall, in 1793, "for the use of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor." I take them to be, in part, at least, contributions from Sir Joseph Banks and other friends to intellectual progress in Upper Canada, in response to the suggestion in the letter above quoted. Among them is the very Encyclopædia which the Marquis of B—— named as likely to prove useful. I take these books to be the first germs of a Public Library in Upper Canada. They were probably a portion of the spoil, when the Parliament Building at York was sacked in 1813. The collection referred to consisted of the following solid works: Encyclopædia, thirty-five volumes; D'Anville's Atlas; Johnson's Dictionary, ~~one~~ ^{two} volume folio; Universal History, sixty volumes; Receipts, Public Accounts, three volumes; Cook's last voyage, four volumes; Voyage to New South Wales; Palladio, five volumes; Hanbury on Planting and Gardening, two volumes; Rutherford's Natural Philosophy, two volumes; Postlethwayte on the Deity, two volumes; Anderson on Commerce, six volumes; Campbell's Political Survey, two volumes; Guthrie's Geography, six volumes; Bomare's Dictionnaire et Histoire Naturelle, six volumes; Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, four volumes; Cary's English Atlas; Husbandry of the Midland, York and Norfolk Counties, six volumes.

Mr. Peter Russell was holding the reins of power in Upper Canada when Parliament met for the first time at York. That was on the first day of June, 1797. The summons to the members ran in the usual way; nominally as coming from the King himself, George III. And now for the first time we have the Upper Canadian York spoken of in old feudal fashion as a Royal Town; as "Our Town of York." The King (through Mr. Russell) "convoques, and by these presents enjoins you, and each of you, that on the first day of June, in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, you do meet Us in Our Provincial Parliament, in Our Town of York, for the actual dispatch of Public Business, and to take into consideration the state and welfare of Our Province of Upper Canada, and therein to do as may seem necessary."

Mr. Russell succeeded to the administration by virtue of his being the senior member of the Executive Council. He was a retired officer who had been on the staff of Sir Henry Clinton, as secretary, during the war

of the Revolution. His portrait, which is to be seen in the collection at the present Government House, shews him to have been a grave, thoughtful-looking, portly personage, somewhat of the mould of George Washington.

The projects of Governor Simcoe fell into abeyance, and the advance of the Province received a check. The prospects of York, for the moment, became gloomy. It was thought that now, probably, after all, the seat of government would not be removed thither. Newark might retain it, or it might be transferred to Kingston.

On the subject of the capital, however, the decision of the first governor was adhered to. The buildings for the accommodation of the legislature were proceeded with. For several weeks in succession the following advertisement appears in the *Gazette*: "Wanted immediately, for the Public Buildings at York, Carpenters. To such as are well qualified and industrious, good encouragement will be given, by applying to Captain A. Graham, or to the subscriber, John McGill, Commissioner of Stores, etc. York, July 23rd, 1796." These buildings consisted of modest Halls of brick, one for each of the legislative bodies. They were intended to be ultimately wings of a more imposing central structure. In the meantime a covered colonnade united the two edifices. Here, in June, 1797, Mr. Russell met the second Provincial Parliament in its second session. In the previous December he had been suggesting, from Niagara to friends at York, that preparations should be made for the reception of the members of Parliament. "As the Legislature is to meet at York," he says, "the 1st of June, it becomes absolutely necessary that provision shall be made for their reception, without loss of time. You will therefore be pleased to apprise the inhabitants of the town that twenty-five gentlemen will want lodgings and board during the session; which may possibly induce them to fit up their houses, and lay in provisions to accommodate them." He refers to the detached wings of the intended Government or Parliament House just spoken of, and says that "these at any rate must be got ready, the one for the Legislative Council, the other for the Assembly." The bars and tables and other articles of furniture already in use at Niagara for legislative purposes, he will direct to be sent over. "The house appropriated for the Legislative Council," he adds, "can be occasionally used as a Council Chamber."

During the course of Mr. Russell's suggestions of modes of meeting the expected increase in the population at York, Governor Simcoe's canvas house comes once more into view. It was left standing at York, but unoccupied, and requiring repairs. One half of it might be removed

down to the town, Mr. Russell thinks, "to be used there for giving dinners in, to the members of the two Houses; but it might be found cheaper and more commodious to put up a temporary building for this purpose, to consist of boards which might be used again." Should the canvas house not thus be utilized, he will offer it, with Major Smith's permission, as "quarters for the Chief Justice (Elmsley) and his friend, the Rev. Mr. Raddish." (Chief Justice Osgoode had been promoted to the Chief Justiceship of Lower Canada.) Mr. Russell speaks of Chief Justice Elmsley as a man of business and method, who will not submit to idle procrastinations; and he (Mr. R.) "trembles" for a certain official at York who "ought to make haste to get the Council-book forward; but it still hangs in much the same situation as when you left it." Mr. Elmsley, it may be mentioned here, although the fact did not happen until 1798, built a family residence in York, which subsequently became, as in due course we shall learn, the Government House, or Lieutenant-Governor's residence, for Upper Canada. In the year just named, Mr. Elmsley signs a receipt, now before me, to John McGill, Commissary of Stores of War, etc., for Her Majesty's force, "for the following articles, supplied to him out of the said stores, by order of Mr. President Russell, which articles he obliges himself to replace by others of equal quality and quantity whenever the same shall be demanded: sixteen thousand 20 dy. (twenty-penny) nails, forty-five thousand 6 dy. nails, twenty-one pounds spikes, seventeen and a half thousand 20 dy. brads, forty-five and a half thousand 2 dy. brads, thirty-one and a half thousand 3 dy. brads, forty-three thousand 4 dy. brads, forty-four thousand 6 dy. brads, four jugs linseed, one runlet, two hundred twenty-and four pounds white lead, three pick-axes, six mattocks, two spades, four boxes fifteen by ten glass," etc.

The Government Offices were now transferred permanently to York. It was not, however, until November 5th, 1797, that Mr. Russell himself took up his abode there, in a house of his own, situated at the south-east corner of Princes Street and Palace Street; a building known by the romantic title of Russell Abbey in later times, when occupied by the family of Dr. W. W. Baldwin.

Among measures passed in the Parliament at York during Mr. Russell's term of office were acts for securing titles to land, and for supplying the want of enrolment of deeds of bargain and sale. The certain prospective good value of land in Upper Canada began now to be realized, and a strong passion for its acquisition had been roused. Great pressure was brought to bear on the Government to legalize claims of every sort, even

the most mythical. Mr. Russell did his best in Council to secure just legislation on this subject. Certain memoranda left by him furnish us with some dramatic scenes at the Executive Council Board at York. A gentle passage of arms now and then occurred between himself and the Chief Justice. On one occasion the Chief proposed that "Certificates" should have the force of Deeds, under certain circumstances. "I should withhold the Royal Assent to such a measure, even if it should pass both Houses of Parliament," replied the President. "And as he (the Chief) was pleased to charge us all with counteracting the operation of an Act of Parliament, I desired him to say in what particular I had been guilty of so great an offence? He said he did not mean me, or allude to any part of my conduct." On December 6th, his entry is: "Confirmed all the recommendations of the Committee (of Council), except that for a deed in Mr. Farrand's name, for 10,000 acres. Which I must enquire into." It turned out that this recommendation was backed by the Chief Justice. The entry on the 8th is: "Confirmed the order to Farrand for 10,500 acres;" with the note added: "said to be purchased by him for the accommodation of the Chief Justice, who informed me that Capt. Pilkington paid him for his house with this land." Another petition presented was not so fortunate: "July 5. A petition is presented from Mr. Street, praying that a deed may issue for a very considerable quantity of land for the purchase of which from the original grantees he produced vouchers." Mr. Russell's answer now was, that there was a commission appointed to settle such matters; "and that consenting to petitions of this nature was sanctioning the accumulation of land in the persons of individuals, which we were ordered by His Majesty's instructions to do all in our power to prevent. However, I told the Board (addressing myself to the Chief Justice,) that if it had any particular wish to serve Mr. Street, I should readily concur with their determination. The Chief answered that he had no particular wish for his part; but it was his decided opinion that when *bona fide* purchases appear to have been made, the possession of the land ought to be secured to the purchaser. The petition was then referred to the commission." On March 7th, he, in Council, orders the U. E. list of the Western District claimants of land to be sent back, as several names were found in it not entitled to the privilege. Mr. Russell, it appears, was still Receiver-General, and his current accounts were audited as aforetime by the Executive Council. While this was being done, February 9th, the Chief Justice objected to a warrant being issued by him to pay the Attorney-General for travelling expenses in the Home and Western circuits, as he did not go the latter. "I told

him to note his objection at the foot of the accounts, and I should call upon the Attorney-General to refund the money. I desired, in the meantime, that he should be sent for to assign his reasons for calling upon me for this assistance. The Chief Justice answered: 'I must pardon him if he declined arguing the matter with the Attorney-General.' I told him that I certainly would not allow any arguing at that Board. The Attorney was to answer questions and assign reasons. On the Attorney's arrival I told him that his charge for the Western Circuit was objected to, as he did not attend that circuit. He answers that he had attended the Home Circuit, and had engaged a barrister to go that of the Western, whose expenses he should hold himself answerable for; but other avocations having prevented Mr. Stuart from accompanying the Judge on this circuit, Mr. Roe, the clerk of the Peace, (who had been long since empowered by the governor to act as counsel for the King in the absence of H. M. Law servants,) had acted for him, and was, of course, to be paid by him. With this answer he left the accounts before the Board."

As yet members of Parliament received no pay for attendance. A land grant to their wives in lieu thereof was suggested. We have the entry: "July 1st, 1797. Received from the Chief Justice five petitions, which he requested my permission to cover by 600 acres to the wives of members of Parliament." The President adds, "I expressed my doubts in answer, that the principle of such a donation was proper; as it might excite alarm in the people that their representatives were about to be bribed by Government." The proposal seems to have dropped. A year or two later an allowance was ordered to members, to be raised by local assessment.

We may detect in the discussions at the Council Board a little temper and techiness now and then. Manifestations of this sort were sure to occur in such a limited circle as was that of the high officials of York. No wonder that, in accordance with the traditional conventionalities of the time, duels should occasionally happen, on very frivolous grounds too. Thus, the opening of 1800 was sadly signalized by the death of the Attorney-General, referred to a few lines back, in a duel with Mr. Small.

Other measures, besides such as related to land, engaged the attention of the legislature at York during Mr. Russell's administration. We have Acts passed for "the securing the Province against the King's enemies," and for the regulation of the militia; for the incorporation of a Law Society; for the promotion of trade with the United States, by land and inland navigation; for the establishment of ferries; and for the increase of revenue by licenses to sell wine and spirits.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL HUNTER AT YORK.—HE INSTITUTES A PUBLIC MARKET THERE IN 1803.—DUKE OF KENT AT YORK IN THE SAME YEAR.

WHEN Governor Simcoe was withdrawn, in 1796, the government of the Parent State had enough to occupy its attention near home. It was in that year that Napoleon Bonaparte appeared on the scene, startling the world by his military successes in Italy. Throughout Europe there was distress of nations with perplexity. What wonder that little effective heed should be immediately given to the wants of an infant colony so remote, so insignificant, as Upper Canada? However, a successor to the Lieutenant-Governor was at length found in the person of Lieutenant-General Peter Hunter, a gentleman of a Scottish family seated at Auchterard, in Perthshire. Of his previous life and of the theatre of his military achievements I can find no record. He arrived at York August 17th, 1799, and occupied quarters in the garrison. His reply to the address of the inhabitants on this occasion was as follows: "Gentlemen: Nothing that is in my power shall be wanting to contribute to the happiness and welfare of this colony." The brevity of the response was characteristic. Governor Hunter was a man of keen discernment, quick temper, and strong will. He wrote to a friend in London just after his arrival, "I was much gratified," he said, "by my reception in Upper Canada. All the members of the Executive Council are good men. But I can see," he adds, "that your friend P. R. is an avaricious one." Hunter's plainness of speech then appears, in a confidential remark on P. R. "So far as depended upon him, he would grant land to the devil and all his family as good loyalists, if they would only pay the fees." A remark to be taken with many grains of allowance. In the case of a list of alleged U. E. claims, Mr. Russell was, as we have seen, very careful.

While at Quebec, General Hunter was already meditating reforms in the Upper Province. Colonel Shank writes from on board the *La Topaze*, of Quebec, on his way to England from York, that "it is probable General Hunter may appoint to the auditor-generalship another person, as the office of receiver-general and it are incompatible." Colonel Shank further advises his friend thus: "Shew every attention in your power to General

Hunter and his family." Officials, civil and military, soon learned to stand in salutary awe of Governor Hunter. In the public departments there were arrearsages of business. Extra hours of attendance appear to have been required. We read in a *Gazette* of 1803: "Notice is hereby given that regular attendance for the transaction of the public business of the Province will in future be given at the office of the Secretary of the Province, the Executive Council office, and the Surveyor General's office every day in the year (Sundays, Good Friday and Christmas Day only excepted), from ten in the morning till three in the afternoon, and from five o'clock in the afternoon until seven in the evening. By order of the Lieut.-Governor: James Green, Secretary." The imprint on the fourth page of the *Gazette* is: "York: printed by Order of His Excellency General Hunter." "We hear that His Excellency has ordered the Parliament to meet on the 28th instant, for the actual despatch of business," is the language of the *Gazette* of May 16th, 1801.

It was to Governor Hunter that York was indebted for the first "Weekly Public Open Market" for the sale of cattle, sheep, poultry, and other provisions, goods and merchandize. It came into operation by Proclamation on the 5th of November, 1803. Four acres and a half of land were set apart for market purposes. The present St. Lawrence Market occupies a part of the eastern portion of this allotment.

Inconvenience having arisen from an insufficient supply of professional men qualified to carry on the work of the Courts, the Lieutenant-Governor was empowered by Parliament to authorize persons who should be found competent for such a purpose to practise, notwithstanding the absence of legal training. By Proclamation in 1803, Governor Hunter accordingly designated Dr. W. W. Baldwin, of York, William Dickson, of Niagara, and D'Arcy Boulton, of Augusta (son of the Judge), and John Powell, of York (father of the Mayor), as fit and proper persons to practise the profession of the law, and act as advocates in the courts, after having been duly examined by the Chief Justice. Having sprung, Minerva-like, at once into being, in full professional maturity, without passing through any of the usual puny stages, these gentlemen were afterwards sometimes alluded to by less favoured brethren of the robe as the "heaven-descended" barristers.

York was visited in 1803 by the Duke of Kent. While there his quarters were at Oakhill, the residence of General Aeneas Shaw. The Duke had paid a visit to Canada once before. Being at Halifax as Commander-in-chief of the Forces, he made an excursion to the Falls of Niagara, on which occasion he was entertained by Governor Simcoe at Navy Hall.

A private letter of the period, written at the Town of Niagara, mentions the Duke's departure from that place, rather unceremoniously, not to say cynically. "The Prince left us this morning," (Sept. 17th, 1792) the writer says, "for Quebec, to the great joy of all parties. The town was most brilliantly illuminated last evening in honour of His Royal Highness. Candles are so scarce a commodity that I did not follow the example of my neighbour."

At the close of the year 1803, as I learn from a paper of statistics collected by Mr. W. L. Mackenzie, the aggregate value of property in the town of York was £14,871, and the annual tax levied on the inhabitants by the magistrates of the County in Quarter Sessions was £62. The area enclosed by the town plot was 420 acres. The population consisted of 456 persons.

The Second Decade.

1804-1814.

CHAPTER I.

ST. JAMES'S CHURCH BUILT.—MR. STUART'S SCHOOL.—FOUNDING
OF THE SCHOONER "SPEEDY."—DEATH OF GOVERNOR HUNTER.
—SUPPLIES OF YORK.—MUNICIPAL ARRANGEMENTS.

THE beginning of the Second Decade of York was marked by the completion and occupation of the ecclesiastical building which, seventy years later, developed into the noble cathedral-church of St. James, which now adorns Toronto. In 1803, a movement began, in the usual timid and doubting way, for the erection of a church edifice by subscriptions among the inhabitants. After many meetings, and much discussion as to the material of the building—whether it should be of stone, brick, or wood—wood was finally resolved upon. The amount to which the committee was to limit itself in its engagement was eight hundred pounds; but, in the first instance, it was to expend no more than six hundred pounds, if the sums subscribed and paid into the hands of the treasurers, together with the moneys that might be allowed by the British Government, should amount to so much.

A very plain barn-like structure of framed timber, forty feet by fifty, standing east and west, was the outcome. Chief Justice Elmsley, Mr. Russell, Mr. McGill, Dr. Macaulay, Mr. Chewett, and the two treasurers, Mr. Allan and Mr. Duncan Cameron, were the committee, with the clergyman, the Rev. G. Okill Stuart. The secretary to the committee was Mr. A. Macdonell. At the raising of the building a company of men from the garrison, by order of Colonel Sheaffe, the commandant, gave assistance. Mr. Stuart, afterwards Archdeacon Stuart of Kingston, was the son of the Rev. Dr. J. Stuart, clergyman at Kingston, 1788-1811. Mr. Stuart had recently been appointed missionary at York. Previously divine

service had occasionally been conducted in the north public building, near the mouth of the Don, chiefly by a layman, Mr. Cooper. The Rev. Mr. Raddish, the friend of Chief Justice Elmsley, a dimly-seen figure among the *dramatis personæ* of primitive York, had disappeared from the scene. He probably did not take kindly to the generally rough condition of things in Upper Canada at the time. It was not until 1810 that the stumps were cleared away about the west front of the church, where the entrance was, and a portion of the church lot fenced in. The cost of the former service was £3 15s.; of the latter, £1 5s., for the five hundred rails required.

According to the theory of the period, not universally allowed however, this was the parish church of the place, and at the annual "Town Meetings" for municipal purposes, a church-warden was appointed on the part of the people for several years, and one by the incumbent of the church. At the town meeting, March 2nd, 1807, "D'Arcy Boulton, Solicitor-General," was appointed church-warden by Mr. Stuart. This town meeting was held at "Gilbert's Tavern," but the proper title of the hostelry was the "Toronto Coffee House," as appears from Mr. Gilbert's advertisement in the *Gazette*, in which he informs his guests that he has recently moved across from the "Yellow House at Niagara." The ecclesiastical building completed in 1804 is usually spoken of in contemporary documents as "the church at York." The style and title of "St. James's Church" may not have been assumed until after the enlargement and renovation of the building in 1818. Mr. M. Smith, in his "Geographical View" of Upper Canada, published at Philadelphia in 1813, strips off all illusions in his account of York, by simply describing this church as a "Meeting house for Episcopalians." Subsequently, in 1807, Mr. Stuart, the incumbent of "the church at York," became also master of the Home District school in that town. His School Journal, or Day-book, now before me, opens with the statement that "an Act was passed into a Law by the Legislature of the Province of Upper Canada, to establish Public Schools in each and every District of the Province. His Excellency Governor Gore, through Major Halton, his secretary, was pleased to appoint me teacher of the District School in York in the Home District; the letter dated the 16th of April, 1807." On June 1st, the school opened. The terms appear to have been four dollars a quarter, with six York shillings for proportion of wood in the winter months. Daughters as well as sons out of most of the well-to-do families at York were admitted at the school, 1807-1811; but towards the latter date the young ladies, I think, somewhat fell off. In addition to other worthy citizens the following appear "in accompt" in Mr. Stuart's

book "for tuition and instruction" to their sons and daughters: William Jarvis for his son William, and his daughters Hannah, Eliza Anne and Maria; Stephen Jarvis for his sons George and William; Thomas Ridout for his son John and his daughter Mary; William Stanton for his sons Robert and William, and his daughters Charlotte and Margaret Anne; John Small for his sons James, Edward and Charles; D'Arcy Boulton for his sons James, George and Charles; William Chewett for his son Alexander; Allan MacNab for his son Allan; D. I. P. Gray for his sons John, Robert and James; Alexander Macdonell for his sons Peter and Angus; Miles Macdonell for his son Donald; Edward Hartney for his son Edward; John Detlor for his son George H.; Joseph Cawthra for his son William; Dr. Glennon for his sons Barney, Henry and Marshall.

But to return to 1804. In that year a gloom was cast over the whole community of York by the loss of the Government schooner, the *Speedy*, on Lake Ontario, with all on board. The worn-out, unseaworthy craft foundered off Presqu'Isle, near the carrying place of the Trent, during the night of October 8-9th. In addition to the commander, Captain Paxton, and crew, there perished on this occasion Judge Cochrane, Solicitor-General Gray, Mr. Angus Macdonell, Sheriff of York, Mr. Fish, the high-bailiff, and an Indian prisoner named Ogetonicut, about to be tried at Presqu'Isle for the murder of John Sharp; two interpreters, Cowan and Ruggles, several witnesses, Mr. John Stegman, land surveyor, and Mr. Jacob Herchmer, merchant of York; in all thirty-nine persons. All were more or less well known at York. Nine wives were made widows, and many children fatherless, by the disaster. Mr. Weekes, barrister, whose duty also called him to Presqu'Isle, at this time prudently decided to ride thither on horseback, in preference to going by boat, and so his life was saved. This Mr. Weekes, who succeeded the Mr. A. Macdonell lost on this occasion as representative in Parliament for Durham and Simcoe and the East Riding of York, was killed in 1806, in a duel, at Niagara. The Mr. Herchmer above mentioned was advertising in the *Gazette* of August 27th, 1801, for Ginseng. He offered two shillings, New York currency, for dried, and one shilling for green.

Society at York again received a shock in the following year. Tidings suddenly arrived that the Lieutenant-Governor, General Hunter, had died at Quebec (August 21st, 1805). Being Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, as well as Lieutenant-Governor, he was often called away from the capital to visit the military posts. A kind of standing commission of regency had been appointed to act during his absence, consisting of Mr. Russell, Chief Justice Elmsley, and General Aeneas Shaw; and as substitute

for any or either of them, Mr. McGill. A letter from Major Green, at Quebec, to a friend at York, states the cause of death: "He had for some time weakened himself too much by a low regimen, which prevented the disease (gout) getting into the extremities as formerly." Governor Hunter met Parliament four times at York. Among the measures passed by his sanction were Acts for the more equal representation of the Commons of the Province; for making Cornwall, Johnstown, Newcastle, York, Niagara, Queenstown, Fort Erie, Turkey Point, Amherstburgh and Sandwich, ports of entry, with Collectors of Customs, "who are to have fifty per cent. on the duties, until the same amounts to £100; and then, no more;" for preventing the sale of spirituous liquors and strong waters among the Moravian Indians settled on the Thames; for the pay of the officers of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly; for allowing ten shillings per day to members of Parliament, to be levied by local assessment; for regulating the curing, packing and inspecting of beef and pork; and for the encouragement of the growth of hemp.

General Hunter was buried at Quebec. In the English cathedral there a mural tablet is seen, placed to his memory by his brother. No portrait has as yet been discovered of Governor Hunter, though diligent inquiries and search have been instituted, to add to the series at Government House, Toronto.

Some glimpses of demand and supply in respect of house-keeping and family requirements in York, at the beginning of its Second Decade, are afforded by such notices as the following, in the *Gazette* of that period. The primitive practice of barter and payment in kind still, as we shall see, to some extent prevailed. On the 8th of November, 1804, Mr. Quetton St. George closes an advertisement of his merchandize at York, with the N.B. that he "will take in payment, Furs, Flour, Butter and Cheese, provided the flour be in barrels, well packed and of good quality." The very miscellaneous sort of goods offered by Mr. St. George, and of course expected to be asked for by the people of York, runs as follows: "Hats, liquors, crockery and glass-ware, window-glass, nails, iron and steel, harnesses, collars, cart saddles, bridles, horse-bells, girths, long-reins, chalk, whitening, pipe-clay, curry-combs, flints, vermilion, cod-lines, fishing-lines, bed-cord, sheet-iron, snuff, hair-powder and starch, copper kettles, iron pots, padlocks and locks, hammers, pound-pins, basket-salt, noyeaux, ratafia, putty, pipes, coffee, brimstone, smoothing-irons, double stoves, ready-made carpets, rose blankets, cat-gut, black corduroy, black everlasting, black bombazeen, silk bandana handkerchiefs, black, blue and white satin ribbon, narrow do., black, blue and white China do., narrow do., white edging,

men's cravats, black and green gauze, plain muslin, muslin and linen cambric, cambric shawls with fringe, do. embroidered, elegant silk shawls, Italian silk, black lutestring, green satin, long lawn, table cloths, calicoes, green canvas for blinds, black silk handkerchiefs, men's and women's white worsted stockings, women's black and blue do., ladies' silk gloves, cotton do., East India sugar, candlewick, rosin, alum, copperas, young Hyson and green teas, olives, anchovies, capers, patent yellow, weavers' reeds, isinglass, pearl barley, sago, slay-whips." On the 17th of the following May, another of Mr. St. George's advertisements appears, equally diversified with innumerable additions of other goods, including wines, spices, jewellery, cutlery, books. And in another, I notice shoes and slippers of every kind, and garden seeds in great variety; also, pot-ash kettles, with the offer to receive pot and pearl-ash in payment.

Mr. Cameron, publisher of the *York Gazette* in March, 1809, addresses "country subscribers who are in arrears for the *Gazette* and advertisements inserted by desire," and requests of them "to leave, if convenient to them, the amount in any grain advertised to be purchased by Mr. St. George, at the places he proposes to receive grain in the country; a document from the miller or person in charge of the mill will oblige the subscriber: J. Cameron."

On the 3rd of June, 1805, the two bakers, François Balcour, and F. Marian, notify the public of York that, "on account of the present scarcity of Flour, they are under the disagreeable necessity of raising their Bread to eighteen-pence, New York currency, per loaf; not being able to afford it for less after this date." In the *Gazette* of September 28th, 1805, Mr. Robert Henderson, brewer at York, makes the following announcement: "Brewing business. The subscriber informs his customers and the Public in general, that he has commenced Brewing for the season; and is now ready to deliver Strong and Table Beer in barrels and half-barrels of good quality; and intends to begin brewing his Keeping Ale for the ensuing summer, in the course of next month; and pledges himself that more attention than ever shall be paid to the quality of his Keeping Beer." Germane to all this is Mr. Daniel Tiers's very John-Bull-like advertisement, several times repeated in 1808: "Beef Steak and Beer House. The subscriber informs his friends and the public that he has opened a House of Entertainment, next door east of Mr. Hunt's, where his friends will be served with victualling in good order, on the shortest notice, and at a cheap rate. He will furnish the best strong beer at eight-pence New York currency per quart, if drank in his house, and two shillings and six-pence New York currency per gallon, if taken out. As he intends to keep a constant

supply of racked beer, with a view not to injure the health of his customers, and for which he will have to pay cash, the very profits at which he offers to sell will put it out of his power to give credit, and he hopes none will be asked. N. B.—He will immediately have entertainment for man and horse."

The Town and Parish officers, elected at the annual Town Meeting held at Stoyell's Inn, York, on the 3rd of March, 1806, given in the *Gazette* of March 8th, were as follows:—"Ely Playter, town clerk; John Detlor and Ely Playter, assessors; Thomas Mosley, collector; Robert Henderson, town warden; Duncan Cameron, church-warden, appointed by the Rev. Mr. Stuart. Overseers of Highways and Fence-viewers—Benjamin Mosley, from Scadding's Bridge to Scarborough line; George Castner, from Bay Road to Don Mills; Thomas Hamilton, from the East part of the Town of York to the Don Bridge; Eliphalet Hale, for the West part of the Town of York to the Garrison; Benjamin Davis, for the Humber Road; Jesse Ketchum, from No. 1 to half the Big Creek Bridge on Yonge Street; William Marsh, junior, from half the Big Creek Bridge to No. 17 on do.; Abraham Johnson, from No. 16 to No. 25 on do.; William Jones for the West end, and George W. Post for the East end, of Scarborough; Levi Devines for the North part, and Joseph Ogden for the South part, of Etobicoke; John Barry for the Mill or Upper Road in do. Pound-keepers—Isaac Collombes for the Town of York; William Marsh for Yonge Street; Jacob DeLong for the Humber; Andrew Thompson, senior, for Scarborough; Daniel Stuart for Etobicoke. Agreed by a majority of the inhabitants that hogs shall run at large in the country. Fences to be five feet high, with stakes and riders, and no more than a space of four inches between the rails, to the height of three feet of the same."

CHAPTER II.

COMMODORE GRANT'S PRESIDENCY.—NATURAL PHILOSOPHY
AT YORK.

MR. ALEXANDER GRANT, who, by an understood rotation in the Executive Council, now became temporary governor, was an interesting character. Hitherto military officers had been at the head of affairs. A sailor now took the helm. Mr. Grant had been at sea in his youth: first, in the merchant service, and then in a man-of-war, as midshipman. In 1757 a Highland regiment was being raised for service in America, and he received a commission in it. He now came under the command of General Amherst, afterwards Lord Amherst. When the expedition against Canada moved northwards, ships were required on the lakes for transport. Mr. Grant, as having naval experience, was put in command of a sloop of sixteen guns. He thenceforward continued to be connected with the naval service, and was generally spoken of in Canada as Commodore Grant. He died in 1813 at his old farm at Grape Point, above Detroit, leaving an only son, Colonel Grant, of Brockville. Mr. Joseph Woods, some time M.P. for Kent, and Mr. Robert Woods, Q.C., of Chatham, were grandsons. When there existed in Upper Canada such high officials as Lieutenants of Counties, Mr. Grant was Lieutenant of the County of Essex. I do not observe that any local names on the map of Ontario have been derived from the commodore.

During the short administration of Mr. Grant, a very creditable measure which, it is pleasant to think, originated with him, was passed by the Parliament at York. The modern zeal for the initiation of Canadian youth in natural sciences was thereby anticipated by at least fifty years. On the 3rd of March, 1806, the sum of four hundred pounds was voted for the purchase of "certain apparatus for the promotion of science." The preamble of the Act set forth in naive style that "it is of importance to the welfare of this Province that the rising generation may be furnished with the means of such instruction as may render them useful members of the community." The apparatus was to consist of "a collection of instruments suitable and proper for illustrating the principles of

Natural Philosophy, Geography, Astronomy, and the Mathematics." The Governor was empowered "to deposit the said instruments, under certain conditions, in the hands of some person employed in the education of youth in this province, in order that they may be as useful as the state of the province will permit." This last provision of the Act may have been inspired from Cornwall. It is certain that these instruments were in the custody of Dr. Strachan after his removal from Cornwall to the head-mastership of the District School at York; and, doubtless, many other persons in Upper Canada, besides the present writer, received from these very instruments, when deposited in that institution, their first impressions of an air-pump, an electrical machine, and the various ingenious contrivances for illustrating the laws of motion, the elasticity of bodies, the equal velocity of light and heavy substances falling in a vacuum, and so on. To anticipate for a moment: a *Gazette* of the year 1818 had in its columns the following advertisement:—"Natural Philosophy—The subscriber intends to deliver a course of popular lectures on Natural Philosophy, to commence on Tuesday the 17th inst., at 7 o'clock p.m., should a number of auditors come forward to form a class. Tickets of admission for the course (price Two Guineas) may be had of William Allan, Esq., Dr. Horne, or at the School-house. The surplus, if any, after defraying the current expenses, to be laid out in painting the District School. John Strachan, York, 3rd of February, 1818." It was at that period, probably, that means were supplied for giving to the exterior of the District School-house that memorable azure hue which caused it to be so familiarly spoken of for long years afterwards as "the old Blue School," by those who had once occupied—and helped to carve—the benches within its walls. The window-frames and corner-finishings of the building were painted white. The church, just across the road, was painted in exactly the same hues. The débris of this historical collection of philosophical instruments may still be viewed at Upper Canada College. It may be added, that in the Memoir of Dr. Strachan, by the late Bishop Bethune, it is stated that, at one time, he was about to be appointed demonstrator for the eminent Dr. Brown, when delivering his lectures as Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow.

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNOR GORE ARRIVES.—ADDRESSES OF WELCOME.—HE MEETS
PARLIAMENT AT YORK.

IN 1806, Governor Hunter's successor in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Upper Canada arrived. Extracts from correspondence of the period will inspire more interest in the events of the day at York and elsewhere in the Province than a mere narrative. The *Gazettes* and other printed documents will also furnish some incidents.

Captain Green, late military secretary to Governor Hunter, writes from Quebec to his friend Mr. McGill, at York, 26th of May, 1806, thus: "You will have heard that Mr. Francis Gore, Lieutenant-Governor of Bermuda, is appointed to Upper Canada; but we have as yet no Commander-in-Chief named." Then, on the 7th of July, he writes again; and after treating of some other things, he adds: "Although late, I must not omit to mention hastily that the Lieutenant-Governor's baggage arrived this forenoon in the brig *Unicorn*, from Bermuda: himself was to take his passage to Halifax in the *Triton* frigate, from whence, how he may come to Quebec I cannot say." On the 14th, however, Captain Green's words are: "I have to announce to you the arrival here of Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Gore, and a Major Halton, his secretary, on the 12th instant, from Halifax, in the *Driver* sloop-of-war. They landed at one o'clock, yesterday, under a salute of thirteen guns, from each of the men-of-war, and from the guns of the Grand Battery." He then adds two items which he knew would interest the fashionable circle at York: "They have no children," he remarks: "Mrs. Gore is a relation of Lord Fitzwilliam, one of the Ministry in England, and of the Lieutenant-Governor of Halifax." On the 11th of July he writes to his friend McGill thus: "I have by the last post informed you of the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor, since which I have had a great deal of confidential communication with him, during which I took an opportunity of recommending you and our friend Scott in the warmest terms; and you will find yourselves with him in the same situation precisely as with Governor Hunter, whose system of administration he seems perfectly inclined to follow in all respects. From appearance, I think you will all be very happy with him. His manners are so well-bred.

and candid that you must like him." He then again, for the benefit of the ladies at York, adds some items of information; and we get a glimpse of the Governor's wife and her surroundings: "If you and Mrs. McGill are fond of monkeys, marmosets, pet-dogs and cats, you will soon have a fine importation of those species from Bermuda. Mrs. Gore," he remarks, "appears further advanced in age than the Lieutenant-Governor. She is a chatty, well-bred woman." Then, on the 31st, the departure of the new Governor for the Upper Province is announced: "Lieutenant-Governor Gore having left Lachine this morning, you will probably receive this letter by his arrival. Pray give my best respects to the Chief," (Chief Justice Scott), he continues, "and tell him I should have dropped him a line to-day also, had I anything to say, except that we cannot learn a syllable of Mr. Chief Justice Alcock's movements: they are slow for certain." In his letter by the next mail, Captain Green takes for granted that the new Governor has arrived at York, and he anticipates the happy influence of his "amiable manners" on affairs in Upper Canada generally. "Of course, I may congratulate you," he says, "on the safe arrival of your Lieutenant-Governor, whose amiable manners will, I think, conciliate the various points that have hitherto been in opposition, to that cordiality which must ever reign in societies well regulated. How happy should I be to hear such were the effects of the first acts of his administration." In September, in reply to a communication from York, Captain Green writes: "It gives me very sincere satisfaction to find that the Lieutenant-Governor is so well liked. I trust he will put the axe at once to the root of the tree of discord and anarchy, which lately has raised its head amongst you; that done, you will succeed well and prosper." The allusions will be presently explained.

Addresses of welcome in the usual strain came in from all quarters on Governor Gore's arrival at York. Among them was one from the inhabitants of the Quaker settlement, on Yonge Street, given in the *Gazette*. They salute him as "Francis Gore, Governor of Upper Canada;" and among other things they say: "We are concerned for thy welfare and the prosperity of the Province; hoping thy administration may be such as to be a terror to the evil-minded, and a pleasure to them that do well. Then will the Province flourish under thy direction, which is the earnest desire and prayer of thy sincere friends." The memorandum is added: "This address was read and approved in Yonge Street monthly meeting, held the eighteenth day of the ninth month, 1806: Nathaniel Pearson, clerk; Timothy Rogers and Amos Armitage, delegates."

On the 2nd of February, 1807, Governor Gore met the Parliament at York, and on the 10th of the following March he prorogued it, after assent-

ing to twelve Acts, one of which provided for a public school in each of the eight districts, with £100 a year for the master. The appliances for occasions of state were still homely at York. On the day before the prorogation we have the Governor writing to Mr. McGill for the loan of his carriage. "My dear sir," he says, "I am rather at a loss for a conveyance to the House to-morrow. I shall therefore be very much obliged to you, to lend me your horse and chair to-morrow morning." A proper vehicle for the Governor's use was afterwards imported by way of New York.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POWERS AT YORK ACT LIKE POWERS ELSEWHERE.—REACTION.
JUDGE THORPE.—A LIGHTHOUSE BUILT ON GIBRALTAR POINT.

Governor GORE had expected to carry on the administration of Upper Canada precisely on the lines adopted by Governor Hunter. But during Commodore Grant's rule, a reaction against Governor Hunter's high-handedness had set in throughout the country. A constitutional opposition party was everywhere forming, the significance of which Governor Gore and most of the members of his Government were slow to see. The third estate of the community of Upper Canada, the farmers, artisans and others, had become numerous, powerful, and intelligent, and were disposed to speak out. As in other quarters of the world, the first and second estates had fallen into the habit of regarding the third estate as simply existing for the supply of hands and revenue. The third estate now demanded more control over the funds which they, by the sweat of their brows, were chiefly instrumental in raising. Many new settlers in the country and transient visitors espoused the popular side; and even in the official ranks, especially in the case of several functionaries lately appointed, champions of the third estate began to appear. Among these were Mr. Justice Thorpe, Mr. Sheriff Willcocks, and Mr. Surveyor-General Wyatt.

In reply to an address from the Grand Jury of the London District in 1806, the new Judge, Mr. Thorpe, made the following curious and caustic

remarks, having reference manifestly to the late Lieutenant-Governor Hunter and his rule: "The art of governing is a difficult science. Knowledge is not instinctive, and the days of inspiration have passed away. Therefore, when there was neither talent, education, information, nor even manners, in the Administration, little could be expected, and nothing was produced. But there is an ultimate point of depression, as well as of exaltation, from whence all human affairs naturally advance or recede. Therefore, proportionate to your depression, we may expect your progress in prosperity will advance with accelerated velocity." The Grand Jury had spoken approvingly of the fact that the new Governor (Gore) was a civilian. Judge Thorpe coincides, and proceeds thus:—"I shall lay before the Governor everything you desire; and I have not the slightest doubt but that I shall find in him such power of mind, such political acquirements and official habits, and such good dispositions, as are fitted to make an infant province a permanent state, wealthy and powerful, abounding in blessings to the inhabitants, and so valuable to that great Empire from which we receive everything estimable, and to which we are anxious to make the most grateful return."

The striking portrait which may be seen in Government House enables us to understand Governor Gore. We have before us evidently a typical gentleman of the later Georgian era; a "counterfeit presentment," as it might easily be imagined, of the Prince Regent himself; one likely to be beloved by friends and boon companions for his good-natured geniality; but not a personage in whom we should expect to find statesmanship of a modern philosophic order.

The popular party and its advocates really meant no ill to England or the crown of England. All they desired was to secure the recognition of individual rights, and the reality of the constitution of which they had the shadow. The Governor and his friends, however, would not suffer any criticism on their measures. Every expression of dissatisfaction was set down as disaffection, treason, rebellion. Mr. Willecks and Mr. Wyatt were speedily removed from office, and Judge Thorpe was disposed of not long afterwards. There is this to be said apologetically for the authorities at York, that they were simply following the example of their betters in the old country. The relation of Governors and governed in Upper Canada were similar to those which, for the most part, at the time subsisted at home and throughout Europe; and the improvement of those relations had only just begun there as well as here.

In a letter written to Mr. McGill from Kingston, when on his way to Montreal, we have a sample of the strong language which the Governor

was wont to make use of, possibly perhaps, but not the less indiscreetly, in regard to the Opposition of the day. We have in the letter hints, incidentally, of the horrors of the passage between York and Kingston; hints also of some of the civilizing processes which the Governor expected to see adopted by the judges in the several districts of the province, when on circuit.

"We arrived here yesterday," writes the Governor, "after a passage of forty-eight hours. Mrs. Gore suffered very much from sickness, and the gallant major (Halton) was near giving up the ghost. As for myself, I was never more hearty in my life. I received most sincere satisfaction in finding that our good and worthy friend the Chief Justice (Scott) had got on very well; that at Newcastle the jury was respectable, and approved of their judge; not one word being uttered respecting that execrable monster who would deluge the province with blood." This, of course, was Willcocks, who, after having been deprived of the Shrievalty of the Home District, had audaciously set up, in this very year 1807, an Opposition newspaper, *The Upper Canada Guardian, or Freeman's Journal*, the lavish circulation of which is presently referred to. "At Kingston," the Governor says, "everything went off as might have been expected, well; the Chief entertaining a party of about forty at dinner; and report says he plied them well with the Tuscan grape. A number of the rebel papers were distributed to poison the minds of the people," he observes, "but, I hope, without effect." The object of Mr. T.'s emissions" (Mr. T. is Judge Thorpe, and his emissions would be his charges to juries and his speeches in the House and elsewhere) "appear to be, to persuade the people to turn every gentleman out of the House of Assembly. However," the Governor adds, "keep your temper with the rascals, I beseech you. I shall represent everything at St. James," i.e., headquarters in London. And there accordingly, everything was so effectually represented, that in the *York Gazette* of the following October there was authority for the following paragraphs:—"His Majesty's pleasure has been received by the Lieutenant-Governor to suspend Mr. Thorpe from the office of judge in Upper Canada; and measures are to be taken for appointing a successor. The Secretary of State has also signified to the Lieutenant-Governor His Majesty's approbation of his having suspended Mr. Wyatt from the office of Surveyor-General of Lands in this province."

Some notices of material progress at York, in which Governor Gore exhibited a laudable interest, must now be given. In 1807 the Blue Hill on Yonge Street, just north of York, was being cut down and made more passable for teams coming into the town. "A number of public-spirited

persons," the *York Gazette* reports, "collected on last Saturday to cut down the hill on Frank's creek (Castle Frank Brook, which here crosses Yonge Street), and while thus engaged, they were agreeably surprised by a messenger from the Lieutenant-Governor, bringing with him a donation of fifty dollars towards the work." For acts like this the Governor was pleasantly famous.

In 1808, £1,600 had been voted by Parliament for roads and bridges in the province. In 1809, tenders were asked for in the *York Gazette* from "any person or persons disposed to contract for building a bridge over the Low Lands adjoining the Don Bridge." This resulted in the high-raised tressel bridge which preceded the existing solid embankment.

In 1806 we have reference made to a Float over the mouth of the Don. The *Gazette* admonishes the public not to make use of it for heavy draught. It was simply intended as an accommodation to equestrians and pedestrians who desired to take recreation on the Island. In 1806, tenders were advertised for from persons who would contract "to open the road between York and the Head of the Lake." In 1804 an advertisement of the same tenor had appeared. Possibly two different routes were referred to.

In 1809 the House of Assembly provided in the estimates for a Lighthouse on Gibraltar Point, at York. Accordingly, in that year we have the Governor crossing over to fix upon the best situation for such a structure. Major Halton writes hurriedly to Mr. McGill at eight o'clock in the morning: "The Lieutenant-Governor is going over to Gibraltar Point to examine where it may be most advisable to build a Lighthouse." Mr. McGill is to send the keys of the King's store-houses at the Point immediately, as His Excellency wants, when over there, to look into them. "We expect to be back again about one o'clock."—Curiously, while Governor of the Bermudas, Mr. Gore had been instrumental in the erection of the first important lighthouse in that group of islets. The Lighthouse at Gibraltar Point, which yet casts afar its bright beams over bay and lake, during the season of navigation, thus becomes not only a reminder of a quondam notable ruler of Upper Canada, but also a link of association to the thoughtful and imaginative, between the now much-frequented, wave-washed, sandy precinct where it stands, and Shakspeare's "still-vex'd Bermoothes."

CHAPTER V.

DEATH OF PRESIDENT RUSSELL.—MAJOR-GENERAL BROCK.—DR.
STRACHAN REMOVES TO YORK.

AN incident not to be passed over, in the annals of York, in 1808, is the death of ex-President Russell. An extended account of the funeral is given in the *York Gazette* of October 8th, 1808. Governor Gore was present. Mr. Russell's large accumulation of property passed to his maiden sister, Miss Elizabeth Russell, and from her, a few years later, mainly to Dr. William Warren Baldwin. In 1806, Mr. Russell was endeavouring to dispose of two of his slaves. The following very plain, unvarnished kind of advertisement meets the eye in several successive numbers of the *Gazette* in that year: "To be sold, A Black Woman, named Peggy, aged about forty, and a Black boy, her son, named Jupiter, aged about fifteen years, both of them the property of the subscriber. The woman is a tolerable cook and washerwoman, and perfectly understands making soap and candles. The boy is tall, and strong of his age; and has been employed in country business, but brought up principally as a house servant. They are each of them servants for life. The price for the woman is one hundred and fifty dollars; for the boy two hundred dollars, payable in three years, with interest from the day of sale, and to be properly secured by bond, etc. But one-fourth less will be taken in ready money. York, Feb. 19, 1806. Peter Russell."

Not until twenty-five years after the 9th of July, 1793, did the system of slavery legally expire at York and elsewhere in Upper Canada. Mr. Secretary Jarvis, Mr. Solicitor-General Gray, and others at York had slaves. A "body-servant," who went down with Mr. Gray in the *Speedy* was a negro slave.

A memorial of Mr. Russell remains on the map of Ontario in the name of the County of Russell. Admiral Baldwin's villa to the north of Toronto was originally known as Russell Hill, and Mr. Russell's farm on the north side of Queen Street, a little west of Beverley Street, was "Peter's field," and the present "Peter" street led up to it. The block on which Upper Canada College is built is "Russell Square," on a plan

dated prior to 1799. Mr. Russell belonged to an Irish branch of the Belford Russells, but he appears to have studied in England, and at the University of Cambridge. His copy of Beletot's *Dictionnaire Portatif de l'Ingenieur*, printed at Paris in 1755, now in my possession, has in his own handwriting the following inscription: "E. Libris Petri Russell, Cant. Alumn. Divi Johannis," implying that was a "Johnian," i.e., a member of St. John's College in Cambridge. He was a man, it may be added, of scientific tendencies. He formed a large mineralogical collection. An isolated building on his premises at the corner of Princes and Palace Streets was fitted up as a regular chemical laboratory; and so assiduous was he in the researches and experiments carried on there in complete solitude, that, as in Roger Bacon's case aforetime, a suspicion of devotion to magic and necromancy was actually attached to him in the minds of some.

In Governor Gore's speech at York at the opening of Parliament in 1809 was the following ominous passage: "Hitherto we have enjoyed tranquillity, plenty and peace. How long it may please the Supreme Ruler of Nations thus to favour us is wisely concealed from our view. But under such circumstances it becomes us to prepare ourselves to meet every event, and to evince by our zeal and loyalty that we know the value of our constitution, and are worthy of the name of British subjects." Storms and tempests had been raging throughout the political atmosphere over the whole of Europe ever since 1783. Now a black thunder cloud detached from that quarter seemed moving towards Upper Canada. Under Napoleon's instigation, Mr. Madison's government in the United States, at this juncture, conceived the idea of becoming possessed of the whole of the North American Continent, restoring, perhaps, for a season at least, the French portion of Canada to the protectorate of France. Now was the time! England's hands were fully employed. Pretexts of quarrel with England were therefore eagerly seized, in spite of England's earnest efforts to remain at peace with her near kith and kin. Governor Gore was not a fighting man. In 1811 leave of absence from his province was granted him; and, after closing the session at York for that year, he withdrew with his good amiable lady and her menagerie of pets to England, where they arrived safely at Torquay on the 11th of December, 1811.

Major-General Brock now appears on the scene. Just before the departure of the Gores from York, Major-General Brock spent some days with them very pleasantly. He thus writes to his brother in Guernsey from Fort George: "I returned recently," he says, "from York, the Capital of the Province, where I passed ten days with the Governor, as gen-

grous and honest a being as ever existed. His lady," he proceeds to say, "is perfectly well-bred and very agreeable. I found ample recompense in their society for the inconvenience of travelling over the worst roads I ever met with." He mentions a particular which would be of special interest to a Guernsey man. "The Governor," he says, "was formerly quartered with the 44th in Guernsey, and recollects vividly the society of those days."

In all his letters, Brock spoke in the most friendly manner of Governor Gore. In a despatch to Sir George Prevost, successor to Sir James Craig, he refers the new Governor-in-chief to former communications of Governor Gore to his predecessor, for a "correct view of the temper and composition of the militia and Indians." He speaks of the fact that Governor Gore had "revived the Glengarry Fencibles." He also lauds the "strict economy which Governor Gore constantly bestowed on the expenditure of the public money." Brock, it appears, once crossed the lake from Niagara to York in a canoe, with Governor Gore. We find him demurring to an item of £20 in an account, as his share of the expense of the expedition. As it had been undertaken in the way of duty, he thinks it is a fair "public charge."

The removal of the Rev. Dr. John Strachan from Cornwall to York, in 1812, is an occurrence memorable in the annals of that place, and of Upper Canada generally. General Brock, wishing to have at the head of ecclesiastical affairs in the capital of the Province a man of spirit, of force, and of good business capacity and habits, exerted himself to effect the settlement of Dr. Strachan in York. The mettle of the new-comer was soon put to the test. Throughout the three years' war, Dr. Strachan's whole energies were devoted to rousing and sustaining the courage of the people, and to the aid and sustenance of the wounded, the sick, and the captured. More than once was he in peril of his life, while interposing in defence of fellow-townsmen against plunder at the hands of the soldiery in possession. The subsequently famous "Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada" was organized chiefly through his influence. This association guaranteed provision for the widows and orphans of the militia, for the wounded and maimed, and for those who suffered total loss of home and effects in the war. It also proposed to distinguish marked acts of courageous conduct by the presentation of a medal—a portion of its plan not carried into effect, from the difficulty ultimately experienced in deciding who should be recipients; although the medal was designed and struck.

CHAPTER VI.

WAR DECLARED BY THE UNITED STATES.—CANADA INVADED.—
BROCK'S PROMPT ACTION AT YORK, AT LONG-POINT, AT AMHERST-
BURG, AT DETROIT.—RETURNS TO YORK.—FALLS WHILE REPEL-
LING A SECOND INVASION.



GENERAL BROCK met Parliament twice at York: first, just be-
fore the declaration of war; and again, in a special session,
immediately after the declaration. His speeches on these occa-
sions, and the proclamations issued under his authority, had a
powerful effect. His was a character which created confidence
and called forth enthusiasm.

"Even to the dustiest peasant in his camp
His spirit lent a fire."

Here are moving words, addressed to the House in his last speech:
"When invaded by an enemy whose avowed object is the entire conquest
of the Province, the voice of loyalty, as well as of interest, calls aloud to
every person, in the sphere in which he is placed, to defend his country.
Our militia have heard that voice, and have obeyed: they have evinced
in the promptitude and loyalty of their conduct that they are worthy of
the king whom they serve, and of the institutions which they enjoy; and
it affords me particular satisfaction in that, while I address you as legis-
lators, I speak to men who, in the day of danger, will be ready to assist,
not only with their counsel, but with their arms." And again: "We are
engaged in an awful and eventful contest." By unanimity and despatch
in our councils, and by vigour in our operations, we may teach the enemy
this lesson, that a country defended by free men, enthusiastically devoted
to the cause of their king and constitution, can never be conquered." In
the counter-proclamation to that of the invader, Hull, is a stern and
wholesome admonition to any who might waver in their allegiance:
"Every Canadian freeholder is by deliberate choice bound by the most
solemn oaths to defend the monarchy as well as his own property. To
shrink from that engagement is a treason not to be forgiven. Let no
man suppose that if, in this unexpected struggle, His Majesty's arms

should be compelled to yield to an overwhelming force, the Province will be eventually abandoned. The endeared relations of its first settlers, the intrinsic value of its commerce, and the pretensions of its powerful rival (France) to repossess the Canadas, are pledges that no peace will be established between the United States and Great Britain and Ireland, of which the restoration of these provinces does not make the most prominent condition."

When the certainty of hostilities first became known, General Brock was at York. Within a few hours, two companies of the 41st Regiment, then in garrison here, were despatched in boats to Fort George; whither also, after he had held a Council and issued a summons for a special session of the Legislature, he himself repaired, crossing the lake in an open boat, accompanied by his *aide-de-camp*, Captain Glegg.

Some months before the declaration of war, Brock had formed his plans for the defence of Upper Canada. Thus he wrote from York to Colonel Baynes, Adjutant-General at Quebec, February the 12th: "I set out with declaring my full conviction that unless Detroit and Michilimackinac be both in our possession immediately at the commencement of hostilities, not only the district of Amherstburg, but most probably the whole country as far as Kingston, must be evacuated. How necessary, therefore, to provide effectually the means of their capture."

In accordance with these tactics, on the 26th of June he sends orders to Captain Roberts, of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, in command at Fort St. Joseph, to possess himself of Michilimackinac; a service bravely performed on the 17th of July. Five days previous to that date, namely, on the 12th of July, General Hull had crossed with 2,500 men, at Sandwich, expecting an instant submission on the part of the inhabitants. Colonel Proctor, of the 41st Regiment, was sent forward to reinforce and take command at Amherstburg, the post now especially threatened, and the assurance was circulated that Brock himself would follow immediately. All this, together with the almost complete absence of any signs of welcome, brought it to pass that by the 8th of August the invading forces were withdrawn to their own side of the river.

On the 9th of August, Brock, in person, starts from York for Amherstburg, accompanied by one hundred volunteers from the militia of the York garrison. He proceeds now, not by Niagara, but by Burlington Bay, and along the old Grand River Portage to Long Point. Here was the rendezvous of a moderate force, consisting of three hundred men, regulars and militia. Embarking in boats, they pushed westward, under the lee of the north shore of Lake Erie. On the 12th, they are off Point aux Pins. On

the 13th, they are at their destination. Here some Indians, under Tecumseh, join them. The enemy having retired, the capture of his stronghold at Detroit is decided on and planned. On the 16th the assault takes place, and the result ensues of a surrender of Hull and his whole force.

Of all gala days hitherto witnessed at York, the 17th of August, 1812, was the most bright and exhilarating. On that day Brock arrived there after his great success. Only nineteen days had elapsed since his closing speech to the Parliament. Probably no salute from the garrison hailed his approach on the occasion. The article of powder was too precious, and too essential for real uses, to be idly wasted. The omission was made good a few weeks later, when the Tower-guns of London were fired in honour of his exploit. All York felt precisely as Mr. Justice Powell wrote to Brock on the spur of the moment: "I shall hardly sleep 'until I have the satisfaction of hearing particulars of the wonderful excursion, for it must not be called a campaign. The *veni, vidi, vici* is again the faithful report. Your good fortune in one instance is singular; for if your zeal had been thwarted by such adverse winds as frequently occur on the lake, the armistice might have intercepted your career. That it did not, I heartily thank God, and pray that nothing may occur to damp the entire satisfaction of yourself and family in the glory so well earned."

The contrast deprecated by Judge Powell was, alas! destined soon to follow. If the 27th of August was the most joyous day, the 15th of the next October was the saddest ever yet experienced at York. On that day schooners and sloops were entering the harbour, their decks swarming with the nine hundred and fifty prisoners of war taken at Queenston; but bringing also the altogether staggering intelligence that Brock, though victorious, had fallen. "Push on the York volunteers!" had been the last order on his lips, followed, after receiving the fatal shot, by the request that no notice should be taken of his fall, lest the advance, which was in vigorous progress, should be checked. The revulsion from a state of elation to one of extreme depression in the public mind at York and throughout Canada is left to the imagination.

What was finely said by the *Quebec Gazette* of Brock, and the public feeling at Quebec on the occasion of his fall, was true to the letter also at York: "His long residence in the province, and particularly in this place, made him in habits and good offices almost a citizen; and his frankness, conciliatory disposition, and elevated demeanour, an estimable one. The expressions of regret, as general as he was known, and not uttered by friends and acquaintance only, but by every gradation of class, not only by grown persons, but young children, are the test of his work. Such,

too, is the only eulogium worthy of the good and brave, and the citizens of Quebec have, with solemn emotions, pronounced it on his memory." The distinguished words, too, of Earl Bathurst to Sir George Prevost, written of the impression made in England by the loss just sustained, will express what all felt and thought at York: "This would have been sufficient to cloud a victory of much greater importance. His Majesty has lost in him not only an able and meritorious officer, but one also who, in the exercise of his functions of provisional Lieutenant-Governor, displayed qualities admirably adapted to awe the disloyal, to reconcile the wavering, and to animate the great mass of the inhabitants against successive attempts of the enemy to invade the province, in the last of which he unhappily fell, too prodigal of that life of which his eminent services had taught us to understand the value."

The greater loss, of course, for the moment overshadowed all the lesser ones arising out of the engagement on Queenston Heights, which individuals and families were called to deplore at York and elsewhere. Among these, in particular, the fall of the youthful Attorney-General of the province, John Macdonell, deeply affected a wide circle. Acting as provincial aide-de-camp to the General, in his capacity of a lieutenant-colonel of the Canadian militia, he received his death wound by the side of Brock on Queenston Heights. "He fell," as in the standard Memoir of Brock it is stated, "while gallantly charging, with the hereditary courage of his race, up the hill, with one hundred and ninety men, chiefly of the York Volunteers, by which charge the enemy was compelled to spike the 18-pounder and the battery there; and his memory will be cherished as long as courage and devotion are revered in the province." His mortal remains repose by the side of Brock under the noble monument at Queenston. Mr. Attorney-General Macdonell was a member of the Scotch-Canadian family of that name long established at York.

CHAPTER VII.

AUTHORITIES AT YORK TAKEN BY SURPRISE.—THE PLACE CAPTURED BY A UNITED STATES ARMED FORCE.—EVACUATED.—REVISITED FOR A DAY.

THE most remarkable episode in the whole of the forty years' history of York, Upper Canada, occurred in 1813. On the flag-staff of its garrison no longer waved the ensign of Great Britain. The star-spangled banner of the United States was seen floating in its place. For an interval of eleven days the town was in the occupation of an armed force from that quarter. During the winter of 1812-13 an expedition had been fitted out at Sackett's Harbour by General Dearborn, having in view the capture of Fort George, which was now the key of the communication between lakes Ontario and Erie; but in passing, York was to be visited, and such military and naval stores as should be found there were to be removed or destroyed.

The authorities at York and their superiors at Quebec were to a considerable extent caught napping. General Dearborn and Commodore Chauncey were up and stirring too early in the season for them. The American commanders probably knew much more of the defences along the Upper Canada border than the Canadian authorities knew of the preparations and plans of the authorities at Sackett's Harbour and Washington. Joseph Bouchette, in a note to his "British Dominions" (i. 89), thus bemoans the failure of an admonition offered by himself:—"The defenceless situation of York, the mode of its capture, and the destruction of the large ship there on the stocks, were but too prophetically demonstrated in my report to headquarters in Lower Canada, on my return from a responsible mission to the capital of the Upper Province in the early part of April. Indeed the communication of the result of the reconnoitring operations, and the intelligence of the successful invasion of York, and the firing of the new ship by the enemy, were received almost simultaneously."

On the 27th of February, 1813, General Sheaffe, the new provisional-governor of Upper Canada, met a Parliament at York. "He proceeded to the Government Buildings," a contemporary paper informs us, "accompanied

by a numerous suite." In view of the events which occurred within a few weeks, we read some sentences in the speech with a strong sense of the futility of what is sometimes contained in such productions. General Sheaffe thus congratulated the House on the results of the last campaign.

"The enemy has been foiled in repeated attempts at invasion; three of his armies have been surrendered, or completely defeated; important fortresses have been wrested from him." "You will learn with great satisfaction," he informs the House, "that the most vigorous measures have been adopted under the direction of the Commander of the Forces, and are now in operation, to strengthen the Provincial Marine, and to preserve the superiority on the lakes, so essential to the safety of the Province." The reference was to the recent arrival of Sir James Yeo at Kingston, to assume the naval command of the lakes, and the energetic steps proposed to be taken immediately for fitting, mending, and preparing a fleet for active service. It was in truth this threatened promptitude of the new commodore that had expedited Dearborn's movements. General Sheaffe likewise announced to the House that from the high sense entertained of the services of that able and gallant officer, the late Major-General Brock, the Prince Regent, in the name of his Majesty, had been pleased to associate him, immediately after the capture of Detroit, "to the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath."

In the following month, March, Sir George Prevost, the Commander in Chief of the Forces, was himself on a tour of inspection extending to Fort Erie. He received addresses from the Houses of Parliament, then in session, and from others. His reply to "the magistrates and other inhabitants of the town of York," is dated "Government House, York, Upper Canada, March 3rd, 1813." In it occurs the following passage: "Not only my duty, but the express commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, govern my conduct in regulating and improving those objects which excite your approbation, and in expressing the high respect I entertain of the gallant and patriotic behaviour of your militia. I express the sentiments of your Sovereign and of your fellow-subjects throughout his Majesty's Empire, who admire and applaud the exertions of a free, brave, and loyal people, manfully contending to preserve for themselves and their children the fostering protection of a virtuous, wise, and powerful state." A part of his response to the Commons House ran thus: "In pursuing a line of conduct which you are pleased to consider beneficial to the best interests of this portion of his Majesty's dominions, I am acting in obedience to the express commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, whose solicitude for the welfare and preservation of the loyal and brave

subjects in Upper Canada cannot adequately be met by any exertions on my part, without the zealous co-operation of the people of the province, cheered by the voice and example of their representatives, and supported by the influence of the Almighty Disposer of Events."

Towards the end of April, the flotilla, consisting of ten armed vessels carrying fifty guns, prepared at Sackett's Harbour to assist in the reduction of Fort George, set sail, under Commodore Chauncey, for that fort, and on the 27th it was off York. The inhabitants and authorities, civil, military and naval, were, as I have intimated, taken by surprise. The number of men on board these vessels, including the crews, is said to have amounted to between two thousand five hundred and three thousand men.

A landing was effected to the west of the site of the old French fort Toronto, just where the indentation of Humber bay begins. After overcoming a stubborn resistance from such regulars, militia and Indians as could be hurriedly assembled, the hostile force began to march eastward, towards the town. They had reached the western outworks of the garrison, when the magazine, situated close by, exploded, killing Brigadier General Pike, who was in command of that portion of the force which had landed, and many others. General Sheaffe, the commandant at York, drew off the few regulars which happened to be in the garrison there, and which suffered severely on that occasion, towards the road which led to Kingston. His regular force before the engagement consisted of the 8th Regiment, two weak companies of the Newfoundland regiment, and forty of the Glengarry riflemen. The militia had amounted to two hundred and twenty men. A band of forty Indians had assisted in opposing the landing. The fenced in grave of one of these, who had been shot in a tree on this occasion, was long a marked object at York, by the wayside in the woods on the rise now known as Clover Hill. The officers in command of the militia were left by General Sheaffe to make what terms they could with the invaders. Colonel Chewett, Major Allan, and Lieutenant Gouverneau, of the Provincial Marine, on the part of the inhabitants, and Colonel Mitchell, Major Connor, Major King and Lieutenant Elliott, on the part of the assailants, were the names subscribed to the Articles of Capitulation.

The town suffered less than might have been expected from the occupation. Private property was for the most part respected. Some buildings were burned by accident. Some were fired by reckless characters, who could not be called to account. The two Halls of Parliament, together with the Clerk's offices adjoining, and the library and papers deposited there,

were destroyed. When in the following year the City of Washington was taken, and the capitol-buildings fired, the capture of York and the destruction of the Halls of Parliament there were cited as grounds of justification for such acts.

In a letter of Chief Justice Scott's, dated at York, April 30th, 1813, he gratefully acknowledges on behalf of the magistrates of York, "the humane attention which General Dearborn had paid to the present situation of its inhabitants, by pursuing a line of conduct so conducive to the protection of a number of individuals, and so honourable to himself." A portion of the public stores which could not be put on board the fleet was given to the inhabitants. The flour and other provisions were distributed to those in want, in the town and in the garrison. One armed vessel was captured in the bay; and a government vessel on the stocks, only partially constructed, was destroyed. General Sheaffe's baggage and private papers were captured. A musical snuff-box of his seems to have given much pleasure to the American officers. Between Dr. Strachan and General Dearborn a scene seems to have occurred on the occasion of Dr. Strachan's delivering the articles of capitulation into the hands of the American commander. Here is a part of the memorandum left by Dr. Strachan of the interview. "I request to know whether he will parole the officers and men, and I demand leave to take away our sick and wounded. He treats me with great harshness; tells me we had given a false return of officers; told me to keep off, and not to follow him, for he had business of more importance to attend to."

York continued in this condition of humiliation for about eleven days. On the 8th of May, the flotilla, having accomplished its mission, moved out of the harbour, and passed across towards Fort Niagara. At Four Mile Creek, to the east of that fort, the forces on board were landed. It then returned to Sackett's Harbour with the spoils of York, and to bring up further reinforcements for the intended attack on Fort George.

After the capture and the evacuation, the post of York was not abandoned by the military authorities. In July, 1813, General Vincent sent down in haste from his entrenchments on Burlington Heights to York for help. He was about to be attacked now, not from the direction of Niagara, as was threatened previous to the affair of Stony Creek, but from the northern end of Burlington Beach, where an American force was proposing to land. Colonel Battersby dashed up from York with some guns and a few men, through woods, ravines, and morasses, where scarcely a bridle path existed. The intelligence that this reinforcement had reached General Vincent from York was the cause of Commodore Chaun-

cey's second visit to that place. Sailing from Burlington Beach, after taking on board the men whom he had begun to land there, with the intention of storming Burlington Heights from that quarter, he passed with all haste down to York, and disembarked an armed force under the command of Colonel Scott. They remained, however, only one day; but during that time they burned the barracks and public store-houses, and carried away with them a number of cannon and boats, together with shot, shells, and other munitions of war. An exploring and foraging expedition up the River Don was now undertaken. Castle Frank was examined, but not injured. From its name, and the erroneous impression that it had been the residence of a former Lieutenant-Governor, it was probably imagined to be a structure of some importance. On the American plans illustrative of the capture of York, Castle Frank is very conspicuously marked.

At the moment of their visit to York, the fleet of Sir James Yeo must have been very near to the eastward; it is certain that within a day or two he, with his vessels of war, and abundant supplies for General Vincent, was at the very spot at Burlington Beach where Chauncey had landed his men on the 31st of July. On that 31st, the *Montreal Herald* records Sir James Yeo sailing from Kingston. In view of the manifest proximity of the two fleets, the *Herald* remarks: "A naval battle may momentarily be looked for, as interesting to Upper Canada as the fights of Mycale and Salamis were to Athens." However, no decisive engagement followed. On each side, the ships were so all-important for maintaining the communications, that great caution was observed by the fleets. We have a casual note of their movements again in a *Herald* of August 14th. "We understand that Commodore Yeo was off York on the 8th instant, and that his rival was under the guns at Fort George (since May 27th in the hands of the Americans). Nothing from Kingston later than the 10th." It was to the shelter of the Niagara river that Chauncey retired after the second visit to York. Nevertheless, on the 13th of August, he was again at Sackett's Harbour. The *Herald* of August 21st reports: "Chauncey arrived at Sackett's Harbour on the evening of the 13th; and sailed on the 18th. He was seen about four or five miles above Kingston. Commodore Yeo was at the head of the lake near Four Mile Creek. It was expected there would soon be another naval engagement." To the popular imagination of the United States the capture of York was made to loom large. In S. G. Goodrich's *Pictorial History of America* (p. 760), the illustration representing the death of General Pike shows York in the background as a compact, solidly built town, with many church steeples

and turrets, while the fortifications in front are of masonry worthy of Quebec.

The autumn of 1813 passed gloomily with the inhabitants of the twice-blessed York. Their minds, however, would be cheered in December by the intelligence that Fort George had been abandoned by the enemy and re-occupied by British troops. At the same time their sympathies would be deeply stirred for their fellow-countrymen at Newark. An act universally reprobated was committed by General McClure on his retirement from Fort George. The adjoining village (Newark) was deliberately fired, and the whole of its population rendered homeless. Great suffering ensued, the winter being unusually severe, and the ground covered deep with snow. To those at York who might chance, on the night of the 13th of December, to direct their attention southward, the glow from the flames of the burning Newark would be visible. Immediately after the re-occupation of Fort George by Colonel Murray, a surprise was planned for the fortress on the opposite bank of the river. This was effected on the night of the 19th of December, and the fort was captured. McClure's destruction of Newark was swiftly followed by painful retaliations—Youngstown, Lewiston, Black Rock and Buffalo being successively attacked and fired by armed bodies despatched for the purpose from the Canadian side.

The Third Decade.

1814—1824.

CHAPTER I.

DAYS OF PERPLEXITY AT YORK.—PRESIDENT DRUMMOND (AFTERWARDS SIR GORDON) MEETS PARLIAMENT THERE.—RE-ORGANIZATION OF A MARKET AT YORK.—PEACE DECLARED, DECEMBER 24TH, 1814, BUT NOT KNOWN AT YORK UNTIL TOWARDS THE END OF THE FOLLOWING FEBRUARY.—A MONUMENT TO SIR ISAAC BROCK DE'REED.—SOME WAR PRICE-LISTS, AND POETRY.—DEVELOPMENT OF YORK WESTWARD.

THROUGHOUT the rest of this thirty months' war, as in round terms we may style it, York was not again molested from without. But its internal life was troubled enough. The remnants of its population that still contrived to abide there were beset with countless cares. Like the inhabitants of Constantinople, in the notable old four-word couplet:

"Perturbabantur Constantinopolitani
Innumerabilibus sollicitudinibus."

Now a success would for a moment elate them. Then anxieties would rack them for the fate of relations and friends and acquaintances. Now a disaster would be reported, as at Fort Erie and Chippawa in July, and Plattsburg in September, sending down their spirits towards zero, with the double weight of shame and a painful concern for kith and kin. All hearts, however, leaped up with a renewed confidence when certain intelligence came of the arrival at Quebec of an instalment of reinforcements to the extent of 18,000 troops straight from Bordeaux. Set free by a cessation of hostilities on the other side of the Atlantic, it was seen that England, "the Titaness bearing on her shoulders the load, well nigh not to be borne, of the too-vast orb of her fate," was now about to put forth her strength here, as for so many years

she had been doing with such constancy in Europe and elsewhere. The issue was not any longer doubtful, nor could it be far off.

The community of York was now and then enlivened and encouraged by the presence of the gallant and very handsome Lieutenant-General Drummond, the not unworthy occupant of Brock's post of President of the Province and Commander of the Forces. General Drummond, at a later period Sir Gordon Drummond, met Parliament there on the 15th of February, 1814.

Uncomfortable times are indicated by some of the Acts passed during this session. We have among them measures for the trial and punishment of high treason and misprision of high treason; for securing and detaining persons suspected of treasonable adherence to the enemy; for vesting in the Crown the estates of aliens—that is, of persons who, as United Empire fugitives to Upper Canada, in 1784, had drawn land there; but who nevertheless, in some instances, when the war began, had gone back to the territory which they had formerly abandoned. It was found that certain clauses in Acts passed in the reigns of Anne and George II., by the English Parliament, were a bar to the proper handling of traitors in Upper Canada. These clauses allowed forfeiture of inheritance for treason to come to an end earlier than was at first decreed: namely, before the decease of "the Pretender to His Majesty's Crown," and before the decease of his eldest son, and of "all and every other son or sons." "Said provisions in said two several Acts contained shall be, and the same are, hereby repealed." So spake the Legislature at York, March 14th, 1814; and the forfeiture of inheritance for treason was accordingly still in full force in Upper Canada.

One Act, expressly local, for the benefit of York, was passed in this session. Governor Hunter, as will be remembered, had ordered a public weekly market for York in 1803. But something supplementary, with authority of Parliament, was now required. The Commissioners of the Peace in the Home District were "authorized and empowered to fix upon and establish some convenient place in the Town of York, as a market, where butcher's meat, butter, eggs, poultry, fish and vegetables shall be exposed to sale, and to appoint such days and hours for that purpose, and to make such other orders and regulations relative thereto as they shall deem expedient." Governor Hunter's proclamation, in 1803, had set apart a field of five-and-a-half acres for market purposes. The Commissioners of the Peace were now to concentrate market operations at a certain point; namely, a market building. Fines for breaches of the regulations were fixed, and the funds accruing from such fines were to go, "one moiety

thereof to the informer, and the other moiety to the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the public uses of this Province, and towards the support of the Government thereof." A relic of the old world traditional custom appeared in the enactment that "all orders, rules and regulations towards the said market shall be affixed at the doors of the church and court house of the said Town of York." A practice, as I imagine, not very long maintained; at least so far as "the Church of York" was concerned.

On the 24th of December, 1814, the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States was signed at Ghent. Had there been an Atlantic cable then, hostilities of course would at once have ceased. As it was, the promulgation of the fact did not take place on this continent with certainty until towards the end of the following February; so that there was time for the failure at New Orleans, January 8th, and for the success of the *Endymion*, Captain Hopo, 50 guns, 346 men, January 15th, over the *President*, Commodore Decatur, 63 guns, 525 men.

General Drummond met Parliament again at York on the 1st of February, 1815. The signing of the Treaty of Ghent had not yet been announced. In his speech General Drummond alludes to the peace which had been established in Europe; and he observes that it would have given him peculiar satisfaction if it had been in his power to say that the like blessing was extended over every part of the British Empire. But in this Province the war was not at an end. "We have still a most arduous contest to continue." He therefore advises that the Habeas Corpus Act should remain suspended. In the number of the *Montreal Herald* for March 4th, 1815, which contains President Drummond's speech, appears Madison's Message to Congress, announcing the conclusion of peace.

The measures passed by the Parliament at York now began to shew a community settling down after a great disturbance. We have provision made for persons disabled in the war, and for the widows and children of persons slain in the service of his Majesty. We have £6,000 granted to his Majesty for the uses of the incorporated militia of the Province, namely: six months' pay to the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the incorporated militia; the net pay of the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the line attached to the incorporated militia; six months' pay to the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the incorporated militia artillery. In the same Act, I observe that the sum of one hundred guineas was granted to the Speaker of the House of Assembly, "to purchase a sword to be presented to Colonel Robinson, late of the incorporated militia." A monument is decreed to Sir Isaac Brock. One

thousand pounds are allotted to this purpose. The preamble sets forth how, while "contending at the head of a small body of regular troops and militia, against a very superior force, he devoted his most valuable life." We have an Act to afford relief to barristers, attorneys, and students-at-law, in respect of irregularity in their enrolment in the books of the Law Society, arising out of the war. The measure is justified by the statement that "the glorious and honourable defence of this Province in the war with the United States of America hath necessarily called from their usual occupations and professions most of the inhabitants of the said Province, and among them very many barristers, students-at-law, attorneys, articled clerks of attorneys within the same, whereby the regular meetings of the Benchers of the Law Society being for many terms past interrupted, several young gentlemen have been prevented from making due application for admission on the books as students-at-law, and several students-at-law have in like manner been prevented from being duly called to the bar, to their manifest and great injury." By this legislation, the young scions of many families in York would be advantageously affected. Then we have new enactments about rates and assessments; about hemp; about the incorporation of "The Midland District School Society for the education of the Poor;" and several other matters of importance.

Popular sentiment at York in regard to the war during its progress and at its close, and the popular feeling on war prices, paper currency, statute labour and other matters may be gathered from Cameron's Almanac for 1815, published at York. Paragraphs on such subjects as these last named are scattered about throughout the book. Here are some specimens. "The war might be called Madison's Patent Nostrum. For to our House of Assembly it has been a kindly emetic. To our country, a gently sweating cathartic. One threw up two traitors. The other threw off some; and by the way of appendix, hung up some. A sedative will be prescribed should further symptoms require." "We have held our own against powerful odds. Our defenders are heroes, and ably commanded. Should the continuance of war lead to another campaign, may our heroes be sown broadcast; not dibbled on our soil!" "The incorporated militia, now called by some the King's Canadian Legion, was taught the rudiments of war by the gallant Colonel Robinson, their late commander. They have done ample justice to his instruction; and by their bravery, good conduct, and steady discipline, have equalled the best veteran battalions. They are now commanded by Colonel Kerby, a brave and meritorious officer." "The issuers of paper change are entitled to thanks from the public for the great accommoda-

tion such change affords. They might render the accommodation more extensive, were they to emit a proportionate number of half-penny bills." Mr. Cameron wishes the public to exchange some of their paper money for his almanac. He says—

"Ye who would mend these wretched times
And morals of the age,
Come buy a book—half full of rhymes,
At three-pence York per page.
It would be money well laid out,
So plenty money is;
Paper for paper is fair trade:
So said poor Richard.—*Quiz*."

It is hinted that the prevailing system of keeping the York roads in order was a bad one. "Let the statute labour of the Home District be compounded for. Purchase two pair of oxen, and hire six men for the milder months of the year. Six times the quantity of road-repairs would be made annually; and made in season." The excessive cost of some articles is thus noted: "York supernatural prices current. Turnips, one dollar per bushel. Potatoes, long, at two ditto. Salt, twenty ditto. Butter, per pound, one ditto. Indifferent bread, one shilling, New York currency, per ditto. Conscience a contraband article. Mechanics much wanted about the printing office. One paper mill. One tin-smith. One trumpeter, and one expert bellows-mender."

A tariff, not satirical, of prices deemed by the magistrates at Quarter Sessions fair and equitable to be paid by the military authorities at York in 1814 for provisions ran as follows:—flour per barrel, £3 10s.; wheat per bushel, 10s.; peas per bushel, 7s. 6d.; barley and rye, the same; oats per bushel, 5s.; hay per ton, £3; straw, £3; beef on foot, per cwt., £2 5s.; slaughtered, per lb., 7½d.; pork, salted, per barrel, £7 10s.; carcass, 5½d.; mutton per lb., 9d.; veal, 8d.; butter, 1s. 3d.; bread per loaf of 4 lb., 1s. 6d.

Other doggerel of the period besides Mr. Cameron's might be cited. Here is one stanza of a song from the columns of the *Montreal Herald*, supposed to be addressed by "the Royal Canadian Regiment," to the invaders from the United States:—

"Our sires took the country when Wolfe did command;
Though Brock you have murdered, we will keep all our land.
We will make you repent of so heinous a deed;
The Royal Canadians will make your heart bleed.
We will cook in molasses your pumpkins and pork,
For the booty of Dearborn and plunder of York.
We will conquer our foes, and tread on their toes,
With God save the King, and bad luck to his foes," &c., &c.

A list of houses west of New Street, i.e., the modern Jarvis Street, built before the breaking out of the war, drawn up from memory by Mr. Beikie, formerly clerk of the Executive and Legislative Councils, will serve to shew the expansion of York far beyond its original limits, prior to 1812. It was probably made about the year 1833, as it names occupants at about that period of two or three of the houses referred to. It fixes the situation of the abode of several of the first settlers at York, and of one or two of the buildings first used for public purposes. Mr. Beikie, it will be seen, sometimes sets down the name of the in-dweller for the house indicated; as in his own case, and that of his neighbour, Mr. Crookshank.

"Statement shewing the number of houses and other buildings, not including barns, stables, root-houses and the like, which were built before the late war, in that part of the town of York bounded on the east by New Street, and on the west by Peter Street.

"Front Street.—1. Mr. Crookshank; 2. Mr. Beikie; 3. Eekorlin, a discharged soldier of De Watteville's regiment, built by John Endicott, of Yonge Street; 4. Mr. Justice Powell; 5. Mr. Hagerman (modern occupant), built by Wm. Weekes, Esq.; 6. Count Joseph de Puisaye, burnt 27th of April; 7. Mr. Markland (modern occupant), built by Mr. President Russell; 8. Mr. Justice Sherwood (modern occupant), built by Mr. Scott.

"Market Street.—1. Riley (modern occupant), built by Hugh McLean; 2. Government House, formerly Elmsley House; 3. Mr. Cartwright, now Colonel Foster's office (modern use); 4. Barrack Master Hartney (modern occupant), built by the Hon. James Baby; 5. Executive Council office, and Surveyor-General's office (modern use), built by the Hon. Robert Hamilton, of Queenston; 6. John Ross, since removed; 7. Mr. Chewett; 8. Mr. Mercer (modern occupant), built by Alexander Macnab, who was killed at the battle of Waterloo; 9. North-east corner, opposite to Mr. Mercer's; 10. North-west corner, built by Thomas Jobbit, a discharged soldier from the Queen's Rangers; 11. Mr. Borezy, since removed; 12. Nicholas Clinger, blacksmith; 13. Mr. Baby (later occupant), built by David Burns, Esq.; 14. Angus Cullachie Macdonell, Esq., burnt by accident in the time of the war; 15. Macdonnell's slaughter house, opposite the south-east corner of the Market Square, now a tavern.

"King Street.—1. A small house, south of Colonel Foster's (present resident); 2. Hugh Carfrae, a discharged sergeant from the Queen's Rangers; 3. Joseph Dennis (later occupant), built by Monsieur Querret, St. George; 4. Jordan Post, junior, an emigrant settler; 5. William Knott, a discharged soldier of the Queen's Rangers; 6. A carpenter's shop, east of William Knott's, built by Mr. Duggan; 7. John Dennis (north-east corner of Yonge

and King Streets), shipwright from the dock-yard at Kingston; 8. Lardner Bostwick, an emigrant settler; 9. The Gaol, since taken down; 10. The Episcopal Church, since repaired and enlarged; 11. School House, Market Square, burnt by accident in the time of the war.

"Newgate Street." 1. The Widow Caldwell (present occupant), built by Mr. Isaac Howard; 2. Mr. Jesse Ketchum, an emigrant settler, by trade a cooper; 3. The Gaol (modern occupant), built by Angus Cullachle MacKenell, Esq.

"Hospital Street." 1. Peter Justice Robinson (modern occupant), built by Dr. Avery Bunker, Junior, Esq.; 2. Mr. Chewett's servant, John Doggit; 3. Mrs. Begg, the black woman; 4. Mrs. Flannagan, from Yange Street; 5. A log-house, owned by Mr. Mercer; 6. Mr. Colin Drummond.

"Lot Street." Not a building of any kind throughout this street but one: 1. Formerly owned by Joshua Leech, lately the Court House.

"RECAPITULATION":

Front Street	-	8 houses.
Market Street	-	15 "
King Street	-	11 "
Newgate Street	-	3 "
Hospital Street	-	6 "
Lot Street	-	1 "

"Total" - 44 buildings."

The figures are not large, but we have in them a faint foreshadowing of what was to happen in the future expansion of York. The path of its progress was already, like that of Empire, westward. The tendency, among officials and fashionables, at all events, became soon apparent, to forsake the banks of the low, slow-paced stream, near the mouth of which the town first sprang into being; and to press steadily on towards those of the ampler and more animated river, which now, in 1884, begin to set bounds to the development in that direction. There is this to be said, however, that although some of the ideas that governed the first years of York have been considerably departed from, and great vicissitudes in status have been undergone by numerous localities, yet it is less it has come to pass in the meantime, that, even in parts, formerly held to be most inelusive in respect of beauty of scenery and purity of air, there is not a square rood of the great area over which the town of York has spread, that is not now discovered to be of high utility and some

important purpose in the economy of a populous community, and invested with a pecuniary value which would have struck the primitive inhabitants dumb with amazement.

The number of buildings in York proper, in 1815, as given by Joseph Bouchette, in his "Topographical Description," pp. 606, 608, was 300, and the population 2,500.

CHAPTER II.

GOVERNOR GORE'S RETURN TO YORK.—WHAT HE DID FOR UPPER CANADA WHILE ABSENT.—COMMERCE REVIVING AT YORK.—MEASURES RELATING TO YORK PASSED IN SESSION OF 1816.—SESSION OF 1817 ABRUPTLY CLOSED.—GOVERNOR GORE DEPARTS FOR ENGLAND.

WHEN peace was proclaimed, Mr. Gore was still nominally Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. Sir George Murray, it is said, was appointed to be his successor, but on the escape of Napoleon from Elba Sir George preferred to continue in active service at home. Governor Gore, it appears, was willing to return to his old post. His faithful aide-de-camp, Major Halton, was prepared to accompany him. The latter writes from London to a friend at York, April 24th, 1815: "It will give you and Mrs. G. a very sincere pleasure to learn that the Governor, Mrs. Gore and myself, expect to set off for York about the beginning of July. They are both better than they have been for some time, having derived considerable benefit from a short visit to Cheltenham."

One work of considerable importance to Upper Canada, performed by Governor Gore, while on leave in England during the critical years, 1812-13-14, was the supervision of the publication of a fine map of the country. It bore the title, "A map of the located districts in the Province of Upper Canada," and was issued by W. Faden, geographer to His Majesty, and to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, Charing Cross. It is a beautifully executed map, 44 by 47 inches in size, and it was long a standard authority for the geography of the country. A "Topographical Description of Upper Canada and Provincial Gazetteer," also issued under the auspices of

Governor Gore, accompanied this map. Another service performed by the Governor was the promotion of subscriptions in London for the relief of the wounded in Upper Canada, and the wives and children of the slain. His name comes next after those of the Dukes of Kent and Northumberland, at the head of the Committee; and his subscription is the same as that of the two dukes, namely, one hundred guineas. The name of Francis Nathaniel Burton, Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada, appears for the same sum. Several wealthy merchants of Montreal gave each two hundred guineas. Governor Gore also superintended the execution of a medal in gold and silver in London, intended to be conferred by the Loyal and Patriotic Society for distinguished service rendered to the country. The medals were never distributed, chiefly from a difficulty in determining who should be the recipients. By a resolution of the Society, they were subsequently defaced by the hammer of Paul Bishop, blacksmith, Caroline street, to the number of 61 in gold and 548 in silver; and were then sold as bullion for a little over £393; which, with a further large balance to the credit of the Society, went towards the erection of the General Hospital at York, formerly situated on John Street. The device on the obverse of this medal was very elaborate, and is thus described: "A strait between two lakes; on the north side a Beaver (emblem of peaceful industry), the ancient armorial bearing of Canada. In the back ground an English Lion slumbering. On the south side of the strait, the American Eagle planing in the air, as if checked from seizing the beaver by the presence of the Lion: the superscription: UPPER CANADA PRESERVED." A specimen of this medal is excessively rare. It is figured in Lossing's "Field Book of the War," p. 1065.

On the 25th of September Governor Gore is back again amid familiar surroundings at York—the place of course looking somewhat the worse for the two visitations which it had received from the enemy. He had a cordial welcome, and all the honours due to his rank, being saluted, as the *York Gazette* of the day tells us, by His Majesty's ship *Montreal*, and by the garrison. The following familiar York names appear appended to the address which was presented to him:—Thomas Scott, C. J., W. Dummer, Powell, John Strachan, D. D., John McGill, John Beikie, Grant Powell, William Chewett, H. Lee, Samuel Smith, W. Claus, Benjamin Gale, D. Cameron, D. Boulton, Jr., George Ridout, Andrew Mercer, Thomas Ridout, D. Jarvis, S. Jarvis, John Small, W. Allan, J. Givins, E. MacMahon, J. Scarlet, S. Heward, Thomas Hamilton, C. Baynes, John Dennis, Pat. Hartney, John Cameron, E. W. McBride, Jordan Post, Jr., W. Knott, Jr., Levi Bigelow, John Hays, T. B. Johnson, Lardner Boewick, John Burke, John Jordan,

W. Smith, Sr., W. Smith, Jr., J. Cawthra, John Smith, Alexander Legge, Jordan Post, Sr., Andrew O'Keefe, S. Lumsden, John Murchison, Thomas Darey, Ezek Benson, A. McNabb, Edward Wright, John Evans, W. Lawrence, Thomas Duggan, George Duggan, Benjamin Cozens, Philip Klinger and Sheriff Ridout.

The Government House, situated near the garrison, having been rendered uninhabitable by the explosion of the magazine, new quarters for the Lieutenant-Governor were provided. Elmsley House, built for his own use by Chief Justice Elmsley, promoted to the Chief Justiceship of Lower Canada in 1802, was secured for the purpose—the mansion afterwards successively occupied by Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir John Colborne and Sir Francis Head, on the site of the present Government House.

Trade and commerce at York began to revive and extend. Mr. Quetton St. George, the principal merchant there, announces at the close of 1814 that he has taken into co-partnership Mr. Julius Quesnel and Mr. John S. Baldwin. He also, in the *Montreal Herald*, requests those who are indebted to him to make their payments without delay, and proposes to make a voyage to Europe in the course of the next summer.

In 1815 (August 15th), Mr. George Monro, afterwards for many years a leading merchant, joined his brother John at York; both of them acting at first as agents, and then as co-partners of Mr. Young, of Niagara; and finally operating independently, and amassing a considerable fortune at York.

Governor Gore met Parliament at York, for the first time after his return, on the 6th of February, 1816. In his speech he refers to the conduct of the people of Upper Canada during the war. "The gallant defence of the colony by its own militia," he says, "supported during the early part of the war by a very small portion of his Majesty's regular forces, has acquired to it a high distinction for loyalty and bravery. The obstinate contention with successive armies of invaders, and their ultimate discomfiture, had not failed to attract the notice of the world, and gives to this Province an importance in public opinion which it becomes us to maintain."

One of the measures passed in this Parliament, was the granting to his Majesty, out of "humble and very limited revenues," as the preamble of the Act expressed it, of £2,500 per annum, towards the support of the Civil Government of the Province, in token of gratitude for the "powerful means which his Majesty sent for our defence during the late war with the United States of America."

Though still "humble and very limited," the revenue was beginning to be respectable. The following sums were voted this session:—£21,000

for roads and bridges; £6,000 for educational purposes; £600 for the purchase of books for the Parliament Library, which had been pillaged during the occupation of the town; £500 per annum for a provincial agent in London; a salary of five shillings a day for a provincial aide-de-camp, during Governor Gore's tenure of office.

The Prince Regent was moreover addressed by the House for permission to give the sum of £3,000 to the Governor himself, for the purchase of a service of plate. They are impressed, they say, March 25th, with a lively sense of his firm, upright and liberal administration, and his unceasing attention to the individual and general interests of the colony during his absence. They therefore unanimously pass a Bill appropriating the sum named to the purpose indicated. This Bill for the service of plate to Governor Gore became famous at York and throughout Upper Canada. Governor Gore's Silver Spoon Bill. The people, as distinguished from their nominal representatives, "saw through the affair," Mr. Gourlay, a short time afterwards remarks, "but thought it best to console themselves with a laugh." The House had precedent for its action in the Parliament of Lower Canada, which had not long before voted £5,000 sterling to Sir George Prevost for a "table service of plate."

The Parliament in the following year (1817) met at York on the 4th of February. Among other measures, an Act was passed establishing a "police," i.e., municipal self-government, to the Town of York. By it the magistrates were restricted from regulating the price of any article of provision, other than bread; and it was provided in the same Act that "the beach and carriage way in front of the Town of York, from Russell's creek (foot of Peter Street) to the wharf, should be taken and considered as a part of the said Town, and to be subject to the regulations of the Police."

The session proved a short one. After passing several Acts, one of them making good the expense of the Civil Service during the current year, the House had resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration "the present state of the Province." This implied, according to the fifteen days' notice given, a discussion of several burning questions, Immigration, Crown and Clergy Reserves, Land-grants to Militia men, etc. Some progress was made in the consideration of these matters, when, of a sudden, without any previous intimation, at 11 o'clock, a. m., April the 7th, before the minutes of the preceding day had been read, a message was received from the Lieutenant-Governor, requiring the attendance of the House at the bar of the Legislative Council. On repairing thither in obedience to the summons, they were informed, in a curt speech, that they had been engaged in their labours sufficiently long for the present session,

and that they were now at liberty to return to their homes. They dispersed accordingly, after causing entries to be made in the Journal of the House of the resolutions adopted, and of those which were postponed when their proceedings were put a stop to in the manner described.

The truth was that a number of the official personages at York had rushed to the Governor, filled with alarm at the unceremonious way in which the Commons were beginning to handle the questions before them. Too much independence was being exhibited. The Executive were being virtually censured. Governor Gore's exclamation on the occasion became proverbial: "I will send the rascals about their business!" And it is said that had it not been for the interposition of Chief Justice Powell he would have proceeded at the instant, in plain dress as he was, to put the threat into execution. Delay was advised until at least the next morning. Governor Gore had precedent for his proceeding, not only in Cromwell, but in Sir James Craig, the Governor-General himself, who on the 15th of May, 1809, dismissed the Parliament of Lower Canada, in an almost equally abrupt manner, after giving the members a severe scolding.

The names of the majority who appeared to be moving forward, as a phalanx, to carry the offensive resolutions, were as follows:—Macdonell, McMartin, Cameron, Jones, Howard, Casey, Robinson, Nelles, Secord, Nicholl, Burwell, McCormick, Cornwall; of the minority, valiant contenders against the rising tide of change, which was just about to inundate the Canadas: Vankoughnet, Chrysler, Fraser, Cotter, McNabb, Swayze, Clench.

A month after this scene, Governor Gore bade adieu to York, not to return. He determined to proceed to England, and make in person his own representations to the "State of the Province" before the authorities in London, whose ear, as he believed, he had. His friends at York now once more rallied round him. In their address, they remark on the wisdom of the measures by which he had preserved the Province to be a truly British colony, i. e., by putting a stop to the influx of settlers from the United States, and the solicitude with which he had watched over the welfare of his Majesty's subjects, and cherished their "sentiments of loyalty to the best of kings, by which alone this colony can be a valuable appendage to the Crown, or an agreeable place of residence for British subjects." Though convinced that he would always continue the friend and protector of Upper Canada, they could not forego the pleasing expectation of his return; and while their best wishes attended him and his family on their journey, they sincerely prayed that that expectation might not be disappointed. Although Governor Gore did not return, as

his friends at York fondly hoped he would, he was long, in a small way, a power behind the chair of the Colonial Minister in London.

My annals of York for the year 1817 would perhaps be held incomplete were I to omit all allusion to a duel which took place in that year, with fatal result to one of the parties. The principals in the affair (Mr. Jarvis, and Mr. Ridout who fell), were young men, the latter being still in his teens. The cause of quarrel, as so often in such cases, was trivial. The details, which exist in print, are so sad that one feels no inclination to reproduce them. The scene of the duel was a solitary field on the Elmley property, in the neighbourhood of Clover Hill, on the west side of Yonge Street. The date of the incident was July 17th, 1817.

CHAPTER III.

PRESIDENT SMITH.—ROBERT GOURLAY.—LORD SELKIRK.—CHURCH
AT YORK ENLARGED.

QUEN the departure of Governor Gore, occurred the brief administration of Mr. President Smith. He met the Parliament at York only once. "Our Legislature met on the 5th instant," writes Mr. McGill, at York, February 8th, 1818, to his friend Mr. Crookshank, absent at New York. "What will be done cannot yet be known. Contrary to usual custom, Colonel Smith gave his dinner yesterday at the Government House, which could not be ready on Thursday. It was much more comfortable than I did expect. Every thing went off very well. I left them at 9 o'clock." Mr. McGill then names the Governor newly-appointed. "Sir Peregrine Maitland is certainly to be our Lieutenant-Governor. He is at present on the staff on the continent. Lieutenant-Governor Gore," the writer adds, "held the Government till the 5th of last month." In the same letter we have welcome evidence of a long peace in prospect. Mr. McGill proposes to purchase for his friend the timber of a Block-house, about to be pulled down on Colonel Shank's property, on the brow of the high bank overlooking the stream in Gorevale. It was to be sold by auction, February 17th, 1818. "As you speak of building a barn," Mr. McGill writes, "I shall endeavour to attend

and purchase a sufficiency, should it go at a low price. If a purchase is made, Fox (the man in charge at Mr. Crookshank's land, west side of the modern Bathurst Street) can easily haul it over—the sleighing is good to your farm."

During Mr. Smith's brief reign, a measure was passed touching the eligibility of persons to be returned to the House of Assembly. Henceforward "No person or persons, of what condition soever, having been a *bona fide* resident in any country, not being under his Majesty's Government, or who shall have taken the oath of allegiance to any other state or power, shall be eligible to be proposed, chosen, or elected as a representative or representatives of any city, county, riding, or borough, or other place of any description, now or hereafter, sending a representative or representatives to the House of Assembly of this Province, until such person or persons shall have resided in this Province for and during the space of seven years, next before the election; also, such person must be possessed of an estate in fee simple in this Province, unincumbered, to the assessed value of eighty pounds." This was to prevent ambitious immigrants from the United States obtaining the floor of the House too soon. It will be seen that an apprenticeship of seven years was necessary before a just view of the situation in Upper Canada, essential for a legislator, could be acquired.

During the administration of Mr. Smith, Mr. Gourlay, a Scottish gentleman, arrived in the country. His intention was to buy land and settle, like any other emigrant from the British Islands. His attention was quickly arrested by the prevailing methods of working the Government of the country. Having been an earnest advocate of reform before leaving his native land, he could not now remain passive and silent. Wishing to promote immigration in an intelligent way, he had previously intended, and he now openly proposed, to circulate in the British Islands a book of trustworthy statistics relating to Upper Canada. To provide himself with such statistics, he addressed a circular to the chairmen of the township boards, asking them to call meetings and procure from the assembled inhabitants replies to a number of sensible queries which he forwarded to them. Meetings were held accordingly in many places, and replies furnished, which Mr. Gourlay, like an experienced statistician, proceeded to analyze and tabulate.

The executive authorities became alarmed. Meetings for such purposes convened at the instance of private individuals were dangerous. Under a provision in an obsolete law, Gourlay was arrested and ordered to leave the country; and, because he did not go, he was imprisoned. This popu-

lar hero was never a prominent figure at York. He operated chiefly from Queenston, St. David's and Niagara. In the last named place he lay in the common gaol for some time, and his health became seriously impaired.

The three bulky volumes which Mr. Gourlay published in England on his return thither are a curious farrago of matter relating to Upper Canada, out of which, by the aid of a very full index, a vast amount of information can be drawn. The work is entitled "A Statistical Account of Upper Canada, compiled with a view to a grand scheme of Emigration." He enlarges in these volumes again and again on his wrongs; and indulges his not unnatural resentment against many individuals. He always speaks with bitterness of York, identifying the place with the executive authorities resident there. His proceedings, however, he flattered himself, had a salutary effect on the behaviour of new comers in the land-granting offices at York. "I fluttered the Volsci at Corioli," he says; i. e., at York; "and in less than two months it was observed by the country, and, I trust, is still remembered, that a goodly reform was brought about. People having business at the land-office were attended to, and afterwards the emigrants had something like civility shewn to them."

One pities the army of early martyrs in the popular cause. The executive power which they assailed was, for the moment, too strong for them, and they went to the wall. But their principles have triumphed, and, through their sufferings, modern Canadians enjoy their heritage of freedom. Wyatt, Thorpe, Jackson and Gourlay were men of superior ability, education, and insight; but in the retrospect we can see that they occasionally were wanting in judgment and tact.

The name of the Earl of Selkirk, founder of the Red River settlement, was familiar to the inhabitants of York in 1818. The Earl was another personage connected with the history of early Canadian advancement, who met with injustice through the narrowness of view prevalent at the period in official quarters. In a famous case tried in the Court-house at York, in 1818, before Chief Justice Powell, the Earl, though not personally in court, brought, through his attorney, charges of "high treason, murder, robbery and conspiracy" against a number of persons brought down from the North-West Country. The intricacies of the case need not here be set forth. They can be learned by any one interested, from the "Report of Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company, at the Assizes held at York, in Upper Canada, October, 1818, from Minutes taken in

Court;" printed by B. McMillan, Bow street, Covent Garden, London, 1819. The prisoners were acquitted, and actions for false imprisonment were brought against the Earl, and verdicts returned against him, with ruinous damages. The Earl was a philanthropic enthusiast; and his schemes for the colonization of the North-West were distasteful to the North-West Fur Company of Montreal, who found strong sympathisers among personal friends at York. The Earl was declared a dangerous innovator, who, by introducing agriculture at the Red River, would drive away the buffalo, and spoil the trade in furs. Mr. John M. Duncan, of Glasgow, in his "Travels through part of the United States and Canada, in 1818 and 1819," published at Glasgow, in two volumes, in 1823, tells us how he touched at York while this trial chanced to be going on. He brings the condition of the town, at the moment, graphically before us. I transcribe some passages from his narrative. He was passing down to Kingston from Niagara in a schooner. "I had intended to disembark and spend a day or two at York, but the town was so completely filled with retainers of the two rival fur companies that I could not obtain lodgings. A trial was about to take place, of some individuals in the employment of the North-West Company, on alleged outrages of some of Lord Selkirk's people, and each party had mustered a host of agents and voyageurs to support by their evidence the cause of their masters. The appearance of York on this occasion strongly suggested what is related of Edinburgh, when the rival barons and their followings used to beard the monarch in his capital; and when the brawls of half-civilized mountaineers endangered the lives of the citizens. A very trifling collision between two of these canoemen might have been no less perilous to the inhabitants of York; for in the remote regions from which they come, no law is known but that of the club, or the knife, and no Highland clans could hold each other more at feud than the companies do each other. Probably I lost little by failing to obtain lodgings at York, for after rambling about for an hour I believe that I left little unvisited except the garrison. The town consists of one street lying parallel to the lake, and of the beginnings of two or three more at right angles to it. I saw only one church, which had been very much out of repair, but some workmen were employed in putting glass into the windows."

Mr. Duncan, in the extract just given, made a note of the fact that "the church" at York was greatly out of repair, without having been made aware of the cause, probably, of its dilapidation. He records, however, the interesting circumstance that, even as he was passing along in his brief stroll through the town, some workmen were employed in put-

ting glass into the windows. Very soon after Mr. Duncan's visit, the church underwent a thorough restoration, while at the same time it was enlarged and rendered every way more ecclesiastical in appearance. It was through the energy of the Rev. Dr. Strachan that this change was effected. The building was put up, as has already been narrated, in 1803, through the exertions of the first pastor, Mr. Stuart. During the occupation of York by the enemy, it had suffered injury and pillage of effects at the hands of the soldiery. It had also been converted into a temporary hospital for the sick and wounded, and had been used likewise as a place of general assembly for many ordinary purposes. The customary meetings of the Loyal and Patriotic Society are noticed in their report as having been "holden in the church at York."

Dr. Strachan's additions to the building were on the south and north sides. The position of the building was made now to be, as it were, north and south, although in the interior the old arrangement continued of having the chancel toward the east. A steeple and bell turret were also added at the southern end, through which, below, passed the principal entrance. The former entrance, on the west side, was, nevertheless, not closed, but reserved for the use of the troops, the rank and file of which had seats along the whole of the west side. At the head of the nave, where on entering one would expect to see the chancel, was a pew of state for the Lieutenant-Governor and his family. This pew was provided with a flat tester-like canopy over it, under which, suspended on the wall, was the Royal Coat of Arms. To its right was a pew for members of Parliament. On its left sat the military officers and Governor's aides-de-camp. Around the north, west and south sides ran a broad gallery.

Dr. Strachan escaped calamity throughout the war; but a misfortune befell him just after its close. On a Sunday, in 1815, while he was absent on duty, his house was totally destroyed by fire. Happily the library was saved. This accident led to the erection, not long afterwards, of the fine brick mansion known for many years subsequently as the Palace. The hospitality dispensed there, habitually and periodically, quite matched in pleasant dignity and splendour that of Government House, or any of the other rather numerous family houses in York that "entertained."

When the enlargement of the church was completed, Dr. Strachan engaged in a literary enterprise. He undertook the editorship of a monthly periodical entitled the *Christian Recorder*. It was issued by Mr. George Dawson, bookseller, York, and was printed with handsome type on good paper of a large size. The prospectus set forth that, "While it shall be

the object of this Journal to record important religious events in general, particular regard will be paid to those which relate to the Protestant Church." The charge for the magazine was twelve shillings and six-pence per annum. It continued to appear for two years.

It is to be added that in the spring of the same year, 1818, in which the English church was enlarged, the first Wesleyan place of worship was built at York—a plain, matter-of-fact, white wooden edifice, forty feet square. The position was a little to the west of what is now Jordan street. Its northern gable faced King Street, in which direction was the entrance. Within, the old-fashioned Anglican church custom prevailed of making the sexes sit separate—a practice derived from ancient Oriental and Jewish use. On the east side sat the men, on the west side the women. A few years later the square building assumed an oblong shape, by the addition of twelve feet at one of its ends.

CHAPTER IV.

SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND AT YORK.—TWO PARLIAMENTS AT YORK. IN 1818.—DR. R. C. MOORE.—MR. FOTHERGILL.—A LAUNCH.—BANK INSTITUTED.—MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS.—VIEWS OF YORK FROM WITHOUT.—MERCHANTS AT YORK.

IN due time Sir Peregrine Maitland arrived at York. After the general European peace of 1815, military officers of high rank began to be provided for by appointments in the colonies. Thus it fell out that Canada, in 1818, received Sir Peregrine Maitland for its ruler. He had served in the Peninsula, and at Waterloo he had commanded "the first British brigade of the First Division, consisting of the second and third battalions of the First Foot Guards." On the 9th of October, 1818, he had married Sarah, second daughter of Charles, fourth Duke of Richmond and Lennox, a lady of great grace and beauty, who somewhat precipitated the union by a romantic flight to the general's quarters, from her father's house, while resident in Paris. There was furthermore an association of poetry connected with them. Both had been present at that ball which

Byron has made historical, given by the Duchess of Richmond at Brussels, whereat the movement of the French army which brought on the crisis of Waterloo first became known. Both, without doubt, had been more than mere spectators of the scene:—

"Ah! then and there was hurrying to and fro,
And gathering tears, and breathings of distress;
And cheeks all pale, which but an hour ago
Blushed at the praise of their own loveliness;
And there were sudden partings, such as press
The life from out young hearts, and chiding sighs
Which ne'er might be repeated; who could guess
If ever more should meet those mutual eyes,
Since upon night so sweet such awful morn could rise!"

Sir Peregrine was a picturesque personage—tall and stately, of sad, pensive aspect, and very reserved in manner. In the year after his appointment to Upper Canada, he was followed by his father-in-law, the Duke, sent out as Governor-in-Chief. The Duke, very soon after his arrival in Canada, paid a visit to his daughter and her husband at York. From York they took an excursion together to Lake Huron, by way of Lake Simcoe and Penetanguishene, extending their tour as far as Drummond's Island.

Public affairs in the Upper Province seem to have required special attention in 1818. Two sessions of Parliament in one year took place. At the unusual period of October the House met at York, after President Smith's prorogation in the preceding March. On the 27th of November a measure passed originating in Gourlay's agitation, which had recently begun. The Executive party in the House continued strong. It was decreed by this Act to be illegal to hold meetings "purporting to represent the people, or any description of the people, under the pretence of deliberating upon matters of public concern, or of preparing and presenting petitions, complaints, remonstrances and declarations, and other addresses to the King, or to both, or either of the Houses of (the British) Parliament, for alteration of matters established by law; or redress of alleged grievances in Church or State;" and any one having anything to do with such meetings was to be held "guilty of high misdemeanor." A law of harsh sound was also passed about the forfeited estates of "rebels and traitors and aliens," the proceeds of which, when sold, were to make good the war losses of the loyal. The first-named statute was repealed within a few months after its enactment.

But before advancing further with the legislation at York during this portion of the rule of Sir Peregrine Maitland, it will be well to produce

some ordinary incidents in and about the place from about 1820 to 1823, as gleaned from contemporary documents. In 1820 tenders for new market buildings at York are asked for in the *Gazette* (May 25th, 1820), and in the same paper handsome subscriptions are recorded from Messrs. Stoyell, Jesse, Ketchum, Joseph Shepard and others, towards the expense of erecting a Common School at York. In 1820 the Loyal and Patriotic Society are winding up their affairs. At a meeting held again "in the church at York," it was decided, as has been intimated already, to devote a surplus of £4000 in the hands of the society to the founding of a General Hospital at York. An event of 1820, long remembered at York, was the launch of a schooner *The Brothers*, built for Mr. Oates and others. No launch had taken place there for a number of years previously. Bishop Mountain, of Quebec, was present at York in 1820, holding a visitation of his clergy there, and a confirmation. Agricultural interests were also not overlooked at York at this period. On the 7th of May, 1820, there is a cattle show, and prizes of different grades are distributed under the auspices of the Agricultural Society formed in 1818. Dr. R. C. Horne was secretary to the society. At this time Dr. Horne was King's printer at York. He became involved in 1821 in a difficulty with the Parliament on account of imperfections in the report of Parliamentary debates which he had allowed to appear in the columns of the *Gazette*. On being summoned to the bar of the House, Dr. Horne stated in explanation that the notes of the debates were not taken by himself, but furnished to him by a "person named Francis Collins." Dr. Horne offered every apology, and submitted himself to the pleasure of the House. He was cautioned by the Speaker that for the future he would be held responsible for the correctness of the reports in the *Gazette*. The Attorney-General was for obliging Dr. Horne to insert in his next issue the following paragraph: "From the incompetence or negligence of our reporter, the debates of the House of Assembly inserted in the last number of this paper were so imperfect and untrue reported that no dependence can be placed in their accuracy." But this was not pressed.

In the year following the reprimand to the King's printer—namely 1822—Charles Fothergill's name takes the place of that of R. C. Horne, in the imprint of the *Gazette*. Attached to the *Gazette*, Mr. Fothergill published a journal of his own, entitled *The Weekly Register*, the first number of which is dated York, April 18th, 1822. Besides large extracts from the English newspapers, the *Weekly Register* contained a great deal of excellent reading on subjects connected with literature and natural history. It is observable that the statutes are now printed in bolder and more

readable type, with wide spaces between the lines. In 1825, however, a return takes place to the former more obscure and condensed style; and the printing is executed at the *Chronicle* office, Kingston, Upper Canada, by James Macfarlane. Dr Horne received an appointment in the Bank of Upper Canada, with which institution his name was long associated.

The legislation at York in Sir Peregrine Maitland's time embraced numerous measures of great public importance concerning the opening of internal communications by land and water, the administration of justice, the regulation of commercial intercourse with the United States, the currency, education, and so on. But it is my province to note here chiefly the points which had relation to York, or affected York more or less remotely.

One of the Acts of 1820 increased the representation of the Commons in the House of Assembly. The preamble thus explains the necessity for the measure: "Whereas from the rapid increase of the population in this province the representation thereof in the Commons House of Assembly is deemed too limited." Counties where they had reached a population of 4,000 were now to have two members. Towns where Quarter Sessions were held, when containing one thousand souls, were to have one member. In this act provision is made for the representation in Parliament of the Provincial University. Whenever a university or a seminary of learning in this province shall be organized and in operation, in conformity to the rules and statutes of similar institutions in Great Britain, it shall be represented by one member. The tract of land appendant to such university is to be declared by proclamation an independent town or township. The voters are to be those who have a right to vote in the convocation of a University. In his speech to Parliament, February 2nd, 1821, Sir Peregrine Maitland alluded to the increase in the representation, and to the Parliament buildings lately erected: "I cannot deny myself the pleasure," he said, "of noticing as a gratifying proof of our general advancement the accession of numbers which has taken place in your respective bodies; and I congratulate you on the improved accommodation which this building affords for the discharge of your important duties." The grants for the rebuilding of the Parliament House at York had been made in the session of 1819. The sum of £1,500 was voted for the purpose, with £157 10s. for the plans. At the same time the sum of £354 11s. was set aside for the purchase of copies of Journals of the House, to replace those destroyed by fire in the war.

In 1821 we have Acts for the preservation of deer and salmon. As regard to salmon: It shall not be lawful for any person or persons at any

time to take, catch or kill in any manner in the Home District, District of Newcastle or District of Gore, any salmon or salmon-fry nearer the mouth of any river or creek along the shore of Lake Ontario than two hundred yards, or within fifty yards up the mouth of any such river or creek; at the Credit, the distance up, say two hundred yards. And nothing in the Act was to be construed to extend to Indians, who were to fish as theretofore, when and where they pleased, except within one hundred yards of a mill or mill dam, by fire or torch-light.

In the year 1821 the Roman Catholic congregation at York are authorized by Act to dispose of a lot at the corner of George and Duke Streets, and to purchase with the proceeds land in a more eligible situation in or near the town of York aforesaid, "for the use and accommodation of a Roman Catholic congregation in the said town of York and its vicinity." The trustees of the said land were the Hon. James Baby, the Rev. Alexander Macdonell, and John Small, Esq. The site of the present Roman Catholic St. Paul's and its surroundings was thus secured.

At the session of 1821 was promulgated the Royal Assent to the Act passed in 1819 for the institution of a Bank, to be styled the Bank of Upper Canada. The preamble sets forth that it would be "conducive to the prosperity and the advancement of commerce and agriculture," to have such an institution in Upper Canada. The names attached to the petition for incorporation, and included accordingly in the Act as members of the new "body corporate and politic" are the following:—William Allan, Robert Charles Horne, John Searlett, Francis Jackson, William Warren Baldwin, Alexander Legge, Thomas Ridout, Samuel Ridout, D'Arcy Boulton, junior, William B. Robinson, James Macaulay, Duncan Cameron, Guy C. Wood, Robert Anderson, John S. Baldwin. The stock was not to exceed £200,000. It was to open when the deposit amounted to £20,000. The Government might subscribe for 2,000 shares. It was to be situated at the seat of government of the province. The institution apparently might expire in "the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight." The bank did not come into operation before 1822. The deposit was then reduced to £10,000. In 1823 it was again reduced to £8,000, and the capital was made £600,000. For nearly half a century the Bank of Upper Canada did good service to the country and to individuals. It then became embarrassed. It had burdened itself with unsaleable lands taken in security. All the knowing ones withdrew in time. The fate usual in such cases overtook the hindmost in 1866. In 1821, when the bank was still only in *posse*, the cautious Mr. McGill expressed his doubts as to the necessity of any bank at

all at York. "It is not yet ascertained," he writes to a friend, "whether there are sufficient subscribers to the Upper Canada Bank to commence operations. My own opinion is that it will be a losing business, though I have been dragged into subscribing more than was perhaps prudent. I really cannot see what good business a bank can do here. The Lower Canada Bank, I am told, has not been able to pay a dividend for the last year, owing to bad debts."

But to proceed with the legislation of the period.

In 1822 we have further enactments about hemp. Three hundred pounds worth of machinery is to be purchased and set up in the province to prepare hemp for exportation, and fifty pounds per annum for three years to keep the machinery in order. In 1823, flax was added to hemp.

An Act in this year, 1822, appoints trustees to the will of William Weekes, late of York, Esquire. He had left property for the founding of an "Academy for the education of youth." The Rev. John Strachan, D.D., John Beverley Robinson, Esq., and Henry John Boulton, Esq., were appointed trustees to carry into effect this will. Mr. Weekes, of whom we have already heard, was killed in a duel at Niagara. I fail to find subsequent traces of this bequest. In 1822 the magistrates at Quarter Sessions were authorized to restrain the running at large of swine in the towns of York, Niagara, Sandwich, Amherstburg and Kingston.

So late as 1823, we have legislation in reference to "tythes" in Upper Canada. It was feared that the clergy were going to assert a right to "tythes," notwithstanding that already, as the preamble of the Act referred to declares, "His Majesty has been pleased to reserve for the support of a Protestant clergy in this province one-seventh of all lands granted therein." It was important to the well-being of the colony that all doubts on this point should be removed. It was therefore enacted that "no tythes shall be claimed, demanded or received by any ecclesiastical parson, rector or vicar of the Protestant Church within the province, any law, custom or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

In 1823 we have a cut or navigable canal through Burlington Beach authorized; also an Act for the "better preservation of the Herring Fishery at the outlet of Burlington Bay." It should no longer be lawful for any person or persons to take or catch, or attempt to take or catch, by setting or drawing any net or nets, weir or weirs, seine or seines, any herring at the outlet of Burlington Bay, or within two hundred yards of the said outlet on the shore on Lake Ontario, between September 1st and January 1st, inclusive, in each and every year, at any other days and times than Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays."

In 1823 an Act was passed to provide for the erection of a Gaol and Court House in and for the Home District. The magistrates may borrow £4000 for the purpose. Also an Act "to restrain the selling of beer, ale, cider, and other liquors, not spirituous, in certain towns and villages in Upper Canada." The method of restriction proposed was the issue of licenses. "Moneys paid for licenses to be paid to the Receiver-General, and accounted for through the Lord Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, for the time being, in such manner and form as his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to direct."

During this period two measures were also passed regulating practitioners of physic and surgery; but resident practitioners before January 1st, 1812, were exempted from the requirements of these Acts. Some medical men, ever memorable at York, are in a contemporary *Gazette* named as commissioners to carry out certain enactments in one of these statutes:— "James Macanlay, late Deputy Inspector of Hospitals; Christopher Widmer, late Surgeon to His Majesty's Forces; William Lyons, Surgeon to His Majesty's Forces; Robert Kerr, Surgeon to the Indian Department; William Warren Baldwin, M. D.; Grant Powell, late Surgeon to the Incorporated Battalion of Militia."

Thus were our times at York, at the close of the third decade. It is well that people should be helped to see themselves occasionally as others see them. The chance traveller, Mr. Duncan, furnished us with a lively glimpse of York, as the place struck him in 1818. Another traveller, a Scot too, like Mr. Duncan, notices York for us in 1823, in his "Sketches of Upper Canada, Domestic, Local and Characteristic," printed at Edinburgh, 3rd edition in 1825. The picture may not be flattering, but it matters little now. He first describes in graphic terms his journey up from Kingston, on board the steamer *Frontenac*. "The night proved dark and unpleasant; a host of threatening clouds obscured the hitherto spotless sky, while a dreary blast careered along the lake, and made its waters noisy and turbulent. Notwithstanding the darkness, I continued to walk the deck till near midnight; my steps being guided, by the irregular light shed by the showers of glowing sparks that flashed in rapid succession from the flue, and were whirled aloft in every direction. At last it began to rain, and I retired to my berth. . . . (In the morning) we fortunately had a strong breeze, directly astern, which soon brought us in sight of York." Persons still live who well remember the famous steamer *Frontenac*. To such Mr. Howison's account of the boat will be of interest: "The *Frontenac* is the largest steamboat in Canada; her length is one hundred and seventy-one feet long, and thirty-

two feet wide. She is seven hundred and forty tons burden, and draws only eight feet water when loaded. Two paddle wheels, each about forty feet in circumference, impel her through the water. Her length is so great that she answers very slowly to the helm; but I understand she was built of the dimensions I have stated, that she might cover three seas, and thus be prevented from pitching violently in boisterous weather. When the wind is favourable, the *Frontenac* sails nine knots an hour with ease." Mr. Howison's stay in York was very brief. He is less circumstantial than Mr. Duncan in his account; and his sketch is by no means rosy-hued. "The land all round the harbour and behind the town is low, swampy, and apparently of inferior quality; and it could not be easily drained, as it lies almost on a level with the surface of the lake. The town, in which there are some good houses, contains about 3,000 inhabitants. There is little land cleared in its immediate vicinity, and this circumstance increases the unpleasantness of its situation. The trade of York is very trifling, and makes its present population and magnitude entirely to its being a port of government; for it is destitute of every natural advantage, except that of a good harbour." To account for the brief stay of Mr. Howison's fellow-travellers at York, it is to be recalled that Niagara was still the principal port of the western portion of the lake, where the trade and traffic of the most thickly peopled part of Upper Canada were carried on. Niagara would thus be the destination of most of them.

The trade at York might be, as Mr. Howison wrote, very trifling. It amounted, nevertheless, to quite as much, probably, as any rational man, taking into consideration the circumstances and history of the place, ought to have expected. A number of merchants were doing business at the time at York; not unprofitably, as may be presumed. At a date a little earlier than that at which we have arrived, the following individuals or firms took out the ordinary licence for the sale of spirituous liquors in their respective stores—at York, or in the Home District:—William Allan, Peter Macdougall, Wood & Anderson, James Nation & Co., Daniel Brooke, Alexander Legge, Henry Drear, John Carfrae, H. McK. Murehison, Thos. Carfrae, McGinnes & Montgomerie, D. Boulton, junr., Edward Oates, Sullivan & Statesbury, Thomas Stevens, Young & Monro, Peter Robinson, Peter Paterson, George Duggan, Dennis Fitzgerald, William Smith, Quetton St. George & Co., George Foster.

The Fourth Decade.

1824-1834.

CHAPTER I.

STAMFORD AND YORK, ALTERNATE RESIDENCES OF THE GOVERNOR.—VISITORS.
—SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT AT YORK.—"COLONIAL ADVOCATE" AT QUEENSTON AND YORK.—ITS EDITOR.—PARLIAMENT HOUSE AT YORK BURNED.—E. A. TALBOT'S NOTICE OF YORK.—CANADA COMPANY AT YORK.—MR. GALT THERE.—STEAM-PACKET "CANADA" AND CAPTAIN RICHARDSON.—CHARLES FOTHERGILL.—"COLONIAL ADVOCATE" PRESS DESTROYED.—DR. DUNLOP.—CAPTAIN BASIL HALL.

SIR PEREGRINE and Lady Sarah Maitland passed as little of their time as possible at York. Their favourite place of abode was Stamford Cottage, near the village of Stamford, three miles north-west of the Falls of Niagara. The house was built by Sir Peregrine himself, as a tranquil retreat from public business.

"So Scipio, to the soft Cumæan shore
Retiring, tasted joy he never knew before."

The interior of the cottage was finished, as to its doors, door frames and window recesses, with the sombre black walnut of the country, and some of the rooms were wainscotted from floor to ceiling with the same wood. The site commanded extensive views. At the moment the steady thunder of the neighbouring cataract, subdued and lulling, was being leisurely listened to, York itself, thirty miles and more away, across the waters of the lake, could, under the proper atmospheric conditions, be distinctly seen. Around was a grand undulating park, of many acres, wherein the finest and most picturesque trees of the natural forest had been carefully preserved.

Here the even tenor of the Lieutenant-Governor's life was varied occasionally by the presence of a distinguished visitor from England, on his tour through the United States and Canada. In 1820 he was summoned

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away for a few months to Quebec, to undertake the temporary administration of the general government of Canada. The occasion was the decease of his father-in-law, the Duke, two years before his guest at York, who, it will be remembered, was bitten by a tame fox, and died from hydrophobia. During Sir Peregrine's absence, Mr. Smith was again administrator in Upper Canada. On the arrival at Quebec of the Earl of Dalhousie, the new Governor-General, Sir Peregrine returned.

For a short time in 1824 the society of Mr. Stanley, afterwards better known as Earl of Derby, was enjoyed at York. He was then member for Stockbridge. Two other members of the Imperial Parliament were travelling with him—Mr. Denison, M.P. for Newcastle (afterwards the Speaker), and Mr. Stuart-Wortley, M.P. for Bossiney in Cornwall, afterwards Lord Wharncliffe. In the autumn of 1824 these gentlemen accompanied Sir Peregrine Maitland to Montreal and Quebec. The Governor's suite on this occasion consisted of Lord Arthur Lennox, Mr. Maitland, Colonels Foster, Lightfoot, Collin and Talbot.

A few sentences from one of Sir Peregrine's speeches to the Legislature will illustrate the Governor's theory and that of the Executive party generally, at the period, of the relation of the ruler of a colony to the King's subjects and their representatives in that colony. The Governor's function was to attend to what, according to his judgment, ought to be done to "promote the real welfare of the colony." The Legislative Council and House of Assembly were there; but they were simply advisory bodies, in case their assistance should be required. In the meantime, the Governor was to be the best judge; and he was responsible solely to the Sovereign. After exhorting the two branches of the Legislature to "concur in promoting the interest of true religion, and in improving all those means which can add to the instruction, convenience or happiness of the people, and not to overlook those which tend to increase the wealth and power of the country," Sir Peregrine rather loftily observes: "I know you have difficulties to encounter in the exercise of your important functions, from which I am happily exempt. But I am confident your zeal for the public interest will surmount them; and the impression that such difficulties exist will render you more worthy of your country's applause. Connected only with this Province in the discharge of my public duty, I can have neither party prejudice, nor local attachments, nor personal interests to overcome. My interests more naturally lead me to fulfil the wishes and expectations of my Sovereign, which I shall best do by a faithful performance of my duty in promoting as much as possible the real welfare of this Province." To this portion of the Governor's speech

the Assembly, acquiescingly in sound, but not without a slight suspicion of sarcasm, replies: "We are deeply sensible of the importance of those functions with which we are entrusted, and that their exercise is attended with difficulties from which Your Excellency, being only connected with this Province in the discharge of your public duty, is happily exempt. To those difficulties, where there is room for their existence, we cannot dare to assure ourselves that we are entirely superior; still less can we venture to hope that the impression of their existence may not subject to imputation and misconstruction our most unbiassed and disinterested actions; but the confidence Your Excellency is pleased to express in our zeal for the public good will animate us to surmount whatever obstacles may present themselves to the faithful discharge of our duty." That is to say, they are conscious of purity of motive and rectitude of aim, and they have decided to go straight on; but it is not improbable that in some quarters they will be deemed and called factious.

But rest and quietness were not in store for Sir Peregrine Maitland. A thorn in his side, and in the side of many another who would rather have been let alone, was prepared in the person of Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie, who now comes on the scene. Mr. Mackenzie was a fervid Scot, not yet much more than thirty years of age, who had been impelled to enter on the career of politics; not from necessity, for he had already fairly succeeded in several other lines of life, but solely by a strong conviction that everything was going wrong in the management of public affairs in Upper Canada. The fire was first kindled within him probably as a result of the Gourlay agitation, and at length it burst irrepressibly forth, first in speech, and then in the form of a printed journal, which he resolved to make the organ of communication between himself and the whole community. He was a man in great measure self-taught; of the school and temper, as of the race and creed, of Robert Burns; a reader and thinker from boyhood; with clear intellect, tenacious memory, and ready command of all his faculties, and with a considerable insight into history and political economy. His journal was entitled the *Colonial Advocate*. It appeared first on the 18th of May, 1824, at Queenston. It was printed, however, on the opposite side of the river, at Lewiston, for convenience and economy. In the *Advocate* he proceeded to criticise in all sincere earnestness the Executive and the party of the Executive, in Upper and Lower Canada.

The year 1824 is to be marked in the annals of York as that in which the *Colonial Advocate* was removed thither from Queenston. What could be expected but that storms would brew about a paper and an

"The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The insolence of office,—and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes."

Among those who were as public characters unceremoniously passed under review in the *Advocate*, there were not a few perverted Scots like himself; but doggedly fixed in views exactly the opposite of his own. These men he described as "unfortunate in their political education, who therefore have a natural alliance with the enemies of mankind in every part of the world." In these circumstances, the feeling towards the new-comer soon began to be very bitter in numerous quarters.

When the corner-stone of Brook's monument on Queenston Heights was laid (Oct. 13th, 1824), among many other things enclosed in the hermetically sealed bottle placed in the cavity by the commissioners, Dickson, Clark, and Nichol, there was a copy of the first number of the *Colonial Advocate*. On Sir Peregrine's return from an official tour in the eastern part of the province, he gave instant orders that the foundation

of the monument, now reaching a height of fourteen feet, should be dug into, and the offensive document removed, which was done by Mr. Clark, one of the commissioners, and Mr. Hall, the architect or engineer. The editor of the *Advocate*, not a whit abashed, presented himself on the spot when the operation was completed, and claimed as his property the number of the *Advocate* which had been extracted, together with a certain otter skin which had enveloped the bottle. He subsequently proposed to deposit this identical copy of the first number of the *Advocate* and the otter skin in the British Museum as historical relics. One other incident at York in 1824 must now be recorded. On Christmas eve in that year the Parliament Buildings, erected five years before, of which the inhabitants had become proud, were destroyed by fire. The General Hospital building, recently erected, west of John Street, but not yet put to its intended use, was hastily fitted up for legislative purposes, and temporarily occupied by the Parliament.

On the 13th of January, 1825, Sir Peregrine Maitland met the Parliament at York, in this building. The session lasted until the 13th of April. Among the measures passed was one authorizing the magistrates of the Home District to raise £2,000 additional to finish the Gaol and Court House at York; and another requiring the justices of the peace in every town where police arrangements existed, including York, every two weeks to "assize and fix the price of bread" in that town; and the clerk of the market was to "affix a notice thereof in some conspicuous place in the market-house."

Chronologically, Mr. Edward Allen Talbot's account of York given in his "Five Years' Residence in the Canadas," will be in place here. Traveller's narratives have already enabled us to contemplate York at several stages of its progress. Here we have it again depicted to us, as it appeared to a stranger in 1825. "Though York is the capital of an extensive colony; it would in Europe be considered but a village. Its defenceless situation, which cannot be much improved, renders it of little importance in time of war.

The garrison is about a mile west of the town, and consists of a barrack for the troops, a residence for the commanding officer, a battery and two block-houses which are intended for the protection of the harbour. In the year 1793 there was only one wigwam on the site of this town. It now contains one thousand three hundred and thirty-six inhabitants, and about two hundred and fifty houses, many of which exhibit a very neat appearance. The public buildings are a Protestant Episcopal Church, a Roman Catholic chapel, a Presbyterian and Methodist meeting-house, the Hospital, the Parliament House, and the

residence of the Lieutenant-Governor. The Episcopal Church is a plain timber building, of tolerable size, with a small steeple of the same material. The Roman Catholic chapel, which is not yet completed, is a brick edifice, and intended to be very magnificent." This would be the present Roman Catholic St. Paul's, on the land purchased with the proceeds of the lot on the corner of Duchess and George Streets; of which the builders were Messrs. Parke and Ewart. The brick-work of the south side exhibited, as the writer remembers, a diamond-shaped pattern which was considered curious, and which is probably the ornamentation to which Mr. Talbot alludes. On the 1st of March, the Rev. Mr. O'Grady, B.D., preached a sermon in aid of the fund for the liquidation of the debt on this building. In connexion with the mention of this church, I subjoin an advertisement which appears in the *Loyalist*, printed at York, March 14th, 1829. "At a meeting of the committee for the liquidation of the debts of the Roman Catholic Church of York, held in the Vestry Room on Monday the 9th instant, Lawrence Heyden Esq., J. P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved: That the Rev. W. J. O'Grady, B.D., is entitled to our warmest gratitude for his energetic and truly Christian appeal on Sunday the 1st instant, in behalf of our Church, when a collection was made amounting to £55 8s. 6d, including donations. The Attorney-General, £5; Hon. Thomas Clark, £15s.; Hon. W. Dickson, £1 5s.; Col. W. Chewett, £1 5s.; Rev. Dr. Phillips, 5s.; C. Widmer, Esq., M.D., £1 5s.; P. Dechl, Esq., M.D., £1 5s.; John S. Baldwin, Esq., £1; Capt. Baldwin, R.N., 10s.; Robert Baldwin, Esq., 10s.; Robert Sullivan, Esq., 10s.; W. R. Prontice, Esq., £1 5s.; A Presbyterian, £1; Mr. Richard Wabron, 10s.; Mr. P. Hartney, 3s.; Samuel P. Jarvis, Esq., £1 5s.: That we hail the liberality which our Protestant and dissenting brethren manifested on this interesting occasion as a certain prelude to future concord among all classes of the community: That the Solicitor General, W. W. Baldwin, Esq., M.P., Simon Washburn, and James Fitz Gibbon, Esquires, are justly entitled to our best thanks for having acted as collectors. York, 9th March, 1829." Mr. Talbot's language will recall the fact that it was still the day of small things, in respect of architectural magnificence, with all denominations at York in 1825. "The Parliament House erected in 1820 (the news of its destruction had not yet reached Mr. Talbot) is a large and convenient brick building, finished off in the plainest possible manner. The York Hospital is the most extensive public building in the province, and its external appearance is very respectable. The house in which the Lieutenant-Governor resides is built of wood; and though by no means contemptible, is much inferior to some private houses.

in the town, particularly to that of the Honourable and Venerable Dr. Strachan. Many of the Law and Government officers have very elegant seats in and about the town; and, with few exceptions, they are built of wood, and assume a most inviting aspect.

"The streets of York are regularly laid out, intersecting each other at right angles. Only one of them, however, is yet completely built; and in wet weather the unfinished streets are if possible muddier and dirtier than those of Kingston. The situation of the town is very unhealthy; for it stands on a piece of low marshy land, which is better calculated for a bog-pond, or beaver-meadow, than for the residence of human beings. The inhabitants are on this account much subject, particularly in spring and autumn, to agues and intermittent fevers; and probably five-sevenths of the people are annually afflicted with these complaints. He who first fixed upon this spot as the site of the capital of Upper Canada, whatever predilection he may have had for the roaring of frogs, and for the effluvia arising from stagnated waters and putrid vegetables, can certainly have had no very great regard for preserving the lives of his Majesty's subjects." Thus far Mr. Talbot. Faithful enough at the outset, he manifestly exaggerates, towards the close of his remarks, retailing splenetic observations plentifully supplied to him during his sojourn. These disadvantages and inconveniences of position, so boldly faced, and in time so effectively surmounted, were not peculiar to York. I suppose there is not a city or town at this moment flourishing round the whole circuit of Lakes Ontario or Erie, which was not more or less unhealthy at its first inception; when the houses of the settlers were for the most part just set down on the surface of the virgin soil, without basements, or any thought of systematic drainage. If in new countries men were to wait until sites became thoroughly salubrious, few cities or towns would be built. The founders of Venice, Amsterdam and St. Petersburg were probably deemed insane by hosts of contemporaries in other places.

In 1826, the Canada Land Company, which has played such an important part in the colonization of Western and Eastern Canada, began its operations at York. The first office of the Company in York was a room in the Steamboat Hotel, in the Market block, on Front Street. Being a powerful body, managed in London, it assumed the aspect of an *imperium in imperio* in both provinces. Local landowners, and others, regarded it with some disfavour. With the more narrow of the Reform party it was classed among the grievances. A perfect cordiality failed to be established between Sir Peregrine Maitland and the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Galt. Vague misunderstandings arose on both sides.

Mr. Galt was not suffered, by the Board in London, to remain in Canada very long, but long enough to start the Land Company on a career which has proved of great advantage to Canada. His duties required his presence chiefly in the Huron territory, where he was instrumental in founding Guelph and Goderich. He had also a residence afterwards on Burlington Heights, whereto he resorted. But while staying in York, during the winter of 1827, he bethought himself of giving an entertainment on a grand scale to the whole society of the place, with a view to affording pleasure to the inhabitants, and conciliating their good-will for the Company. The idea took shape in the form of a fancy ball, which continued memorable for years in the annals of York. Lady Mary Willis did the honours of the evening for Mr. Galt, whose family had not yet arrived from England. Lady Mary, daughter of the Earl of Strathmore, was the wife of Mr. Justice Willis, a gentleman lately appointed to the Bench of Upper Canada.

Particulars of this fancy ball are accessible in print. The scene was Franks' Hotel, at the south-west corner of the present Colborne Street and Market Square; the day, the 31st December, 1827. The hostess of the evening personated Mary, Queen of Scots. Judge Willis himself appeared, for a short time during the entertainment, as the Countess of Desmond, aged one hundred years.

Mr. Galt was recalled, and returned to England in 1828. The comforts and conveniences of life afforded by inns at York and elsewhere in Upper Canada at this period were very poor. Mr. Galt, in his "Autobiography," thus describes the best hotel in York: "It was a mean two-story house; and being constructed of wood, every noise in it resounded from roof to foundation. The landlord, however, did all in his power to mitigate the afflictions with which such a domicile was quaking, to one accustomed to quiet." The misery of his quarters at York clung to the recollection of Mr. Galt. Later, when detained in bad health at Dover, he declared Dover dismal, but not so dismal as York. "Every one" he writes, "who has ever been at Dover, knows that it is one of the vilest hypochondriac places on the face of the earth, except York, in Upper Canada, when he has been there one day." He afterwards expressed regret at having "kept aloof from many who might have lightened the cares which afterwards became intolerable." He adds a rough memorandum of visits of ceremony paid him while at York. It embraces some familiar names: "Major Hillier, a Judge, the Solicitor-General, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, Mr. D. Boulton, Mr. George Hamilton, M.P.P., the Speaker, Mr. Rolph and two gentlemen, the Inspector-General, the Surveyor-General, Colonel Fitz

Gibbon, Judge Boulton, Captain Brown, an officer of the garrison, a gentleman (I believe, Dr. Baldwin), the Honourable T. Dickson, Colonel T. Clark, John Brant, the Indian Chief, dined with me one day at the Commissioners' mess, and I dined at Dr. Strachan's. I was kindly asked twice, but felt myself too unwell to go. He also hospitably invited me to come to his house in the evening, but I was always obliged to go to bed. The Attorney-General's was the only invitation I did not accept, for I was then very ill."

The Major Hillier, at the head of Mr. Galt's list, was the Governor's military secretary. His form and manner are well hit off in one of Mackenzie's "Sketches of Canada." A message to the House from the Lieutenant-Governor is announced by three loud knocks at the door, and then—

"Enter Major Hillier, a neat little gentleman, in full military uniform, with sword, sash, and epaulettes, who makes two awfully profound obeisances at the bar; is half inclined to make two more as he passes the stove-pipe; and when he gets before the Speaker's chair, Lord Atterbury's reply to the Earl of Rochester, 'Yours to the centre, my Lord,' is well imitated by two bows, so very low, so very long, and so very solemn, as almost to say, 'Yours to the antipodes, Mr. Speaker.'

"Honest John Willson, of Wentworth, goes through this ordeal, and supports his part by corresponding inclinations of the head, and touches of the cocked hat with the hand. The Major hands the Speaker the precious documents from his Excellency, and then retires, after going through the same routine of bows and obeisances."

The Canada Company, as narrated, opened its first office in York in 1826. I now return to incidents at York in that year. The completion there of the fine steam-packet the *Canada*, intended to ply between York and Niagara, was an event of no small interest locally. It was built under the immediate superintendence of Captain Hugh Richardson, who sailed and commanded the boat for a series of years. The first trip of the *Canada* from York to Niagara took place on the 7th of August, 1826. Captain Richardson was afterwards Harbour Master at York, and survived down to 1870. He printed and circulated at an early period a treatise on the harbour of York, giving his views of the mode of its origination, and of the ruin which was being effected in it by the action of the river Don. He dedicated it to the inhabitants of the Town of York, and to the Province of Upper Canada. It was an ingenious production. Happily, nature itself causing an irruption of Lake Ontario into the harbour, has undertaken the removal of the baneful deposits of the Don in a way more

effectual than any of those suggested by Captain Richardson and other early theorists on the subject.

In 1820 Mr. Fothergill ceased to be the publisher of the official *Gazette* and *Weekly Register*. He had been returned to Parliament as member for the County of Durham, and had ventured to express himself in the House in such a way as to imply censure on the Executive. It would have been a very great stretch of liberality in Sir Peregrine Maitland's Government, had the printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty been allowed to figure in the ranks of the Opposition with impunity. Mr. Fothergill was accordingly at once dismissed, and Mr. Robert Stanton appointed in his place. Mr. Stanton entitled the non-official paper attached to the *Gazette* the *U. E. Loyalist*, which came forth at a later period as a separate publication, under the name of *The Loyalist*. Mr. Fothergill afterwards conducted for several years a newspaper at York, called the *Palladium of British America*. A little later he introduced a measure in the House of Assembly for the fostering by a bonus of Agricultural Societies in every part of the province, which became a law, and gave the first effectual impulse to the holding of fairs and public markets for cattle in the more remote country situations throughout Upper Canada. Mr. Fothergill also did much for the promotion of science and literature at York. In conjunction with Dr. Rees and Dr. Dunlop, he projected an "Institute of Natural History and Philosophy," embracing a Museum with Botanical and Zoological Gardens attached. The scheme, too bold for the period, fell to the ground. A site, however, for the proposed establishment, was granted by the Governor-in-Council on the Garrison Common. Prior to his emigration to this country in December, 1823, Mr. Fothergill had published in London a clever and interesting work entitled, "An Essay on the Philosophy, Study and Use of Natural History." He was afterwards correspondent of the celebrated wood engraver and naturalist, Thomas Bewick, of Newcastle; and in Vol. I, p. 69 of the famous work on "British Birds," is a woodcut of an Eared or Horned Owl, stated there to have been contributed by Fothergill, with the remark: "The stuffed specimen of this rare and curious little bird, from which our figure and description were taken, was sent to the author by Mr. Charles Fothergill, late of York," meaning York in England. The identical specimen, engraved by Bewick, used to be shown to his friends by Mr. Fothergill when resident in the Canadian York. In July, 1823, he was proposing to undertake a work which would have proved of great assistance to subsequent investigators of Canadian annals, had it been carried into effect, "The Canadian Annual Register,

or a View of the History, Politics, Literature and Growth of the Canadas in all that constitutes the Wealth of Nations." It was to have been on the plan of Dodsley's Annual Register, and it was dedicated by anticipation to Sir Peregrine Maitland. For a series of years Mr. Fothergill issued the "York Almanac or Royal Calendar," a volume of between four and five hundred pages, containing an interesting and very useful "Sketch of the Present State of Canada," and a great deal of curious miscellaneous matter.

The incident of 1826, however, that most stirred the community at York, was the wilful destruction of the press and type of the *Colonial Advocate* newspaper. A party of young men, professing to be aggrieved by some personalities in its columns, having reference to their relatives or employers, forcibly entered the office on the 8th of June, in broad daylight, broke up the press, and threw the type into the bay. Besides being a flagrant breach of law, this act, as the event proved, was a most impolitic and short-sighted one. Instead of putting a stop to the criticisms of the *Colonial Advocate*, it was the means of indefinitely perpetuating them. The *Advocate*, it seems, was at the moment suspended, and would probably not have been issued again. Damages to the extent of £625 were awarded by a jury. That verdict re-established on a permanent footing the *Advocate* press, because, to use the proprietor's own words, "it enabled me to perform my engagements without disposing of my real property, and although it has several times been my wish to retire from the active duties of the press into the quiet paths of private life, I have had a presentiment that I should yet be able to evince my gratitude to the country which, in my utmost need, rescued me from utter ruin and destruction." The scene of this riotous proceeding was the foot of Frederick Street, at the south-west corner. "The sufferers from the verdict were the following: Messrs. Baly, Sherwood, Lyons, Jarvis, Richardson, King, Heward and Macdougall.

A glimpse of manufacturing industry at York, or in its neighbourhood, at this period, is afforded by a paragraph prepared for the *Colonial Advocate* of August 9th, 1827: "About three miles out of town, in the bottom of a deep ravine, watered by the River Don, and bounded also by beautiful and verdant flats, are situated the York paper mill, distillery, and Mr. Shepard's axe-grinding machinery, and Messrs. Holliwel's large and extensive brewery. I went out to view these improvements a few days ago," the editor writes, "and returned much gratified with witnessing the paper-manufacture in active operation; as also the bold and pleasing scenery on the banks of the Don." Important suggestions are then added: "The

river might be made navigable, with small expense, up to the brewery, and if the surrounding lands were laid out in five-acre lots all the way to town, they would sell to great advantage."

An evidence of the still continued ill-feelour, in 1827, in remote parts of the Province, of York and the official personages resident there, is furnished by the tone of some of Dr. Dunlop's "Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada." The Talbot settlement on Lake Erie, Dr. Dunlop informs us, had begun to flourish, and to be remarkable for its superior agriculture and the excellence of its roads. A rush of land speculators from York to that quarter accordingly took place; but the prompt and blunt reply of Colonel Talbot was: "Not one foot of land do you get here." On this, we are told by Dr. Dunlop, war was declared against him by the authorities at York. But Talbot won, by means of his influence and personal presence occasionally in London, and escaped the control which was sought to be exercised over him from the capital.

As a set-off against the unfavourable impressions given of York and its inhabitants by some writers and tourists, I shall take an extract from the "Travels in North America in the years 1827 and 1828," by the celebrated-Captain Basil Hall. I give the Captain's short description of a dinner at a friend's house at York. His visit took place in 1827. I should like to have given the name of Captain Hall's host. Readers now regret the etiquette of reticence which travellers of a former day so studiously observed. "Our dinner," Captain Hall says, "was laid under the fly of a tent on the rich green-sward of a dressed piece of ground sloping gently towards the lake. We sat on the eastern side of the house, so that by five o'clock the shadow fell upon us. The deep sea-blue surface of old Ontario was now quite smooth, for the morning breeze had fallen. . . . The air had become deliciously cool, and more grateful than I can describe, after the sultry day to which we had been exposed. The wine was plunged into a large vessel filled with ice, close to the table; but the water was cooled in a goglet, or unbaked earthen pitcher brought from Bengal." The kind of home life of which Captain Hall's words afford us a glimpse was going on in many another unpretending domicile at York, at the same moment.

Another officer of the Royal Navy, Lieutenant de Roos, had been in York in the preceding year. His stay there, however, was only for a few hours, and all he has to report is that "the streets are well laid out; and as the back country increases in population, this town promises to become a place of great importance. . . . We had not time to visit the Governmental and Parliament Houses. The Legislative Assembly," Lieut-

tenant de Roos then informs his readers, "sits during the six winter months of the year, which is also the season of sleighing, visiting and merry-making."

CHAPTER II.

SHIFTINGS OF POSITION AMONG PUBLIC CHARACTERS AT YORK.
RELIGIOUS JOURNALISM. DR. DUNLOP'S IDEAS. JUDGE WILLIS'S
REMOVAL.—LEGAL PROMOTIONS CONSEQUENT THEREUPON.

MANY were the changes in the kaleidoscope of affairs at York in 1828-9. Sir Peregrine Maitland was "promoted" to Nova Scotia, and Sir John Colborne was sent out in his stead. Mr. Justice Willis, on account of incompatibility of character between himself and his brethren on the bench of Upper Canada was "moved," as the technical expression was. So many persons were, like Judge Willis, "moved," about this time, by the autocratic power of the Executive, that a new word came into existence, and was for a long time current in Upper Canada. The peccant individual was no longer said to be "moved," but "Willised." Francis Collins, publisher of the *Canadian Freeman*, was in prison for libel, and was conducting his paper from a room in the goal at York, setting up his editorials with his own hands, straight from his brain, without the intervention of manuscript copy. Mr. Mackenzie, now quite easy in his circumstances, was qualified to sit in the House as a member of Parliament, and had been returned as one of the representatives of the County of York. He also continued the issue of his universally-read journal, the *Colonial Advocate*, closely packed every week with an extraordinary mass of disconnected paragraphs, in a great variety of type, and in every mode of display, each one of them bearing on a political grievance, or suggesting some social improvement in York, and Upper Canada generally. The subtle causes leading to this situation of affairs must be sought for in the general history of the country, and in the law reports of the period.

Before proceeding with my notices of public and provincial affairs, I proceed to dispose of some matters of narrower local interest. The establishment of a certain periodical journal or newspaper at York in 1829 must be recorded. It has survived all its contemporaries and pre-

river might be made navigable, with small expense, up to the brewery, and if the surrounding lands were laid out in five-acre lots all the way to town, they would sell to great advantage."

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decessors at York; except the official *Gazette*, and it flourishes in 1884 in full vigour. I refer to the *Christian Guardian*. This was an early example of a kind of publication which was then only coming into vogue. The *Christian Guardian* had for its aim the promotion of a special religious interest, and the supply at the same time to families and households of some knowledge of incidents occurring throughout the world, together with much wholesome reading of a general character. Such an employment of the press is plainly legitimate; and the practice of establishing organs for the circulation of their views has been adopted among almost all bodies of Christians.

It is somewhat amusing to observe how this use of a secular engine for the furtherance of religious movements puzzled Dr. Dunlop. In his clever "Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada, by a Backwoodsman," he indulges in much ill-considered theorizing on the subject, with special reference to the then somewhat novel periodical at York. Like many another shrewd and gifted man at York, Dr. Dunlop failed to "discern the times" in which he lived and moved. He condemned the new fashion of pressing religious considerations on the world in newspaper form as being peculiarly American, and as being, in fact, a species of desecration. "The blasphemous mixture of political and religious dogmas," he sententiously observed, "must be pernicious in the extreme to the true interests of Christianity. Pure religion is like pure gold—it cannot be alloyed without being depreciated." The freedom of the press as regarded discussions of matters in Church, as well as in State, which Dr. Dunlop would have approved, was of a very exclusive character.

As to Dr. Dunlop, although a resident of Goderich rather than York, he was a well-known personage in the latter place. It may accordingly be of interest to be reminded that among the many etchings in Macleise's well-known "Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters," one of the best is that which represents Dr. Dunlop. Dr. Maginn, editor of "Frazer's Magazine," closes his notice of the Doctor in this "Gallery," in the following strain: "Though Toryism were expelled from all the rest of the globe, it would find shelter in the log-house of Dunlop." Dr. Dunlop's personal appearance is jocosely described in the same article, thus: "This remarkable biped stands six feet three inches, and measures two feet eight across the shoulders; the calf is just twenty inches in circumference; *ex pede Herculem*; the paw would have startled Ali Pacha; the fur is of the genuine Caledonian redness and roughness, and the hide, from long exposure to Eurus and Boreas, has acquired such a firmness of texture that he shaves with a brick-bat." Dunlop, at the time of Maginn's writing,

was in London for a few weeks, "to worry," Dr. Maginn says, "Goderich and Howick (ministers of the day) about some beastly proceedings of our degraded Government. . . . Farewell, noble savage, wild as thy woods! When shall we again revel in the rich luxuriance of thy anecdotes, or shake under the Titanic bray of thy laughter?"

Some other shiftings of position among the *dramatis personæ* of York at this time, consequent on the "amoval" of Judge Willis, will be sufficiently indicated, without requiring detailed explanation, by a paragraph or two taken from numbers of the *Loyalist* in 1829. Thus, in the number for May 2nd, we read: "Information is received which places it beyond all doubt that the course pursued by this Government in the case of Mr. Justice Willis has received the entire approbation of His Majesty's Government. The result of the deliberation of His Majesty's Council is the removal of Mr. Willis from office. We understand that after counsel had been heard at great length on behalf of Mr. Willis, the King's Council came to an immediate decision. The confidential nature of their report, however, and the time necessary for preparing it to be submitted for His Majesty's approval, will account for any apparent delay in making their decision public." And again, in the number for May 23rd, we have "Law appointments. In addition to the information lately received of the retirement of the Hon. Mr. Chief Justice Campbell, and of his seat on the Bench being filled by Mr. Attorney-General Robinson, we are informed that the following appointments are to be made: The Hon. J. B. Macaulay, puisne judge; Mr. Solicitor-General Boulton, to succeed Mr. Robinson, Attorney-General, and Mr. Hagerman to fill the situation of Solicitor-General of the Province."

The advancement announced in the second of these paragraphs of Attorney-General Robinson to the Chief Justiceship of Upper Canada, in the room of Chief Justice Campbell, was a fitting crown to a distinguished political career. Mr. Robinson's handsome, winning presence, fine personal qualities, and pre-eminent gifts of intellect and eloquence, caused him to be beloved and revered by friends and supporters, as well as sincerely respected by the rest of the community who did not accept his views of State affairs.

CHAPTER III.

SIR JOHN COLBORNE AT YORK.—LEGISLATION.—NEW PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS.—OSGOODE HALL.—UPPER CANADA COLLEGE.—PRICES.—GAME AND WILD PIGEONS.

SIR JOHN COLBORNE was another military Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada; not uninvested with historical associations; reproachless in character; nay, given to high and chivalrous aims, in every post to which duty had called him; tall, picturesque and soldierly in form; a general officer, who, like Sir Peregrine Maitland, had held an important command at Waterloo, and previously been distinguished in the Peninsula. In Gleig's "Lives of Eminent British Military Commanders," his name frequently occurs in connection with that of Sir John Moore, at whose death he was present; and in Sir William Napier's "History of the War in the Peninsula," the encomium is passed upon him of being "a man of singular talent for war." He bore about with him conspicuous evidence of being one who had known the shock of battle. A mutilated shoulder, and a right arm partially disabled, were signs and seals of heroism, impressed on his person at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo.

Sir John Colborne promised to be an excellent transition Governor for Upper Canada; being more genial and frank in manner than his predecessor; less disposed to yield himself up implicitly to the traditional local advisers; and more inclined to recognize popular rights, and respect the freedom of the press. To have thrust upon him their grievances so pointedly as they did, at the very moment of his arrival at York, was impolitic on the part of the reforming party. It was not to be expected that the new Governor would instantly make sweeping changes, or that he would at once, by his acts, pronounce a condemnation on the conduct of the ruler whom he had just succeeded. The impatience of the party forced him to take up a position which at first he was not at all disposed to assume. Here is a passage from an address of welcome presented to Sir John Colborne by "His Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects the inhabitants of York and its vicinity," but not signed, nevertheless, we may be sure, by a goodly number of those inhabitants: "We cannot conceal from your Excellency, without a sacrifice of candour, that there are many very

important subjects which have deeply affected the feelings of the people. But we are solicitous to regard the accession of your Excellency to the government of this Province as the commencement of a new era in which your Excellency, above the prevailing influences of political dissensions, and unhappy advice, will prove our constitutional benefactor, and realize the paternal wishes of our most Gracious Sovereign to bless his people with mild, just and conciliatory principles of Government." In a second address, presented immediately after, they are more explicit. They ask him at once to assemble the Parliament: "Whilst we, the undersigned inhabitants of York and its vicinity, regret extremely that our first welcome should be embittered by complaint and prayer; and while it is far from our disposition or intention to call on your Excellency, at the moment of your arrival, to interfere in any manner, with the proceedings of the Courts of Justice, even with the most splendid prerogative of your office, the administration of judgment in mercy, yet feeling ourselves disregarded and our rights endangered by many late proceedings of the provincial administration; and amongst those proceedings as especially worthy of notice on this occasion, by the late arbitrary and unconstitutional removal of a Judge highly and justly esteemed by us; by the destruction of one independent press; by a violence almost burglarious, by clerks, relations and dependents of men in office and power; by the silencing another press by means of unconstitutional security exacted of its editor before conviction of any fault; and now by the virtual suppression of a third independent press by a most severe and disproportionate sentence passed on its editor, Francis Collins, on a libel: a sentence fraught with a measure of punishment against the temperance and moderation expressed by the jury who convicted him, and against the spirit of the expressive charter of British Rights, that great pledge of safety to the subject 'that no man shall be fined to his ruin'—we, the undersigned, pressed by such grievances, entreat that your Excellency will please, as speedily as possible, to convene the Provincial Parliament, to whom we may make our complaints; and by which course your Excellency may, through that legitimate and constitutional channel, arrive at the knowledge of the true state of the country, a thing not attainable by your Excellency through the advisers of your Excellency's misguided predecessor."

The Parliament was not instantly assembled; but about the customary time, viz., on the 8th of January (1829), it met at York. In their Address on the Speech, the Lower House seize on a recommendation contained in it to repeal a certain existing Act "for the better securing the Province against all seditious attempts or designs to disturb the tranquillity there—

of," and make it a subject of congratulation and compliment to the Governor: "It affords us the highest gratification to receive such a mark of your Excellency's regard for the constitutional wishes and feelings of the people; and we beg leave humbly to assure your Excellency that nothing, in our opinion, will more happily tend to spread contentment and give an impulse to public spirit and enterprise than the continued manifestation by your Excellency of the same liberal and enlightened policy."

The session lasted until the 22nd of March. Twenty-five Acts were passed. In the summary given in the *Loyalist* newspaper, it is stated that besides the passing of these Acts, "addresses to the king were voted, with resolutions on the subject of Francis Collins and the removal of Mr. Justice Willis."

At the conclusion of this session, however, the Lieutenant-Governor had occasion to say:—"I cannot close this session without expressing my regret that the people will derive no immediate advantage from your deliberations on two subjects of primary importance—improvement of public schools, and the measure that should be adopted to ensure good roads and safe bridges throughout the province. In allowing your roads to remain in their present state, the great stimulus to agricultural industry is lost."

In reply to a proposal on the part of the House to supply funds for the civil list, they were told no money was required from them. "I thank you for your offer of making a provision for the support of the Civil Government," the Governor said, "which I should have gladly accepted in his Majesty's name, had not the revenue arising from the statute of the 14th of Geo. III, chapter 88, the appropriation of which for the Public Service is under the control of the crown, appeared quite sufficient to defray the expenses of the current year. An intimation to this effect was conveyed to you in my reply to one of your addresses early in the present month." The exasperating indifference to the will of the House is thus accounted for. It may be added, that in a short time orders were received from England for the liberation of Collins, and the remission of the fine of £50 which had been imposed.

In May, 1829, the following advertisement appears in the columns of the *Loyalist*. "Parliament Buildings.—Sealed tenders for erecting buildings for the Legislature at York will be received on the first Monday of June next. Plans, elevations and specifications of the buildings may be seen after the 14th day of May next, on application to Grant Powell, Esq., from whom further information will be received." It was thus that the Lieutenant-Governor, soon after the close of the session, proceeded to give

effect to the vote of a former Parliament in 1820, which set apart £7,000 for new Parliament Buildings. The General Hospital, where the Parliament had been temporarily accommodated since the fire of 1824, was now required for its proper use. Such was the inception of the Parliament Buildings which in 1884 are still doing duty, but which, it is to be hoped, are on the point of being replaced by others more worthy of the Province, more noble in their aspect, and better adapted to their important purpose.

The *Loyalist* newspaper informs the public of the site selected for the proposed edifice thus: "The Building, i.e., the new Parliament House, will stand in Simcoe Place, a Square containing six acres; a very fine situation facing the Bay, and in front of Government House." On early plans of York this piece of ground is marked "Simcoe Place." In the preceding session £230 had been voted for building the Don Bridge, on the Kingston Road. The intended improvement was now also carried into effect. This was the tubular, covered-in Don Bridge, afterwards undermined and carried away by a freshet.

In the year 1829, the important and conspicuous building known as Osgoode Hall was commenced. The original portion which now began to be visible at the head of York Street was what is at present simply its eastern wing. This edifice was designed to be the headquarters of the Law Society of Upper Canada, instituted in 1797, and incorporated in 1822. Its cost was defrayed out of the funds of the Society. The erection of this building was chiefly promoted and superintended by Dr. W. W. Baldwin, of Spadina House, on Spadina Hill, a proficient in the law, as we have already heard, as well as in medicine. The building has its name from Chief Justice Osgoode, the first legal officer of that rank in Upper Canada. Among the many interesting portraits in oil of high legal functionaries preserved in various parts of this building, there is an excellent one of Chief Justice Osgoode himself, from whom the Hall has its name, copied from a portrait taken from life, in the possession of Captain John Kennaway Simcoe, R.N., the present occupant of Woford, the family seat, in Devonshire, of the founder of the Upper Canadian York. Before the erection of the building at the head of York Street, sittings of the benchers and examinations of law students took place for a time in the building already spoken of as Russell Abbey. The ordinary appellation of Osgoode Hall among the populace of the neighbourhood was for a long period "Lawyers' Hall."

The object of the Law Society of Upper Canada is set forth in an "Act for the better regulating the Practice of the Law," passed at Newark,

July 3rd, 1797. The then practitioners in Upper Canada were allowed to form themselves into a society, "as well for the establishing of order among themselves as for the purpose of securing to the Province and the profession a learned and honourable Body, to assist their fellow-subjects as occasion may require, and to support and maintain the constitution of the said Province."

When the Parliament assembled again at York, in 1830 (January 6th), a good deal of the popularity of the Lieutenant-Governor with the reforming party had passed away. The caution which he had observed, acting, doubtless, under strict orders from his superiors in London, had tried their patience. In their Address in reply to the opening Speech, the demand was again made for the dismissal of the existing Executive Council. But the Governor still declined to commit himself. The reply to the Address of the House was: "I thank you for your Address," and that was all. In the curtness of the words we are not to see sullenness or displeasure, as would have been indicated in the case of the preceding Governor, but simply a kind of amused reticence on the part of one who waited with curiosity to see what would happen next.

Another famous reply of Sir John Colborne's, at a somewhat later period, to a petition presented by a numerous deputation from the country, was, "Gentlemen, I have received the petition of the inhabitants:—" and again, no more; a reminiscence probably at the moment crossing the mind of the speaker of some troublesome village or town in the Peninsula a few years back. On this occasion, it is said, Government House, at York, where the petition was expected to be presented, was put in a state of strong military defence. That such relations should have come into existence between a ruler of pure and noble intentions and any portion of the people under his sway, is saddening in the retrospect; at a time, too, when numerous circumstances were concurring to make the country very prosperous. At the opening of a session of Parliament held at York in October, 1832, the Lieutenant-Governor was able to address the House in terms like these:—"The continued immigration, unprecedented as regards the industry and capital transferred to this country from the Parent State, is, by its beneficial influence, bringing the Province rapidly forward, and opening to you the fairest prospects. Your deliberations, therefore, cannot but render this session of peculiar importance to the general interests of the colony. You will learn with satisfaction that the population has increased not less than a fourth since the report forwarded for your information last session; that the immigrants, with few exceptions, are fully occupied in the districts in which they are established; and that the

extensive agricultural improvements and actual cultivation, promise support and employment for our countrymen whom the current of events may induce to fix their abode in this part of the Empire." Nevertheless, it was a certain thing with those who had adopted the reforming views, that these circumstances of prosperity were no proof that there was nothing wrong in the administration of affairs. With them it continued to be a certain thing, that until the relations of the few to the many throughout the whole of Canada were made permanently just, there could be no enduring contentment or real happiness among the people at large, let the material prosperity of the country be what it might.

Another monument of the era of Sir John Colborne, established at York, still endures in the institution known as Upper Canada College. This great Public School was brought into complete operation through the instrumentality of this Lieutenant-Governor in 1830. Tenders for the erection of the buildings were advertised for in the *Loyalist* of May 2nd, in the preceding year, in these words: "Minor College.—Sealed Tenders for erecting a school-house and four dwelling-houses, will be received on the first Monday of June next. Plans, elevations and specifications may be seen after the 12th instant, on application to the Hon. George Markland, from whom further information may be received. York, 1st May, 1829."

In Sir John Colborne's opening speech, on the 8th of January, 1829, after the remark—"the public schools are generally increasing, but their present organization seems unsuited to improvement," there occurs this passage: "Measures will be adopted, I hope, to reform the Royal Grammar School, and to incorporate it with the University recently endowed by his Majesty, and to introduce a system in that seminary that will open to the youth of the Province the means of receiving a liberal and extensive course of instruction. Unceasing exertion should be made to attract able masters to this country, where the population bears no proportion to the number of offices and employments that must necessarily be held by men of education and acquirements, disposed to support the laws and your free institutions."

In the general form given to the echo of this portion of the Speech on the Address from the Commons, there is a good deal of meaning. "We will direct our anxious attention to the state of the public schools," the House of Assembly said, "and consider what improvements in the present imperfect and unsatisfactory system are best calculated to open to the youth of this Province the means of receiving a liberal and extensive course of instruction; and we are fully sensible of the vast im-

portance of unceasing exertions to attract able masters to the country, where the population and wealth bear no proportion to the number of offices and employments, which ought to be held by men of education and acquirements disposed to support the laws, and, what we are highly gratified to find so favourably mentioned by your Excellency, the free institutions of our country." Satire possibly lurked in the expression "ought to be held."

When Sir John Colborne arrived in Upper Canada, he came straight from Guernsey, and fresh from a task of educational reform accomplished by him in that island. He had rendered his administration there memorable by the successful renovation and modernization of Elizabeth College, a foundation of the times of Queen Elizabeth, but fallen to decay. In Upper Canada, a formal university, after the model of the English universities, had been from the beginning an element in the polity of the country; but actually to set up and put in motion such a piece of learned machinery seemed hitherto premature. On his settlement at York, Sir John Colborne soon made up his mind not to push forward into immediate existence, as by some he was urged to do, the larger establishment, but to found a preliminary and preparatory institution, which should meet the immediate educational wants of the community. He obtained the sanction of the home authorities; and the substance of a despatch from head-quarters on the subject was communicated to the House in the following terms, which shew a certain indefiniteness, as yet, in regard to the organization and exact aim of the proposed establishment: "The advantages that will result from an institution conducted by nine or ten able masters, under whose tuition the youth of the Province could be prepared for any profession, are indisputable; and if such a school were permanently established, and the charter (of King's College) so modified that any professor shall be eligible for the Council, and that the students of the college shall have liberty and faculty of taking degrees in the manner that shall hereafter be directed by the statutes and ordinances framed by his Majesty's government, the University must flourish, and prove highly beneficial to the colony."

By adopting this line of action, Sir John Colborne lost the favour of some of the customary advisers of Lieutenant-Governors in Upper Canada, as seeming to postpone the establishment of the University proper to a very distant day; but he gained the gratitude of many throughout the country.

With the necessary modifications, Elizabeth College, Guernsey, was reproduced at York, in the institution which soon became famous far and wide as Upper Canada College. Among some it was long fami-

fairly spoken of as the Minor College, with allusion to the University which was to be; and this was the title placed, as we have seen, at the head of the original advertisement for tenders. The *Loyalist* newspaper refers to the institution, while yet in embryo, as Colborne College, as if to suggest that name for it.

The Rev. Dr. Harris, with a staff of masters, for the most part selected in England, was nominated as the head of the new institution, and entrusted with the task of its actual organization. Dr. Harris himself had been highly distinguished at the University of Cambridge, where he had been a Fellow of Clare Hall. Dr. Phillips, the Vice-Principal, was also a Cambridge man, long since graduated at Queen's College. He was already in the country, at the head of the District or Royal Grammar School at York. Mr. Dade, the mathematical master, was, at the time of his appointment, a Fellow of Caius College, and continued for a number of years still to retain that honourable distinction. Mr. Mathews, the first classical master, was a graduate of Pembroke College, a brilliant classical scholar, and a proficient in Hebrew, having won the Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship of the University; and Mr. Boulton, the second classical master, a son of Mr. Justice Boulton, of York, was a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford, and for some time engaged in tuition in the old-endowed Blundell's School, at Tiverton, Devon. Each of these gentlemen was an acquisition to the community at York. They were all of them instrumental in inaugurating and fostering in Upper Canada a species of scholarship which is peculiarly English. "The jar long retains the odour of the wine with which, when new, it was first filled." To this day there lingers here and there in Canada, Upper and Lower, some of the aroma of the old Massie first supplied to the country by Dr. Harris and his colleagues. Another gentleman attached to Upper Canada College by Sir John Colborne was Mr. Drury, an artist of no ordinary skill, whose paintings in oil of scenery about the Falls of Niagara and in the White Mountains were held by judges to be remarkable. Mr. Drury did a good deal in the way of cultivating art and artistic matters at York. The same may be said of Mr. J. G. Howard, afterwards the eminent architect at York, who, although not brought out expressly to undertake duties in Upper Canada College, was attached to that institution very soon by Sir John Colborne. The French Master was Mr. J. P. de la Haye, of St. Malo, who had had much experience in schools in England.

The plot of ground on which the College buildings were erected had previously been known as Russell Square. While these were being pre-

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7 for these gentlemen

pared, the work of the College began in the old District or Royal Grammar School, situate, at the time, at the southern corner of March and Nelson Streets (to-day, Lombard and Jarvis Streets), but previously placed in the middle of the school block defined by Church, Adelaide, Jarvis and Richmond Streets, a building itself already memorable to many in Upper Canada as the scene of their boyish training in the *literæ humaniores*. For the purposes of the new College, the interior of the old school was divided into rooms by panelled partitions, which reached not quite to the ceiling, one room being assigned to each master. The rooms of the Principal and Mathematical Master were up-stairs, as was also the Assembling or Prayer Hall. In 1831, teaching began in the new building, and there the first examination and distribution of prizes took place.

A curious adverse criticism of Dr. Dunlop's, on the first appointments at Upper Canada College, was that they were chiefly Cambridge men. In his "Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada," already quoted, he takes the trouble to say: "The only objection (to the new institution at York) is that the majority of the masters are Cantabrigiæ; whereas it would have been more advisable had they been selected from the more orthodox and gentlemanly University." In which remark we have a record of a foolish prejudice on the part of Dr. Dunlop, derived, possibly, from his long association with writers in *Blackwood* and *Fraser*; among whom the fixed notion prevailed that Cambridge was innately Whiggish, and, therefore, not gentlemanly.

I come now to notice a charitable bazaar, held at York in 1832, under the auspices and through the direct personal action of Lady Colborne. It claims a place in these annals, as having been the first ever seen on a large scale in York.

The bazaar, or fancy fair for charitable purposes, was probably to a great extent a novelty, even in England, at the time. The object of the one now held at York was the relief of orphans and others rendered desolate by the ravages of the cholera, and other causes. This long remembered sale took place on the 2nd of September, in one of the large Commissariat storehouses built on the beach near the foot of John Street. An upper flat was cleared of its contents. The sides of the walls and the beams overhead were decorated with flags and festoons of bunting. About the floor were placed tables covered with articles contributed by the promoters of the scheme. The entrance to the flat used was by a gangway leading straight into it from the top of the bank overlooking the beach. One of the salutary effects, and not the least, of this bazaar, was the

drawing together in a kindly spirit, if only for a few days, of all classes, in a community painfully split up by the chronic political differences of the period.

The January number of *Sibbald's Canadian Magazine* (1833), published at York, reports of the bazaar thus: "All the fashionable and well-disposed attended; the band of the gallant 79th Regiment played; at each table stood a lady, and in a very short time all the articles were sold to gentlemen, who will keep as the apple of their eye the things made and presented by such hands. The sum collected," it is then added, "was three hundred and eleven pounds."

The current price of animals, produce and provisions at York, at this period (January, 1833) may be learned from the number of *Sibbald's Magazine* just named: Horse for saddle or waggon, £15 to £20; bulls, £8 to £10; oxen, yoke of, £15 to £20; cows, £3 10s. to £5; calves, under a year, £1 10s.; sheep, 10s. to 15s.; beef, per hundred pounds, £1 to £1 3s.; mutton, per pound, 3d.; veal, per pound, 4d.; pork, per hundred pounds, £1 3s. 9d.; pork, salted, per hundred pounds, £1 10s.; ham, per pound, 5d.; geese, 1s. 10d. to 2s. 6d.; turkeys, 2s. 6d. to 5s.; ducks, per couple, 4s.; fowls, each, 7d. to 1s.; eggs, per dozen, 1s. 3d.; cheese, per hundred, £1 5s.; butter, per pound, 1s.; milk, per quart, 3d.; wheat, per bushel, 3s. 9d.; barley, per bushel, 2s. 6d.; oats, per bushel, 2s.; Indian corn, per bushel, 3s. 9d.; potatoes, per bushel, 2s. 6d.; turnips, per bushel, 1s. 3d.; peas, per bushel, 3s.; apples, per bushel, 2s. 6d. to 3s. 9d.; hay, per ton, £4 10s. to £5 10s.; cordwood, eight feet long, four broad and four high, 10s.; loaf sugar, per pound, 7d.; muscovado sugar, per pound, 6d.; tea, (black), 3s. 6d.; tea (green), 3s. 6d. to 3s. 9d.; coffee (raw), 1s. to 1s. 3d.; coffee (ground), 1s. 6d.; whiskey, per gallon, 2s. to 2s. 3d.; brandy (cognac), per gallon, 10s.; brandy (Bordeaux), per gallon, 5s. 6d.; gin (Holland), per gallon, 7s. to 7s. 6d.; wine, per gallon, 6s. to 15s.; soap, per pound, 6d.; flour, per barrel, £1 to £1 5s. Dr. Dunlop, in his already often quoted "Statistical Sketches," expresses his surprise, in 1832, that so little game and fish were offered for sale at York. His words are: "York, on the banks of a lake, and surrounded by a forest, is, not to say indifferently supplied, but positively without, anything like a regular supply of fish or game; and when you do, by accident, stumble on a brace of partridges, or a couple of wild ducks, you pay more for them than you would in almost any part of Great Britain, London excepted. In fact, unless a man is himself a sportsman, or has friends who are so, and who send him game, he may live seven years in York, and, with the exception of an occasional haunch or saddle of venison, may never see game on his table."

It appears, however, from Dunlop, that materials for pigeon-pie were sometimes very abundant at York: "About two summers ago," he writes, in 1832, "a stream of wild pigeons took it into their heads to fly over York; and for three or four days the town resounded with one continued roll of firing, as if a skirmish were going on in the streets. Every gun, pistol, musket, blunderbuss and firearm, of whatever description, was put in requisition. The constables and police magistrates were on the alert, and offenders without number were pulled up; among them were honourable members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, Crown lawyers, respectable, staid citizens, and, last of all, the Sheriff of the county; till at last it was found that pigeons, flying within easy shot, were a temptation too strong for human virtue to withstand, and so the contest was given up." Apropos of delicacies at York: Captain Hamilton, writing as "the author of Cyril Thornton," in his "Men and Manners in America," expressed his surprise that excellent ice-creams could be procured there in 1832. "In passing through the streets I was rather surprised," he says, "to observe an *affiche* intimating that ice-creams were to be had within. The weather being hot, I entered, and found the master of the establishment to be an Italian. I never ate better ice at Grange's" (some fashionable resort in London, probably). This Italian was Franco Rossi, 217 King Street West. He and the signora are well remembered.

I add here an observation on certain alleged sporting propensities at York, made at this period by Lieutenant Coke, in his "Subaltern's Furlough." It is a good example of the senseless generalization which tourists will occasionally make, from a solitary, or at all events, a rarely occurring incident which they may have chanced to witness. "There are no places of amusement (at York)," the Lieutenant writes, "and the chief diversion of the young men appeared to consist in shooting mosquito hawks, which hovered plentifully about the streets and upon the margin of the bay of an evening. Upon these occasions the sportsmen make their appearance, equipped in shooting-jackets and accompanied by their dogs, as if prepared for a 12th of August on the moors of Scotland." The harmless, nay beneficent, night-hawks, ancestors of the numerous birds of that species still to be heard in the skies over the same city, swooping down on cockchafers and beetles, could scarcely have been the quarry which Lieutenant Coke's young men were really in quest of. The woodcock, were to be found in most places everywhere round York at the proper season, especially in the evening. As to woodcock at York, I subjoin what Major T. W. Magrath says in his clever "Authentic Letters from Upper Canada," Dublin, 1833: "It

appears extraordinary to a sportsman coming from the old country, who has been accustomed to shoot woodcocks in the depth of winter, to find, on his arrival here, that the summer months are those when that sport is enjoyed in high perfection—not at the moment reflecting that they, being birds of passage, will be led by instinct to desert the northern latitudes (before they become bound in impenetrable frost) for milder climes, whose unfrozen springs are better suited to their manner of subsistence. . . . As a specimen of the sport, I have known Mr. Charles Heward, of York, to have shot, in one day, thirty brace, at Chippewa, close to the Falls of Niagara; and I myself, who am far from being a first-rate shot, have frequently brought home from twelve to fourteen brace, my brothers performing their parts with equal success."

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AT YORK.—MACKENZIE'S EXPULSION.—A PROCESSION.
—MACKENZIE IN ENGLAND.—BACK AGAIN IN YORK.—THE REFORM
PARTY'S AIM.

THE visitation of Asiatic cholera, already mentioned, casts a gloom over the period at which we have arrived. For a time it paralyzed general business and enterprise at York, although it may have had the beneficial effect of turning the minds of people resident there to the necessity of organization for sanitary, as for other purposes. A population of nearly ten thousand had congregated together; and nothing worth the naming had as yet been done for the drainage and general cleanliness of the place.

The last three or four years of the Fourth Decade of York are also not pleasant to contemplate on account of the distracted condition of the community, and of the whole country, arising out of an accumulation of mistakes on the part of the ruling powers on the spot and in the Mother Country. The very intensity of the antagonism of parties about this time, however, gave promise of the approach of a crisis. The maintainers of popular rights at York and elsewhere were being driven to desperation. The party of the Executive, when defeated in the Assembly, were pretty sure that the measure obnoxious to them would be re-



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jected in the Council. And when, through the general election of 1832, they acquired a majority in the House, they at once tried to make their successes doubly sure, by decreeing public strictures on their proceedings to be a criminal infringement of privilege. When Mr. Mackenzie, in his place as one of the members for the county of York, ventured fearlessly to expose what he believed to be the viciousness of the banking system lately introduced at York, he was speedily got rid of. Ingeniously contrived charges were urgently pressed, and he was expelled the House. Re-election followed, of course; and re-expulsion—a process repeated five times; the removal from the House being more than once by the aid of force. It is not within my province, as annalist simply of York, to go very extensively into particulars. As a summary, I subjoin a toast preserved in Mackenzie's "Sketches," offered at a Typographical Society's meeting at Albany, in 1832. In printers' language, the situation was as follows:—"The Parliament of Upper Canada: a firm of squabbled matter, locked up in the chase of restriction, with the quoins of violence and dissension, whose capitals are continually falling out."

A spectacular phenomenon or pageant in the streets of York, on the 2nd of January, 1832, connected with the troubles of the time, must be mentioned. It was a demonstration to celebrate the second return of Mr. Mackenzie, after expulsion. I adopt a description given by himself in his "Sketches": "A procession was formed (at the Red Lion Inn, on Yonge Street—Price's or Tiers's, where the hustings were). In front of it was an immense sleigh belonging to Mr. Montgomery, which was drawn by four horses, and carried between twenty and thirty men and two or three Highland pipers. From fifty to one hundred sleighs followed, and between one and two thousand of the inhabitants. The procession passed by the Government House, from thence to the Parliament House, thence to Mr. Cawthra's, and then to Mr. Mackenzie's own house, giving cheers at each of these places. One of the most singular curiosities of the day," it is added, "was a little printing-press, placed on one of the sleighs, warmed by a furnace, on which a couple of boys continued, while moving through the streets, to strike off their New Year's Address, and throw it to the people. Over the press was hoisted a crimson flag, with the motto, 'The Liberty of the Press.' The mottoes on the other flags were—'King William IV. and Reform,'—'Bidwell and the glorious minority,'—'1832, a Good Beginning,'—'A Free Press, the Terror of Sycophants.' The proceedings were conducted with general order and sobriety, though with much spirit." It should be stated that, on the apex of Mr. Montgomery's pyramidal sleigh, stood the hero of the day himself, wearing the golden chain and medal

presented to him, a few hours previously, at the Red Lion, by his constituents. It must be added, that Mackenzie's attempts about this time, by means of newspaper paragraphs and almanac items, to affect the minds of the common soldiers of the regiments then in the country, by artfully-contrived appeals to their respective nationalities, with a view to inducing them, on an emergency, to disobey their officers and fraternize with the party of reform, was in every way reprehensible.

A day or two after the procession, when the re-elected member had taken his seat, and it was moved that he should be re-expelled, the chain and medal came forth to view again; now in the presence of the assembled Legislature, in a scene which has thus been described: "Mr. Mackenzie attempted to convince the House of its error by shewing that it was setting itself in opposition to public opinion; and pointing, in proof, to the approbation of his constituents, as shewn, both by his re-election and the gold medal that had been presented to him. He then took out of his pocket the massive object, and by means of the enormous chain of the same material, suspended it round his neck, declaring that he would wear it while he held his seat, if it were only for an hour." Being interrupted in his explanations, and declared out of order by the Speaker, he withdrew from the building in disgust; when the vote for re-expulsion was taken, with the following result. Yeas,—Messrs. Attorney-General, Berezy, G. Boulton, Brown, Burwell, Chisholm, Crooks, T. Elliott, A. Frazer, Jarvis, Jones, Lewis, Magon, McMartin, Macnab, Morris, Mount, Robinson, Samson, Shade, Solicitor-General, Thompson, VanKoughnet, Warren, John Willson, W. Wilson, and Werden—27. Nays,—Messrs. Beardsley, Bidwell, Buell, Campbell, Clark, Cook, Duneombe, Howard, Ketchum, Lyons, McCall, A. McDonald, D. McDonald, Norton, Perry, Randal, Roblin, Shaver, and White.—19.

In May, 1832, Mr. Mackenzie was on his way to England, as the delegate of a "central committee of the friends of civil and religious liberty," in the county of York and the surrounding districts. He was commissioned to bring before the people of Great Britain, in every possible way, the grievances of the people of Upper Canada. The time was held to be propitious for the purpose. A reforming king, William IV., was on the throne, and the commons of the mother country were just about to recover their legitimate share in the government by the passing of a measure for their better representation in Parliament. What the commons of Upper Canada were seeking was to obtain the same advantage; the reality of it in addition to the semblance. Hume, Brougham, Ellice, O'Connell, Cobbett, and leaders of the Liberal party generally, gave the Upper Can-

ada delegate a friendly reception. He was listened to also with great consideration by the Colonial Minister, Lord Goderich. During his absence in England, the ceremony of expulsion was repeated at York, the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, Mr. Boulton and Mr. Hagerman, taking a prominent part in the proceedings. This gave grave offence at the Colonial Office, as they had been censured already from that quarter for pronouncing the previous expulsions constitutional. They were accordingly dismissed. The exultation at York among Mr. Mackenzie's friends was, of course, very great; while in the opposite ranks all was dismay and irritation, and the *York Courier*, a Government organ, ventured to express itself thus: "The minds of the well-affected begin to be unhinged. They already begin to cast about in their mind's eye for some new state of political existence which shall effectually put the colony without the pale of British connexion."

While Mr. Mackenzie was in England, Lord Goderich resigned the office of Colonial Secretary, and was succeeded by Mr. Stanley. Mr. Boulton and Mr. Hagerman were soon in London themselves. The explanations offered by Mr. Hagerman were considered so satisfactory by Mr. Stanley that he was re-instated as Solicitor-General; and although it was not thought expedient that Mr. Boulton should reassume official functions at York, he received an appointment in Newfoundland. It now became the turn of the reforming party at York to be angry, and to echo and retail whatever rash things Mr. Hume or others in England might be tempted to write on the occasion, about the "baneful domination of the mother country," so that by the time of Mr. Mackenzie's return to York, in August, 1833, the feeling of exasperation on both sides was more intense than ever. The incidents of this period in the annals of York are painful to read of, and interesting only so far as they were clearly steps in the process whereby the constitution of Canada was made truly, and not in name only, an "image and transcript" of Great Britain; steps in the process whereby the people of Upper Canada finally obtained what the parent state had itself only recently recovered—a just representation in the Commons' House, and an Executive responsible to themselves, as thus represented in all matters relating to their own affairs. This, as it now appears, was all that the Reform party of Upper Canada had been aiming at, from the days of President Russell to those of Sir John Colborne.

CHAPTER V.

YORK VANISHES.—TORONTO APPEARS.

"Time is like a fashionable host
That slightly shakes his parting guest by the hand,
And with his arms outstretched, as he would fly,
Grasps in the comer: welcome ever smiles,
And farewell goes out sighing.

—SHAKESPEARE: *Tr. and Crea.*, i. 3.

IN the meantime the Upper Canadian York, through evil report and good, grew and spread, expanding naturally according to the conditions and laws of its circumstances. The scenes of its first glories were early abandoned. The Park reserved for government purposes, destined, as was grandly imagined, to be adorned in the future with departmental buildings, each surrounded by its own ornamental grounds, became, for a time, a quarter wholly ineligible in point of beauty of scenery and salubrity of air. The place of its Halls of Parliament, its Palace of Government, after remaining desolate for years as an appendage too extensive, was utilized by being made then the site of a prison and gas-works. The time, however, came when, as has been already stated, not a square rood in any part of the great area over which the town that was York had spread was not found to be of high utility, for some purpose or other, in the economy of a numerous community.

In 1834, York embraced, in round numbers, a population of nearly 10,000 souls. All the usual trades, occupations and professions called into being by the necessities and caprices of men had developed themselves there.

Among the industries of the place were, for example, the manufacture of paper, of which we have already once heard, by Messrs. Eastwood & Skinner; iron foundries and steam-engine manufactories, by Messrs. Sheldon & Dutcher and C. Perry; the manufacture of blue and Poland starch, by Benjamin Knott; of candles and soap, by Charles Stotesbury and Peter Freeland; steam saw-mills for the manufacture of lumber, by Dr. Robinson, and a wind-mill, built of brick, for the manufacture of flour, by Messrs. Worts & Gooderham, "east of the town, on the Bay-shore." For the promotion of literature and science, there were the Literary and Philosophical Society, formed by Drs. Dunlop and Rees, and Mr. Fothergill; the

Mechanics' Institute, with a small library, and a scheme for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge, by means of lectures and experiments, promoted by Mr. Dunn, Dr. Baldwin, Dr. Rolph, Dr. Dunlop, Mr. Brent, Mr. Jarvis, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Worts, Mr. Musson, and others; the library kept at Mr. Timothy Parson's, 215 King Street; a Commercial Reading-Room formed by the exertions of Mr. Morro, Mr. Brent, Mr. Newbigging, Mr. Carfrae and others; branches of the Religious Tract and Book Society, supported by Mr. Ketchum, Mr. Small, Mr. John Gamble, Edward Goldsmith, Walter Rose, and others—the depot of books being kept at Mr. Robert Cathcart's general dry goods store, 147 King street. There were also efficient schools, independent of those supported by Government funds; as Mr. Caldicott's, Mr. Stewart's, and Mr. Boyd's; and Miss Bliss's York Infant School. In regard to art, Messrs. Daly and Howard had aimed to cultivate the public taste by instituting loan exhibitions, and Mr. Tazewell had begun to work in lithography, and to produce a number of Canadian views. As to music and the drama, both had received attention in private houses at York (traditions exist of private theatricals in good style at Spadina house and the Garrison); but in public they were constrained to put up with very humble quarters in Franks' hall-room, to which a rather steep and not very steady staircase was made to lead on the outside (not far from the market place), until, in about 1832, a Theatre Royal, on the principal street, a few yards west of the modern Jordan Street, was established, under the very respectable management of Mr. J. E. T. C. Vaughan, "formerly of Drury Lane Theatre, London." Literary periodicals had been again and again started, though destined, as is usual with such enterprises for a while in young countries, to be short-lived; as the "Roseharp," edited by Mr. Cawdell; the "Canadian Magazine," edited by Captain Sibbald, and the "Canadian Literary Magazine," edited by Mr. Kent. Many weekly or bi-weekly newspapers were published, as Mr. Gurnett's *Courier*, Mr. Dalton's *Patriot*, Mr. Collins's *Canadian Freeman*, of which the reader has heard, Mr. King's *Canadian Correspondent*, the *Christian Guardian*, the *Colonial Advocate*. There was also established a Typographical Society, Joseph H. Lawrence, President, and likewise a Masonic Institution, with a hall on Market Lane, where meetings took place "on every Thursday previous to the full moon." Several almanacs, as Fothergill's *Canadian Farmers' Almanac* and *General Memorandum Book*, Chewett's *Upper Canada Almanac* and *Astronomical Calendar*, *The Tract Society's Upper Canada Christian Almanac*; and McKenzie's *Patrick Swift's New Almanac for the Canadian True Blues*, with which was incorporated *The Constitutional Re-*

former's Text Book. Books in general literature were supplied by Messrs. Lesellie & Sons, "York, Kingston and Dundas;" also by Mr. Henry Rowsell, in the last year of the fourth decade. Fire departments were also organized; a fire-engine company, fifty strong, with two fire-engines and seven hundred and fifty feet of hose. "Engine-house or fire-men's hall in Church Street;" and a Hook and Ladder Company for the extinction of fires, in 1834, sixty strong; captain, Robert Emery; first lieutenant, Michael P. Emery; second lieutenant, Archibald McLellan; treasurer, William Ketchum; secretary, Charles Hunt. A horse-boat to the Island, propelled by four horses, and named the *Sir John of the Peninsula*, was put in operation, and ran about once every day, the fare over and back being one shilling and threepence. There was a Volunteer Artillery Company (for salutes and so on), fifty strong; with fifty Stand of Arms and two Field pieces—Thomas Carfrae, jr., captain; Silas Burgham, first lieutenant; James Leckie, lieutenant and adjutant.

A Directory had been compiled, George Walton's "York Commercial Directory, Street Guide and Register," a duodecimo of 105 pages, in which it was shown that the population of York, in 1833, taken broadly, was eight thousand seven hundred and thirty-one. The figures were made up thus: of the town proper, 7,473; of Macaulay Town (a kind of unannexed Yorkville of the time, included in the parallelogram bounded by the modern Queen, Yonge, Edward, and Chestnut Streets), 558; of the region from Osgoode Hall, where Macaulay Town ends, to Farr's Brewery, Lot Street, about 400; of the region from the east end of King Street to the Don Bridge, taking in all about the Windmill, about 300; grand total, 8,731.

Hitherto the individuals constituting the community of York were all acting in an isolated way. Little was as yet done for the general health, the general comfort, the general convenience and adornment of the place. The regulation of such matters for York was in the hands of the magistrates of the District at Quarter Sessions. It became, however, every day more manifest that great advantages would accrue to the town from a magistracy of its own, and a judicious combination of interests among the inhabitants. The selfishness which always fights against a tax which is going to be applied to a public purpose only, for a time stood in the way. But at length, the bulk of the community, however reluctant at first, became of one mind on these subjects, and agreed to ask Parliament for a charter of incorporation. The proposition was readily entertained; and in February, 1834, a Bill was introduced by Mr. Jarvis, the member for the town, and carried successfully

through the House. On Thursday, the 6th of March, 1834, it received the royal assent, and became law. It was an elaborate Act, containing ninety-seven clauses. The preamble set forth that from the rapid increase of the population, commerce and wealth of the town of York, a more efficient system of police and municipal government than that now established had become obviously necessary; therefore it was enacted that the place should be constituted a city, and divided into wards, with two aldermen and two common council-men for each ward, to be elected by the inhabitants, and a mayor, who should be elected by the aldermen and council-men from among themselves; and these were to undertake the management of the affairs of the said city, and the levying of such moderate taxes as should be found necessary for improvements and other public purposes. And, because the name of York was common to so many towns and places, it was desirable to designate the capital of the Province by a name which would better distinguish it, and none appearing more eligible than that by which the site of the existing town was known before the name of York was assigned to it; therefore it was furthermore enacted that all the inhabitants of the said city and the liberties thereof, should from time to time, and at all times thereafter, continue to be one Body Corporate and Politic, in fact and in name, by the name of the City of Toronto. Power was at the same time given to the Lieutenant-Governor to change at his pleasure the title of any other place already having the name of Toronto to "something else." The neighbouring township of Toronto was probably alluded to, which was sometimes spoken of simply as Toronto. But no use was made of the permission thus given.

Nine days after the passing of the Act (March 15th), a proclamation from the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne, appeared in the *Gazette*, appointing Thursday, the 27th of the same month, for the first election of aldermen and common council-men for the several wards. The proclamation was countersigned "Robert S. Jameson, Attorney-General." By the third day of the following April the elections had taken place; and the man chosen from among themselves, by the elected aldermen and common council-men, to be the first mayor of the city, was Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie.

Having thus, so far as lay in my power, adduced memoirs of the Upper Canadian York, from the time of its inception in 1793-4 to the day of its passing out of view, lost like the morning star in the splendour of a rising sun, I feel that my task is ended. The irony of events was curious, in that the man who had undergone so much tribulation, and suffered so

much ignominy at York, should finally have become its first chief magistrate, when incorporated as a city: nay more, that he should have shewn himself, in that position—whatever may have been his imprudences in a subsequent stage of his career—an able, vigorous and sensible organizer, who, with a spice of Oliver Cromwell in his composition, and much of the insight of an Adam Smith into the arena of social science in his understanding, grappled boldly, and, as will be allowed on all hands, successfully, with the great difficulties of the situation.

I am aware that the Upper Canadian York which I have sought to save from oblivion was a town which, throughout the whole of the four decades of its existence, met with scant favour in many quarters.

Visitors of a day, from M. de Petit-Thouars to Lieutenant Coke, passed their trivial judgments upon it from their momentary survey. Travellers making the grand tour of the United States and Canada, and purposing, possibly, the publication, on their return home, of a volume or two of "Travels," would seize the occasion to make shrewd comparisons between York and certain United States towns, such as Buffalo or Rochester—each of later origin than York—to the general disadvantage of the Upper Canadian capital, putting wholly out of view the vast difference in the circumstances and geographical position of the contrasted places. York lay wholly out of the line of the traffic and trade developing so actively in the Great West, and backed at the time to the north, and for that matter to the west and east likewise, by interminable tracts of unbroken forest; so that it was utterly unlikely—nay, wholly impossible—that there should be about York, at the periods referred to, the movement, and life, and growth which, as a matter of necessity, were conspicuous about places situated and circumstanced as Buffalo, Rochester and other places along the southern sides of Lakes Ontario and Erie were.

And again, among many classes of Upper Canadians themselves, York was unmercifully flouted: for example, among those who, in the general advance of the country, had become identified with other thriving centres of business and life in the Province of Upper Canada, and were piqued at having to repair, for the settlement of every matter of great pith and moment to a town so little advanced in point of civilization beyond their own flourishing homes—a town, nevertheless, which affected a certain conventional superiority, by virtue of its character as the seat of Government.

And again: others, like Robert Gourlay, associating the place with abuses which they believed were rampant in it, heaped curses upon it loud as well as deep. It was where, as they believed, they themselves

had personally experienced the insolence of office and the law's delay, and no good thing could come out of it.

By means and through causes such as these, there was set up a kind of odium, ~~latent~~ and latent, in respect of the Upper Canadian York, which became, in numerous families and neighbourhoods, traditional, from decade to decade, throughout the period of its existence.

Nevertheless, prejudices and prepossessions to the contrary notwithstanding, the Upper Canadian York, to those whose lot was cast there, was a town pleasant enough to live in—pleasant enough to pass the days of childhood and youth, of manhood and old age in—a place as plentifully supplied as any other with good fathers, good mothers, and seemly households; with men and women of sterling type, upright, straightforward, and full of "the milk of human kindness."

The real significance of the Upper Canadian York as a landmark of aggressive advance on the part of English civilization in 1793-4, and the sagacity of its first projector and founder as to its adaptability to become in a far future a great emporium of agriculture, merchandise, manufactures and learning, and the capital city of a Province tantamount to a State, may now be justly estimated, not through the off-hand report of a tourist or visitor of an hour, nor from the well-intentioned but crude conclusions of over-hasty doctrinaires of fifty years ago, but from what it has already become, and what it bids fair further to become, hereafter, under its re-assumed, beautiful, and expressive name, TORONTO.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

NOTE ON THE RECENTLY-DISCOVERED MAP OF THE HARBOUR
OF TORONTO IN 1788.

DURING the course of researches made in London, in 1884, for documents having a bearing on the dispute about the boundaries of the Province of Ontario, Mr. Thomas Hodgins, Q. C., lighted on a curious plan of the harbour of Toronto in 1788, a copy of which he at once transmitted to Mr. W. B. McMurich, Chairman of the general Semi-Centennial Committee. It is entitled "A plan of the proposed Toronto harbour, with the proposed town and post by the settlement." It is dated Quebec, 5th December, 1788. It was executed by Captain Gotther Mann, of the Royal Engineers. Along with the plan was a report by the same officer, sent to the Right Hon. Lord Dorchester, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in British America. The report is dated at Quebec, December 6th, 1788. Speaking of the harbour, Captain Mann says: "The harbour of Toronto is near two miles in length from the entrance on the west to the isthmus between it and a large morass on the eastward. The breadth of the entrance is about half a mile, but the navigable channel for vessels is only about 500 yards, having from three to three-and-a-half fathoms water. The north, or main shore, the whole length of the harbour, is clay bank, from twelve to twenty feet high, and, rising gradually behind, apparently good land, and fit for settlement. The water is rather shoal near this shore, having but one fathom depth at 100 yards distance, two fathoms at 200 yards distance; and when I sounded here the waters of the lake were very high. There is a good and safe anchorage everywhere within the harbour, being either soft or sandy bottom. The south shore is composed of a great number of sand hills and ridges, intersected with swamps and small creeks. It is of unequal breadth, from a quarter of a mile to a mile wide across from the harbour to the lake, and runs in length to the eastward five or six miles. Through the middle of the isthmus before mentioned, or rather nearer the north shore, is a channel with two fathoms of water, and in the morass there are other channels from one to two fathoms deep. From what has been said it will appear that the harbour of Toronto is capacious, safe and

well sheltered; but the entrance being from the westward is a great disadvantage to it, as the prevailing wind is from this quarter, and as this is a fair wind from hence down the lake, of course it is that with which vessels in general would take their departure from this place; but they may frequently find it difficult to get out of the harbour. The shoalness of the north shore, as before marked, is also disadvantageous as to erecting wharves, quays, etc. In regard to the place as a military post, I do not see any very striking features to recommend it in that view; but the best situation to occupy for the purpose of protecting the settlement of the harbour, would, I conceive, be on the point near the entrance thereof."

Captain Gother Mann is a welcome addition to the list of persons whose writings throw light on the early history of Toronto. It is to be observed that his name also occurs at page 73 of Mr. Brynner's Report on Canadian Archives, in connection with a document relating to the defences of Canada in the direction of Lake Champlain, dated London, November 23rd, 1791. The sketch of the Island and the soundings in the Bay, as given by Captain Mann, are very interesting, and the course of the Don, delineated by him, shows, as stated elsewhere in this volume, that the present principal outlet of the river was artificially made. It used to be known as the Little Don, and was understood to have been, in the origin, simply a shallow channel scooped out across the narrow bank of sand, as a short cut for fishermen and others desirous of ascending the stream. The route of the Indian path or "road toward Lake La Clie," along the valley of the Humber, is of great interest. This path is repeatedly mentioned in the notebooks of the pioneer surveyor, Augustus Jones. La Clie is a corruption of Lac aux Claires, one of the several well-known names given from time to time to Lake Simcoe, the earliest of which, however, was Lake Toronto, as we read in a letter of La Salle's, preserved in Margry's *Memoires et Documents*, page 115. On the 22nd of August, 1680, La Salle says he was "au bord du lac Toronto" (sic), having travelled thither northward the day before, from Teioiaigon, that is to say, the "Portage Landing," near the mouth of the present Humber.

Captain Mann's delineation of the "views of the Trading Post of Toronto" is of particular value. It shows the number of the buildings, great and small, included within the palisade to have been five. The remains of these would of course be quite conspicuous in 1788, only about twenty-eight years after their destruction by fire, at the bidding of the French military authorities. Traces of them were plainly visible down to 1878, when they were finally obliterated by the levelling made

1680

Ruins

in preparing the Toronto Industrial Exhibition Grounds for their present use.

Captain Mann's town plot is of course purely ideal. For regularity and simplicity it might be a plan of the capital of Utopia or the New Atlantis. Like the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse, "the city lieth foursquare;" and, evidently for strategical reasons, the military engineer has reserved on each of its four sides a broad promorium or esplanade, never to be violated by the plough, or built over. It is curious to observe in the Journal of Mr. Chewett, Chief Draughtsman in the first Surveyor-General's office of Upper Canada, under date of 22nd of April, 1792, the entry made of a plan sent to him by Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, of the "town and township of Toronto," with an enquiry as to whether it was ever laid out. The plan about which the query was put was very probably the identical one discovered by Mr. Hodgins. Mr. Chewett's reply is not recorded; but that no such town plot was ever surveyed or laid out is manifest from the absence of all allusion to such an incident in the notebook of Augustus Jones, where he speaks of the plan of the proposed town of York, in 1793.

As to the orthography "Toronto," for Toronto, adopted by Captain Mann—it certainly occurs in a few maps and documents; but it is unquestionably exceptional and late. Other forms appearing occasionally were, as has been pointed out in this volume, *Toranto* and *Taronto*. The syllables *en* and *an* in these forms, it must be remembered, were pronounced in the French way; so that, after all, virtually nothing more than the name Toronto, as we pronounce it, was intended to be represented. The normal form of the word was Toronto, as we see it in La Salle's letter in 1680. French maps and official documents of the same date and slightly later, show the same orthography, as e.g., the map illustrative of Lahontan's Letters of 1692. Vaudreuil's orthography in 1718 is Toronto. Throughout Pouchot's Memoir of the Late War, in 1755-60, it is the same. In Carver's Travels, in 1760-8, the name is given (p. 171) as Toronto, while in the accompanying map it is carelessly engraved Toranto. In Alexander Henry's Travels, 1760-70, we have Toranto (p. 179), but in a note on the same page Toronto is given as an *alias*. Like many other writers on Canada after the English occupation, Captain Mann was probably quite unacquainted with the source and history of the name Toronto. In the very papers sent out by Mr. Hodgins to Mr. McMurich, Captain Mann stands corrected. The writer of the despatch No. 58, dated Quebec, October 24th, 1790, requesting the Colonial Office authorities to send to Lord Dorchester

(among other documents) this plan of Clother Mann's, employs the generally received rendering of the name; and in a later report written by Captain Mann himself, dated October 29th, 1792, of which an extract was also forwarded by Mr. Hodgins, the orthography "Toronto," is adopted. As illustrative of the absence of information in regard to the source and history of the name Toronto, it may be added that as late as 1841 we have Sir Richard Bonnycastle, an officer of the Royal Engineers, like Captain Mann, reporting that the French trading post here was called "Tarento, Toronto, or some such name, from (as it is supposed) the Italian engineer who built it." Sir R. Bonnycastle had probably never read that this French trading-post was officially named Fort Rouillé, and that no engineer officer of the name of Toronto was ever heard of in Canada.

It is not difficult to see why Captain Mann took the trouble to sketch out his imaginary city of Toronto in 1788. "In regard to the place as a military post," he says, "I do not see any very striking features to recommend it in that view; but the best situation to occupy for the purpose of protecting the settlement of the harbour would be, I conceive, on the point near the entrance thereof." He sketched the city and surrounding settlement to shew that his suggested fortification was calculated to cover the town and settlement in case of an attack from a hostile fleet. It would seem that Bouchette, who surveyed the harbour in 1793, was not aware of Mann's previous survey. Bouchette's representation of the Peninsula, which may be seen at p. 88, vol. I, of his "British Dominions in North America," is much more minute and circumstantial than Clother Mann's. It may be added that up to the moment of the division of the Province of Quebec into two Governments, there were persons at the ancient capital fully awake to the probability that round the site of the old French trading post at Toronto a city would one day spring up. Thus we learn from Augustus Jones's papers that M. Rocheblave, Capt. Lajorée and Captain Bouchette (father of the naval officer), had endeavoured to secure considerable grants of land in that locality; a project frustrated by the transfer of the land-granting power from Lord Dorchester's Government, at Quebec, to the authorities of the new Province of Upper Canada, at York.

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