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# THE CANADIAN JOURNAL.

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RICARDUS CORINENSIS:

A LITERARY MASKING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY DANIEL WILSON, LL.D.,

*Professor of History and English Literature, University College, Toronto.*

Mr. Richard Gough, in his introduction to the "Archæologia," which was destined to be the enduring repertory of English Antiquities, labours to establish a becoming age for the Society of Antiquaries itself. According to him, that brotherhood of antiquarian devotees had its origin in the great era of religious and intellectual revolution to which Queen Elizabeth's name is fitly applied, when men of the highest intellect, possessed by the new ideas of the age, were struggling for the world's emancipation from the thralldom of antiquity. In the year 1572, a few eminent English scholars, under the auspices of Archbishop Parker and Sir Robert Cotton, assembled at the house of the latter, and formed themselves into a society for the preservation of the ancient monuments of their country. The British Museum Library is the enduring memorial of the labours of one of those conservators of national antiquities, in an age of revolution. But it is to a far different age, and to a very diverse reign, we must turn, for the actual foundation of the Society of Antiquaries. Not in the earnest, progressive era of Queen Elizabeth, but in that most unearnest of centuries with which Queen Anne's name is fitly associated: a body of gentlemen, not less zealous, though of far inferior note to their precursors of the sixteenth

century, began their meetings, in 1708, in the Young Devil Tavern, Fleet Street, London; and established a society for the study of antiquities, which has since rendered valuable service to letters and national history. It was not, however, till 1718, that they were thoroughly organised, with a staff of office-bearers, and a regular record of their proceedings. But from this we learn that their first President was Peter Le Neve, Esq., Norroy King-at-Arms, and their first Secretary Dr. William Stukeley, a fitting type of the antiquarian enthusiast of that eighteenth century. He was still a layman, a Fellow of the College of Physicians, devoted to the study of the natural sciences, a zealous botanist, an ingenious experimenter in chemistry, and an active cooperator in many curious anatomical dissections, with Stephen Hales, a fellow member of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Dr. Stukeley settled in his native county of Lincolnshire as a medical practitioner, and acquired considerable professional reputation. But soon after he reached his fortieth year, his own health began to fail; and, on the persuasion, it is said, of Archbishop Wake, he abandoned the medical profession and took orders. Soon after, in 1729, he was presented, by the Lord Chancellor King, to the living of All Saints, in Stamford; and thenceforth he devoted his leisure to the gratification of his favourite taste for antiquarian research. Much of his spare time had been given to such studies even in earlier years, when his professional training, and the bent of his friend Hales' tastes, tempted him in other directions. So early as 1720, he published "An Account of a Roman Temple, and other Antiquities near Graham's Dike, in Scotland:" said "Roman Temple" being the famous Arthur's Oon, a singular bee-hive structure of squared masonry, twenty-eight feet in diameter, and with all its characteristics pointing to a very different age than that in which Roman temples were reared. A hint of the Scottish historian George Buchanan, sufficed for the theory that it was the *Templum Termini*, a sacellum reared on the limits of Roman rule. Dr. Stukeley giving his imagination full play, conceived of it as the work of Agricola, and dedicated to Romulus, the parent deity of Rome; and in his enthusiasm pronounced it to be a fac simile of "the famous Pantheon at Rome, before the noble portico was added to it by Marcus Agrippa." Other works followed in the same vein, dealing with Stonehenge, Abury, the Druids, and British antiquities in general. He could use his pencil, as well as his pen, with facility; and grudged no outlay in the issue of copiously illustrated folios and quartos, according

to the fashion of that age. Hence his reputation was extended far and wide, as one foremost among the antiquarian authorities of his day.

But Stukeley's day was one in which antiquarian zeal was little tempered by critical judgment. The historian Gibbon, while turning to account his "Medallic History of Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius, Emperor of Britain," adds in a note: "I have used his materials, and rejected most of his fanciful conjectures." Few writers have more widely differed in every mental characteristic, than the calm, philosophic, sceptical historian of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," and the fanciful, credulous, but enthusiastic author of the "Itinerarium Curiosum." He visited Oxford, in September, 1724, and one of its fellows, Thomas Hearne, has recorded the fact in his Diary, with this comment on his brother antiquary: "This Dr. Stukeley is a mighty conceited man, and it is observed by all I talked with that what he does hath no manner of likeness to the originals. He goes all by fancy. . . . In short, as he addicts himself to fancy altogether, what he does must have no regard among judicious and truly ingenuous men." A biographer in the "Penny Cyclopædia" sums up his character in this fashion: "No antiquarian ever had so lively, not to say licentious a fancy as Stukeley. The idea of the obscure, remote past, inflamed him like a passion. Most even of his descriptions are rather visions than sober relations of what would be perceived by an ordinary eye; and never, before or since, were such broad continuous webs of speculation woven out of little more than moonshine." An amiable enthusiast himself, he was well fitted to maintain in friendly cooperation the fellowship of antiquaries who, in that eighteenth century, set themselves to work, with characteristic enthusiasm, on coins, medals, seals, ancient monuments, records, rolls, genealogies, and manuscripts of all sorts; and was specially noticeable among the antiquarian fraternity, as one to whom a novice in the craft might turn for sympathy, without much danger of being troubled by critical doubts or questionings as to the genuineness of any plausible antique submitted to him. He was accordingly selected, in due time, as the confidant of an antiquarian discoverer, of a type peculiar to that eighteenth century; and has since owed his chief fame to the part he bore in the marvellous literary disclosure.

In the year 1743, in which Dr. Stukeley published his learned folio on "Abury, a Temple of the British Druids," the Princess Louisa, youngest daughter of George II., was married, at the age of nineteen,

to Frederick, Crown Prince of Denmark, who, within less than three years thereafter, succeeded his father on the throne of Denmark and Norway, by the title of Frederick V. The English princess won universal good-will by her simple, unaffected manners, in striking contrast to the exclusiveness and formal etiquette which had prevailed during the previous reign. She gave an heir to the throne, in the Crown Prince, afterwards Christian VII. ; but within two years the Danes had to lament her death, in giving birth to another son.

Among the attendants who constituted the retinue of this royal daughter of England, there went to Copenhagen one Bertram, a silk dyer, and with him, if not earlier, his son, Charles Julius, a youth who by-and-by achieved for himself, in very questionable fashion, a notable reputation among European scholars.

The age was one of much literary ingenuity, and of not a little successful imposture. The prevailing ideas in reference to historical evidence were so vague and crude, that the most barefaced literary frauds obtained ready acceptance even among scholars and critics ; and their exposure brought little or no discredit on their perpetrators. One well-known example of literary masquerading will suffice to illustrate this curious phase of the eighteenth century. Lady Wardlaw, of Pitreavie, the wife of a Scottish Baronet, found, according to her own account, in a vault of Dunfermline Abbey, or elsewhere, an ancient manuscript containing the greater part of the heroic ballad of "Hardyknute." This was published in 1719 as a genuine antique, at the joint expense of Lord President Forbes and Sir Gilbert Elliot, of Minto ; and figured at a later date, in Percy's "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," as "a Scottish fragment : a fine morsel of heroic poetry." After a time some less credulous critics began to suspect the modern authorship ; and Lady Wardlaw, without distinctly admitting it, practically confirmed their judgment by producing additional stanzas. Still later, Lord Hailes—who had persisted in the opinion that the ballad was ancient, though retouched and much enlarged by its professed discoverer,—is said by Bishop Percy to have communicated extracts of a letter from Sir John Bruce, of Kinross, the year after his death in 1766, "which plainly proved the pretended discoverer of the fragment of *Hardyknute* to have been himself." According to the earlier account, Lady Wardlaw "pretended she had found this poem, written on shreds of paper employed for what is called the bottoms of clues." But Lord Hailes furnishes this quotation from the letter asserted to

have been addressed by Sir John Bruce to Lord Binning: "I send you a true copy of the manuscript I found some weeks ago in a vault at Dunfermline. It is written on vellum, in a fair gothic character, but so much defaced by time, as you'll find, that the tenth part is not legible." Sir John Bruce, a brother-in-law of Lady Wardlaw, was already in his grave, so no questions could be asked. Whoever penned the extract, most probably meant nine-tenths, when he referred to "the tenth part." But to whomsoever its authorship be ascribed, the letter was not more genuine than the parchment it referred to.

The poem itself had long before issued from the press of James Watson, of Edinburgh, in the form of a twelve page folio tract; but later editions include additional stanzas, over and above those first produced by Lady Wardlaw in practical acknowledgment of her title to the authorship of the whole. To the versatile pen of this little-headed Scottish poetess, Dr. Robert Chambers has since ascribed the production of "Sir Patrick Spens," "Gil Morrice," "Young Waters," "Gilderoy," and others: the cream of Scottish ballads, hitherto regarded as genuine antiques, and printed by Percy as such, though not always without unacknowledged patchings, or variations and additions on the authority of his ancient folio MS.

Or let us take an example among the foremost critics of that day. The hero of the "Dunciad," Lewis Theobald, had his revenge on his satirist, by publishing a critical edition of Shakespeare's dramas which completely eclipsed that of Pope, and is still recognised as a valuable addition to Shakesperian textual criticism. But in 1728, he printed, as a genuine play of Shakespeare, recovered from an original manuscript: "The Double Falsehood," a worthless production, which was nevertheless introduced on the stage, and received with general admiration. The following passage, so foreign alike to the style and rhythm of Shakespeare, was specially singled out for general commendation:—

"Strike up, my masters;  
But touch the strings with a religious softness;  
Teach sound to languish through the night's dull ear,  
Till melancholy start from her lazy couch,  
And carelessness grow convert to attention."

The vanity of the real author was not proof against the seductive applause lavished on these choice lines. He confessed that they were his own, but at the same time persisted in accrediting Shakespeare with the rest. The title of "The Double Falsehood" most aptly pre-



serves the memory of this characteristic incident in the history of the literature of a period, when vanity, and a craving for notoriety on any terms, gave birth to a singular brood of literary bastards.

In striving to elucidate the literary history of that period, the modern editor gets more and more confounded between his reluctance to believe that Lords and Ladies, Bishops, Scholars, Knights and Lord Justices, deliberately penned forgeries, and persisted in contradictory falsehoods: and the impossibility of deducing from their statements any honest version of their story. Theobald, Macpherson, Walpole, Chatterton, and others of minor note, all excited the interest of credulous contemporaries by the same means, until such forgeries of the eighteenth century have come to constitute a highly characteristic department of the literature of that age.

Young Bertram left England in the suite of the Princess Louisa, at a time when such spurious offspring of antiquarian zeal found everywhere an undoubting welcome. "Hardyknute" was then in as high esteem as the "Nibelungen Lied" was destined to be; though the first instalment of that genuine Germanic Iliad, printed in 1757, attracted little attention. For years after, whatever interest he maintained in the literature of his native land, was rewarded by the perusal of ballads, heroic epics, and other products of the same mint, possessing at times genuine merit of their own; but deriving a fictitious value, to which their chief importance was due, from some romantic story of recovered parchment, or antique record. There was nothing of the poet in the boy: or a Norse Saga, after the model of "Hardyknute," would have been the fittest discovery among the archives of Copenhagen; but he had the ambition to rank among the discoverers of his day, and achieved his triumph in a more enduring fashion. The genuineness of his professed discovery remained unchallenged for nearly a century, nor is it wholly discredited even now. But its reputation was chiefly associated with its English editor, and little can be ascertained relating to its discoverer, beyond what Dr. Stukeley has put on record. Slight, however, as are the additions recoverable, they are sufficient to give a novel aspect to the history of the most mischievous of all the literary forgeries of the eighteenth century.

When the boy-poet Chatterton set to work, after the fashion of his age, on the creation of fifteenth century epics and interludes, his old poet-priest, Rowley, was as genuine an offspring of his invention as the poems ascribed to his pen. But the imaginative faculty was weak in

Bertram; and it better suited the purpose he had in view to invent, for an actual chronicler of the fourteenth century, the spurious contribution to Roman history, which, with the aid of his name, obtained such universal and enduring credence.

In the year 1350, when Abbot Nicholas de Lythington ruled over the Benedictine Monastery of St. Peter, Westminster, Richard of Cirencester, a native of the ancient city in Gloucestershire from whence his name is derived, entered that Monastery, at an early age. Hence, when the fame of his literary labours had given importance to his name, he was sometimes referred to as the Monk of Westminster. Nothing is known of his family; though it has been inferred from the education he had received, in an age when facilities for the attainment of any high intellectual culture were beyond the reach of the people at large, that his relatives must have belonged to a superior rank in society. Education, however, was then exclusively in the hands of the Church; and he may have been admitted to the enjoyment of its advantages in return for his own eager desire for knowledge. His name occurs in documents of various dates, pertaining to the monastery, up to the closing year of the century. He obtained in 1391, a licence to visit Rome, from Abbot William, of Colchester, who records therein the virtues and piety of the literary monk, and his regularity in fulfilling all the requirements of Benedictine rule. He appears to have been an inmate of the Abbey infirmary in 1401, where he died in that or the following year; and doubtless his ashes lie in the neighbouring cloisters, outside that Poet's Corner to which the ambition of England's later generations of literary men turns in seeking for death's rarest honours. The genuine historical work of Richard of Cirencester is his "*Speculum Historiale de Gestis regum Angliæ.*" His other authentic works are theological: his "*Tractatus super Symbolum Majus at Minus;*" and his "*Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis.*" But whatever rightful merit pertained to him, has been eclipsed by the spurious reputation which has attached to his name since the middle of the eighteenth century, as a monk of such enlightened zeal, as to have ransacked the libraries and ecclesiastical establishments of England, and explored its ancient remains, with a view to the elucidation of Roman Britain.

The fault of the Tractate, viewed simply as an ingenious invention, is that it is too good for what it professes to be. To Whitaker, Roy, Pinkerton, Chalmers, and all later Roman antiquaries, the idea of

being able to retrace the Watling, Ikniel, or Ermyn Street, and review their favourite objects of study under the guidance of an intelligent observer of the fourteenth century, was possessed of too fascinating a charm to be lightly rejected. Dr. Bruce searches in vain for any trace, along the line of the Roman Wall, of what was abundantly manifest to Horsley little more than a century before. What would he not give to know how it looked to the eyes of the good monk, Richard, in the year 1350, before the waste of five centuries had done its work. To all appearance this was the grand consummation actually achieved for English antiquaries by the discovery at Copenhagen, in 1747, of the MS. treatise "De Situ Britanniae," to which Richard of Cirencester has ever since owed his celebrity. If he did surpass himself, it was due to the virtue of his theme and the character of his guides. Whitaker thus expresses the feelings begot in his mind by a comparison of the novel treatise with Richard's genuine history of Britain from the days of Hengist: "the hope of meeting with discoveries as great in the British and Saxon history, as he has given us concerning the previous period, induced me to examine the work. But my expectations were greatly disappointed. The learned scholar and the deep antiquarian I found sunk into an ignorant novice, sometimes the copier of Huntingdon, but generally the transcriber of Geoffrey. Deprived of his Roman guides, Richard showed himself as ignorant and as injudicious as any of his illiterate contemporaries about him." Yet for all this, not the slightest suspicion of fraud seems to have suggested itself to the acutest of such critics.

Dr. Stukeley was still residing at his Lincolnshire parsonage, when, as he tells us, in the summer of 1747, he "received a letter from Charles Julius Bertram, Professor of the English tongue in the Royal Marine Academy of Copenhagen, a person unknown to me. The letter was polite, full of compliments, as usual with foreigners; expressing much candor and respect to me: being only acquainted with some works of mine published. The letter was dated the year before; for all that time he hesitated in sending it. Soon after my receiving it, I sent a civil answer; which produced another letter, with a prolix and elaborate Latin epistle enclosed, from the famous Mr. Gramm, privy-counsellor and chief librarian to his Danish Majesty: a learned gentleman who had been in England, and visited our Universities. He was Mr. Bertram's great friend and patron. I answered that letter, and it

created a correspondence between us. Among other matters, Mr. Bertram mentioned a manuscript, in a friend's hands, of Richard of Westminster, being a history of Roman Britain, which he thought a great curiosity; and an ancient map of the island annexed."

Nothing could be better devised for securing a reception to the reputed discovery. Every nook and cranny of Roman England had already been ransacked with loving zeal by the Lincolnshire antiquary; imagination had been called in where facts failed, to eke out a coherent narrative; but still much remained obscure. But here was the politely appreciative foreign savant, full of respect for the Doctor and praise of his works; and, in the midst of all his pleasant "candour and respect," dropping incidentally the hint of a recovered history of Roman Britain, as it presented itself to the eyes of an antiquarian brother of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Peter, in the year 1350, with all that the waste of five centuries had since defaced and obliterated.

Soon after the receipt of Bertram's first letter, Dr. Stukeley was presented to the Rectory of St. George the Martyr, Queen Square, London; and so was permanently established within easy access to his favourite literary associates, whose meetings were now held in the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street, until their removal, in 1753, to a house of their own in Chancery Lane. The stimulus of such society speedily manifested its influence. He had not, apparently, while resident at Stamford, fully appreciated the advantages of a history of Roman Britain, as studied by an observer of the fourteenth century; or been, as he says, "solicitous about Richard of Westminster." But, as he writes in 1747, "in November, that year, the Duke of Montagu, who was pleas'd to have a favour for me, drew me from a beloved retirement, where I proposed to spend the remainder of my life;" and so he goes on to state: "when I became fix'd in London, I thought it proper to cultivate my Copenhagen correspondence, and I received another Latin letter from Mr. Gramm; and soon after an account of his death, and a print of him in profile."

Of his Danish Majesty's privy-counsellor and chief librarian, a word or two more may be needful before the close; but it was not till after the news of his death that the correspondence with Bertram was renewed, and his great literary discovery actually transcribed. The discussions with the Gales, Talman, Vertue, and other antiquaries at the Mitre meetings, soon fanned the old zeal into renewed fervour; and, as Dr. Stukeley tells us, he "began to think of the manuscript, and desired

some little extract from it; then an imitation of the hand-writing, which I showed to my late friend, Mr. Casley, Keeper in the Cotton Library, who immediately pronounced it to be 400 years old. I pressed Mr. Bertram to get the manuscript into his hands, if possible; which at length, with some difficulty he accomplished; and on my solicitation sent me, in letters, a transcript of the whole, and at last a copy of the map: he having an excellent hand in drawing. Upon perusal, I seriously solicited him to print it, as the greatest treasure we now can boast of in this kind of learning."

The date of the reception of the completed transcript and map, we learn from Dr. Stukeley's Journal, extracts from which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1835. He thus writes, under date, March 1st, 1748-9: "I rec'd from my friend, Mr. Bertram of Copenhagen, a copy of his curious MS. of *Ric'us Westmonasteriensis* with the map—'t's a most valuable curiosity to the antiquity of Brittan, being compiled out of old manuscripts in Westminster Library, now lost;" and by the 31st of the same month he is able to record in his journal: "I finished the translation of *Ricardus Westmonasteriensis*."

Whatever may have been the cause of Dr. Stukeley's indifference on first receiving Bertram's hint of his reputed discovery, his zeal now became unbounded; and the reception of his labours by European scholars and historians left him no reason to doubt that it was expended in a worthy cause. In 1757, he published the "Itinerary," with an abstract of the remaining portions of the work. In professed obedience to his urgent entreaties, Bertram himself, in the following year, put the whole to press, and published at Copenhagen, a volume in which Richard figures alongside of Gildas and Nennius, under the title "*Britannicarum Gentium Historiæ Antiquæ Scriptores tres: Ricardus Corinensis, Gildas Badonicus, Nennius Banchoensis, &c.*" The book was in immediate demand, and, if only genuine,—which nobody then doubted,—well merited the most careful study.

The Itinerary contains eighteen Iters, professedly compiled by Richard from certain fragments written by a Roman General,—supposed by Stukeley, in defiance of all possibilities, to have been Agricola;—and from Ptolemy and other authors. Richard, indeed, in a style wonderfully unlike that of a monkish historian, takes credit to himself for having altered the work, as he hopes for the better, with their assistance. The Itinerary of Antoninus, the most ample record on the subject, contains references to one hundred and thirteen Roman stations, while

Richard mentions one hundred and seventy-six. To the Scottish antiquary his additions are peculiarly tempting: for he fills up the whole map of Roman Scotland to the Moray Firth, and plants a municipium on the site of Inverness. No wonder that the Copenhagen edition soon became scarce. A third edition, forming part of Dr. Stukeley's "Itinerarium Curiosum" in two amply illustrated folio volumes, was issued after his death. In 1809, Hatcher published another edition, with a translation, commentary, maps, and fac-simile of the MS. A reprint of this followed in 1841; and so recently as 1848, it was once more reproduced, as one of "Six Old English Chronicles," edited, with illustrative notes, for "Bohn's Antiquarian Library," by J. A. Giles, D.C.L., late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford: without a hint of any suspicion of its genuineness.

The time for challenge had seemingly gone by. Authenticated by Gibbon and other historians; by Whitaker, Roy, and the whole fellowship of antiquaries: it seemed befitting later editors to elucidate the text, with no further challenge than consisted with the probable shortcomings of a monkish antiquary of the middle ages. Yet the history of the original discovery curiously illustrates the uncritical credulity of that eighteenth century. Bertram, an unknown foreigner, informed Stukeley of the MS. as then "in a friend's hand." By-and-by he is able to state that, not without some difficulty, it has been transferred from its nameless owner to himself. His friend and patron, the privy-councillor Gramm, possibly left on the mind of Dr. Stukeley the impression, after perusal of his "prolix and elaborate Latin epistle," that he had seen it. But the privy-councillor died before the MS. was transcribed; Bertram himself died in 1765, and nobody from that day till this ever saw it, or heard of any one who had done so.

Nevertheless, this work continued, for nearly a century, to be regarded among British scholars as the indispensable hand-book of the Roman antiquary, and still forms a part of some of his most useful text-books. Mr. Ackerman has printed it in his "Archæological Index," as the legitimate sequence to Ptolemy, Antoninus, and the Notitia. Still later, Mr. Thomas Wright has followed his example, and in the appendix to his "Celt, Roman, and Saxon," after giving the portion of the Antonine Itinerary relating to Britain, he adds in succession the "Itinerary of Richard," and the "Ravenna List." When his edition of 1852 appeared, the authority of Richard's Tractate had become matter of discussion, and so the author inserts a saving clause to lighten

his critical responsibility. Richard's description of Britain, he says, "appears to be made up of very discordant materials. How much was really the work of a monk of Westminster, and how much we owe to the modern editor, Bertram of Copenhagen, it is not easy to say, for the manuscript has very strangely disappeared. It appears, however, that the old monk had before him a Roman itinerary similar to that of Antoninus, or perhaps a map, from which he extracted the part relating to Britain. That this Itinerary was not invented by Bertram seems clear from the circumstance that his roads, though they are not always the same as those in Antoninus, have been traced where he traces them, and that their existence was certainly not known in Bertram's time;" and so having thus asserted the genuineness of the Itinerary, he proceeds to insert it as the legitimate link between that ascribed to Antoninus Augustus, assigned to A.D. 320, and another derived from the Cosmography of the anonymous writer of Ravenna; compiled not later than the seventh century.

This process of inserting the spurious document between two genuine ones was first adopted by Bertram himself; and, while the authentic Gildas and Nennius, selected by him for the purpose, gave an air of genuineness to their new found associate; the reputed monkish antiquary of the fourteenth century appeared to no slight advantage alongside of those credulous Celtic chroniclers. But, in reality the forging of such an Itinerary as Bertram produced required neither learning nor ingenuity. "It appears that the old monk had before him a Roman itinerary similar to that of Antoninus," says the author of the "Celt, Roman, and Saxon," and so it "seems clear" to him that Bertram could not have invented it. But what if Bertram, himself, had the Antonine Itinerary before him, along with any map of Roman Britain, the feat of making such a one as he produced to Dr. Stukeley lay within the compass of any ordinary school boy's capacity for invention. The Itinerary is nothing more than a series of local names, arranged in columns, in geographical sequence, with the distances in thousand paces, stated in Roman numerals: though this indispensable requirement of an itinerary is omitted by Richard whenever he is in more than usual uncertainty; or, as Mr. Thomas Wright says: "The text of Richard's Diaphragmata is in some parts imperfect, from the damaged state of the manuscript." In reality the whole *Iter Britanniarum* of Antoninus is engrafted into Richard's Itinerary, with the exception of less than a dozen towns. The series are broken occa-

sionally, and sometimes inverted; but just where the measurements of new roads are in request the manuscript is sure to fail. But indeed the only manuscript ever ascertained to have been seen by Danish or English antiquary is the Bertram correspondence with Dr. Stukeley. Its transcriber was not even put to the trouble of rendering his iters in fourteenth century characters.

The manuscripts of Antoninus are numerous; but the discrepancies in the distances given in different MSS., consequent on the liability to error in the transcription of arbitrary numerals, greatly detract from its value; so that a genuine itinerary of later date, with trustworthy admeasurements; or even an accurate transcript of an early manuscript of the *Itinerarium* ascribed to Antoninus, would be an important addition to Roman geography. No one, however, has pretended to accredit Richard with this virtue; but in lieu of it, he is appealed to for novel additions to the elder itinerary.

“Two imperfect itineraries,” says Mr. Thomas Wright, “giving the names and distances from each other of the towns and stations on the principal military roads, have been preserved.” The first of these is that of Antoninus; “the other is contained in the work of Richard of Cirencester, and is supposed to have been copied by a monk of the fourteenth century, from an older itinerary or map. They differ little from each other; but our faith in Richard’s Itinerary is strengthened by the circumstance that nearly all the roads he gives which are not in Antoninus have been ascertained to exist.” The ground of faith, thus indicated, in Richard, is vague enough when analysed; for the most he has done is to supply a string of names, with, or without specific distances, between certain well-known Roman towns. Enthusiastic antiquaries have done the rest. The names supplied by him have been appropriated to sites of Roman camps, stations, or traces of earth-works of any kind: but while the names in the *Notitia* have been repeatedly localised by their discovery on inscribed altars and tablets, or on vessels, such as the famous bronze Rudge Cup: no single name among all the places mentioned for the first time in Richard’s Itinerary has been verified by such means. Without this, the appropriation of his names to intermediate points between well-ascertained Roman stations can furnish no corroboration of his text.

Nevertheless, the foremost authorities among Roman antiquaries of our own day have been no less ready than General Roy was, a century before, to adopt Richard as their guide. The history, indeed, of the



eager reception,—without one dissentient voice,—of a professed manuscript of the fourteenth century, unheard of before; unseen, so far as now appears, by anybody; and ascribed to a monk whose chronicle and theological writings were well known; but whose name had never before been heard of in connection with so remarkable a work: is highly interesting as an illustration of the crude ideas as to literary or historical evidence which then prevailed.

As to Dr. Stukeley, his delight at the discovery of the treasure he had been privileged to introduce to the learned world was unbounded. Apologising for the short-comings of his earlier labours and researches in the field of Britanno-Roman antiquities, he thus introduces the new-found luminary by whose beams all doubt and obscurities are to be dissipated: “the more readily, therefore, I can excuse myself, in regard to imperfections in that work [the *Itinerarium Curiosum*], as I had not sight of our author’s treatise, Richard of Cirencester, at that time absolutely unknown. Since, then, I have had the good fortune to save this most invaluable work of his, I could not refrain from contributing somewhat toward giving an account of it and of its author:” and so—after once more felicitating himself and all who share in his literary and antiquarian sympathies, on having reason to congratulate themselves “that the present work of Richard is happily rescued from oblivion, and most likely from destruction;”—he proceeds to narrate the mode by which his knowledge of it was acquired.

The “*De Situ Britannix*” was recognised from the first as a compilation; was indeed professedly set forth by its author as such. “Compiled out of old manuscripts in Westminster Library, now lost,” says Dr. Stukeley; “the old monk had before him a Roman itinerary similar to that of Antoninus,” says Mr. Thomas Wright. Of ancient authors he, of course, makes use. Diodorus, Pliny, Cæsar, Tacitus, &c., are quoted: and with such minute accordance with certain texts—as we shall find,—as to furnish very amusing anachronisms for a monk of the fourteenth century. Solinus, the Latin geographer, is followed *verbatim* in the opening sentence, as elsewhere, without reference or acknowledgement. That, however, an old monk might perhaps be allowed to do without challenge. But when he betrays a like familiarity with Camden; reproduces hints of Horsley; and even suggests a suspicion whether he may not have been a borrower from Stukeley himself: any faith in the authenticity of an ancient manuscript of the *De Situ Britannix*, becomes impossible.

A school of Roman antiquaries, however, was at work in that eighteenth century. with much learning and zeal, but with still more credulity. Sir Walter Scott has pictured them with graphic humour in his immortal *Antiquary*, with his "Essay upon Castrametation, with some particular remarks upon the vestiges of ancient fortifications lately discovered by the Author at the Kaim of Kinprunes:" the supposed *Castra pruinis* of Claudian. Agricola was the central figure of all their speculations; and Tacitus the authority on whose narrative their discoveries and speculations were ever throwing new light. In the midst of such seductive toils, the discovery of Richard's manuscript, was like the lost books of Livy to the historian of early Rome. The acutest among the critical investigators of the age—though engaged in controversies carried on with a bitterness happily unknown to modern literary dissentions,—concurred in welcoming the Benedictine's Itinerary; and so ingeniously adapted its vaguest hints to their own speculations and discoveries, that for nearly three quarters of a century, no doubt, was raised as to Bertram's good faith in the reputed discovery.

Foremost among those who thus gave confirmation to Richard's treatise on ancient British geography, by identifying its iters and stations with their own discoveries, was the distinguished author of "The Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain." Major-General Roy had served as an officer of engineers under the Duke of Cumberland, in his Scottish Campaign of 1745. He was employed in the surveys and military works suggested by the events of that critical period; and was subsequently commissioned to construct a map of Scotland from actual survey. In doing so he made careful and accurate drawings of Roman camps, roads, and other earth-works: the whole of which, with his descriptive narrative, furnished the materials for a costly folio printed at the expense of the Society of Antiquaries of London, in 1791, under the comprehensive title of "The Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain; and particularly their ancient system of castrametation: illustrated from vestiges of the camps of Agricola existing there. Hence his march from South into North Britain is in some degree traced; comprehending also a treatise, wherein the ancient geography of that part of the island is rectified, chiefly from the lights furnished by Richard of Cirencester."

The work of General Roy is, and ever will be, an invaluable contribution to the history of the period of Roman occupation of Britain. It furnishes accurate surveys of many important earth-works, since

defaced or wholly destroyed; and by associating the name of Richard with the accurate and trustworthy record of his own surveys and measurements, the supposed monkish antiquary was presented anew to the learned world with credentials scarcely admitting of challenge by any ordinary critic.

Gibbon discriminated between the "fanciful conjectures" of Stukeley and the numismatic materials accumulated by him in his "Medallic History;" but of Richard and his "*De Situ Britannicæ*," he says: "he shows a genuine knowledge of antiquity very extraordinary for a monk of the fourteenth century." No wonder, therefore, that such historians as Lingard and Lappenberg; and a whole century of Roman antiquaries: have appealed undoubtingly to the monkish chronicler. Whitaker in his "History of Manchester," and Stuart in his "Caledonia Romana," deal with him as an undoubted and valuable authority. Ritson, the keenest of literary censors, accepts his treatise unchallenged. Roy says of him, "it is evident that Richard had borrowed very considerably from the Alexandrian geographer; yet there is one part of his work, namely, that including the *Diaphragmata* [*i. e.*, the Itinerary], which is quite new and curious, and carries along with it the appearance of being truly genuine." Nearly every English writer on Roman history or antiquities in the latter half of the eighteenth century refers to it in like fashion, as a valuable addition to the materials at his command. Stuart makes no distinction between the provinces of Roman Britain recorded in the "Notitia Imperii" and that of Vespasiana, which rests on the sole authority of Richard, and spread, according to the author of the "*Caledonia Romana*," "from the barrier of Antoninus northward, and was bounded, as is supposed, by the great valley through which now passes the Caledonian Canal;" so also Mr. Charles Roach Smith, one of the most zealous among the Roman antiquaries of our own day, uses Richard's Itinerary as a safe guide to Roman Britain; and in his excellent work devoted to "the Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lyme, in Kent," unhesitatingly employs him to correct, or supplement the geography of Ptolemy, and the Itinerary of Antoninus. The latter, according to his received text, makes *Dunrobrivæ*, or Rochester, thirty-seven miles distant from *Londinium*; whilst Richard assigns only twenty-seven miles. But Mr. C. R. Smith accounts for it by assuming for the former an indirect route; and finds in "the apparent discrepancy one of the internal evidences of the authenticity of this writer."

It need not excite our wonder that what is thus set forth by the highest antiquarian authorities, is taught without hesitation in schools and colleges. The maps provided for them are supplemented with names derived from Richard's Itinerary; and the authoritative book of reference on Ancient Geography produced under the editorship of Dr. William Smith, presents to every student of Roman Britain a text in which Richard of Cirencester amends Ptolemy, overrides Tacitus, and mingles truth and fable in inextricable confusion.

The difficulties of the Romano-British antiquary have been perplexing enough; but once he fully awakes to the worthlessness of this long-accepted authority, the complexities attendant on his researches will be wonderfully multiplied: when he is compelled to be on his guard in every reference to his authorities, for more than a century subsequent to the year 1748, lest he too be cheated with the chaff they have thus persistently mingled with the true grains of knowledge.

So recently as 1858, Mr. Henry MacLauchlan's "Survey of the Roman Wall" issued from the press, in fulfilment of the liberal purpose of the late Duke of Northumberland. There Richard of Cirencester is referred to, along with Nennius and Bede, without a doubt being hinted as to the one being less genuine than the other; and on the elaborately executed maps of the survey the names of Roman stations are taken as freely from Richard as from any other authority. The same is true of the maps of the Ordnance Survey; of Mr. C. C., Babbington's Map of Roman Cambridgeshire; and indeed of nearly every map of Roman Britain published during the present century.

So far, then, it is obvious that, if the "De Situ Britanniae," ascribed to Richard of Cirencester be indeed one of the literary forgeries of the eighteenth century, produced in that age of perverse ingenuity which gave birth to Hardyknute, Ossian, Rowley, and other poetic creations of the same class: its fabricator had his abundant reward. His success is, indeed, without a parallel in the history of literary frauds: unless we go back to a time little less modern than that of the Westminster monk, when Ingulf's reputed History of his Abbey of Croyland, and its Saxon charters,—including the *Golden Charter* of Ethelbald, resplendent with illuminations wholly unknown in Saxon times;—were produced in A.D. 1415, by Prior Richard, to the discomfiture of his opponents, when prosecuting a suit in the King's Court, against those who were treating his ecclesiastical sentence of excommunication with open contempt. Hickes, in his *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, inclines to

cast the odium of their forgery on Abbot Ingulfus himself, who died A.D. 1109. Sir Francis Palgrave thinks both History and Charters no older than the end of the thirteenth, or first half of the fourteenth century. But Mr. H. T. Riley, in his "History and Charters of Ingulfus considered," (*Archæol. Journ.*) fixes on Prior Richard himself as contriver, forger, and producer of the fraudulent documents: not as a literary hoax; but as deliberately forged evidence in the prosecution of a suit in the Courts of Henry V. at Westminster.

Such legal forgeries appear to have been no less characteristic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than the literary ones of Macpherson and Ireland were of their later age. Their manufacture had become a regular trade; and not only spurious Royal Charters, but even Papal Bulls, could be had to order: such as those ascribed to the Popes Honorius and Sergius I., produced by the Prior of Barnwell, as papal delegate for Pope Martin V. in 1430, and still inscribed on the Great Register of the University of Cambridge.

The History and Charters of Croyland Abbey were prepared by its prior with a graver criminal intent than the MS. of his reputed Westminster namesake. Both achieved the amplest success that their forgers could desire; but the discrediting of the former is no more than a curious question of antiquarian research, whereas the latter has not wholly ceased even now to sully the pure stream of historical evidence. Let us then review the grounds on which it has at length been displaced from its long accredited position as an indisputable authority on the traces of the Roman occupation of Britain; and follow out the researches which first cast suspicion on a treatise appealed to without hesitation from the days of Gibbon almost to our own. The Itinerary, itself, as has been already said, was a simple enough invention, though now it is the only part of the work for which any defence is attempted. The Commentary consists of two books the first of which extends to eight chapters. Book II. breaks off, in a fragmentary condition, in its second chapter. The narrative is, for the most part, prosaic enough to have proceeded from the Benedictine scriptorium; but in his seventh chapter the old monk is represented as thrown into some doubt about the profitableness of antiquarian researches. His Abbot had, it would seem, taken him to task for wasting the precious hours of life, all too brief for occupations that ought to engross the thoughts of a cloistered Benedictine, on what were only fit to delude the world with unmeaning trifles. Richard

enters on the defence of his labours in an orthodox fashion which seems about as much of an anachronism as his antiquarian zeal. He yields, however, to the good Abbot's remonstrance, lest he should indeed merit the title of an unprofitable servant, and hastens to bring his work to a close. "The following Itinerary," he says, "is derived from fragments left by a Roman General. Its order is in some instances changed, according to Ptolemy and others: it is hoped for the better;" and so he proceeds to treat of the ninety-two cities of the Britons.

Ptolemy, Antoninus, and other available authorities have been freely used and improved upon. *Vespasiana*, for example, is a province affirmed to have been formed in the time of Agricola out of a region to the north of the Antonine wall, conquered in the reign of Domitian; but of which Agricola's own son-in-law and biographer says nothing. Among the Roman Stations in Richard's fourteenth Iter, "Ad Isca per glebon lindum usque," is *Alauna*, mentioned by Ptolemy as a town of the *Damnii*, in Warwickshire, with its modern name of Alchester. But there is another Alchester, or Alcester, in Oxfordshire, also celebrated as the scene of Roman discoveries. The former of those is stated in Baxter's Glossary to have been called "Ellencester," by Mathew Paris; and so Richard—it might almost seem blundering over Baxter's *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum* of 1733,—makes out of the wrong Alchester his *Ælia Castra*; which properly belonged to a wholly different Iter. Again, the establishment of another province, that of *Valentia*, erected by Theodosius, about A.D. 369, is ascribed to Constantine, who died thirty-two years before. In the Ninth Iter, "Ad montem Grampium," all Scottish antiquaries were charmed with the promised identification of the famous *Mons Grampius* of *Galgacus*. But the location given to it would in no way harmonize with their theories; and, if modern critics are to be believed, monk Richard anticipated a blunder of the printing press when he adopted the popular name: for Tacitus, according to the most trustworthy MSS., wrote *Groupius*, not *Grampius*.

The first doubts cast on the authenticity of the "De Situ Britanniae" of Richard of Cirencester, were set forth in a document issued by the English Historical Society in 1838, as reasons which guided the Council in omitting it from their republication of ancient materials of English History. But the judgment was not a unanimous one; and research was encouraged, in the hope that the discovery of an ancient manu-

script of the work might still serve to remove all incredulity. But meanwhile Dr. Carl Wex, a distinguished German scholar engaged on a revised edition of the *Agricola* of Tacitus, on turning to Richard for the elucidation of his text, was surprised by the discovery that the reputed occupant of a Benedictine cell in the monastery of St. Peter's, Westminster, in 1350, had systematically adopted readings traceable to an edition of Tacitus printed at Venice more than a hundred years after his time, and supplemented by the conjectural emendations of later editors. A careless compositor of A.D. 1497 for example, has in setting up the passage (cap. 16), "quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu subvenisset," &c., repeated two letters thus, *co cognito*. The conjectural emendation by an editor of the following century of *eo cognito* was adopted as the reading of subsequent editions; and on turning to Richard, he is found to have anticipated the double blunder before compositors or typographical errors had a being! Similar examples abound. Bertram's ingenious monk of the fourteenth century has an intuitive perception of all conceivable misreadings, and anticipates everywhere the corrupt text of the seventeenth century. Cumulative evidence of this kind, by which the minutest typographical blunders, and their conjectural emendations by later editors, are all found in a professed MS. of the fourteenth century, ought to suffice as a settlement of the question. That a Westminster monk of 1350 should find Tacitus and all other classical works at his elbow, might of itself surprise us; but that he should quote the blunders of modern printers can only be reconciled with any probability by assuming the all-comprehensive misreading of 1350 for 1750.

In 1846 Dr. Carl Wex embodied the prolegomena of his edition of the *Agricola* of Tacitus—in so far as these refer to The Tractate on Britain,—in an article published in the *Rheinisches Museum*, at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, in which he is by no means complimentary to "Stukeleio et anglieis antiquariis," in reference to their championship of this masquerading monk of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Arthur Hussey, in 1853, drew attention, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, to the spurious character of the work, and indicated Camden as the source of much of its materials. More recently, Mr. B. B. Woodward, the learned curator of the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, has followed out an independent series of researches no less curious and conclusive. If it surpasses every probability that a monk of the fourteenth century should be found anticipating the cumulative blunders,

and the latest misprints of ill-edited classics : the marvel is little less when he is shown to have been beforehand in like manner with the conjectures and bold hypotheses of Camden. We learn from the *Notitia Imperii* the names of the five provinces of Britain, but for the relative position or boundaries of, at least, three out of the five, we are left wholly to conjecture. Roman antiquaries have accordingly shifted their localities according to the theories they advocated ; and Camden, among the rest, has his hypothesis : anticipated as a demonstrable geographical distribution of the Roman divisions of the island, in Richard's Tractate. To those he does, indeed, add *Vespasiana*, apparently as his own entirely novel contribution to Roman geography ; but even this Mr. Woodward conceives to be traceable to a hint of the great Elizabethan antiquary.

Camden assumes a river *Urus* on which to place *Eburacum*, or York, but Richard already had it. Out of Ptolemy's *Trisanton* he constructs, by means of a false etymology from *Hants*, a word *Antona*, and applies it to the River Itchen ; but the old monk of Westminster was before him in this ingenious blundering. Camden makes of the "Madus" of the Peutingerian Table a river, and identifies it with the Medway ; the "Lemana" of elder authorities becomes with him the "Lemanus fluvius ;" Richard adopts both, and adds, to complete the rivers of Cantium, the "Sturius et Dubris : " he or his *alter ego*, having mistaken the name of the town of Dover for that of a river.

These are mere illustrations of the blundering servility with which Camden's ingenious hypotheses are adopted ; and his errors accepted, even to such orthographic variations as "Segontium" for "Segoncium." The examples cited by Mr. Woodward of Richard's anticipations of such conjectures and assumptions are numerous and conclusive beyond all dispute. One of the boldest of his conversions of a mere analogy into a fact will best illustrate this process of manufacture of ancient geography. Camden in support of his etymology of the name of Cornwall, says there were promontories in Crete and in the Tauric Chersonese, called *Κριῶν μέτωπα*, because of their resemblance to the horn of a ram ; and so Richard supplies us with authority for naming the British "Ram's Head" of Camden *Κριῶν μέτωπον*.

There is some satisfaction in referring to the labours of English scholars in the exposure of a fraud on which English scholarship has expended such misplaced zeal. Yet even now, there are antiquaries of good repute who have not disavowed their faith in the antiquarian



Benedictine of the fourteenth century. The Copenhagen manuscript has utterly vanished; or rather, appears to have been mythical from the first; and no fragment, or reference to any other copy, has ever been seen or heard of. Dr. Stukeley's first idea was to secure the original for the British Museum; but Bertram had a plausible story to account for his declining either to lend or sell it, when it passed, as he affirmed, into his own hands. It was, according to him, part of a large MS. stolen out of an English library, by one who had been wild in his youth; and whose mode of showing his later penitence was that "he gave it to Bertram at Copenhagen, and enjoined him to keep it secret." On this the conjecture has been founded that the Bertram MS. may have been purloined from the Cottonian Library at the fire of 1732, carried to Copenhagen, and so made the basis of the published tractate. It is at any rate worth notice, among the other consistencies of this story, that the mode adopted by Bertram for keeping his confidant's secret was to communicate it forthwith to the most likely of all Englishmen to publish it to the world. Had this been followed up by the restoration, or even the sale, of the stolen manuscript, it would have satisfied all minds; but, as the excuse accepted by Dr. Stukeley and his contemporaries for preventing anyone obtaining a sight of the original, it reads now as the shallow invention of an impostor.

But again it is suggested by those who still cling to the possible genuineness of the Itinerary, that Bertram may have so altered, patched, and tampered with, the copy he sent to Dr. Stukeley, to adapt it to the tastes of his correspondent, that he was tempted to destroy the original. Nor is there wanting a hint on which to found such an hypothesis. Mr. Bertram's monk was introduced to Dr. Stukeley as Richard of Westminster. The Doctor thereupon betook himself to the Abbey Library, and was able to tell his Copenhagen correspondent that he had found traces enough of the old chronicler, Richard of Cirencester, a monk of Westminster; whereupon Bertram's antique MS. at once adopts the change; and its title expands into "*Ricardi Corinensis Monachi Westmonasteriensis De Situ Britanniaë.*" The title is of a modern form; for the old monk who wrote the "*Speculum Historiale*" styles himself "*Ricardus de Cirencestria.*" But the Copenhagen MS. had a wonderful adaptability; and when printed there, at Dr. Stukeley's urgent advice, in 1757, it embodied sundry variations from the text he had edited from Bertram's own transcript, including differences in the distances of the Itinerary, and a map so

unlike that engraved by Stukeley, that the latter seems a mere crude sketch preparatory to the other.

But such discrepancies, if noticed, excited no suspicion. So greatly was the work in demand, that, some eight years later another English edition was projected, and its proposed editor wrote to Copenhagen in order to procure an exact fac-simile of the original map. But Bertram had died on the 8th of January, 1765, and nobody from that day to this has been heard of who ever had a glimpse of either map or manuscript. Richard's other, and undoubtedly genuine works are traced without difficulty; but the amplest catalogues of ancient manuscripts contain no notice of that to which he owes all his modern fame.

But let us hear what one of the most diligent of modern Roman investigators has to say on his behalf. "Richard of Cirencester's *De Situ Britannix* has been questioned," says Mr. Charles Roach Smith, in his "Richborough;" "and Bertram, who published it, has been accused of having collected his materials from the best ancient and modern authorities, and arranged the entire work. Hatcher, in the preface to his translation, has ably combated the objections brought against the originality of the Itinerary; and in one of his letters to me, dated Salisbury, November 23, 1846, he writes: 'Captain Jolliffe kindly called my attention to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for the observations on Richard of Cirencester. After all, they are only fighting with the wind. In my edition I gave up, long ago, his description of Britain, and his chronology, except the account of the rank held by the British towns, which was known only to our native antiquaries; and this in more instances than one. As for poor Bertram, the sneers at him are as unmerited as they are ridiculous.'" The old editor of Richard adds, "I intended once, to have set this question at rest; but that time is gone by;" and so the worthy antiquary died in the faith of Bertram's honesty, and Richard's genuineness.

But there is a confirmation, of a kind peculiarly suitable to the character of Bertram's "Richard," which has escaped the notice of his enthusiastic defenders. The very reverend Jeremiah Milles, D.D. Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, rendered the same pious services to "Thomas Rowlie, parish priest of St. John's, in the city of Bristol, A.D. 1465," which Dr. Stukeley did to "Richard of Cirencester," the Benedictine monk of Westminster. Our incredulous age has come, for the most part, to believe that

Thomas Chatterton, the Bristol Bluecoat boy, was the sole author of the Rowley poems. But Dr. Milles published a very learned quarto to prove the genuineness of the apocryphal priest, and the antiquity of the marvellous charity-boy's "Ælla," "Hastings," "The Bristowe Tragedy," and the rest. The Dean did not meddle with the reputed prose works of his medieval priest. They were then in preparation for the press by a no less painstaking Bristol antiquary: Mr. William Barrett, Surgeon and F. S. A. But among the latter is a passage, which, had any unbeliever then ventured a doubt as to the genuineness of Richard's Itinerary, would have been hailed by his champions as an irrefragable confutation. It curiously illustrates the revolution of opinion in the interval, that the same evidence would now suffice, were any such needed, to confute all the voluminous arguments of Dean Milles in support of the imaginary poet-priest of the fifteenth century.

The good priest Rowley is in search of manuscripts and antiquarian treasures of all sorts, for his friend and patron, Maister William Canynge, Mayor of Bristol. But the times are full of trouble, for they are those of the wars of the Roses; and Rowley, writing from Cirencester, betrays his political sympathies. But, after a brief comment on my Lord of Warwick's unprincipled ambition, he thus passes to a more congenial theme, suited to the place from which he writes. "I have founde the papers of Fryar Rycharde: he saieth nothyng of Bristolle, albeit he haveth a long storie of Seyncte Vyncente and the Queede. His celle is most lovelie depycted on the whyte walles wythe black cole, displaieynge the Iters of the Weste." Such was the spirit of that eighteenth century; ingenious, inventive, but wholly unscrupulous as to the uses to which its ingenuity was applied.

Yet Bertram and Chatterton, though foremost among the "literary forgers" of that eighteenth century, must not be classed together, as though they stood on common ground. Chatterton did indeed deceive Barrett, Milles, and many another credulous dupe; but now that his mystifications have all vanished, his priest Rowley remains as an ingenious, and harmless fiction; and his Ballads, Epics, and Dramatic Interludes take a permanent rank in the poetic literature of his age. But the *De Situ Britannix*, if a forgery of that eighteenth century, is not merely worthless: it is one of the most mischievous of literary impostures, reflecting disgrace on its mendacious perpetrator; and tainting with misconception and falsehood the investigations of honest

and laborious workers in an important department of historical research.

It becomes a matter of interest then, to recover any information that can now be obtained relative to this Charles Julius Bertram, Professor of the English Language at the Royal Naval School of Copenhagen; and to this I am able to make a slight contribution. In the first edition of the "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," published in 1851, I referred to "the Monk of Westminster, whom antiquaries may be pardoned suspecting to have assumed the cowl for the purpose of disguise, being in truth a monk not of the fourteenth but of the eighteenth century." This led to a correspondence with an Anglo-Roman antiquary who was still a devout believer in Richard and his Itinerary: in consequence of which I wrote to my late friend, Professor P. A. Munch, of Christiania; the Norwegian historian, begging him to ascertain for me anything that he could from literary friends at Copenhagen relative to Bertram, or his manuscript. In his reply Professor Munch says: "I have got an answer from Mr. Werlauff about *Richardus Corinensis*, containing everything that he knows of information as to this matter. The MS. is nowhere to be found; that is sure enough. Yet Mr. Werlauff is not at all inclined to think it a forgery: an opinion which indeed surprises me very much. That Stukeley—says Mr. Werlauff,—knew the Bertram MS. already ten years before the first edition was made, appears from a letter, written by Dr. Stukeley to the celebrated Hans Gramm at Copenhagen, (dated Sept. 1, 1747,) of which letter an abridgement is given in the preface. In the original, however, the passage runs much more complete, as follows: "*Bertramo tuo me commendatum facias oro, quem felicem tuo patrocinio existimo. Felicem me quoque reddidit, tuo in respectu, fragmentum suum M.SS. Ricardi mon. Westmonasteriensis. Rarum est cimelium in bibliothecis nostris ignotum. Ego non indignum censeo ut prelo committatur, opus nostris antiquariis acceptissimum.*" "This" adds Professor Munch, "certainly does not savour of anything like forgery or falsehood on the part of Stukeley:" an idea which no one familiar with the character of that amiable enthusiast would think of entertaining.

Mr. Werlauff inferred, from a reference in one of Bertram's papers, that he had come to Denmark some time before his father: having, according to his interpretation of that notice, arrived in Copenhagen ten years prior to 1748, "indirectly asked to come by King Christian." But, according to Worm's *Lexicon of Danish Authors*, Bertram was

born in 1723, and was therefore barely fifteen at the date of this supposed royal invitation. We may therefore still adhere to the more probable account that he accompanied his father, in the suite of the Princess Louisa, in 1743.

“As for Bertram,” continues Professor Munch, “he seems to have been rather a worthy man. His father, a silk-dyer, is said to have immigrated into Denmark with the people and menials accompanying the English Princess Louisa. In 1744, he established himself at Copenhagen as a hosier. His son, the Bertram in question, was a student, a kind of protégé of King Christian VI. From papers in the Record Office of the Academical Council at Copenhagen, it appears that he gave in to the said Council a petition, dated 5th July, 1747, requesting that he might be inscribed as a student, although belonging to the Anglican Church. He meant to *excolere historiam, antiquitates, philosophiam, et mathesin*. On the 23rd March, 1748, he petitioned the King that he might be appointed to lecture *publice* on the English Language. There exists still in the Library at Copenhagen a fragment of Bertram’s treatise on Cnut the Great;” and it may be added that the literary characteristics of this manuscript are said to furnish very poor evidence of the scholarship of their transcriber. It only remains to state that Bertram died January 8th, 1765, in his forty-second year; and Dr. Stukeley survived him less than two months.

A certain authority and weight has heretofore been given to “Professor” Bertram, which it now appears was wholly without foundation. At the date of his letter to Dr. Stukeley he was not even an undergraduate. He was only petitioning for admission as a student at the University of Copenhagen; and his professed transcripts of the Richard MS. were the product of an undergraduate’s pen. As to his professorship, with its high sounding title: it does not appear to have amounted to much more than the tutorial work to which many a Scottish undergraduate resorts under similar circumstances, with a view to eke out his slender finances, and help him on to his degree.

Nevertheless there is a certain appearance of scholarship, and some facility in Latin composition, involved in the concocting of the Richard MS. which might be supposed to surpass the powers of an undergraduate. He quotes some fifteen or sixteen ancient authors, including Diodorus Siculus, Livy, Strabo, Cæsar, Pomponius Mela, Virgil, Pliny, Lucan, Tacitus, &c. Most of his references may indeed be found, as already stated, in Camden; and the remainder could readily

be culled from more familiar pages, including those of Stukeley himself. Yet it might be assumed, without inquiry, that some scholarship, and a degree of practise in Latin composition, were necessary, in order to put together such a piece of work for the eyes of European scholars. It is noteworthy, therefore, that Bertram in his petition for admission to the University, professed to study History, Antiquities, Philosophy and Mathematics; but of the Classical Languages nothing is said. Are we to infer from this that he was already so perfect in them as to regard their further study superfluous; or must we assume, in accordance with the ordinary practise of undergraduates, that he exercised his options in selecting the departments best suited to his tastes and acquirements?

In reality the latinity of Richard, which so charmed Dr. Stukeley and his contemporaries, is very much in the style of undergraduate, or school-boy Latin composition; and can only have passed muster with them on the assumption that it was fair monkish Latin, which must not be tried by too high a standard. Mr. Woodward has pointed out the anachronism of a monk of the fourteenth century, using the word *statio*, neither in its ancient sense, as the spot on which a guard was placed; nor in its medieval sense as a religious station, or halting-place for ecclesiastical processions: but in its wholly modern and antiquarian acceptance. Similar examples abound. But, in truth, most of the original paragraphs, by means of which the classical quotations are pieced together, read very much like a school-boy's exercise, first written in English, and then translated, word by word, with the help of his dictionary.

This suggests an inquiry, which has hitherto been overlooked, though by no means without its important bearing on the general question. What part was "the famous Mr. Gramm, Privy Councillor and Chief Librarian to his Danish Majesty," playing in the ingenious mystification, when he wrote the "prolix and elaborate Latin epistle," which Bertram enclosed to Dr. Stukeley in his own first reply? The correspondence with Bertram was apparently conducted, on both sides, in English. But to Herr Gramm, as we have seen, Dr. Stukeley replied in a Latin epistle as elaborate and stately as his own, in which he refers to the rare and seemingly unique Copenhagen fragments of a newly discovered work of Richard, monk of Westminster. It is no slight apology for Dr. Stukeley's unquestioning reception of Bertram's transcripts of an unheard-of fourteenth century MS., that its existence was thus guaranteed by one of the very highest authorities:

the Custodian of the Royal Library, and the fittest of all men in Copenhagen to certify to the genuineness of the professed discovery. At least one more Latin epistle from the same lettered dignitary followed; and then came the news of his death: before Dr. Stukeley had become sufficiently "solicitous about Richard of Westminster" to ask for extracts from his Roman treatise.

But when the English antiquary's curiosity was fairly roused, he did his best, according to the light of that uncritical age: strove to get hold of the original MS.; proposed to purchase it for the British Museum; and, on failing in this, obtained a transcript of the whole. That Dr. Stukeley should have been content with this and the excuses of Bertram for withholding the original,—lame as they now appear,—cannot greatly surprise any one who fully estimates all the circumstances. But that Bertram was able to put off the Royal Librarian in the same fashion, and induce him to write to a distinguished foreigner about a MS. only known to him by the vague report of an undergraduate, is inconceivable. If there ever was a manuscript, genuine or manufactured, Herr Gramm must have seen it. One of the rarest and most precious of ancient historical works, not only unknown, as Dr. Stukeley wrote to him, in any British Library, but seemingly unique, lay ready for easy acquisition by the Copenhagen Royal Library. It had been the subject of elaborate Latin correspondence with the learned secretary of a foreign society, and its worth had been set forth in the strongest terms. Yet, if such a MS. ever existed, instead of being secured for the Royal Library, it was allowed to pass into the possession of Bertram, and when enquired for by English scholars immediately after his death, was no where to be found.

Bertram was a humble friend and protégé of his Majesty's privy councillor and chief librarian. Under such circumstances Herr Gramm might command his services in any needful correspondence with Dr. Stukeley about genuine or apocryphal manuscripts; but Bertram could have no influence over the learned Librarian's pen. Can we, then, avoid the inference that he was in some degree *particeps criminis* in the earlier proceedings, by means of which Bertram successfully palmed on English scholars the mischievous imposture which has more or less affected the historical and antiquarian literature of Europe, for a whole century, in reference to the Anglo-Roman period of British History?

At the same time, it must not be overlooked that the first "little extract," and the "imitation of the hand-writing" of the wondrous

history of Roman Britain, were not transmitted to Dr. Stukeley till after the death of Mr. Gramm; nor indeed was it till after that event that Bertram professed to have "at length, with some difficulty, got the manuscript into his own hands."

It is perhaps a bold hypothesis to conceive of one in the position of the Royal Librarian bearing any share in a literary forgery. But the age was characterised by singularly loose ideas on such subjects; and the part he is shown to have taken in the correspondence is equally inexplicable, whether we suppose that a genuine MS. did exist, about which he gave himself no further trouble, or that a hoax was being perpetrated on English scholars in which he bore a part. Had the Latin of the commentary been as creditable to the scholarship of its reputed author as the enthusiasm of its first editors represented it to be, we might have been tempted to trace in it the hand of Dr. Stukeley's "prolix and elaborate" Latin correspondent. But in reality the portions of the Tractate not made up of quotations, are, as has been already said, very much in the style of Latin to be expected from the Anglo-Danish undergraduate. Assuming, therefore, his ability to produce the Latin commentary, his familiarity with the English language rendered him otherwise well fitted for the task. As to Mr. Gramm, he had been in England, visited the Universities, was remembered by Mr. Martin Folkes as a learned foreigner, and possibly carried away with him reminiscences of its antiquarian enthusiasts which bore fruit of a kind then cultivated on the tree of knowledge. The writings of Dr. Stukeley are seasoned with a sufficient stock of credulous fancy to provoke even a grave privy councillor into lending a helping hand at a trial of his gullibility. If, on the contrary, we suppose him to have been Bertram's dupe and tool, he must have proved even more gullible than the English antiquary.

As to the motives which induced the chief culprit to carry out his fraud with consistent pertinacity, they need not greatly perplex us. It was a work of time: begun probably with no deliberate purpose of carrying it to the culpable extent it ultimately reached. Bertram's first letter was probably the mere hoax of a clever, but thoughtless undergraduate. But for the opportune death of Hans Gramm,—whatever the nature of his share in the correspondence may have been,—it may be presumed that the later stages of full-developed imposture would never have been reached. But when Dr. Stukeley settled in London, "began to think of the manuscript," and became "solicitous



about Richard of Westminster," his Copenhagen correspondent had to choose between confessing, and persisting in the forgery;—and how many subsequent pages of antiquarian literature depended on his choice! Dr. Stukeley's importunities could not be evaded; and once committed to his dishonest course, Bertram carried it out consistently to the end. His success may have delighted or alarmed him, according to the aspect in which he regarded it; but, tried by the standard of that eighteenth century, his delight is more probable than his alarm. He had achieved for himself a name among European scholars, and established confidential relations with foreign literati; and he thenceforth cultivated them without dread of exposure. He appears to have attained to the highest academic honours, and to have maintained a friendly correspondence with his learned English dupe to the last. So late as Oct. 30, 1763, Stukeley records in his Diary: "I received from my friend, Dr. Bertram, 3 copies of the designs of the Danish Military, colored: one for the King."

In the age of Psalmanazar, Macpherson, and Chatterton; a century which gave birth to the "Hardyknute," the Ossian Epics, and the Rowley Poems; to "the Double Falsehood" of Theobald, the "Vortigern and Rowena" of Ireland, and so much else of a like kind: it cannot be denied that the fabricator of the "*Commentarioli geographici de Situ Britanniae, et Stationum quas Romani ipsi in ea Insula ædificaverunt*," ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, had his abundant reward. Not only Dr. Stukeley and his credulous brother antiquaries, among whom the ingenious but fanciful Whitaker may be classed; but the incredulous Ritson, the laborious and accurate Roy, with some of the very foremost of historians, Gibbon, Suhm, Lappenberg, and Lingard: have bowed to his authority; and a whole century of European scholars has yielded unquestioning faith to his bold imposture.

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## ON THE STATE OF MEDICAL SCIENCE IN THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.

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In making a few observations on the present state, and future prospects, of Medical Science in Ontario, it may be as well to premise that, it is not my intention, nor, indeed, is it in my power, to give a summary of the contributions, to which the science is indebted to the learning and research of the Ontario Profession. I must confine myself to a very general view of the subject, and, yet, I trust to be able to show that, in this fair Province of ours, the science of Medicine is no laggard in the way, but that, it is pursued with the same devotion to the great end of alleviating human suffering, as in the most favored lands. It is true that in a new country, such as Canada, where the duties of the physician are more laborious, and the rewards greatly less, than in older and wealthier communities, it is impossible to find so large a class of medical men, who can devote the same leisure to the pursuit of original research, as those older communities furnish; still, we claim for the profession here that it embraces many men who would take high rank, as men of culture and ability, in any part of the world; while the great body of the profession would not suffer in comparison with any other country. I am not unconscious of the fact that exception may be taken to so strong a claim. It may be urged, not altogether without truth, that many of the young men of the country enter upon the study of medicine somewhat late in life, and with, perhaps, rather limited education, and that, as in the mother country, the standard of preliminary training, up to which students must come, is higher than here; therefore, they must be the more scientific body. I would not, for one moment, be supposed to ignore, or undervalue the great advantage of a thorough education, preliminary to entering upon the study of medicine. At the same time, I do not hesitate to say that, the development of a high literary taste, within university walls, is often not found to conduce so beneficially, as many suppose, to the study of a science, which, in many of its details, is rather shocking to the refined sensibilities of the student, who has given up some of his best years, to the enjoyment of

the fancies, and the beauties, of the immortal Greek and Latin bards. Such an one enters the dissecting room, for example, and *hic labor, hoc opus est*, for which his tastes are altogether unsuited. He has to bring himself to the practical study of anatomy, as a task, far less poetic, and far more disagreeable than his first attempt to conjugate a Greek verb, cross the *pons asinorum*, or solve a quadratic equation. Indeed, I think it will be found, by the practical test of comparative success, in the medical classes, that those young men often succeed best, who have worked their own way, from humble beginning, fired with the honorable ambition of acquiring a profession that will secure for them an independent livelihood, and a higher social position. Such students, generally well matured in mind and body, and free from many of the hindering frivolities of youth, bring to bear upon their studies an enthusiasm that carries all before it, and a devotion to all the minor details, both of reading and of clinical observation, so necessary to make them thoroughly furnished for entering upon the practice of their profession. Hence, it often happens that, men whose general attainments would pass a poor enough muster, outside their own calling, are perfectly at home there and may even possess a profound knowledge of the best medical literature. Let me not be misunderstood. To take high rank in the scientific world, and to command for ourselves, as a body, the ungrudging respect of our fellow-countrymen, of all classes, we must aim at a high educational standard. I do not depreciate a preliminary college training: on the contrary, if it were possible, I should be glad to see all our young men take their B.A. degree before entering the medical classes. At the same time, I do not hesitate to say that, the absence of early educational advantages, of this kind, is proved by experience, in Canada, to be not incompatible with a high degree of success, both in the study and practice of the healing art. Some of our young men, who never spent an hour within college walls, have borne off the honors of the colleges of physicians and surgeons, of the mother-land, and many of our most successful and accomplished practitioners, never learned the Greek alphabet, or essayed to scan a line of Virgil.

We have at present three medical schools in Ontario: the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, Kingston; the Medical Department of Victoria College, Toronto; and the Toronto School of Medicine, in affiliation with the University of Toronto. Upwards of two hundred students attend the sessions of these three schools, during their winter courses, and, probably, an average of fifty young men are annually

granted diplomas, entitling them to become licensed, and "duly" qualified to enter upon their professional calling.

The number of medical men now in practice in Ontario is estimated to be about two thousand. Estimating the population to be, in round numbers, two millions, this would only give one physician to every two thousand inhabitants,—not too many, one would say, in a sparsely settled country, such as Canada. The tendency, however, is far too prevalent, for medical men to swarm at the great centres of population, to their own manifest disadvantage, while, many of the outlying districts are left destitute of the comforts of the physician's aid. The reason for this is obvious. On the one hand, the people in very new parts of the country are poor, and unable to give any adequate remuneration for the physician's services; and, on the other, there are very few young men,—generally a rather sanguine class,—who are willing to sacrifice the hope of winning one of the great prizes of the profession, for the "hope deferred, that maketh the heart sick." Where, however, young men, on leaving college, have the pluck to face the hardships of a new settlement, for a few years, and enter, fearlessly, upon the practice of their profession, the people become proud of the "Doctor," often reward him with municipal honors, look up to him as an oracle of wisdom, and, in the end, give him substantial evidence of the constancy of their esteem. No new man can supplant the "old Doctor," who, generally, becomes an affluent and most influential man. Of course, there is an opposite side to this picture; but so there is to all pictures, and, generally, where the opposite occurs, the fault lies with the medical man himself.

Since the Imperial Act of Confederation passed, establishing the DOMINION OF CANADA, medical delegates from all the Provinces met in the "ancient capital," at the call of the Quebec Medical Society, and, subsequently, (last year) in the city of Montreal, and formed a Medical Society for the Dominion, called "THE CANADIAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION." It is hardly possible to estimate the amount of good that may be expected to arise from this step. On this subject, in a paper read before the medical section of the Canadian Institute, on the 12th December, 1868, I remarked, "The formation of the Canadian Medical Association, and the success, in point of numbers, and debating ability, of those attending its first meetings, is, to my mind, a subject for the liveliest congratulation. The work, however, so far, has been of an initiatory, or preliminary character almost exclusively, and,

although, many questions of great interest to the profession, and the public at large, came before the notice of the Association, yet, I think, it will be conceded that, it remains for the next annual meeting, to give the Association its character and rank, amongst the scientific societies of the world. It is, therefore, to be hoped that, at the Toronto meeting, next autumn, this city may have the honor accorded to her, of inaugurating the real work of the Association. But, if the meeting is to be made a successful one, it can only be by early, earnest and persevering labour; and much of the responsibility and labour, must devolve upon the medical profession of Toronto. In this connexion, I cannot help congratulating the medical section of the Canadian Institute, on having secured, for our Chairman, the able and learned Vice-President of the Association; and, I trust that, nothing in the way of hearty co-operation with Dr. Hodder, shall be wanting, to give *eclat* to the coming meeting, and crown it with the highest success. The experienced, senior members of the profession will, I trust, pardon me for hinting that, they will be expected to take the lead, in contributing from their stores of learning, some well-matured scientific papers; and, if these cannot be hurriedly prepared, the sooner they are commenced the better. I trust, too, that in this respect, the medical section will give a good account of itself."

"To give, however, to the Canadian Medical Association a lasting vitality, it must have a permanent source of supply, and this, it seems to me, can only be secured by the formation of branch associations, embracing areas of convenient dimensions. County societies, in affiliation with the Canadian Association, should be organized, wherever such do not already exist. The formation of such tributaries would not only give vitality and strength to the Dominion Society, but would, also, give unity and compactness to the profession of Ontario; and, rising above the rivalries of the past, enable us to exercise that influence in the creation of public opinion, on all the great questions of social interest, to which, by our numbers and habits of thought, we are justly entitled."

"The quiet and unobtrusive calling of the medical profession, and the unending round of duty its practice involves, forbid our entering the lists with many of the robustious demagogues, whose noisy declamations tend to make one think they have been sent on a special mission to turn the world upside down. It is, nevertheless, gratifying to observe that, in Britain the medical profession is not only accorded a higher social position than ever before, but that, the pursuit of scientific

inquiry, and the general attainments of physicians, make them considered to be, in a high degree, available to fill positions of the greatest honor, and the highest public trust. And here, in our own fair Ontario, the sprinkling of able medical men, in our Legislative Assembly, is conclusive proof that, the people of this country are not backward to recognize true merit, though it may not obtrude itself, by noisy demonstrations on their notice at every turn."

"It is no vain boast, to claim that the healing art has, in all ages, embraced within its circle, men of culture and of thought, and that, science, in the broadest sense, has been much enriched by the research and learning of the medical profession. The close of the last century, and the beginning of the present, produced discoverers, in the domain of medical science, who may fairly take rank with Newton or Columbus; and the profession now claims, among its votaries, men of whom the world may well be proud. It is true that, the seeming diversity in the medical theories of the day, has given rise, in the public mind, to the idea of a diversity of schools; and we have, in medicine, numerous off-shoots and excrescences from the parent stock, just as we have, in religion, diversity of creeds. Probably, however, in regard to both cases, these diversities arise from superficial examination of the subjects, and inaptitude, or inability, to grasp and apprehend the truth. For, doubtless, in each, there is but one legitimate school, and that one must be founded on truth, which is immutable."

"But, returning to the subject in hand, it is impossible, I think, to over-estimate the value to the profession, of the CANADIAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION. The leading medical men of the Dominion will be brought together, annually, for the reading of papers, and the discussion of questions of interest to the profession. Such meetings, while they may be expected to disseminate a vast amount of useful information, and give the profession the valuable experience, gathered year by year, by practical observation, in regard to the character and treatment of prevailing diseases, will, at the same time, serve as a most wholesome and needed incentive to studious, systematic reading. It has been, probably, too much the habit of the profession, in this country, to consider the goal as having been reached when a 'license to practice' was secured. Human nature is the same in medical men as in other mortals, and, it seems to be the tendency of human nature to fold hands, and indulge in relaxation, whenever the spur of emulation or self-interest is laid aside. The field is as open to original observers, in the wide Dominion of Canada, as in any other part of the world;

and, the Association will form a most valuable, and influential medium, by which the professional world may be reached. And, who can tell but the absence of such a medium of communication, may have, already, doomed many a medical flower 'to blush unseen, and waste *his* sweetness on the *forest* air?' At all events, the establishment of the Association will place more surely within the reach of the studious physician, the reward always due to ability and learning."

It will be somewhat curious to note the action of the Association, at its autumn meeting in this city, in view of the recent medical legislation of this Province. The Ontario Medical Act, passed during the last session of the Legislature, entitled "An Act to amend and consolidate the Acts relating to the profession of Medicine and Surgery," creates a Council, composed of one representative, from each of six colleges named, and twelve district or territorial representatives, elected by popular vote of the registered practitioners, and additional members, as provided by clause or sub-section two of section eight, as follows: "There shall also belong to the said Council five members, to be elected by the duly licensed practitioners in Homœopathy, who have been registered under this Act; and five members to be elected by the duly licensed practitioners in the Eclectic system of medicine, who have been registered under this Act." The Act also incorporates the medical profession, under the name and style of "The College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario," and, to become registered under the Act, makes the person so registered,—be he Allopath, Homœopath or Eclectic,—a full-fledged member, without distinction of any kind whatever, of this College of Physicians and Surgeons. I am not aware whether the "College" has yet selected its motto, but, in discussing the matter a day or two ago with two young friends, one suggested as an appropriate motto the three graces, "Faith, Hope, and Charity;" "for," said he, "the old school is the only element in the College fitted to inspire the former, while the other two need the most unbounded exercise of the latter." "No," said the other, in great indignation, "I would give the College this motto, '*Dignity, Impudence, and Presumption,*' and I would call its members SPOTTED DICKS."

It seems that, according to the rules of the Canadian Association, neither Homœopathy nor Eclecticism receive recognition, and cannot, therefore, be admitted to membership. But suppose a Homœopath applies, as a member of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario,—what then? On this point, in an article of the writer's to

the secular press, the following passage is *appropos*: "The Allopaths (of course, I use this designation as a convenience, not to express or define a "confession of faith,") have all along professed to despise the other 'sects' as ignorant and dishonest; they are now compelled, by the levelling-up process, to admit them to terms of perfect equality. They appear on the same register; they are members of the same College; they are legally entitled to be met by Allopaths in consultation. Should Allopaths refuse, the public would sympathize with the *theories* of the new school against the *prejudices* of the old. They are entitled to admission to the same societies and associations as the Allopaths. Should they be excluded, public sympathy would be promptly at their side, as the weak and persecuted. Should they be admitted, they will, doubtless, endeavour to hold up and hold forth the beauties of '*Similia Similibus Curantur*,' and, refusal to discuss their dogmas, by the Allopaths, would be construed as an indication of fear for the result; while, to accept the challenge, on every occasion, would make medical societies bear-gardens, alike demoralizing to the profession and unedifying to the public. If the Allopathic body, numbering, as they do, the vast majority of the medical men of the Province, and possessing the only educational institutions, would work harmoniously with one another, and strive honestly for the elevation of their own status, trusting to the march of intelligence and learning, for the extinction of ignorance and quackery, rather than to Parliamentary enactment and intrigue, public sympathy and approval would far more certainly be accorded to them, and the end they profess to have in view would far more certainly be realized."

The legal status accorded to the "systems" of Homœopathy and Eclecticism, by the Legislature, is without precedent, in any other part of the world. *Liberality, however, frequently degenerates into license.* In this case, license to practise physic. The powers entrusted to these bodies to form examining boards, for the purpose of licensing students to practice medicine, was found by the Legislature to be used in a manner dangerous to the public interests;—the country was being flooded, rapidly, with incompetent men,—something had to be done to check, and, if possible, put a stop to this wholesale system of licensing, and, instead of securing this end, by independent means, or wiping out the Homœopathic and Eclectic charters, the Legislature committed the grave mistake, of "consolidating" the Acts relating to Medicine and Surgery, and of thus coercing men, avowedly holding the most antago-



nistic principles, to sit together in the same Council, and register their names, without distinction, as members of the same College. Now, to my mind, it is as wrong in principle, if not in degree, to coerce the different "schools" in medicine, into a distasteful union, as it would be for the Legislature to attempt to compel religious bodies, differing from one another, to meet together, in a common Synod, for united ecclesiastical legislation for the spread or propagation of diverse religious systems. The influence such legislation may be expected to exert, on the future of the medical profession, in Ontario, if not repealed, is easily foreseen. The twenty-fifth section of the Act provides that, students who elect to be registered as Homœopathic or Eclectic practitioners, "shall not be required to pass an examination, in either Materia Medica, or Therapeutics, or in the Theory or Practice of Physic, or in Surgery or Midwifery, except the operative practical parts thereof, before any examiners other than those approved of by the representatives in the Council of the body to which he, (or they) shall signify his, (or their) wish to belong." Thus, the old Homœopathic and Eclectic boards are not only perpetuated, but they are placed in a position to hold out a bribe to incompetency. And the bait of a short curriculum and an easy examination,—partly beyond the control of the central board—may be safely calculated to catch numbers of student recruits, particularly as their registration makes them members of the same College of Physicians and Surgeons, as those passing the higher examination. I know it is said by these bodies that they are persecuted by the "old school," because they have, or claim to have, the support of influential members of the community, and, indeed it may be true that they have such support, for, however, strange it may appear, it sometimes happens that a clergyman, for example, who has great doubt about the exact nature and bounds of his own religious creed, has none whatever about his medical one, and a lawyer, who, if asked for a legal opinion would take a week's examination of musty authorities, before venturing to give it, will sometimes undertake to decide the relative merits of differing "schools," in the difficult science of medicine, without a moment's hesitation. The opinions of such men may indicate a perverse preference for whatever is either eccentric or heterodox, but, however strongly they may appeal to the *prejudices*, they make no impression on the *judgment* of mankind. And, besides, such support is, generally, of the most fickle and unstable description. The first fiery ordeal to which the "beautiful theory" is subjected, dissipates the clergyman's faith,

“like the morning cloud, or the early dew,” and makes the man of briefs, awake to the fact, that, whatever weight may be safely attached to his legal opinion, he is an unsafe guide when he travels beyond the record, and deals with questions of life and death, about which he knows little or nothing. Such presumption may be met; and it may be traced, too, to the parent of all presumption—ignorance and self-conceit. But I entirely repudiate the charge of jealousy, and, I go further, and assert that the latitude allowed, for the free expression of opinion, by the medical profession, and the opening of the columns of medical journals, for the advocacy of the most opposite theories, often, prove that sectarianism in medicine is not a necessity, and that, the motive prompting it, is not an honest search after truth. Medicine is a progressive science. Indeed, it cannot be made a fixed science; for, although the properties and action of medicinal agents, may be definitely ascertained, the type of disease is ever varying, and ever variegated, so that it is impossible to establish precise rules of treatment, or to claim, truthfully, to have “specifics” for every ill that flesh is heir to, as do the Homœopaths. But, surely the accumulated experience, gathered by the medical profession, in the centuries of the past, is not to be lightly cast aside, for the crude theories of an obscure, illiterate Dutchman, or the rhodomontade and lobelia of a Yankee “steam doctor.” Let the present anomalous union of “schools” be perpetuated by the Legislature, and the medical profession of Ontario will cease to be recognized abroad, and speedily deteriorate into degeneracy at home. Let the objectionable parts of the Act be repealed,—emancipate us from the double load of degradation, under which we are now placed, by Legislative enactment, and we shall soon occupy a position of high rank in the scientific world, and of increased usefulness, as a profession, in our own fair New Dominion. I seek not to deprive the Homœopaths and Eclectics of any “rights” they have had accorded to them, by the Legislature, in the past. I would restore to them, if need be, their individuality. I would protect the public, by requiring the students, who may present themselves for examination, before their boards, to produce evidence of having attended prescribed courses of lectures, at some of our own recognized medical schools. And, freed from the trammels of a coerced and unnatural alliance, I would seek to lay broad and deep the foundation of sound, scientific, medical education, and leave fancy theories to the inexorable logic of time, and solid results to the treasury of posterity.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since writing the foregoing, the Medical Council has held its first meeting. The principal discussion occurred on the following resolution:—

Moved by Dr. Agnew, and seconded by Dr. Oldright, Representative of University College, that

*Whereas*—A Committee of the late Medical Council of Upper Canada applied to the Legislature of Ontario, at its last Session, for the repeal of the Act, under whose provisions the Council was constituted; and

*Whereas*—The said Committee of the Medical Council drafted and obtained the introduction and passage of a Bill, entitled “An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Acts relating to Medicine and Surgery, in Ontario,” without submitting such measure for the approval of their constituents, or in any way consulting them in regard to it, or even furnishing them with copies of the Bill, so that the vast majority knew nothing of its character until it had passed and become law; and

*Whereas*—The “consolidation” of the Acts relating to the Profession of Medicine and Surgery does not appear to have been contemplated when the Bill was introduced and read a first time, and was a change of title incident to the interjection of clause or sub-section two, of section eight, and other clauses consequent therefrom, at a late stage in the passage of the Bill, and when it was supposed by nearly all those who were responsible for it, to have received its final character; and

*Whereas*—The Coalition, in a Council, forced upon the Medical Profession, with two other bodies, known as Homœopathists and Eclectics, for the purpose of legislating in regard to questions involving the most vital principles of Medical Science, is viewed by nearly all the leading and thoughtful members of the Profession as fraught with great danger, and likely to lead to the most pernicious consequences—alike subversive of the cause of Science and of professional morality—for if the views held by all the great schools of the world are honestly embraced by the Medical Profession of this Province, and, if the so-called theories of the other bodies are honestly held by them, they cannot be compromised by either for any mere expediency without dishonor; and

*Whereas*—The incorporation of the Medical Profession with the Homœopathic and Eclectic bodies in “The College of Physicians and Surgeons for Ontario,” without distinction of any kind whatever, is viewed by the Profession as highly objectionable, and calculated to compromise their status as recognized members of the great body of Scientific Practitioners of Medicine throughout the world; and

*Whereas*—The establishment of a Central Board of Medical Examiners for the Province, has, in the abstract, received the approbation of many leading members of the Profession, the exempting clause in favor of the systems of Homœopathy and Eclecticism is condemned as calculated to render nugatory the operations of the Board in favor of an advanced curriculum, and to greatly lower the standard of Education, inasmuch as Section twenty-five of the Act provides, “That every candidate who shall, at the time of his examination, signify his wish to be registered as a Homœopathic or Eclectic Practitioner, shall not be required to pass an examination in either Materia Medica or Therapeutics, or in the Theory or Practice of Physic, or in Surgery and Midwifery, except the operative practical parts thereof, before any Examiners, other than those approved of by the representatives in the Council of the body to which he shall signify his wish to belong,” thus maintaining in full force, (with exclusive privileges not possessed by the Medical Profession) and giving greatly extended influence to

the Homœopathic and Eclectic boards, claimed by the promoters of the Bill to have been extinguished; and

*Whereas*—In addition to all the foregoing objectionable features of the Bill, its operation will, in all probability, cut off the recognition of our Medical diplomas by the mother country, and thus deprive our young men of privileges they have not been slow to avail themselves of in the past—to their own credit and ours, and which they would no doubt earnestly desire to have still continued open to them; be it therefore

*Resolved*—That a Committee consisting of ——— be appointed to draft memorials to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and the Legislative Assembly, in accordance with this resolution, and respectfully requesting the repeal of so much of the Medical Act as unites the Homœopathic and Eclectic bodies with the Medical Profession of this Province.

The discussion on this resolution occupied the whole of two sittings, when the following amendments were proposed:—

Dr. Browse, seconded by Dr. Hamilton, moved that all after the word “Whereas,” in the first clause, be struck out, and the following inserted:

“That inasmuch as three licensing bodies existed in Medicine in the Province of Ontario, whose privilege was to send forth practitioners of an inferior Medical education, and whereas it is highly desirable to protect the public by allowing only thoroughly educated men to receive a license to practice Medicine, notwithstanding the objections many of this Council may have, and do now entertain towards some of the clauses of the new Bill, we are prepared to use our best efforts to make it acceptable to the Profession and beneficial to the community at large, by raising the standard of Medical education throughout the country.”

In amendment to the amendment, Dr. Grant, M.P., moved, seconded by Dr. Bethune—

“That, inasmuch as the Medical Bill, as at present constituted, is not in consonance with the wishes of the Medical Profession generally, as it has legislated into union members of various Medical bodies in such a manner as will not conduce either to their interests or prosperity, and that under these circumstances every endeavor be made to obtain a repeal of so much of the Medical Bill as unites these various bodies, and thus restore each again to its original status, with such safeguards of the public interest as may seem necessary.”

This motion was lost. Dr. Browse’s amendment was then voted on and carried. Dr. Agnew called for the yeas and nays, when the following vote was recorded for the original resolution:—

*Yeas*—Drs. Agnew, Day, Mostyn, Oldright, Bethune, Grant, and C. B. Hall—7.

*Nays*—Drs. Hyde, Edwards, Covernton, Hamilton, McGill, Dewar, Browse, Aikins, Lavelle, and Pyne—(10 regular Practitioners)—and Drs. Campbell, Field, Allen, Springer, Adams, Hopkins, Cornell, Carson, Hall, and Clarke—(10 Homœopaths and Eclectics)—in all 20.

## NOTES ON THE SILVER LOCATIONS OF THUNDER BAY.

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Much interest having been excited, within the last few years, by the discovery of rich silver deposits in the district around Thunder Bay, Lake Superior, a brief account of the so-called silver locations of that region may not be unacceptable to our readers.

1. *General Geology of the District*:—The strata of the north shore of Lake Superior belong to three distinct periods of formation. The lowest of these strata in geological position, and consequently the oldest, consist of highly crystalline gneissoid beds of Laurentian age. These (marked *A*, in Figure 2) form the high land which lies, as a general rule, a few miles inland from the lake-margin; although in many places the Laurentian strata come down bodily to the edge of the lake, or throw off spurs which approach the shore-line more or less closely. The second series of Lake Superior strata (marked *B* in the diagram-section, Figure 2) consist of green and gray slates and conglomerates, with interstratified beds of quartz-rock, &c., belonging to the Huronian group. These Huronian strata, however, occur only here and there, as, more especially, at Michipicoten Harbour, Otter Head, Pic River, and along the back of Thunder Bay. Commonly, therefore, the strata of the third series (marked *C* in the diagram, Figure 2) immediately overlie the gneiss or other crystalline rocks of the Laurentian series. These higher strata form Sir William Logan's division of the "Upper Copper-bearing Rocks of Lake Superior." They belong, in themselves, to two probably distinct epochs, although conventionally referred to the horizon of the Calciferous Series of the east. They are thus regarded as altered strata of Lower Silurian age. They occupy most of the lower lands intervening between the elevated gneissoid region and the shore of the lake. Sir William Logan has subdivided these strata into two series: a lower, lying mostly west of Thunder Cape; and an upper series, ranging to the east of that landmark. Both are traversed by numerous dykes and masses of eruptive trap or greenstone; but, whilst the trappean rocks associated with the lower series are more or less compact in texture, and exhibit a marked tendency to assume a columnar or sub-columnar structure, those of the upper series are almost invariably amygdaloidal, and they rarely present a columnar aspect. The columnar condition of the lower series arises essentially from the presence of joints or partings at right angles to each other,

the step-like outline (see Figure 3) so common in trap rocks, originating from fractures along these natural cleavage or separation planes. This is the true explanation, it may be observed, of the step-like aspect presented by trap rocks generally. The Lower Group ( $C^1$ ) of the copper-bearing strata of Lake Superior consists largely of beds of black or dark-grey slate, and slaty quartzite, mixed here and there with layers of anthracitic chert, and associated with subordinate beds of dolomite, &c.; whilst the Upper Group ( $C^2$ ) is made up principally of white and red sandstone, light-coloured conglomerates and limestones, and compact arenaceous marls, mostly of a pale yellowish-grey or pink colour. The silver and copper-bearing veins of the north shore of Lake Superior occur essentially in these altered Silurian strata: some outcropping in the lower, and others in the upper group.

2. *The Shuniah Location*:—This location lies about two miles due north of Thunder Bay, immediately west of Current River. It includes three double lots, viz., 8 and 11, 9 and 12, and 10 and 13, comprising altogether 1,680 acres. Its central portion is situated, by barometric measurement, at an elevation of 318 feet above the mean level of the Bay. To the north of this central portion of the location, the ground falls abruptly, and drains in great part into a small lake, known as Spruce Lake, which occupies a portion of lot 9, and from which a small creek flows through lots 10 and 13, and finally enters Thunder Bay. A sufficient water supply, for washing and dressing ores, could be obtained from this lake and creek, as well as from Current River, if the location were subdivided, and worked by different companies. These lots contain, moreover, an abundant supply of good timber, suitable for mining purposes, and for fuel.

The country-rock of the location consists of dark siliceous slates belonging to the lower portion of the Upper Copper-Bearing Series, described above ( $C^1$ ). A broad and well-defined vein runs in a nearly east and west direction through the southern portions of lots 8, 9 and 10, with a slight northern trend in the eastern part of its course. Where it has been exposed, this vein averages from 20 to 23 feet in width, and has a very slight underlie towards the north. In sinking upon it, therefore, the shaft might be carried down to a very great depth entirely within the substance of the vein itself. Crystalline and amethystine quartz, holding native silver in many places, caps the upper part of the vein to the depth of a few feet, whilst, under this, the gangue or vein-stone consists essentially of calc spar. The vein presents the usual brecciated structure exhibited by most of the Lake Superior veins,

angular portions of the country-rock, in places much altered by chemical action, being thickly interspersed amongst the gangue. In some places, these imbedded portions of rock are of comparatively large size, forming the so-called "horses" of the miners. Here and there, the minute cracks, by which they are traversed, are coated with native silver and foliated silver glance. In the veinstone proper, especially near the south or foot wall, both native silver and silver glance occur throughout the entire depth to which the main shaft has been at present sunk (67 feet); and some rich pieces of ore have been taken from near the centre of the vein at various depths. The vein carries also black and yellow zinc blende, specks of galena and copper pyrites, iron pyrites, arsenical pyrites, crystals of colorless, smoky, and amethystine quartz, and cubes of pale green fluor spar. The yellow blende holds in most samples a small amount of silver; and, in one assay, a trace of gold, corresponding to about 2 dwts. in the ton, was obtained from it.

Several cross lodes intersect or run into the main lode. These are at present altogether undeveloped, but they shew on the surface a gangue of quartz carrying small quantities of galena, blende, and pyrites. One enters the main lode on lot 9, and runs S. 78° to 80° E. Another, on lot 8, runs towards the N.E., and re-appears apparently on the east bank of Current River. These cross veins exhibit an average breadth of from five to seven feet, and, as they are well defined, a certain outlay might be legitimately expended on their development. As the expense of sinking upon them, however, would be considerable, it would be advisable to wait until the drifts upon the main lode reveal their comparative richness at the points of intersection. A shaft was commenced in the Autumn of 1867 on the main lode, on the dividing line of lots 8 and 9, but as this shaft was not well proportioned, it was stopped at a depth of about six fathoms, and another was commenced at a distance of 175 feet to the west, on lot 9. This has been carried down to a depth of 67 feet, but the work is now suspended. From the conformation of the surrounding district, there would appear to be little apprehension of trouble from water in continuing the shaft, but in case of any difficulty of this kind, an adit might easily be driven on the north side of the lode so as to drain all the workings above the level of 120 or 130 feet, measured from the surface outcrop of the vein.

Many exceedingly rich pieces of veinstone have been taken from both the main and eastern shaft, but it is not, of course, pretended that the vein, as at present developed, will yield pay-ore throughout its width,

or meet for some time the cost of its development. The deepest shaft is comparatively little more than a surface exploration: sufficient, it is true, to shew the strength and permanency of the vein, and to afford trustworthy indications of richness at lower levels, but far too slight to be taken as a test of the actual richness of the lode. Few veins of this character, probably not two per cent. of those belonging to the paying mines of Europe and America, have yielded pay-stuff at a less depth than 40 or 50 fathoms; and in the present case, although a degree of risk is necessarily involved in all mining expenditure, the indications fully warrant the conclusion that ample returns will be eventually obtained, if the workings be sufficiently extended. In place of drifting at the level now reached, it would be advisable, as recommended, in separate reports, by the writer (August, 1868), and by Capt. Plummer, late Superintendent of the Bruce and Wellington mines (October, 1868), to restrict expenditure at present to the main shaft, so as to carry this down uninterruptedly with cross-cuts at intervals, to at least 30 or 40 fathoms, when pay-ground it is thought, may be confidently looked for, if indeed it be not reached at a higher level. Samples taken from different parts of this shaft have yielded large assay-returns, shewing the constant presence of silver at various depths. A sample, consisting of quartz with dull specks of silver glance and some galena, obtained by the writer at a depth of about 55 feet from the surface, gave a cupellation-button of pure silver equal to 6.67 per cent. This is equivalent to 132 lbs. Troy in the ton of 2000 lbs.; or, in value, to \$2605 per ton. Another sample, weighing over 3 lbs., gave 2.18 per cent. silver, corresponding to 53 lbs. Troy, or to \$853 per ton of ore. Samples of this richness, it will, of course, be understood, are at present of comparatively exceptional occurrence; but as they occur at various depths in the shaft, they may be referred to as affording undeniable proof of the promising character of the vein.

3. *Westward extension of the Shuniah vein*:—The ground is altogether unbroken to the west of the Shuniah location, but the vein has been traced, by outcrops at various points, in this direction, across three lots held by a Hamilton and Toronto Company; and, from thence, still westward, over a distance of several miles, across property belonging chiefly to the Rockland and Ontonagon Mining Companies. Trial shafts are to be sunk on this western extension of the vein during the present season.

4. *The Trowbridge Location*:—This lies immediately east of the



Shuniah property. It comprises a single lot of 400 acres, traversed throughout its entire length by Current River. The bed of this stream has been hollowed out apparently in the axis of an anticlinal of more recent date than the formation-period of the mineral veins of the district. At this spot, consequently, the veins have been somewhat broken up and deflected, but several can be distinctly traced within the location. No exploratory work, however, has been undertaken, as yet, with a view to their development, although they are undoubtedly of good promise. The surface gangue of the principal vein consists largely of amethystine quartz.

5. *Location of the Thunder Bay Silver Mining Company*.—To this property, which lies for the greater part east of the Trowbridge Location, a special interest is attached, as it was here that the first discovery of silver on Thunder Bay was made, in the Autumn of 1866, by Mr. Peter McKellar. The property of the Company comprises 1700 acres, having a frontage of about two miles on the shore of the bay, including the mouth and lower falls of Current River, where a mill for treating the ore is now being erected. At a distance of about a mile from the shore-line, an abrupt ridge or escarpment extends in a general east and west direction across the location, with its steep face fronting the south. Here, on lot 1 of Herrick's plan, an exposure of a broad quartz-vein containing native silver in extraordinary abundance, mixed in places with silver glance and specks of galena, was first discovered. This spot was near the junction of two veins, one running apparently about  $N 15^{\circ}$  to  $20^{\circ} E.$ , and the other in a direction a little north of east. The latter vein is thought by some observers to be a continuation of the Shuniah vein, but it is probably distinct. Its gangue consists essentially, if not wholly, of crystalline quartz, whereas in the Shuniah vein, the quartz gives out at a few feet from the surface, and the gangue passes entirely, or nearly so, into calc spar. If the two veins really belong to the same fissure, they probably occupy different levels, in consequence of a break or dislocation at or near Current River. Both, however, are in the same country-rock: the black silicious slates of the lower portion of the copper-bearing series. Three shafts are now being sunk, drifting done, and other extensive works are being carried out at this location, under the able management of Mr. Macdonald, who has had much experience in the silver mines of Norway, and elsewhere. On passing through the rich surface-shew, the sinking as might have been expected, was carried down for a time in poor ground, but the vein is again putting on a very promising

appearance, and there can be no doubt that large returns will eventually reward the enterprise of the owners. It must be remembered however, that in opening a mine of this character, it is impossible to force results. Both time and money are required for the proper development of a mine, before actual returns can be legitimately looked for; and the workings on the Thunder Bay Location were commenced little more than a year ago.\*

6. *Eastern Locations*:—These comprise some fifteen or sixteen lots lying to the north-east, east, and south-east of the Thunder Bay mine. The greater number belong to the Rockland Silver Mining Company, of which Mr. Dewe, of this city, is agent. Others are held by private individuals. The ground throughout is at present altogether undeveloped, but outcrops of strong veins occur in various places, although no actual discoveries of silver have as yet been announced. Two parallel veins, running in a general east and west direction, are said to have been traced upon the Rockland property.

7. *Wood's Location*:—This location, the property of the Montreal Mining Company, lies just beyond the limits of Thunder Bay, but being closely adjacent to Thunder Cape, it may be conveniently referred to in the present communication. The presence of silver at this spot was discovered last summer by an exploring party under the charge of Mr. Thomas Macfarlane, formerly an officer of the Geological Survey, but at present in the employment of the Montreal Mining Company. An elaborate paper on the geological structure and lithology of this locality, by Mr. Macfarlane, will be found in a recent number of the *Canadian Naturalist*. The strata, here, belong to the higher division of the Upper Copper-bearing series (§ 1). The vein, in which the silver occurs, has only been recognized, at present, on a small rock or islet, lying about a mile from the shore. According to Mr. Macfarlane, this, with some adjacent islets, appears to be the remains of a large dyke intersecting the strata which originally occupied the space between these now outlying rocks and the mainland. The vein strikes N. 32° to 35° W., with an eastward dip of about 80°. Its width on the north side of the islet is stated to be about twenty feet, and it subdivides towards the south into two branches, each of seven or eight feet

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\* Since the above was in type, the following announcement has appeared in the Toronto papers: "Collingwood, July 6.—The steamer *Chicora*, from Lake Superior, arrived this morning with sixteen packages of silver ore, valued at \$20,000, consigned by the Thunder Bay Mining Company."

in width. The gangue is essentially calc spar and quartz, carrying galena, blende, iron pyrites, and copper pyrites, with native silver and silver glance in the west branch. A considerable amount of ore, 1,336 lbs., was sent to Montreal, and there carefully sampled, into four lots, under the direction of Dr. Dawson, Principal of McGill College. No. 1 consisted of solid pieces of rich veinstone; whilst Nos. 2, 3, and 4, were sampled from borings, and were thus in the form of powder. Assays made by Dr. Hayes, of Boston, and by Mr. Macfarlane, gave the following results:—

Dr. Hayes:	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.
Per centages .....	41·17	11·26	5·82	1·18
Oz. per Ton of 2,240 lbs. ....	15,064	3,678	1,901	385
Mr. Macfarlane:	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.
Per centages .....	13·14	7·3	4·94	1·82
Oz. per Ton of 2,240 lbs. ....	4,294	2,384	1,613	594

Before these results were made public, another set of the samples was forwarded by the President of the Montreal Company, for assay, to the writer. The results were given, in tabular form, as follows:

No. 1. Mean of two assays:

Silver 14·96 per cent. . . . .	{ =4,886 oz. 18 dwts. 15 grs. in Ton of 2,240 lbs.
	{ =4,363 " 6 " 15 " " " 2,000 lbs.
Average value of silver	{ In Ton of 2,240 lbs. of ore = \$6,547 $\frac{100}{84}$
	{ In Ton of 2,000 lbs. of ore = \$5,846 $\frac{100}{88}$

No. 2. Mean of two assays:

Silver 7·88 per cent. . . . .	{ =2,574 oz. 2 dwts. 14 grs. in Ton of 2,240 lbs.
	{ =2,298 " 6 " 9 " " " 2,000 lbs.
Average value of silver	{ In Ton of 2,240 lbs. of ore = \$3,449 $\frac{100}{85}$
	{ In Ton of 2,000 lbs. of ore = \$3,079 $\frac{100}{85}$

No. 3. Mean of two assays:

Silver 5·27 per cent. . . . .	{ =1,721 oz. 10 dwts. 14 grs. in Ton of 2,240 lbs.
	{ =1,537 " 1 " 14 " " " 2,000 lbs.
Average value of silver	{ In Ton of 2,240 lbs. of ore = \$2,306 $\frac{100}{85}$
	{ In Ton of 2,000 lbs. of ore = \$2,059 $\frac{100}{85}$

No. 4. Mean of three assays:

Silver 1·71 per cent. . . . .	{ =558 oz. 12 dwts. in Ton of 2,240 lbs.
	{ =498 " 15 " " " 2,000 lbs.
Average value of silver	{ In Ton of 2,240 lbs. of ore = \$748 $\frac{100}{82}$
	{ In Ton of 2,000 lbs. of ore = \$668 $\frac{100}{82}$

The per centage values found in the three sets of assays, were, thus, as follows:

	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.
Dr. Hayes.....	41·17	11·26	5·82	1·18
Mr. Macfarlane .....	13·14	7·30	4·94	1·82
E. J. Chapman....	14·96	7·88	5·27	1·71

With the exception of No. 1, these results agree as closely as could be expected, since, in mixtures of this richness, it is impossible to get two assay-portions exactly alike. A single additional speck of native silver or rich galena, would be sufficient to occasion a marked difference in the per centage returns. Samples No. 1, consisted of solid pieces of rock and ore, and therefore no two could be expected to present a similar composition; but the amount said to have been found in the assay by Dr. Hayes, would indicate that nearly one-half of the fragment, selected for assay, consisted of metallic silver. Can it have happened that, in taking down the figures, an error of transposition has occurred, and that in place of 41 we should read 14? If this be so, the assay-results agree very closely.

The money values stated in the returns by the writer, assume the value of fine silver to be equal to \$1 34 per oz. Troy. In the Report of the Directors (February 17, 1869), these values were altered into £1.24 in which the value of the silver was calculated at \$1.24 per oz. According to the Report, this was the value quoted, at that date, in England, for bar silver, namely, 5s. 0½d. sterling per ounce. In altering the writer's figures, however, the Directors were led into error, as the "bar silver" referred to, is simply "standard silver," i.e., silver containing the allowed proportion of copper alloy; whereas the silver obtained on the assay cupel is perfectly pure or fine silver, identical with, or even purer than, the so-called "cake silver" of commerce, as obtained by cupellation on the large scale. The latest English quotations give for "bar silver" and "cake silver," respectively, the values of 5s. 0½d., and 5s. 5½d., per oz. Troy. The value per oz. adopted by the writer, therefore, was rather below than above the mark.

8. *Concluding Observations* :—The preceding notes on the silver-bearing veins of the Thunder Bay district, are necessarily more or less incomplete, as data are at present wanting for an extended or detailed report. Enough, however, is known to prove incontestibly the great mineral wealth of the region. The district would offer, at least, a most remarkable contrast to other mining centres, if the veins, which run within it, were to turn out altogether deceptive. From the great strength of these veins, and the rich surface-shew which many of them present, it may be safely concluded, that they cannot fail to pay, and pay largely, if sufficient capital be expended in their development. Disappointment is very commonly caused, especially in new countries,

by an attempt to work mining property with insufficient means, and on too small a scale. The ore may yield a fair profit, but the production is not sufficient to render the aggregate profit of much account. Hence, if a lode begin to run poor, or the walls come together for a time, or heavier machinery be required, or other difficulties arise to cause a temporary stoppage, the works are too frequently abandoned altogether. In estimating the value of the Thunder Bay district, as a mineral region, it must not be forgotten that, as regards climate, facility of access, cheapness of labour, etc., the district possesses marked advantages over the other argentiferous regions of this continent. It should be remembered also, that the amount of silver required to make a paying ore is very slight. In the dressing of ordinary metallic ores, as those of lead or copper for example, an amount of metal equal to one or two per cent., is almost invariably left in the waste slimes or tailings: whereas 1 per cent. of silver would constitute an exceedingly rich product. If the silver in the ores of this region were to average no more than the fourth of one per cent. ( $\frac{100.00}{625}$ ), the yield would be very large. Assuming this amount to be found, and estimating the specific gravity of the vein matter (consisting of quartz, calcite, blende, pyrites, &c.) at 3.0 only, each cubic fathom would weigh a little more than 20 (American) tons, and would carry 1459 Troy ounces of silver, equivalent in value to about \$1,955 (gold). This is equal to nearly one hundred dollars per ton of ore, whilst the cost of raising and treating that quantity of material would probably in no case exceed ten or twelve dollars. The yield might be reduced, consequently, to the tenth of one per cent. ( $\frac{100.00}{6250}$ ), and the ore would still give large returns.

Until the nature of the ore at lower depths be definitely ascertained, the question of its proper metallurgical treatment can be scarcely entered into. If the silver be found to run chiefly in the metallic form, a large portion might be separated by simple mechanical processes, the tailings being subsequently subjected to amalgamation. If, on the other hand, the ore turn essentially to sulphide, without accompanying matters of difficult mechanical separation, the amalgamating process, with previous conversion of the ore into chloride, or a modification of the more modern processes of Augustin or Von Paterna, may be found most suitable for the extraction of the metal; whilst, if much galena be present, the separation of the silver may be more economically effected, perhaps, by furnace treatment. These points must necessarily be reserved for future consideration.

## CANADIAN LOCAL HISTORY.

[Since the publication of our last Number, there has been presented to the Canadian Institute, by its Secretary, Mr. L. Heyden, a valuable collection of books and pamphlets, all having reference to the early history of Canada, and its settlements, in various directions. Comprised in this acceptable donation are bound volumes to the number of sixty-two, and pamphlets to the number of forty-eight. It is proposed to form in connection with the Canadian Institute (so soon as the assent of that Body can be procured) a Canadian Local History Section, having for its special object the collection and preservation of Documents illustrative of Canadian History in all its aspects—of the volumes, pamphlets, magazines, daily and weekly newspapers, broad-sides, maps and engravings, that have been published at former periods, together with those that appear from time to time, as the years pass on.]—ED. CAN. JOURNAL.

## TORONTO OF OLD:

## A SERIES OF COLLECTIONS AND RECOLLECTIONS.

(Continued from page 174.)

BY THE REV. DR. SCADDING.

## V.—KING STREET, FROM JOHN STREET TO YONGE STREET.

After our long stroll westward, we had purposed returning to the place of beginning by the route that constitutes the principal thoroughfare of the modern Toronto; but the associations connected with the primitive pathway on the cliff overlooking the harbour, led us insensibly back along the track by which we came. In order that we may execute our original design, we now transport ourselves at once to the point where we had intended to begin our descent of King Street. That point was the site of a building now wholly taken out of the way—the old General Hospital. Farther west on this line of road there was no object that possessed any archaeological interest. The old Hospital was one of the spacious red cubical structures which (as in the case also of several other edifices, domestic and public,) speedily made their appearance when the practice of building in brick first began in the town. It had, by the direction of Dr. Grant Powell, as we have heard, the peculiarity of standing with its sides precisely east and west, north and south. At a subsequent period, it consequently had the appearance of having been jerked round bodily, the streets in the neighbourhood not being laid out with the same precise regard to the cardinal points. The building exhibited recessed galleries on the north and south sides, and a flattish hipped roof. The interior was conveniently designed. In the fever-wards here, during the terrible season of 1847, frightful scenes of suffering and death were witnessed among the newly-arrived emigrants; here it was that, in ministering to them in their distress, so many were struck down, some all but fatally, others wholly so; amongst the latter several leading medical men, and the Roman Catholic bishop, Power.

When the Houses of Parliament, at the east end of the town, were destroyed by fire in 1824, the Legislature assembled for several sessions in the General Hospital.

The neighbourhood hereabout had an open, unoccupied look in 1822. In a *Weekly Register* of the 25th of April of that year, we have an account of the presentation of a set of Colours to a militia battalion, mustered for the purpose on the road near the Hospital. "Tuesday, the 23rd instant," that paper reports, "being the anniversary of St. George, on which it has been appointed to celebrate His Majesty's birthday, George IV., [instead of the 4th of June, the fête

of the late King,) the East and West Regiments, with Capt. Button's Troop of Cavalry, which are attached to the North York Regiment, on the right, were formed in line at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, on the road in front of the Government House, and a Guard of Honour, consisting of 100 rank and file from each regiment, with officers and sergeants in proportion, under the command of Lieut. Col. FitzGibbon, were formed at a short distance in front of the centre, as the representatives of the militia of this Province, in order to receive the rich and beautiful Colours which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to command should be prepared for the late incorporated Battalion, as an honourable testimony of the high sense which His Majesty has been pleased to entertain of the zeal and gallantry of the militia of Upper Canada. At 12 o'clock, a Royal Salute was fired from the Garrison, and the Lieutenant-Governor with his staff having arrived on the ground, proceeded to review the widely-extended line; after which, taking his station in front of the whole, the band struck up the national anthem of 'God save the King.' His Excellency then dismounted, and accompanied by his staff, on foot, approached the Guard of Honour, so near as to be distinctly heard by the men; when, uncovering himself, and taking one of the Colours in his hand, in the most dignified and graceful manner, he presented them to the proper officer, with the following address:—"Soldiers! I have great satisfaction in presenting you, as the representatives of the late incorporated Battalion, with these Colours—a distinguished mark of His Majesty's approbation. They will be to you a proud memorial of the past, and a rallying-point around which you will gather with alacrity and confidence, should your active services be required hereafter by your King and Country."—His Excellency having remounted, the Guard of Honour marched, with Band playing and Colours flying, from right to left, in front of the whole line, and then proceeded to lodge their Colours at the Government House. The day was raw and cold," it is added, "and the ground being very wet and uneven, the men could neither form nor march with that precision they would otherwise have exhibited. We were very much pleased, however, with the soldier-like appearance of the Guard of Honour, and we were particularly struck by the new uniform of the officers of the West York, as being particularly well-adapted for the kind of warfare incident to a thickly-wooded country. Even at a short distance it would be difficult to distinguish the gray coat or jacket from the bole of a tree. There was a very full attendance on the field; and it was peculiarly gratifying to observe so much satisfaction on all sides. The Colours, which are very elegant, are inscribed with the word NIAGARA, to commemorate the services rendered by the Incorporated Battalion on that frontier; and we doubt not that the proud distinction which attends these banners will always serve to excite the most animating recollections, whenever it shall be necessary for them to wave over the heads of our Canadian Heroes, actually formed in battle-array against the invaders of our Country. At 2 o'clock His Excellency held a Levee, and in the evening a splendid Ball at the Government House concluded the ceremonies and rejoicings of the day."—The Lieut.-Governor on this occasion was Sir Peregrine Maitland, of whom fully hereafter.

The building on King Street known as "Government House" was originally the private residence of Mr. Chief Justice Elmsley. For many years after its purchase by the Government it was still styled "Elmsley House." As at Quebec, the correspondence of the Governor-in-Chief was dated from the "Château St. Louis," or the "Castle of St. Louis," so here, that of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Western Province was long dated from "Elmsley House." Mr. Elmsley was a brother of the celebrated classical critic and editor, Peter Elmsley, of Oxford.

On the left, opposite Government House, was a very broken piece of ground, denominated "Russell Square;" afterwards, through the instrumentality of Sir John Colborne, converted into a site for an educational institution.—Sir John Colborne, on his arrival in Upper Canada, was fresh from the Governorship of Guernsey, one of the Channel Islands. During his administration there he had revived a decayed Public School, at present known as Elizabeth College. Being of opinion that the new country to which he had been transferred was not ripe for a University, or the scale contemplated in a royal Charter which had been procured, he addressed himself to the establishment of an institution which should meet the immediate educational wants of the community.—Inasmuch as in the School which resulted—or "Minor College" as it was long popularly called—we have a transcript, more or less exact, of the institution which Sir John Colborne had been so recently engaged in reviving, we add two or three particulars in regard to the latter, which may have, with some, a certain degree of interest, by virtue of the

accidental but evident relation existing between the two institutions. From a paper in Brayley's *Graphic and Historical Illustrator* (1834), we gather that Elizabeth College, Guernsey, was originally called the "School of Queen Elizabeth," as having been founded under Letters Patent from that sovereign in 1563, to be a "Grammar-school in which the youth of the island (*juven-tus*) may be better instructed in good learning and virtue." The temple or church of the suppressed Order of Gray Friars (Friars minors or Cordeliers), with its immediate precincts, was assigned for its "use," together "with eighty quarters of wheat rent," accruing from lands in different parts of the Island, which had been given to the friars for dispensations, masses, obits, &c. By the Statutes of 1563 the school was divided into six classes; and books and exercises were appointed respectively for each; the scholars to be admitted being required "to read perfectly, and to recite an approved catechism of the Christian religion by heart." In all the six classes the Latin and Greek languages were the primary objects of instruction; but the Statutes permitted the master, at his discretion, "to add something of his own;" and even "to concede something for writing, singing, arithmetic, and a little play."—For more than two centuries the school proved of little public utility. In 1799 there was one pupil on the establishment. In 1816 there were no scholars. From that date to 1824 the number fluctuated from 15 to 29. In 1823, Sir John Colborne appointed a committee to investigate all the circumstances connected with the school, and to ascertain the best mode of assuring its future permanent efficiency and prosperity, without perverting the intention of the foundress. The end of all this was a new building (figured in Brayley) at a cost of £14,754 2s. 3d.; the foundation-stone being laid by Sir John in 1826. On August the 20th, 1829, the revived institution was publicly opened, with one hundred and twenty pupils. "On that day," we are told, "the Bailiff and Jurats of the Island, with General Ross, the Lieutenant-Governor [Sir John Colborne was now in Canada], his staff, and the public authorities, headed by a procession consisting of the Principal, Vice-Principal, and other masters and tutors of the school (together with the scholars), repaired to St. Peter's Church, where prayers were read by the Dean, Dr. Durand, and *Te Deum* and other anthems were sung. They then returned to the College, where, in the spacious Examination Hall, a crowded assembly were addressed respectively by the Bailiff and President-director [Daniel de Lisle Brock, Esq.], Colonel de Havilland, the Vice-president, and the Rev. G. Proctor, B. D., the new Principal, on the antiquity, objects, apparent prospects, and future efficiency of the institution." Under the new system the work of education was carried on by a Principal, Vice-principal, a First and Second Classical Master, a Mathematical Master, a Master and Assistant of the Lower School, a Commercial Master, two French Masters and an Assistant, a Master of Drawing and Surveying, besides extra Masters for the German, Italian, and Spanish languages, and for Music, Dancing and Fencing. The course of instruction for the day scholars, and those on the foundation, included Divinity, History, Geography, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, English, Mathematics, Arithmetic, and Writing, at a charge in the Upper School of £3 per quarter; and in the Lower or Preparatory School, of £1 per quarter; for Drawing and Surveying, 15s. per quarter. The terms for private scholars (including all College dues and subscriptions for exhibitions and prizes of medals, &c.) varied from £60 annually with the Principal, to £46 annually with the First Classical Master. The exhibitions in the revived institution were, first, one of £80 per annum for four years, founded by the Governor of Guernsey in 1826, to the best Classical scholar, a native of the Bailiwick or son of a native; secondly, four for four years, of, at least, £20 per annum, founded by subscription in 1826, to the best scholars, severally, in Divinity, Classics, Mathematics, and Modern Languages; thirdly, one for four years, of £20 per annum, founded in 1827 by Admiral Sir James Saumarez, to the best Theological and Classical scholar; fourthly, one of £20 per annum, for four years, from 1830, to the best Classical scholar, given by Sir John Colborne in 1828. There were also two, from the Lower to the Upper School, of £6 per annum, for one year or more, founded by the Directors, in 1829.—The foregoing details will, as we have said, be of some interest, especially to Canadians who have received from the institution founded by Sir John Colborne in Russell Square an important part of their early training. "Whatever makes the past, the distant and the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings." So moralized Dr Johnson amidst the ruins of Iona. On this principle, the points of agreement and difference between the educational type and antitype in this instance, will be acknowledged to be curious.—Another link of association between Guernsey and Upper Canada exists in the now fami-



liar name "Sarnia," which is the old classical name of Guernsey, given by Sir John Colborne to a township on the St. Clair river, in memory of his former government.

After Russell Square, on the left, came an undulating green field; near the middle of it was a barn of rural aspect, cased-in with upright, unplanned boards. This field was at one time a kind of *Campus Martius* for a troop of amateur cavalry, who were instructed in their evolutions and in the use of the broadsword, by a veteran, Capt. Midford, the Goodwin of the day, at York. Nothing of note presented itself until after we arrived at the roadway which is now known as Bay Street, with the exception, perhaps, of two small rectangular edifices of red brick with bright tin roofs, dropped, as it were, one at the south-west, the other at the north-west, angle of the intersection of King and York Streets. The former was the office of the Manager of the Clergy-Reserve Lands; the latter, that of the Provincial Secretary and Registrar. They are noticeable simply as being specimens, in solid material, of a kind of minute cottage that for a certain period was in fashion in York and its neighbourhood; little square boxes, one storey in height, and without basement; looking as if, by the aid of a ring at the apex of the four-sided roof, they might, with no great difficulty, be lifted up, like the hutch provided for Gulliver by his nurse Glundalcitche, and carried bodily away.

As we pass eastward of Bay Street, the memory comes back of Franco Rossi, the earliest scientific confectioner of York, who had on the south side, near here, a depôt, ever fragrant and ambrosial. In his specialties he was a superior workman. From him were procured the fashionable bridecakes of the day; as also the noyau, parfait-amour, and other liqueurs, set out for visitors on New Year's Day. Rossi was the first to import hither good objects of art: fine copies of the Laocoon, the Apollo Belvidere, the Perseus of Canova, with other classic groups and figures, sculptured in Florentine alabaster, were disseminated by him in the community. Rossi is the Italian referred to by the author of "Cyril Thornton" in his "Men and Manners in America," where speaking of York, visited by him in 1832, he says: "In passing through the streets, I was rather surprised 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 place in London, we suppose. Our outward signs of civilization must have been meagre when a chance visitor recorded his surprise at finding ice-cream procurable in such a place.

Great enthusiasm, we remember, was created, far and near, by certain panes of plate glass with brass divisions between them, which, at a period a little later than (Capt. Hamilton's) Cyril Thornton's visit, suddenly ornamented the windows of Mr. Beckett's Chemical Laboratory, close by Rossi's. Even Mrs. Jameson, in her book of "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles," referring to the shop-fronts of King Street, pronounces, in a naive, English, watering-place way, "that of the apothecary" to be "worthy of Regent Street in its appearance."

A little farther on, still on the southern side, was the first place of public worship of the Wesleyan Methodists. It was a long, low, wooden building, running north and south, and placed a little way back from the street. Its dimensions in the first instance, as we have been informed by Mr. Petch, who was engaged in its erection, were 40 by 40 feet. It was then enlarged to 40 by 60 feet. In the gable end towards the street were two doors, one for each sex. Within, the custom obtained of dividing the men from the women; the former sitting on the right hand of one entering the building; the latter on the left. This separation of the sexes in places of public worship was an oriental custom, still retained among the Jews. It also existed, down to a recent date, in some English Churches. Among articles of Inquiry sent down from a Diocesan to churchwardens, we have seen the query: "Do men and women sit together indifferently and promiscuously? or, as the fashion was of old, do men sit together on one side of the church, and women upon the other?" (In English churches the usage was the opposite of that indicated above: the north side, that is, the left on entering, was the place of the women, and the south, that of the men.) In 1688, we have Sir George Wheeler, in his "Account of the Churches of the Primitive Christians," speaking of this custom, which he says prevails also "in the Greek Church to this day:" he adds that it "seems not only very decent, but nowadays, since wickedness so much abounds, highly necessary; for the general mixture," he continues, "of men and women in the Latin Church is notoriously scandalous; and little less," he says, "is their sitting together in the same pews in our London churches."—The Wes-

eyan chapel in King Street ceased to be used in 1833. It was converted afterwards for a time into a "Theatre Royal."

Jordan Street preserves one of the names of Mr. Jordan Post, owner of the whole frontage extending from Bay Street to Yonge Street. The name of his wife is preserved in "Melinda Street," which traverses his lot, or rather block, from east to west, south of King Street. Two of his daughters bore respectively the unusual names of Sophronia and Desdemona. Mr. Post was a tall New-Englander of grave address. He was, moreover, a clockmaker by trade, and always wore spectacles. From the formal cut of his apparel and hair, he was, quite erroneously, sometimes supposed to be of the Menonist or Quaker persuasion.

#### VI.—KING STREET, FROM YONGE STREET TO CHURCH STREET.

Where Yonge Street crosses King Street, forming at the present day an unusually noble *carrefour*, as the French would say, or rectangular intersection of thoroughfares, as we are obliged to word it, there was, for a considerable time, but one solitary house—at the north-east angle; a longish, low, one-storey, respectable wooden structure, painted white, with paling in front, and large willow trees: it was the home of Mr. Dennis, formerly a shipbuilder at Kingston. To the eastward of this, on the same side, at an early period, was an obscure frame building of the most ordinary kind, whose existence is recorded simply for having been temporarily the District Grammar School, before the erection of the regular building on the Grammar School lot. On the opposite side, still passing on towards the east, was the Jail. This was a squat unpainted wooden building, with hipped roof, concealed from persons passing in the street by a tall cedar stockade, such as those which we see surrounding a Hudson's Bay post or a military wood-yard. At the outer entrance hung a billet of wood suspended by a chain, communicating with a bell within; and occasionally Mr. Parker, the custodian of the place, was summoned, through its instrumentality, by persons not there on legitimate business. We have a recollection of a clever youth, an immediate descendant of the great commentator on British Law, and afterwards himself distinguished at the Upper Canadian bar, who was severely handled by Mr. Parker's son, on being caught in the act of pulling at this billet, with the secret intention of running away after the exploit.

The English Criminal Code, as it was at the beginning of the century, having been introduced with all its enormities, public hangings were frequent at an early period in the new Province. A shocking scene is described as taking place at an execution in front of the old Jail at York. The condemned refuses to mount the scaffold. On this, the moral-suasion efforts of the sheriff amount to the ridiculous, were not the occasion so seriously tragic. In aid of the sheriff, the officiating chaplain steps more than once up the plank set from the cart to the scaffold, to shew the facility of the act, and to induce the man to mount in like manner; the condemned demurs, and openly remarks on the obvious difference in the two cases. At last the noose is adjusted to the wretched culprit, where he stands. The cart is withdrawn, and a deliberate strangling ensues.

In a certain existing account of steps taken in 1811 to remedy the dilapidated and comfortless condition of this Jail, we get a glimpse of York, commercially and otherwise, at that date. In April, 1811, the sheriff, Beikie, reports to the magistrates at Quarter Sessions "that the sills of the east cells of the Jail of the Home District are completely rotten; that the ceilings in the debtors' rooms are insufficient; and that he cannot think himself safe, should necessity oblige him to confine any persons in said cells or debtors' rooms." An order is given in May to make the necessary repairs; but certain spike-nails are wanted of a kind not to be had at the local dealers' in hardware. The chairman is consequently directed to "apply to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, that he will be pleased to direct that the spike-nails be furnished from the King's stores, as there are not any of the description required to be purchased at York." A memorandum follows to the effect that on the communication of this necessity to his Excellency, "the Lieutenant-Governor ordered that the Clerk of the Peace do apply for the spike-nails officially in the name of the Court: which he did," the memorandum adds, "on the 8th of May, 1811, and received an answer on the day following, that an order had been issued that day for 1500 spike-nails, for the repair of the Home District Jail: the nails," it is subjoined, "were received by carpenter Leach in the month of July following."—Again: in December, 1811, Mr. Sheriff Beikie sets forth to the magistrates in Session, that "the prisoners in the cells of the

Jail of the Home District suffer much from cold and damp, there being no method of communicating heat from the chimneys, nor any bedsteads to raise the straw from the floors, which lie nearly, if not altogether, on the ground." He accordingly suggests that "a small stove in the lobby of each range of cells, together with some rugs or blankets, will add much to the comfort of the unhappy persons confined." The magistrates authorize the supply of the required necessaries, and the order is marked "instant." (The month, we are to notice, was December.) At a late period, there were placed about the town a set of posts having relation to the Jail. They were distinguished from the ordinary rough posts, customary then at regular intervals along the sidewalks, by being of turned wood, with spherical tops, the lower part painted a pale blue; the upper, white. These were the "limits"—the *certi denique fines*—beyond which, theoretical *détenu*s for debt were not allowed to extend their walks.

Leaving the picketed enclosure of the Prison, we soon arrived at an open piece of ground on the opposite (north) side of the street,—afterwards known as the "Court House Square." One of the many rivulets or water-courses that traversed the site of York passed through it, flowing in a deep serpentine ravine, a spot to be remembered by the youth of the day as affording, in the winter, facilities for skating and sliding, and audacious exploits on "leather ice." In this open space, a Jail and Court House of a pretentious character, but of poor architectural style, were erected in 1824. The two buildings, which were of two storeys, and exactly alike, were placed side by side, a few yards back from the road. Their gables were to the south, in which direction were also the chief entrances. The material was red brick. Pilasters of cut stone ran up the principal fronts, and up the exposed or outer sides of each edifice. At these sides, as also on the inner and unornamented sides, were lesser gables, but masked by the portion of the wall that rose in front of them, not to a point, but finishing square in two diminishing stages, and sustaining chimneys. It was intended originally that lanterns should have surmounted and given additional elevation to both buildings, but these were discarded, together with tin as the material of the roofing, with a view to cutting down the cost, and thereby enabling the builder to make the pilasters of cut stone instead of "Roman cement." John Hayden was the contractor. The cost, as reduced, was to be £3,890 for the two edifices.

We extract from the *Canadian Review* for July, 1824, published by H. H. Cunningham, Montreal, a short account of the commencement of the new buildings: "On Saturday, the 24th instaut, [April, 1824,] his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, attended by his staff, was met by the Honorable the Members of the Executive Council, the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, and the Gentlemen of the Bar, with the Magistrates and principal inhabitants of York, in procession, for the purpose of laying the foundation-stone of the new Jail and Court House about to be erected in this Town.—A sovereign and half-sovereign of gold, and several coins of silver and copper, of the present reign, together with some newspapers and other memorials of the present day, were deposited in a cavity of the stone, over which a plate of copper, bearing an appropriate inscription, was placed; and after his Excellency had given the first blow, with a hammer handed to him for the purpose, the ceremony concluded with several hearty cheers from all who were present.—If the question were of any real importance," the writer adds, "we might have the curiosity to inquire why the deposit was made in the *south-east*, rather than in the *north-east* corner of the building?"—a query that indicates, as we suppose, a deviation from orthodox masonic usage.—In one of the lithographic views published in 1836 by Mr. J. Young, the Jail and Court House, now spoken of, are shewn. Among the objects inserted to give life to the scene, the artist has placed in the foreground a country waggon with oxen yoked to it, in primitive fashion.

After 1825, the open area in front of the Jail and Court House became the "Public Place" of the town. Crowds filled it at elections and other occasions of excitement. We have here witnessed several scenes characteristic of the times in which they occurred. We here once saw a public orator run away with, in the midst of his harangue. This was Mr. Jesse Ketchum, who was making use of a farmer's waggon as his rostrum or platform, when the vehicle was suddenly laid hold of, and wheeled rapidly down King Street, the speaker maintaining his equilibrium in the meanwhile with difficulty. Mr. Ketchum was one of the most benevolent and beneficent of men. We shall have occasion to refer to him hereafter.—It was on the same occasion, we believe, that we saw Mr. W. L. McKenzie assailed by the missiles which mobs usually adopt. From this spot we had previously seen the same person, after one of his re-elections, borne aloft

in triumph, on a kind of pyramidal car, and wearing round his neck and across his breast a massive gold chain and medal (both made of molten sovereigns), the gift of his admirers and constituents: in the procession, at the same time, was a printing-press, working as it was conveyed along in a low sleigh, and throwing off handbills, which were tossed, right and left, to the accompanying crowd in the street.

The existing generation of Upper Canadians, with the lights which they now possess, see pretty clearly, at the present moment, that the agitator just named, and his party, were not, in the abstract, by any means so bad as they seemed. that, in fact, the ideas which they sought to propagate are the only ones practicable in the successful government of modern men. Is there a reader nowadays that sees anything very startling in the enunciation of the following principles?—"The control of the whole revenue to be in the people's representatives; the Legislative Council to be elective; the representation in the House of Assembly to be as equally proportioned to the population as possible, the Executive Government to incur a real responsibility; the law of primogeniture to be abolished; impartiality in the selection of juries to be secured; the Judiciary to be independent; the military to be in strict subordination to the civil authorities; equal rights to the several members of the community; every vestige of Church and State union to be done away; the lands and all the revenues of the country to be under the control of the country; and education to be widely, carefully and impartially diffused; to these may be added the choice of our own Governors."—These were the political principles sought to be established in the governments of Canada by the party referred to, as set forth in the terms just given (almost *verbatim*) in Patrick Swift's Almanac, a well-known popular, annual brochure of Mr. McKenzie's. It seems singular now, in the retrospect, that doctrines such as these should have created a ferment. But there is this to be said: it does not appear that there were, at the time, in the ranks of the party in power, any persons of very superior intellectual gifts or of a wide range of culture or historical knowledge: so that it was not likely that, on that side, there would be a ready relinquishment of political traditions, of inherited ideas, which their possessors had never dreamt of rationally analyzing, and which they deemed it all but treason to call into question. And moreover it is to be remembered that the chief propagandist of the doctrines of reform, although very intelligent and ready of speech, did not possess the dignity and repose of character which give weight to the utterances of public men. Hence, with the persons who really stood in need of instruction and enlightenment, his words had an irritating, rather than a conciliatory and convincing effect. This was a fault which it was not in his power to remedy. For his microscopic vision and restless temperament, while they fitted him to be a very clever local reformer, a very clever local editor, unfitted him for undertaking the grand rôle of a national statesman, or the heroic conductor of a revolution. Accordingly, although the principles advocated by him finally obtained the ascendancy, posterity regards him only as the Wilkes, the Cobbett, or the Hunt of his day, in the annals of his adopted country. In the interval between the outbreak or feint at outbreak in 1836, and 1850, the whole Canadian community made a great advance in general intelligence, and statesmen of a genuine quality began to appear in our Parliaments.

Prior to the period of which we have just been speaking, a name much in the mouths of our early settlers was that of Robert Gourlay. What we have to say in respect to him, in this our retrospect of the past, will perhaps be in place here. Nothing could be more laudable than Mr. Gourlay's intentions at the outset. He desired to publish a statistical account of Canada, with a view to the promotion of emigration. To inform himself of the actual condition of the young colony, he addressed a series of questions to persons of experience and intelligence in every township of Upper Canada. These questions are now lying before us: they extend to the number of thirty-one. There are none of them that a modern reader would pronounce ill-judged or irrelevant. But here again it is easy to see that personal character and temperament marred the usefulness of a clever man. His inordinate self-esteem and pugnaciousness, insufficiently controlled, speedily rendered him offensive, especially in a community constituted as that was in the midst of which he had suddenly lighted; and drove, naturally and of necessity, his opponents to extreme measures in self-defence, and himself to extreme doctrines by way of retaliation: thus he became overwhelmed with troubles from which the tact of a wise man would have saved him. But for Gourlay, as the event proved, a latent insanity was an excuse.

It is curious to observe that, in 1818, Gourlay, in his heat against the official party, whose headquarters were at York, threatened that town with extinction; at all events, with the oblit-

eration of its name, and the transmutation thereof into that of TORONTO. In a letter to the *Niagara Spectator*, he says:—"The tumult excited stiffens every nerve and redoubles the proofs of necessity for action. If the higher classes are against me, I shall recruit among my brother farmers, seven in eight of whom will support the cause of truth. If one year does not make Little York surrender to us, then we'll batter it for two; and should it still hold out, we have ammunition for a much longer siege. We shall raise the wind against it from Amherstburgh and Quebec—from Edinburgh, Dublin and London. It must be levelled to the very earth, and even its name be forgotten in *Toronto*."

But to return for a moment to Mr. McKenzie. On the steps of the Court House, which we are to suppose ourselves now passing, we once saw him under circumstances that were deeply touching. Sentence of death had been pronounced on a young man once employed in his printing-office. He had been vigorously exerting himself to obtain from the Executive a mitigation of the extreme penalty. The day and even the hour for the execution had arrived; and no message of reprieve had been transmitted from Stamford, across the Lake, where the Lieutenant-Governor was then residing. As he came out of the Sheriff's room, after receiving the final announcement that there could be no further delay, the white collars on each side of his face were wet through and through with the tears that were gushing from his eyes and pouring down his cheeks. He was just realizing the fact that nothing further could be done; and in a few moments afterwards the execution actually took place.

We approach comparatively late times when we speak of the cavalcade which passed in grand state the spot now under review, when Messrs. Dunn and Buchanan were returned as members for the town. In the pageant on that occasion there was conspicuous a train of railway carriages, drawn, of course, by horse power, with the inscription on the sides of the carriages—"Do you not wish you may get it?"—the allusion being to the Grand Trunk, which was then only a thing *in posse*. And still referring to processions associated in our memory with Court House Square, the recollection of another comes up, which once or twice a year used formerly to pass down King Street on a Sunday. The townspeople were familiar enough with the march of the troops of the garrison to and from Church, to the sound of military music, on Sundays. But on the occasions now referred to, the public eye was drawn to a spectacle of an opposite character: namely, to a procession of the "Children of Peace," so-called, through the street. These were a local off-shoot of the Society of Friends, the followers of Mr. David Willson, who had his headquarters at Sharon, in Whitchurch, where he had built a "Temple," a large wooden structure, painted white, and resembling a high-piled house of cards. Periodically he deemed it proper to make a demonstration in town. His disciples and friends, dressed in their best, mounted their waggons and solemnly passed down Yonge Street, and then on through some frequented thoroughfare of York to a place previously announced, where the prophet would preach. His topic was usually "Public Affairs and their Abuses." The text of all his discourses might, in effect, be the following mystic sentence, extracted from the popular periodical, already quoted—"Patrick Swift's Almanac": "The backwoodsman, while he lays the axe to the root of the oak in the forests of Canada, should never forget that a base basswood is growing in this his native land, which, if not speedily girdled, will throw its dark shadows over the country, and blast his best exertions. Look up, reader, and you will see the branches—the Robinson branch, the Powell branch, the Jones branch, the Strachan branch, the Boulton twig, &c. The farmer toils, the merchant toils, the labourer toils, and the family compact reap the fruit of their exertions." (Almanac for 1834.) Into all the points here suggested Mr. Willson would enter with great zest. When waxing warm in his discourse, it was his practice suddenly, without making any pause, to throw off his coat, and proceed in his shirt-sleeves. His address was divided into sections, between which "hymns of his own composing" were sung by a company of females dressed in white, sitting on one side, accompanied by a band of musical instruments on the other. Considerable crowds assembled on these occasions: and once a panic arose as preaching was going on in the public room of Lawrence's hotel: the joists of the floor were heard to crack; a rush was made to the door, and several leaped out of the windows.—A small brick school-house on Berkeley Street was also a place where Willson sometimes sought to get the ear of the general public.—Captain Bonnycastle, in "Canada as it Was, Is, and May Be," i. 285, thus discourses of David Willson, in a strain somewhat too severe and satirical; but his words serve to shew opinions which widely prevailed at the time he wrote: "At a short

distance from Newmarket," the Captain says, "which is about three miles to the right of Yonge Street, near its termination at the Holland Landing, on a river of that name running into Lake Simcoe, is a settlement of religious enthusiasts, who have chosen the most fertile part of Upper Canada, the country near and for miles round Newmarket, for the seat of their earthly tabernacle. Here numbers of deluded people have placed themselves under the temporal and spiritual charge of a high priest, who calls himself David. His real name is David Willson. The Temple (as the building appropriated to the celebration of their rites is called,) is served by this man, who affects a primitive dress, and has a train of virgin-ministrants clothed in white. He travels about occasionally to preach at towns and villages, in a waggon, followed by others, covered with white tilt-cloths; but what his peculiar tenets are beyond that of dancing and singing, and imitating David the King, I really cannot tell, for it is altogether too farcical to last long: but Mr. David seems to understand clearly, as far as the temporal concerns of his infatuated followers go, that the old-fashioned signification of *meum* and *tuum* are religiously centered in his own *sanctum*. It was natural that such a field should produce tares in abundance." The following notice of the "Children of Peace" occurs in Patrick Swift's Almanac for 1834, penned, probably, with an eye to votes in the neighbourhood of E Sharon, or Hope, as the place is here called. "This society," the Almanac reports, "numbers about 280 members in Hope, east of Newmarket. They have also stated places of preaching, at the Old Court House, York, on Yonge Street, and at Markham. Their principal speaker is David Willson, assisted by Murdoch McLeod, Samuel Hughes, and others. Their music, vocal and instrumental, is excellent, and their preachers seek no pay from the Governor out of the taxes." On week-days, Willson was often to be seen, like any other industrious yeoman, driving into town his own waggon, loaded with the produce of his farm; dressed in home-spun, as the "borel folk" of Yonge Street generally were: in the axis of one eye there was a slight divergency.—The expression "Family Compact" occurring above, borrowed from French and Spanish History, appears also in the General Report of Grievances, in 1835, where this sentence is to be read: "The whole system [of conducting Government without a responsible Executive] has so long continued virtually in the same hands, that it is little better than a family compact," p. 43.

After the Court House Square came the large area attached to St. James's Church, to the memories connected with which we shall presently devote some space; as also to those connected with the region to the north, formerly the play-ground of the District Grammar School, and afterwards transformed into March Street and its purlieus.

At the corner on the south side of King Street, just opposite the Court House, was the clock-and-watch-repairing establishment of Mr. Charles Clinkunbroomer. To our youthful fancy, the general click and tick usually to be heard in an old-fashioned watchmaker's place of business, was in some sort expressed by the name Clinkunbroomer. But in old local lists we observe the orthography of this name to have been Klinkenbrunner, which conveys another idea. Mr. Clinkunbroomer's father, we believe, was attached to the army of General Wolfe, at the taking of Quebec. In the early annals of York numerous Teutonic names are observable. Among jurymen and others, at an early period, we meet with Nicholas Klinkenbrunner, Gerhard Kuch, John Vanzantee, Barnabas Vanderburgh, Lodowick Weidemann, Francis Frieder, Peter Hultz, Jacob Wintersteen, John Shunk, Leonard Klink, and so on. So early as 1795 Liancourt speaks of a migration hither of German settlers from the other side of the Lake. A number of German settlers collected at Hamburg, an agent there, he says, had brought out to settle on "Captain Williamson's Demesne" in the State of New York. After subsisting some time there at the expense of Capt. W. (who, it was stated, was really the representative of one of the Pulteneys in England), they decamped in a body to the north side of the Lake, and especially to York and its neighbourhood, at the instigation of one *Baty*, as the name reads in Liancourt, and "gained over, if we may believe common fame," Liancourt says, "by the English;" gained over, rather, it is likely, by the prospect of acquiring freehold property for nothing, instead of holding under a patroon or American feudal lord. Probably it was to the reports given by these refugees, that a message sent in 1794, by Governor Simcoe to Capt. Williamson, was due. Capt. W., who appears to have acquired a supposed personal interest in a large portion of the State of New York, was opening settlements on the inlets on the south side of Lake Ontario, known as Ierondequat and Sodus Bay. "Last year," Liancourt informs us, "General Simcoe, Governor

of Upper Canada, who considered the Forts of Niagara and Oswego, \* \* \* as English property, together with the banks of Lake Ontario, sent an English officer to the Captain, with an injunction, not to persist in his design of forming the settlements. The Captain," we are told, "returned a plain and spirited answer, yet nevertheless conducted himself with a prudence conformable to the circumstances. All these difficulties, however," it is added, "are now removed by the prospect of the continuance of peace, and still more so by the treaty [of amity between France and the United States] newly concluded.

#### VII.—KING STREET: DIGRESSION SOUTHWARDS AT CHURCH STREET : MARKET LANE.

Across Church Street from Clinkunbroomer's were the wooden buildings already referred to, as having remained long in a partially finished state, being the result of a premature speculation. From this point we are induced to turn aside from our direct route for a few moments, attracted by a street which we see a short distance to the south, namely, Market Lane, or Colborne Street, as the modern phraseology is. In this passage was, in the olden time, the Masonic Hall, a wooden building of two storeys. To the young imagination this edifice seemed to possess considerable dignity, from being surmounted by a cupola; the first structure in York that ever enjoyed such a distinction. This ornamental appendage supported above the western gable, by slender props, (intended in fact for the reception of a bell, which, so far as our recollection extends, was never supplied), would appear insignificant enough now; but it was the first budding of the architectural ambition of a young town, which leads at length to turrets, pinnacles, spires and domes. A staircase on the outside led to the upper storey of the Masonic Hall. In this place were held the first meetings of the first Mechanics' Institute, organized under the auspices of Moses Fish, a builder of York, and other lovers of knowledge of the olden time. Here were attempted the first popular lectures. Here we remember hearing—certainly some forty years ago—Mr. John Fenton read a paper on the manufacture of steel, using diagrams in illustration: one of them shewed the magnified edge of a well-set razor, the serrations all sloping in one direction, by which it might be seen, the lecturer remarked, that unless a man, in shaving, gave the instrument a particular movement, he was likely "to get into a scrape."—The lower part of the Masonic Hall was for a considerable while used as a school, kept successively by Mr. Stewart and Mr. Appleby; and afterwards by Mr. Caldicott.

At the corner of Market Lane, on the north side, towards the Market, was Phair's Hotel, an ordinary white frame building. The first theatre of York was extemporized in the ball-room of this house. When fitted up for dramatic purposes, that apartment was approached by a stairway on the outside. Here companies performed, under the management, at one time, of Mr. Archbold; at another, of Mr. Talbot; at another, of Mr. Vaughan. The last-named manager, while professionally at York, lost a son by drowning in the Bay. We well remember the poignant distress of the father at the grave, and that his head was bound round on the occasion with a white bandage or napkin. Mrs. Talbot was a great favourite. She performed the part of Cora in Pizarro, and that of Little Pickle, in a comedy of that name, if our memory serves us. Pizarro, Barbarossa, and the Siege of Algiers, Ali Baba, or the Forty Thieves, the Lady of the Lake, the Miller and his Men, were among the pieces here represented. The body-guard of the Dey of Algiers, we remember, consisted of two men, who always came in with military precision just after the hero, and placed themselves in a formal manner at fixed distances behind him, like two sentries. They were in fact soldiers from the garrison, we think. All this appeared very effective.—The dramatic appliances and accessories at Phair's were of the humblest kind. The dimensions of the stage must have been very limited: the ceiling of the whole room, we know, was low. As for orchestra—in those days, the principal instrumental artist of the town was Mr. Maxwell, who, well-remembered for his quiet manners, for the shade over one eye, in which was some defect, and for his homely skill on the violin, was generally to be seen and heard, often alone, but sometimes with an associate or two, here, as at all other entertainments of importance, public and private. Nevertheless, at that period, to an unsophisticated yet active imagination, innocent of acquaintance with more respectable arrangements, everything seemed charming; each scene, as the bell rang and the baize drew up, was invested with a magical glamour, similar in kind, if not equal in degree, to that which, in the days of our grand-

fathers, ere yet the modern passion for real knowledge had been awakened, fascinated the young Londoner at Drury Lane. And how curiously were the illusions of the mimic splendors sometimes in a moment broken, as if to admonish the inexperienced spectator of the facts of real life. In the performance of Pizarro, it will be remembered that an attempt is made to bribe a Spanish soldier at his post. He rejects and flings to the ground what is called "a wedge of massive gold"—we recollect the sound produced on the boards of the stage in Phair's by the fall of this wedge of massive gold: it instantly betrayed itself by this, as well as by its nimble rebound, to be, of course, a gilded bit of wood. And it is not alone at obscure village performances that such disclosures occur. At an opera in London, where all appearances were elaborately perfect, we recollect the accidental fall of a goblet which was supposed to be of heavy chased silver, and also filled with wine—a contretemps occasioned by the giddiness of the lad who personated a page: two things were at once clear: the goblet was not of metal, and nothing liquid was contained within it: which recalls a mishap associated in our memory with a visit to the Argentinia at Rome, many years ago: this was the coming off of a wheel from the chariot of a Roman general, at a critical moment: the descent on this occasion from the vehicle to the stage was a true step from the sublime to the ridiculous; for the audience observed the accident, and persisted in their laugh in spite of the heroics which the great commander proceeded to address, in operatic style, to his assembled army.

It was in this same assembly-room at Phair's, dismantled of its theatrical furniture, that a celebrated fancy ball was given, in 1827, conjointly by Mr. Galt, Commissioner of the Canada Company, and Lady Mary Willis, wife of Mr. Justice Willis. On that occasion the interests of the Company were to some extent studied in the ornamentation of the room, its floor being decorated with an immense representation, in chalks or water-colour, of the arms of the association: the supporters of the shield were of colossal dimensions: two lions, rampant, bearing flags turning opposite ways: below, on the riband, in characters proportionably large, was the motto of the Company, "Non mutat genus solium." The sides and ceiling of the room, with the passages leading from the front door to it, were covered throughout with branchlets of the hemlock-spruce: nestling in the greenery of this perfect bower were innumerable little coloured lamps, each containing a floating light. Here, for once, the potent, grave and reverend seigniors of York, along with their sons and daughters, indulged in a little insanity, Lady Mary Willis appeared as Mary, Queen of Scots; the Judge himself, during a part of the evening, was in the costume of an old woman; Miss Willis, the clever amateur equestrienne, was Polly, with cap and bells; Dr. W. W. Baldwin was a Roman senator; his two sons, William and St. George, were the Dioscuri; his nephew, Augustus Sullivan, was Puss in Boots; Dr. Grant Powell was Dr. Pangloss; Mr. Kerr, a real Ojibway chief, at the time a member of the Legislature, made a magnificent Kentucky backwoodsman. Mr. Gregg, of the Commissariat, was there as Othello. The Kentuckian (Kerr), professing to be struck with the many fine points of the Moor, as regarded from his point of view, persisted, throughout the evening, in setting up a claim to ownership—an idea naturally much resented by Othello. Col. Givins, his son Adolphus, Raymond Baby, and others, were Indian chiefs of different tribes, who more than once indulged in the war-dance. Mr. Buchanan, son of the British Consul at New York, was Darnley; Mr. Thompson, of the Canada Company's office, was Rizzio; Mr. G. A. Barber was a wounded sailor recently from Navarino (that untoward event had lately taken place); his arm was in a sling; he had suffered in reality a mutilation of the right hand by an explosion of gunpowder on the 5th of November:

Mr. Galt was only about three years in Canada; but this short space of time sufficed to enable him to lay the foundations of the Canada Company wisely and well, as is shown by its duration and prosperity. The feat was not accomplished without some antagonism springing up between himself and the local governmental authorities, whom he was inclined to treat rather haughtily: It is a study to observe how frequently, at an early stage of Upper Canadian society, a mutual antipathy manifested itself between visitors from the transatlantic world; tourists and settlers (intending and actual), and the first occupants of such places of trust and emolument as then existed. It was a feeling that grew partly out of personal considerations, and partly out of difference of opinion in regard to public policy. A gulf thus began at an early period to open between two sections of the community, which widened painfully for a time in after years;—a fissure, which, at its first appearance, a little philosophy on both sides would have closed up:



Men of intelligence, who had risen to position and acquired all their experience in a remote, diminutive settlement, might have been quite sure that their grasp of great imperial and human questions, when they arose, would be very imperfect, they might, therefore, rationally have rejoiced at the accession of new minds and additional light to help them in the day of necessity. And on the other hand, the fresh immigrant or casual visitor, trained to maturity amidst the combinations of an old society, and possessing a knowledge of its past, might have comprehended thoroughly the exact condition of thought and feeling in a community such as that which he was approaching, and so might have regarded its ideas with charity, and spoken of them in a tone conciliatory and delicate. On both sides, the maxim *Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner* would have had a salutary and composing effect, "for," as the author of *Realms* well says, "in truth, one would never be angry with anybody, if one understood him or her thoroughly." We regret that we cannot recover two small "paper pellets of the brain," of this period, arising out of the discussions connected with the appointment of an outsider (Mr. Justice Willis) to the Bench of Upper Canada. They would have been illustrative of the times. They were in the shape of two advertisements, one in reply to the other, in a local Paper: one was the elaborate title-page of a pamphlet "shortly to appear," with the motto "Meliora sperans"; the other was an exact counterpart of the first, only in reversed terms, and bearing the motto "Deteriora timens." In the earlier stages of all colonies it is obviously inevitable that appointments *ad extra* to public office must occasionally, and even frequently, be made. Local aspirants are thus subject to disappointments; and men of considerable ability may now and then feel themselves overshadowed, and imagine themselves depressed, through the introduction of talent transcending their own. Some manifestations of discontent and impatience may thus always be expected to appear. But in a few years this state of things comes naturally to an end. In no public exigency is there any longer a necessity to look to external sources for help. A home supply of men duly qualified to serve "Church and State" is legitimately developed, as we see in the United States, among ourselves, and in all the other larger settlements from the British Islands. The *dénouement* of the Willis-trouble may be gathered from the following notice in the *Gazette* of Thursday, July 17th, 1823, now lying before us: "His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to appoint, by Commission under the Great Seal, Christopher Alexander Hagerman, Esq., to be Judge in His Majesty's Court of King's Bench for this Province, in the room of the Hon. John Walpole Willis, *amoved*, until the King's pleasure shall be signified."

Lady Mary Willis, associated with Mr. Galt in the Fancy Ball just spoken of, was a daughter of the Earl of Strathmore. In the *Canadian Literary Magazine* for April, 1833, there is a notice of Mr. Galt, with a full-length pen-and-ink portrait, similar to those which used formerly to appear in *Fraser*. In front of the figure is a bust of Lord Byron; behind, on a wall, is a Map shewing the Canadian Lakes, with YORK marked conspicuously. From this sketch we learn that "Mr. Galt always conducted himself as a man of the strictest probity and honour. He was warm in his friendships, and extremely hospitable in his Log Priory at Guelph, and thoroughly esteemed by those who had an opportunity of mingling with him in close and daily intimacy. He was the first to adopt the plan of opening roads before making a settlement, instead of leaving them to be cut, as heretofore, by the settlers themselves—a plan which, under the irregular and patchwork system of settling the country then prevailing, has retarded the improvement of the Province more, perhaps, than any other cause." In his *Autobiography* Mr. Galt refers to this notice of himself in the *Canadian Literary Magazine*, especially in respect to an intimation given therein that contemporaries at York accused him of "playing Captain Grand" occasionally, and "looking down on the inhabitants of Upper Canada." He does not affect to say that it was not so; he even rather unamiably adds: "The fact is, I never thought about them [*i. e.*, these inhabitants], unless to notice some ludicrous peculiarity of individuals." The same tone is assumed when recording the locally famous entertainment, given by himself and Lady Willis, as above described. Having received a hint that the colonelcy of a militia regiment might possibly be offered him, he says: "This information was unequivocally acceptable; and, accordingly," he continues, "I resolved to change my recluseness into something more cordial towards the general inhabitants of York. I therefore directed one of the clerks [*the gentleman who figured as Rizzio, doubtless*], to whom I thought the task might be agreeable, to make arrangements for giving a general Fancy Ball to all my acquaintance, and the principal inhabitants. I

could not be troubled," he observes, "with the details myself, but exhorted him to make the invitations as numerous as possible." In extenuation of his evident moodiness of mind, it is to be observed that his quarters at York were very uncomfortable. "The reader is probably acquainted," he says in his *Autobiography*, "with the manner of living in the American hotels, but without experience he can have no right notion of what in those days (1827,) was the condition of the best tavern in York. It was a mean two-storey house; the landlord, however, [this was Mr. Phair,] did," he says, "all in his power to mitigate the afflictions with which such a domicile was quaking, to one accustomed to quiet." Such an impression had his unfortunate accommodation at York made on him, that, in another place, when endeavouring to describe Dover, in Kent, as a dull place, we have him venturing to employ such extravagant language as this: "Everybody who has ever been at Dover knows that it is one of the vilest [hypochondriacal] haunts on the face of the earth, except Little York in Upper Canada." We notice in *Leigh Hunt's London Journal for June, 1834*, some verses entitled "Friends and Boyhood," written by Mr. Galt, in sickness. They will not sound out of place in a paper of early reminiscences:

"Talk not of years I 'twas yesterday  
We chased the hoop together,  
And for the plover's speckled egg  
We waded through the heather.

"The green is gay where gowans grow,  
'Tis Saturday—oh! come,  
Hark! hear ye not our mother's voice,  
The earth?—she calls us home.

"Have we not found that fortune's chase  
For glory or for treasure,  
Unlike the rolling circle's race,  
Was pastime, without pleasure?

"But seize your glass—another time  
We'll think of clouded days—  
I'll give a toast—fill up, my friend!  
Here's 'Boys and merry plays!'"

But Market Lane and its memories detain us too long from King Street. We now return to the point where Church Street intersects that thoroughfare.

#### VIII.—KING STREET: ST. JAMES'S CHURCH.

The first Church of St. James, at York, was a plain structure of wood, placed some yards back from the road. Its gables faced east and west, and its solitary door was at its western end, and was approached from Church Street. Its dimensions were 50 by 40 feet. The sides of the building were pierced by two rows of ordinary windows, four above and four below. Altogether it was, in its outward appearance, simply, as a contemporary American "Geographical View of the Province of Upper Canada," now before us, describes it, a "meeting-house for Episcopalians." The work referred to, which was written by a Mr. M. Smith, before the war of 1812, thus depicts York: "This village," it says, "is laid out after the form of Philadelphia, the streets crossing each other at right angles; though the ground on which it stands is not suitable for building. This at present," the notice continues, "is the seat of Government, and the residence of a number of English gentlemen. It contains some fine buildings, though they stand scattering, among which are a Court-house, Council-house, a large brick building, in which the King's store for the place is kept, and a meeting-house for Episcopalians; one printing, and other offices." The reservation of land in which the primitive St. James's Church stood, long remained plentifully covered with the original forest. In a wood-cut from a sketch taken early in the present century, prefixed to the "Annals of the Diocese of Toronto," the building is represented as being in the midst of a great grove, and stumps of various sizes are visible in the foreground. Up to 1805, the Anglican congregation had assembled for Divine

Worship in the Parliament Building; and prior to the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Stuart, a layman, Mr. Cooper, afterwards the well-known wharfinger, used to read the service. In 1805, steps were taken to erect the building above described; and we are informed that the Commandant of the Garrison, Col. Sheaffe, ordered his men to assist in raising the frame. In 1810, a portion of the church-plot was enclosed, at an expense of £1 5s. for rails, of which five hundred were required for the purpose. At the same time the ground in front of the west end, where was the entrance, was cleared of stumps, at an expense of £3 15s. In that year the cost for heating the building, and charges connected with the Holy Communion, amounted to £1 7s. 6d., Halifax currency.

In 1813, Dr. Strachan succeeded Dr. Stuart as incumbent of the church; and in 1818 he induced the congregation to effect some alterations in the structure. On its north and south sides additional space was enclosed, which brought the axis of the building and its roof into a north and south direction. An entrance was opened at the southern end, towards King Street, and over the gable in this direction was built a square tower bearing a circular bell-turret, surmounted by a small tin-covered spire. The whole edifice, as thus enlarged and improved, was painted of a light blue colour, with the exception of the frames round the windows and doors, and the casings at the angles, imitating blocks of stone, alternately long and short, which were all painted white. In the bell-turret was a bell of sufficient weight sensibly to jar the whole building at every one of its semi-revolutions. The original western door was not closed up. Its use, almost exclusively, was now, on Sundays and other occasions of Divine Worship, to admit the Troops, whose benches extended along by the wall on that side the whole length of the church.—The upper windows on all the four sides were now made circular-headed. On the east side there was a difference. The altar-window of the original building remained, only transformed into a kind of triplet, the central compartment rising above the other two, and made circular-headed. On the north and south of this east window were two tiers of lights, as on the western side.

In the interior, a central aisle, or open passage, led from the door to the northern end of the church, where, on the floor, was situated a pew or state for the Lieutenant-Governor: small square pillars at its four corners sustained a flat canopy over it, immediately under the ceiling of the gallery; and below this distinctive tester or covering, suspended against the wall, were the royal arms, emblazoned on a black tablet of board or canvas. Half-way up the central aisle, on the west side, was an open space, in which were planted the pulpit, reading-desk and clerk's pew, in the old orthodox fashion, rising by gradations one above the other, the whole overshadowed by a rather handsome sounding-board, sustained partially by a rod from the roof. Behind this structure was the altar, lighted copiously by the original east window. Two narrow side-aisles, running parallel with the central one, gave access to corresponding rows of pews, each having a numeral painted on its door. Two passages, for the same purpose, ran westward from the space in front of the pulpit. To the right and left of the Lieut.-Governor's seat, and filling up (with the exception of two square corner pews) the rest of the northern end of the church, were two oblong pews; the one on the west appropriated to the officers of the garrison; the other, on the east, to the members of the Legislature.

Round the north, west, and south sides of the interior, ran a gallery, divided, like the area below, into pews. This structure was sustained by a row of pillars of turned wood, and from it to the roof above rose another row of similar supports. The ceiling over the parts exterior to the gallery was divided into four shallow semi-circular vaults, which met at a central point. The pews everywhere were painted of a buff or yellowish hue, with the exception of the rims at the top, which were black. The pulpit and its appurtenances were white. The rims, just referred to, at the tops of the pews, throughout the whole church, exhibited, at regular intervals, small gimlet-holes: in these were inserted annually, at Christmas-tide, small sprigs of hemlock-spruce. The interior, when thus dressed, wore a cheerful, refreshing look, in keeping with the festival commemorated.

Within this interior used to assemble, periodically, the little world of York: occasionally, a goodly proportion of the little world of all Upper Canada.

To limit ourselves to our own recollections: here, with great regularity, every Sunday, was to be seen, passing to and from the place of honour assigned him, Sir Peregrine Maitland,—a tall, grave officer, always in military dress; his countenance ever wearing a mingled expres-

sion of sadness and benevolence, like that which one may observe on the face of the predecessor of Louis Philippe, Charles the Tenth, whose current portrait recalls, not badly, the whole head and figure of this early Governor of Upper Canada. In an outline representation which we accidentally possessed, of a panorama of the battle of Waterloo, on exhibition in London, the 1st Foot Guards were conspicuously to be seen led on by "Major-General Sir Peregrine Maitland." It was a matter of no small curiosity to the boyish mind, and something that helped to rouse an interest in history generally, to be assured that the living personage here, every week, before the eye, was the commander represented in the panorama; one who had actually passed through the tremendous excitement of the real scene. With persons of wider knowledge, Sir Peregrine was invested with further associations. Besides being the royal representative in these parts, he was the son-in-law of Charles Gordon Lennox, fourth Duke of Richmond, a name that stirred chivalrous feelings in early Canadians of both Provinces; for the Duke had come to Canada as Governor-in-Chief, with a grand reputation acquired as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and great benefits were expected, and probably would have been realized from his administration, had it been of long continuance. But he had been suddenly removed by an excruciating death. Whilst on a tour of inspection in the Upper Province, he had been fatally attacked with hydrophobia, occasioned by the bite of a pet fox. The injury had been received at Sorel: its terrible effects were fatally experienced at a place near the Ottawa, since named Richmond.—Some of the prestige of the deceased Duke continued to adhere to Sir Peregrine Maitland, for he had married the Duke's daughter, a graceful and elegant woman, who was always at his side, here and at Stamford Cottage across the Lake. She bore a name not unfamiliar in the domestic annals of George the Third, who once, it is said, was enamoured of a beautiful Lady Sarah Lennox, grandmother, as we suppose, or some other near relative, of the Lady Sarah here before us at York. Moreover, conversationalists whispered about (in confidence) something supposed to be unknown to the general public—that the match between Sir Peregrine and Lady Sarah had been effected in spite of the Duke. The report was that there had been an elopement; and it was naturally supposed that the party of the sterner sex had been the most active agent in the affair. To say the truth, however, in this instance, it was the lady who precipitated matters. The affair occurred at Paris, soon after the Waterloo campaign. The Duke's final determination against Sir Peregrine's proposals having been announced, the daughter suddenly withdrew from the father's roof, and fled to the lodgings of Sir Peregrine, who instantly retired to other quarters. The upshot of the whole thing, at once romantic and unromantic, included a marriage and a reconciliation; and eventually a Lieutenant-Governorship for the son-in-law under the Governorship-in-chief of the father, both despatched together to undertake the discharge of vice-regal functions in a distant colony. At the time of his marriage with Lady Sarah Lennox, Sir Peregrine had been for some ten years a widower. On his staff here at York was a son by his first wife, also named Peregrine, an ensign in the army.

After the death of the Duke of Richmond, Sir Peregrine became administrator, for a time, of the general government of British North America. The movements of the representative of the crown were attended with some state in those days.—Even a passage across from York to Stamford, or from Stamford to York, was announced by a royal salute at the garrison. Of a visit to Lower Canada in 1824, when, in addition to the usual suite, there were in the party several young Englishmen of distinction, tourists at that early period, on this continent, we have the following notice in the *Canadian Review* for December of that year. After mentioning the arrival at the Mansion House Hotel in Montreal, the *Review* proceeds: "In the morning His Excellency breakfasted with Sir Francis Burton, at the Government House, whom he afterwards accompanied to Quebec in the *Swiftsure* steamboat.—Sir Peregrine is accompanied," the *Review* reports, "by Lord Arthur Lennox, Mr. Maitland, Colonels Foster, Lightfoot, Coffin and Talbot; with the Hon. E. G. Stanley [the present Lord Stanley], grandson of Earl Derby, M.P. for Stockbridge, John E. Denison, Esq. [subsequently Speaker of the House of Commons], M.P. for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and James S. Wortley, Esq. [afterwards Lord Wharncliffe], M.P. for Bossiney in Cornwall. The three latter gentlemen," the magazine adds, "are now upon a tour in this country from England; and we are happy to learn that they have expressed themselves as being highly gratified with all that they have hitherto seen in Canada."

It will be of interest to know that the name of Sir Peregrine Maitland is further pleasantly preserved by means of Maitland Scholarships in a Grammar School for natives at Madras;

and by a Maitland Prize in the University of Cambridge. The circumstances of the institution of these memorials are these, as originally announced: "The friends of Lieutenant-General Sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B., late Commander and Chief of the Forces in South India, being desirous of testifying their respect and esteem for his character and principles, and for his disinterested zeal in the cause of Christian Truth in the East, have raised a fund for the institution of a prize in one of the Universities, and for the establishment of two native scholarships at Bishop Corrie's Grammar School at Madras; such prize and scholarships to be associated with the name of Sir Peregrine Maitland. In pursuance of the foregoing scheme, the sum of £1,000 has been given to the University of Cambridge for the purpose of instituting a Prize to be called "Sir Peregrine Maitland's Prize," for an English essay on some subject connected with the propagation of the Gospel, through missionary exertions in India and other parts of the heathen world."—This Prize, which is kept up by the interest accruing every three years, has been awarded at Cambridge regularly since 1845.

The successor to Sir Peregrine Maitland in the Government of Upper Canada was another distinguished military officer, Sir John Colborne. With ourselves, the first impression of his form and figure is especially associated with the interior in which we are supposing the reader to be now standing. We remember his first passage up the central aisle of St. James's Church. He had arrived early, in an unostentatious way; and on coming within the building he quietly inquired of the first person whom he saw, sitting in a seat near the door, which was the Governor's pew? The gentleman addressed happened to be Mr. Bernard Turquand, who, quickly recognizing the inquirer, stood up and extended his right arm and open hand in the direction of the canopied pew over which was suspended the tablet bearing the Royal Arms. Sir John, and some of his family after him, then passed on to the place indicated.—At school, in an edition of Goldsmith then in use, the name of "Major Colborne" in connection with the account of Sir John Moor's death at Corunna had already been observed; and it was with us lads a matter of intense interest to learn that the new Governor was the same person. The scene which was epitomized in the school-book, is given at greater length in Gleig's *Lives of Eminent British Military Commanders*.—The following are some particulars from Colonel Anderson's narrative in that work: "I met the general," Colonel Anderson says, "on the evening of the 16th, bringing in, in a blanket and sashes. He knew me immediately, though it was almost dark, squeezed me by the hand and said 'Anderson, don't leave me.' At intervals he added 'Anderson, you know that I have always wished to die in this way. I hope the people of England will be satisfied. I hope my country will do me justice. You will see my friends as soon as you can. Tell them everything. I have made my will, and have remembered my servants. Colborne has my will and all my papers.' Major Colborne now came into the room. He spoke most kindly to him; and then said to me, 'Anderson, remember you go to —, and tell him it is my request, and that I expect, he will give Major Colborne a lieutenant-colonelcy.' He thanked the surgeons for their trouble. He pressed my hand close to his body, and in a few minutes died without a struggle." He had been struck by a cannon-ball. The shot, we are told, had smashed his shoulder to atoms; the arm was hanging by a piece of skin, and the ribs over the heart, besides been broken, were literally stripped of flesh. Yet, the narrative adds, "he sat upon the field collected and unrepining, as if no ball had struck him, and as if he were placed where he was for the mere purpose of reposing for a brief space from the fatigue of hard riding." Sir John Colborne himself afterwards at Ciudad Rodrigo came within a hairs-breadth of a similar fate. His right shoulder was shattered by a cannon-shot. The escape of the right arm from amputation on the field at the hands of some prompt military surgeon on that occasion, was a marvel. The limb was saved, though greatly disabled. The want of symmetry in his tall and graceful form, permanently occasioned by this injury, was conspicuous to the eye. We happened to be present in the Council Chamber at Quebec, in 1838, at the moment when this noble-looking soldier literally vacated the vice-regal chair, and installed his successor Lord Durham in it, after administering to him the oaths. The exchange was not for the better, in a picturesque and scenic point of view; although Lord Durham, as his well-known portrait shews, was a personage of fine poetic or artist-like features.

Of late years a monument has been erected on Mount Wise at Plymouth, in honour of the illustrious military chief and preeminently excellent man, whose memory has just been recalled to us. It is a statue of bronze, by Adams, a little larger than life; and the likeness

s admirably preserved. (When seen on horseback at parades or reviews soldiers always averred that he greatly resembled "the Duke." Dr. Henry, in "Trifles from my Portfolio" (ii. 111.) thus wrote of him in 1833: "When we first dined at Government House, we were struck by the strong resemblance he bore to the Duke of Wellington; and there is also," Dr. Henry continues, "a great similarity in mind and disposition, as well as in the lineaments of the face. In one particular they harmonize perfectly—namely, great simplicity of character, and an utter dislike to shew any ostentation.") On the four sides of its granite pedestal are to be read the following inscriptions: in front: JOHN COLBORNE, BARON SEATON. BORN MDCCCLXXVIII. DIED MDCCCLXIII. On the right side: CANADA. IONIAN ISLANDS. On the left side: PENINSULA. WATERLOO. On the remaining side: IN MEMORY OF THE DISTINGUISHED CAREER AND STAINLESS CHARACTER OF FIELD MARSHAL LORD SEATON, G.C.B., G.C.M.O., G.C.H. THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY HIS FRIENDS AND COMRADES.—Accompanying the family of Sir John Colborne to their place in the Church at York was to be seen every Sunday, for sometime, a shy-mannered, black-eyed, Italian-featured Mr. Jeune, tutor to the Governor's sons. This was afterwards the eminent Dr. Jeune, Master of Pembroke College at Oxford, a great promoter of reform in that University, and Bishop of Lincoln. Sir John himself was a man of scholarly tastes; a great student of history, and a practical modern European linguist.—Through a casual circumstance, it is said that full praise was not publicly given, at the time, to the regiment commanded by Sir John Colborne, the 52nd, for the peculiar service rendered by it at the battle of Waterloo. By the independent direction of their leader, the 52nd made a sudden flank movement at the crisis of the fight and initiated the final discomfiture of which the Guards get the sole praise. At the close of the day, when the Duke of Wellington was rapidly constructing his despatch, Colonel Colborne was inquired for by him, and could not, for the moment, be found. The information, evidently desired, was thus not to be had; and the document was completed and sent off without a special mention of the 52nd's deed of "derring-do."—During the life-time of the great Duke there was much reticence among the military authorities in regard to the Battle of Waterloo, from the fact that the Duke himself did not encourage discussion on the subject. All was well that had ended well, appeared to have been his doctrine. He once checked an incipient dispute in regard to the great event of the 18th of June between two friends, in his presence by the command, half-jocose, half-earnest: "You leave the Battle of Waterloo alone!" He gave £60 for a private letter written by himself to a friend on the eve of the battle, and was heard to say, as he threw the document into the fire, "What a fool I was, when I wrote that!" Since the death of the Duke, an officer of the 52nd, subsequently in Holy Orders, has devoted a volume to the history of "the 52nd, or Lord Seaton's Regiment;" in which its movements on the field of Waterloo are fully detailed. And Colonel Chesney in his "Waterloo Lectures; a Study of the Campaign of 1815" has set the great battle in a new light, and has demolished several English and French traditions in relation to it, bringing out into great prominence the services rendered by Blucher and the Prussians. The Duke's personal sensitiveness to criticism was shewn on another occasion: when Colonel Gurwood suddenly died, he, through the police, took possession of the Colonel's papers, and especially of a Manuscript of Table Talk and other *ana*, designed for publication, and which, had it not been on the instant ruthlessly destroyed, would have been as interesting probably as Boswell's.—On Lord Seaton's departure from Canada, he was successively Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. He then retired to his own estate in the west of England, where he had a beautiful seat, in the midst of the calm, rural, inland scenery of Devonshire, not far from Plympton, and on the slope descending southward from the summits of Dartmoor. The name of the house is Beechwood, from the numerous clean, bold, magnificent beech trees that adorn its grounds, and give character to the neighbourhood generally. In the adjoining village of Sparkwell he erected a handsome school-house and church: and here his remains were deposited on his decease at Torquay in 1863. Mrs. Jameson's words in her "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles," express briefly but truly, the report which all that remember him, would give, of this distinguished and ever-memorable Governor of Canada. "Sir John Colborne," she says incidentally, in the Introduction to the work just named, "whose mind appeared to me cast in the antique mould of chivalrous honour; and whom I never heard mentioned in either Province but with respect and veneration." Dr. Henry in "Trifles from my Portfolio," once before referred to, uses

similar language. "I believe" he says "there never was a soldier of more perfect moral character than Sir John Colborne—a Bayard without gasconade, as well as *sans peur et sans reproche*."—The title "Seaton," we may add, was taken from the name of an ancient seaport town of Devon, the Moridunum of the Roman period.

#### IX.—KING STREET: ST. JAMES'S CHURCH—(Continued.)

At the southern end of the Church, in which we are supposing ourselves to be, opposite the Lieutenant-Governor's pew, but aloft in the gallery, immediately over the central entrance underneath, was the pew of Chief Justice Powell, a long narrow enclosure, with a high screen at its back to keep off the draughts from the door into the gallery, just behind. The whole of the inside of the pew, together with the screen by which it was backed, was lined with dark green baize or cloth. The Chief's own particular place in the pew was its central point. There, as in a focus, surrounded by the members of his family, he calmly sat, with his face to the north, his white head and intelligent features well brought out by the dark back-ground of the screen behind. The spectator, on looking up and recognizing the presence of the Chief Justice thus seated, involuntarily imagined himself, for the moment, to be in court. In truth, in an absent moment, the Judge himself might experience some confusion as to his whereabouts. For below him, on his right and left, he would see many of the barristers, attorneys, jurors and witnesses (to go no further), that on week-days were to be seen or heard before him in different compartments of the Court-room. Chief Justice Powell was of Welsh descent. The name is, of course, ap Hoel; of which "Caer Hoel," "Hoel's Place," the title given by the Chief Justice to his Park-lot at York, is a relic. An excellent portrait of him exists. He was a man of rather less than the ordinary stature. His features were round in outline, unmarked by the painful lines which usually furrow the modern judicial visage, but wakefully intelligent. His hair was milky white. The head was inclined to be bald. We have before us a contemporary brochure of the Chief's, from which we learn his view of the ecclesiastical land question, which for so long a period agitated Canada. After a full historical discussion, he recommends the re-investment of the property in the Crown, "which," he says, "in its bounty, will apply the proceeds equally for the support of Christianity, without other distinction;" but he comes to this determination reluctantly, and considers the plan to be one of expediency only. We give the concluding paragraph of his pamphlet, for the sake of its ring, so to speak—which is so thoroughly that of a by-gone day and generation: "If the wise provision of Mr. Pitt," the writer says, "to preserve the Law of the Union [between England and Scotland], by preserving the Church of England predominant in the Colony, and touching upon her rights to tythes only for her own advantage, and by the same course as the Church itself desiderates in England (the exchange of tythes for the fee simple), must be abandoned to the sudden thought of a youthful speculator [i. e., Mr. Wilmot, Secretary for the Colonies, who had introduced a bill into the Imperial Parliament for the sale of the Lands to the Canada Company], let the provision of his bill cease, and the tythes to which the Church of England was at that time lawfully entitled be restored; she will enjoy these exclusively even of the Kirk of Scotland: but if all veneration for the wisdom of our Ancestors has ceased, and the time is come to prostrate the Church of England, bind her not up in the same wythe with her bitterest enemy; force her not to an exclusive association with any one of her rivals; leave the tythes abolished; abolish all the legal exchange for them; and restore the Reserves to the Crown, which, in its bounty, will apply the proceeds equally for the support of Christianity, without other distinction."

In the body of the Church, below, sat another Chief Justice, retired from public life, and infirm—Mr. Scott—the immediate predecessor of Chief Justice Powell; a white-haired, venerable form, assisted to his place, a little to the south of the Governor's pew, every Sunday. We have already once before referred to Mr. Scott.—And again: another judicial personage was here every week lung to be seen, also crowned with the snowy hours of advanced age—Mr. Justice Campbell—afterwards, in succession to Chief Justice Powell, Chief Justice Sir William Campbell. His place was on the west side of the central aisle. Sir William Campbell was born so far back as 1758. He came out from Scotland as a soldier in a Highland regiment, and was taken prisoner at Yorktown when that place was surrendered by Cornwallis in 1781. In 1783 he settled in Nova Scotia and studied law. After practising as a barrister for nineteen years,

he was appointed Attorney-General for the Island of Cape Breton, from which post, after twelve years, he was promoted to a Judgeship in Upper Canada. This was in 1811. Thirteen years afterwards (in 1825) he became Chief Justice. The funeral of Sir William Campbell, in 1834, was one of unusual impressiveness. The Legislature was in session at the time, and attended in a body, with the Bar and the Judges. At the same hour, within the walls of the same Church, St. James's, the obsequies of a member of the Lower House took place, namely, of Mr. Roswell Mount, representative of the County of Middlesex, who had chanced to die at York during the session. A funeral oration on the two-fold occasion was pronounced by Archdeacon Strachan.—Dr. Henry, author of "Trifles from my Portfolio," attended Sir William Campbell, in his last illness. In the work just named, his case is thus described: "My worthy patient became very weak towards the end of the year," the doctor says, "his nights were restless—his appetite began to fail, and he could only relish tit bits. Medicine was tried fruitlessly, so his Doctor prescribed snipes. At the point of the sandy peninsula opposite the barracks," Dr. Henry continues, "are a number of little pools and marshes, frequented by these delectable little birds; and here I used to cross over in my skiff and pick up the Chief Justice's panacea. On this delicate food the poor old gentleman was supported for a couple of months. but the frost set in—the snipes flew away, and Sir William died." (ii. 112.) Appended to the account of the imposing ceremonies, in the *York Courier* of the day, we notice one of those familiar paragraphs which sensational itemists like to construct and which stimulate the self-complacency of small communities. It is headed LONGEVITY, and then thus proceeds: "At the funeral of the late Sir W. Campbell, on Monday, there were twenty inhabitants of York, whose united ages exceed fourteen hundred and fifty years!"

It is certain that there were to be seen moving up the aisles of the old wooden St. James's, at York, every Sunday, a striking number of venerable and dignified forms. For one thing, their costume helped to render them picturesque and interesting. The person of our immediate ancestors was well set off by their dress. Recall their easy, partially cut-away black coats and upright collars; their so-called small-clothes and buckled shoes; the frilled shirt-bosoms and white cravats, not apologies for cravats, but real envelopes for the neck. The comfortable well-to-do Quaker of the old school still exhibits in use some of their homely peculiarities of garb. And then remember the cut and arrangement of their hair, generally milky white, either from age or by the aid of powder; their smoothly shaven cheek and chin; and the peculiar expression superinduced in the eye and the whole countenance, by the governing ideas of the period, ideas that we are wont to style old-fashioned, but which furnished, nevertheless, for the time being, very useful and definite rules of conduct. Two pictures, one, Trumbull's Signing of the Declaration of Independence; the other, Huntingdon's Republican Court of Washington (shewn in Paris in 1867), exhibit to the eye the outward and visible presentment of the prominent actors in the affairs of the central portion of this Northern Continent, a century ago. These paintings do the same, in some degree, for us here in the north, also; any one of the more conspicuous figures in the congregation of the old St. James's, at York, might have stepped out from the canvas of one or other of the delineations just named. On occasions of state, even the silken bag (in the case of officials at least) was attached to the nape of the neck, as though, in accordance with a fashion of an earlier day still, the hair were yet worn long, and required gathering up in a receptacle provided for the purpose.—It seems now almost like a dream that we have seen in the flesh the honoured patriarchs and founders of our now great community thus assembled together in antique guise—

"Zarah, Nahor, Haran, Abram, Lot,  
The youthful world's gray fathers in one knot"—

that our eyes have really beheld the traces left upon their countenances by their long and varied experiences, by their cares, and processes of thought; the traces left on them by the lapse of years, by rough and troublous times, not merely heard of by the hearing of the ear, as existing across the Lakes or across the Seas, but as encountered in their own persons, in their own land, at their own hearths, encountered and bravely struggled through: that we have been eye witnesses of their cheerfulness and good heart after crisis upon crisis had come upon them; eye-witnesses of their devotedness to duty, the duty that presented itself, as each successive emergency arose, accomplishing their work honestly and well according to their knowledge and beliefs, without realizing in many an instance probably, the reach and vastness of the great



scheme of civilization which was been wrought out through them, and yet independently of them : that with our own eyes we have seen them, again and again, engaged within consecrated walls, in solemn acts which expressed, in spite of the vicissitudes which their destiny had brought with it, their unaffected faith in the unseen, and their living hope in relation to futurity. All this, we say, now seems like a dream of the night, or a mystic revelation of the scenes of a very distant period and in a very distant locality rather than the recollections of a few short years and of the spot on which we stand. The names, however, which we shall give will have a sound of reality about them : they will be recognized as familiar, household words still perpetuated, or, at all events, still freshly remembered, amongst us.

From amongst the venerable heads and ancestral forms which recur to us, as we gaze down in imagination from the galleries of the old wooden St. James's of York, we will single out, in addition to those already spoken of, that of Mr. Ridout, sometime Surveyor-General of the Province, father of a numerous progeny, and tribal head, so to speak, of more than one family of connections settled here, bearing the same name. He was a fine typical representative of the group to which our attention is directed. He was a perfect picture of a cheerful, benevolent-minded Englishman; of portly form, well advanced in years, his hair snowy-white naturally; his usual costume, of the antique style already described.—Then there was Mr. Small, Clerk of the Crown, an Englishman of similar stamp. We might sketch the rest separately as they rise before the mind's eye; but we should probably, after all, convey an idea of each that would be too incomplete to be interesting or of much value. We therefore simply name other members of the remarkable group of reverend seniors that assembled habitually in the church at York. Mr. Justice Boulton, Colonel Smith, sometime President of the Province; Mr. Allan, Mr. M'Gill, Mr. Crookshank, Major Heward, Colonel Wells, Colonel Fitzgibbon, Mr. Dunn, Dr. Macaulay, Dr. Baldwin, Dr. Lee, Mr. Samuel Ridout, Mr. Chewett, Mr. McNab (Sir Allan's father); Mr. Stephen Jarvis, who retained to the last the ancient fashion of tying the hair in a queue. We might go on with several others, also founders of families that still largely people York and its vicinity; we might mention old Captain Playter, Captain Denison, Mr. Scarlett, Captain Brooke and others. Filial duty would urge us not to omit, in the enumeration, one who, though at a very early period removed by a sudden casualty, is vividly remembered, not only as a good and watchful father, but also as a venerable form harmonizing perfectly in expression and costume with the rest of the group which used to gather in the church at York.—Of course, mingled with the ancients of the congregation, there was a due proportion of a younger generation. There was for example Mr. Simon Washburn, a bulky and prosperous barrister, afterwards Clerk of the Peace, who was the first, perhaps, in these parts, to carry a glass adroitly in the eye. There was Dr. Grant Powell, a handsome reproduction, on a larger scale, of his father the Chief, as his portrait shews; there were the Messrs. Monro, George and John; the Messrs. Stanton; the Messrs. Gamble, John and William; Mr. J. S. Baldwin, Mr. Lyons, Mr. Beikie, and others, all men of note, distinguishable from each other by individual traits and characteristics that might readily be sketched.—And lastly in the interstices of the assemblage was to be seen a plentiful representation of generation number three; young men and lads of good looks, for the most part, well set-up limbs, and quick faculties; in some instances, of course, of fractious temperament and manners. As ecclesiastical associations are at the moment uppermost, we note an ill habit that prevailed among some of these younglings of the flock, of loitering long about the doors of the church for the purpose of watching the arrivals, and then, when the service was well advanced, the striplings would be seen sporadically coming in, each one imagining, as he passed his fingers through his hair and marched with a shew of manly spirit up the aisle, that he attracted a degree of attention; attracted, perhaps, a glance of admiration from some of the many pairs of eyes that rained influence from a large pew in the eastern portion of the north gallery, where the numerous school of Miss Purcell and Miss Rose held a commanding position.

It would have been a singular exception to a general law, had the interior into which we are now gazing, and whose habits we are now recalling, not been largely frequented by the feminine portion of society at York. In their place seated, in various directions along the galleries and in the body of the old wooden church, were to be regularly seen fine specimens of the venerable great grandmamma of the old English and Scottish type (in one or two instances to be thought of to this day with a degree of awe by reason of the vigour, almost masculine, of their

character); specimens of kindly maiden aunts; specimens of matronly wives and mothers, keeping watch and ward over bevy of comely daughters and nieces.

Lady Sarah Maitland herself cannot be called a fixed member of society here, but having been for so long a time a resident, it seems now, in the retrospect, as if she had been really a development of the place. Her distinguished style, native to herself, had its effect on her contemporaries of the gentler sex in these parts. Mrs. Dunn, also, and Mrs. Wells, may likewise be named as special models of grace and elegance in person and manner. In this all-influential portion of the community, a tone and air that were good prevailed widely from the earliest period. It soon became a practice with the military, and other temporary sojourners attached to the Government, to select partners for life from the families of York. Hence it has happened that, to this day, in England, Ireland and Scotland, and in the Dependencies of the Empire on the other side of the globe, many are the households that rise up and call a daughter of Canada blessed as their maternal head.—Local aspirants to the holy estate were thus unhappily, now and then, to their great disgust, balked of their first choice. But a residue was always left, sufficient for the supply of ordinary wants; and manifold were the interlacings of local connection, in which fact there is nothing surprising and nothing to be condemned: it was from political considerations alone that such affinities came afterwards to be referred to, in some quarters, with bitterness.—Occasionally, indeed, a fastidious young man, or a disappointed widower, would make a selection in parts remote from the home circle, quite unnecessarily. We recall especially to mind the sensible emotion in the congregation on the first advent amongst them of a fair bride from Montreal, the then Paris of Canada; and several lesser excitements of the same class, on the appearance in their midst of aerial veils and orange blossoms from Lobo, from New York, from distant England. Once the selection of a "helpmeet" from a rival religious communion, in the town of York itself, led to the defection from the flock of a prominent member; an occurrence that led also to the publication of two polemical pamphlets, which made a momentary stir; one of them a declamation by a French bishop; the other, a review of the same, by the pastor of the abandoned flock.—The strictures on the intelligence and moral feeling of the feminine, as well as the masculine portion of society at York, delivered by such world-experienced writers as Mrs. Jameson, and such enlightened critics as were two or three of the later Governors' wives, may have been just, in the abstract, to a certain extent, as from the point of view of old communities in England and Germany; but they were unfair as from the point of view of persons calmly reviewing all the circumstances of the case. Here again the maxim applies: *Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner.*

We have said that the long pew on the west side of the Governor's seat was allotted to the military. In this compartment we remember often scanning with interest the countenance and form of a youthful and delicate-looking ensign, simply because he bore, hereditarily, a name and title all complete, distinguished in the annals of science two centuries ago—the Hon. Robert Boyle: he was one of the aides-de-camp of Sir Peregrine Maitland. Here also was to be seen, for a time, a Major Browne, a brother of the formerly popular poetess, Mrs. Hemans. Here, too, sat a Zachary Mudge, another hereditary name complete, distinguished in the scientific annals of Devonshire. He was an officer of Artillery, and one of Sir John Colborne's aides-de-camp; for some unexplained reason he committed suicide at York, and his remains were deposited in the old military burying-ground. In this pew familiar forms were also—Major Powell, Capt. Grubbe, Major Hillier, Capt. Blois, Capt. Phillpotts, brother of the Bishop.

The compartment on the east side of the Governor's pew was, as we have said, appointed for the use of the members of the Legislature when in session. Here at certain periods, generally in mid-winter, were to be observed all the political notabilities of the day; for at the period we are glancing at, non-conformists as well as conformists were to be seen assisting, now and again, at public worship here. The outward presentments of Col. Nichol (killed by driving over the precipice at Queenston), of Mr. Horner (a Benjamin Franklin style of countenance), of Dr. Leferty, of Hamnet Pinhey, of Mahlon Burwell, of Absalom Shade, of other owners of old Canadian names, are well remembered. The spare, slender figure of Mr. Speaker Sherwood, afterwards a Judge of the King's Bench, was here to be seen. Mr. Chisholm, of Oakville, used facetiously to object to the clause in the Litany where "heresy and schism" are deprecated, it so happening that the last term was usually, by a Scotticism, read "Chisholm." Up to the Parliamentary pew we have seen Mr. William Lyon McKenzie himself hurriedly make his way

with an air of great animation, and take his seat, to the visible, but, of course, repressed disconcertment of several honourable members, and others.

Altogether, it was a very complete little world, this assemblage within the walls of the old wooden church at York. There were present, so to speak, king, lords and commons; gentle and simple in due proportion, with their wives and little ones; judges, magistrates and gentry; representatives of governmental departments, with their employés; legislators, merchants, tradespeople, handicraftsmen; soldiers and sailors; a great variety of class and character. All seemed to be in harmony, real or conventional, here; whatever feuds, family or political, actually subsisted, no very marked symptoms thereof could be discerned in this place. But the history of all was known, or supposed to be known, to each. The relationship of each to each was known, and how it was brought about. It was known to all how every little scar, every trivial mutilation or disfigurement, that chanced to be visible on the visage or limb of any one, was acquired, in the performance of what boyish freak, in the execution of what practical jest, in the excitement of what convivial or other occasion. Here and there sat one who, in obedience to the social code of the day, had been "out," for the satisfaction, as the term was, of himself or another, perhaps a quondam friend—satisfaction obtained (let the age be responsible for the terms we use), in more than one instance, at the cost of human life.

#### X.—KING STREET: ST. JAMES'S CHURCH—(Continued.)

It is beginning, perhaps, to be thought preposterous that we have not as yet said anything of the occupants of the pulpit and desk, in our account of this church interior. We are just about to supply this deficiency.

Here was to be seen and heard, at his periodical visits, Charles James Stewart, the second Bishop of Quebec, a man of saintly character and presence; long a missionary in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada, before his appointment to the Episcopate. The contour of his head and countenance, as well as something of his manner even, may be gathered from a remark of the late Dr. Primrose, of Toronto, who, while a stranger, had happened to drop in at the old wooden church when Bishop Stewart was preaching: "I just thought," the doctor said, "it was the old King in the pulpit!" *i. e.*, George III.

Here Dr. Okill Stewart, formerly rector of this church, but subsequently of St. George's, Kingston, used occasionally, when visiting York, to officiate—a very tall, benevolent, and fine-featured ecclesiastic, with a curious delivery, characterized by unexpected elevations and depressions of the voice irrespective of the matter, accompanied by long closings of the eyes, and then a sudden re-opening of the same. Whenever this preacher ascended the pulpit, one member of the congregation, Mr. George Duggan, who had had, it was understood, some trivial disagreement with the doctor during his incumbency in former years, was always expected, by on-lookers, to rise and walk out. And this he accordingly always did. The movement seemed a regular part of the programme of the day, and never occasioned any particular remark.

Here Mr. Joseph Hudson officiated now and then, a military chaplain, appointed at a comparatively late period to this post; a clergyman greatly beloved by the people of the town generally, both as a preacher and as a man. He was the first officiating minister that we ever saw wearing the academical hood over the ordinary vestment.

Here during the sittings of Parliament, of which he was chaplain, Mr. Addison, of Niagara, was sometimes to be heard. The Library of this scholarly divine of the old school was presented by him *en bloc* to St. Mark's Church, Niagara, of which he was incumbent. It remained for some years at "Lake View," the private residence of Mr. Addison; but during the incumbency of Dr. McMurray, it has been removed to the rectory-house at Niagara, where it is to continue, in accordance with the first rector's will, for the use of the incumbent for the time being. It is a remarkable collection, as exhibiting the line of reading of a thoughtful and intelligent man of the last century: many treatises and tracts of contemporary, but now defunct interest, not elsewhere to be met with, probably, in Canada, are therein preserved. The volumes, for the most part, retain their serviceable bindings of old pane-sided calf; but some of them, unfortunately, bear marks of the havoc made by damp and vermin before their transfer to their present secure place of shelter.—Mr. Addison used to walk to and from Church in his

canonicals in the old-fashioned way, recalling the Johnsonian period, when clergy very generally wore their cassocks and gowns in the streets.

Another chaplain to the Legislative Assembly was Mr. William Macaulay, a preacher always listened to with a peculiar attention, whenever he was to be heard in the pulpit here. Mr. Macaulay was a member of the Macaulay-family settled at Kingston. He had been sent to Oxford, where he pursued his studies without troubling himself about a degree. While there he acquired the friendship of several men afterwards famous, especially of Whately, sometime Archbishop of Dublin, with whom a correspondence was maintained. Mr. Macaulay's striking and always deeply-thoughtful matter was set off to advantage by the fine intellectual contour of his face and head, which were not unlike those to be seen in the portrait of Maltby, Bishop of Durham, usually prefixed to Morell's Thesaurus.

One more chaplain of the House may be named, frequently heard and seen in this Church—Dr. Thomas Phillips—another divine, well-read, of a type that has now disappeared. His personal appearance was very clerical in the old-fashioned sense. His countenance was of the class represented by that of the late Sir Henry Ellis, as finely figured in a recent number of the *Illustrated News*. He was one of the last wearers of hair-powder in these parts. In reading the Creed he always endeavoured to conform to the old English custom of turning towards the east; but to do this in the desk of the old church was difficult. Dr. Phillips was formerly of Whitchurch, in Herefordshire. He died in 1849, aged 68, at Weston, on the Humber, where he founded and organized the parish of St. Philip. His body was borne to its last resting-place by old pupils.—We once had in our possession a pamphlet entitled "The Canadian Remembrancer, a Loyal Sermon, preached on St. George's Day, April 23, 1826, at the Episcopal Church [York], by the Rev. T. Phillips, D.D., Head Master of the Grammar School. Printed at the *Gazette Office*."

There remains to be noticed the "pastor and master" of the whole assemblage customably gathered together in St. James's Church—Dr. John Strachan. On this spot, in successive edifices, each following the other in rapid succession, and each surpassing the other in dignity and propriety of architectural style, he, for more than half a century, was the principal figure. The story of his career is well-known, from his departure from Scotland, a poor but spirited youth, in 1799, to his decease in 1867, as first Bishop of Toronto, with its several intermediate stages of activity and promotion. His outward aspect and form are also familiar, from the numerous portraits of him that are everywhere to be seen. In stature slightly under the medium height, with countenance and head of the type of Milton's in middle age, without eloquence, without any extraordinary degree of originality of mind, he held together here a large congregation, consisting of heterogeneous elements, by the strength and moral force of his personal character. Qualities, innate to himself, decisiveness of intellect, firmness, a quick insight into things and men, with a certain fertility of resource, conspired to win for him the position which he filled, and enabled him to retain it with ease; to sustain, with a graceful and unassuming dignity, all the augmentations which naturally accumulated round it, as the community, of which he was so vital a part, grew and widened and rose to a higher and higher level, on the swelling tide of the general civilization of the continent. In all his public ministrations he was to be seen officiating without affectation in manner or style. A stickler in ritual would have declared him indifferent to minutiae. He wore the white vesture of his office with an air of negligence, and his doctor's robe without any special attention to its artistic adjustment upon his person. A technical precisian in modern popular theology would pronounce him out now and then in his doctrine. What he seemed especially to drive at was, not so much, dogmatic accuracy as a well-regulated life, in childhood, youth and manhood. The good sense of the matter delivered—an *it* was never destitute of that quality—was solely relied on for the results to be produced: the topics of modern controversy never came up in his discourses: at the period to which we refer they were in most quarters dormant, their re-awakening deferred until the close of a thirty years' peace, but then destined to set mankind by the ears when now relieved from the turmoil of physical and material war, but roused to great intellectual activity. Many a man that dropped in during the time of public worship, inclined from prejudice to be captious, inclined even to be merry over certain national peculiarities of utterance and diction, which to a stranger, for a time, made the matter delivered not easy to be understood, went out with quite a different sentiment in regard to the preacher and his words.

In the early days of Canada, a man of capacity was called upon, as we have seen in other instances, to play many parts. It required tact to play them all satisfactorily. In the case of Dr. Strachan—the voice that to-day would be heard in the pulpit, offering counsel and advice as to the application of sacred principles to life and conduct, in the presence of all the civil functionaries of the country, from Sir Peregrine Maitland to Mr. Chief Constable Higgins; from Chief Justice Powell to the usher of his court, Mr. Thomas Phipps; from Mr. Speaker Sherwood or McLean to Peter Shaver, Peter Perry, and the other popular representatives of the Commons in Parliament;—the voice that to-day would be heard in the desk leading liturgically the devotions of the same mixed multitude—to-morrow was to be heard by portions, large or small, of the same audience, amidst very different surroundings, in other quarters: by some of them, for example, at the Executive Council Board, giving a lucid judgment on a point of governmental policy, or in the Chamber of the Legislative Assembly, delivering a studied oration on a matter touching the interests and well-being of the whole population of the country, or reading an elaborate original report on the same or some cognate question, to be put forth as the judgment of a committee: or elsewhere, the same voice might be heard at a meeting for Patriotic purposes; at the meeting of a Hospital, Educational, or other important secular Trust; at an emergency meeting, when sudden action was needed on the part of the charitable and benevolent:—without fail, that voice would be heard by a large portion of the juniors of the flock on the following day, amidst the busy commotion of School, apportioning tasks, correcting errors, deciding appeals, regulating discipline; at one time formally instructing, at another jocosely chaffing, the sons and nephews of nearly all the well-to-do people, gentle and simple, of York and Upper Canada. To have done all this without awkwardness shews the possession of much prudence and tact. To have had all this go on for some decades without any blame that was intended to be taken in very serious earnest; nay, winning in the process applause and gratitude on the right hand and on the left—this argues the existence of something very sterling in the man. Nor let us local moderns, whose lot it is to be part and parcel of a society no longer rudimentary, venture to condemn one who, while especially appointed to be a conspicuous minister of religion, did not decline the functions, diverse and multiform, which an infant society, discerning the qualities inherent in him, and lacking instruments for its uses, summoned him to undertake. Let no modern caviller, we say, do this, unless he is prepared to avow the opinion that, to be a minister of religion, a man must, of necessity, be only partially-developed in mind and spirit, incapable, as a matter of course, of offering an opinion of value on subjects of general human interest.

The long possession of unchallenged authority within the immediate area of his ecclesiastical labours, rendered Dr. Strachan for some time opposed to the projects that began, as the years rolled on, to be mooted, for additional Churches in the town of York. He could not readily be induced to think otherwise than as the Duke of Wellington thought in regard to Reform in the representation, or as ex-Chancellor Eldon thought in regard to greater promptitude in Chancery decisions, that there was no positive need of change. "Would you break up the congregation?" was the sharp rejoinder to the early propounders of schemes for Church-extension in York. But as years passed over, and the imperious pressure of events and circumstances was felt, this reluctance gave way. The beautiful Cathedral mother-church, into which, under his own eye, and through his own individual energy, the humble wooden edifice of 1803 at length, by various gradations, developed, forms now a fitting mausoleum for his mortal remains—a stately monument to one who was here in his day the human main-spring of so many vitally-important and far-reaching movements.

Other memorials in his honour have been projected and thought of, but none have, as yet, assumed tangible shape. One of them we record for its boldness and originality and fitness, although we have no expectation that the æsthetic feeling of the community will soon lead to the practical adoption of the idea thrown out. The suggestion has been this: that in honour of the deceased Bishop, there should be erected, in some public place in Toronto, an exact copy of Michael Angelo's MOSES, to be executed at Rome for the purpose, and shipped hither. The conception of such a form of monument is due to the Rev. W. Macaulay, of Picton. We need not say what dignity would be given to Toronto by the possession of such a memorial-object within its precincts as this, and how great, in all future time, would be the effect, morally and educationally, when the symbolism of that object of art was discovered and understood. Its

huge bulk, its boldly-chiselled and only partially-finished limbs and drapery, raised aloft on a plain pedestal of some Laurentian rock, would represent, not ill, the man whom it would commemorate—the character, roughly-outlined and incomplete in parts, but, when taken as a whole, very impressive and even grand, which looms up before us, whichever way we look, in our local Past.—One of the things that ennoble the old cities of continental Europe and give them their own peculiar charm, is the existence of such objects in their streets and squares, at once works of art for the general eye, and memorials of departed worth and greatness. With what interest, for example, does the visitor gaze on the statue of Gutenberg, at Mayence; and at Marseilles on that of the good Bishop Belzone!—of whom we read, that he was at once “the founder of a college, and a magistrate, almoner, physician and priest to his people.”—The space in front of the contemplated west porch of the cathedral of St. James would be an appropriate site for such a noble memorial-object as that which Mr. Macaulay suggests—just at the spot where was the entrance, the one sole humble portal, of the structure of wood out of which the existing pile has grown.

Our notice of the assemblage usually to be seen within the walls of the primitive St. James's, would not be complete, were we to omit all mention of Mr. John Fenton, who for some time officiated therein as parish clerk. During the palmy days of parish clerks in the British Islands, such functionaries, deemed at the time, locally, as indispensable as the parish minister himself, were a very peculiar class of men. He was a rarity amongst them, who could repeat in a rational tone and manner the responses delegated to him by the congregation. This arose from the circumstance that he was usually an all but illiterate village rustic, or narrow-minded small-townsmen, brought into a prominence felt on all sides to be awkward. Mr. Fenton's peculiarities, on the contrary, arose from his intelligence, his acquirements, and his great self-confidence. He was a rather small shrewd-featured person, at a glance not deficient in self-esteem. He was a proficient in modern popular science, a ready talker and lecturer. Being only a proxy, his rendering of the official responses in church was marked perhaps by a little too much individuality, but it could not be said that it was destitute of a certain rhetorical propriety of emphasis and intonation. Though not gifted, in his own person, with much melody of voice, his acquisitions included some knowledge of music. In those days congregational psalmody was at a low ebb, and the small choirs that offered themselves fluctuated, and now and then vanished wholly. Not unfrequently, Mr. Fenton, after giving out the portion of Brady and Tate, which it pleased him to select, would execute the whole of it as a solo, to some accustomed air, with graceful variations of his own. All this would be done with great coolness and apparent self-satisfaction. While the Discourse was going on in the Pulpit above him, it was his way, often, to lean himself resignedly back in a corner of his pew and throw a white cambric handkerchief over his head and face. It illustrates the spirit of the day to add, that Mr. Fenton's employment as official mouth-piece to the congregation of the English Church, did not stand in the way of his making himself useful, at the same time, as a class-leader among the Wesleyan Methodists. The temperament and general style of this gentleman did not fail of course to produce irritation of mind in some quarters. The *Colonial Advocate* one morning averred its belief that Mr. Fenton had, on the preceding Sunday, glanced at itself and its patrons in giving out and singing (probably as a solo) the Twelfth Psalm: “Help, Lord, for good and godly men do perish and decay; and faith and truth from worldly men is parted clean away; whose doth with his neighbour talk, his talk is all but vain; for every man bethinketh now to flatter, lie and feign!”—Mr. F. afterwards removed to the United States, where he obtained Holy Orders in the Episcopal Church. His son was a clever and ingenious youth. We remember a capital model in wood of “Cæsar's Bridge over the Rhine,” constructed by him from a copper-plate engraving in an old edition of the Commentaries used by him in the Grammar School at York. The predecessor of Mr. Fenton in the clerk's desk was Mr. Hetherington—a functionary of the old-country village stamp. His habit was, after giving out a psalm, to play the air on a bassoon; and then to accompany with fantasias on the same instrument such vocalists as felt inclined to take part in the singing. This was the day of small things in respect of ecclesiastical music at York. A choir from time to time had been formed. Once, we have understood, two rival choirs were heard on trial in the Church; one of them strong in instrumental resources, having the aid of a bass-viol, clarionet and bassoon the other, more dependant on its vocal excellencies. The instrumental choir triumphantly

prevailed, as we are assured; and in 1819 an allowance of £20 was made to Mr. Hetherington for giving instruction in church music. One of the principal encouragers of the vocalist-party was Dr. Burnside. But all expedients for doing what was, in reality, the work of the congregation itself were unreliable; and the clerk or choir-master too often found himself a solitary performer. Mr. Hetherington's bassoon, however, may be regarded as the harbinger and foreshadow of the magnificent organ presented in after-times to the congregation of the "Second Temple" of St. James, by Mr. Dunn—a costly and fine-toned instrument (presided over, for a short time, by the eminent Dr. Hodges, subsequently of Trinity Church, New York), and destined to be destroyed by fire together with the whole church, after only two years of existence, in 1839.—(In the conflagration of 1839 another loss occurred, not so much to be regretted; we refer to the destruction of a very large triplet window of stained glass over the altar of the church, containing three life-size figures by Mr. Craig, a local "historical and ornamental" painter, not well-skilled in the ecclesiastical style. As home-productions, however, these objects were tenderly eyed: but Mrs. Jameson in her work on Canada cruelly denounced them as being "in a vile, tawdry taste." Conceive the critical authoress of the "History of Sacred and Legendary Art" in the presence of these three "Craigs.")

Before leaving St. James's Church and its precincts, it may be well to give some account of the steps taken in 1818, for the enlargement of the original building. This we are enabled to do, having before us an all but contemporary narrative. It will be seen that great adroitness was employed in making the scheme acceptable, and that pains were shrewdly taken to prevent a burdensome sense of self-sacrifice on the part of the congregation. At the same time a pleasant instance of voluntary liberality is recorded. "A very respectable church was built at York of the Home District, many years ago"—the narrative referred to, in the *Christian Recorder* for 1819, p. 214, proceeds to state—"which at that time accommodated the inhabitants; but for some years past, it has been found too small, and several attempts were made to enlarge and repair it. At length, in April 1818, in a meeting of the whole congregation, it was resolved to enlarge the church, and a committee was appointed to suggest the most expeditious and economical method of doing it. The committee reported that a subscription in the way of loan, to be repaid when the seats were sold, was the most promising method. No subscription to be taken under twenty-five pounds, payable in four instalments. Two gentlemen," the narrative continues, "were selected to carry the subscription paper round; and in three hours from twelve to thirteen hundred pounds were subscribed. Almost all the respectable gentlemen gave in loan Fifty Pounds; and the Hon. Justice Boulton, and George Crookshank, Esq., contributed £100 each, to accomplish so good an object. The church was enlarged, a steeple erected, and the whole building with its galleries, handsomely finished. In January last [1819]" our authority proceeds to say, "when every thing was completed, the pews were sold at a year's credit, and brought more money than the repairs and enlargement cost. Therefore" it is triumphantly added, "the inhabitants at York erect a very handsome church at a very little expense to themselves, for every one may have his subscription money returned, or it may go towards payment of a pew; and, what is more, the persons who subscribed for the first church count the amount of their subscription as part of the price of their new pews. This fair arrangement has been eminently successful; and gave great satisfaction." The special instance of graceful voluntary liberality above referred to is then subjoined in these terms: "George Crookshank, Esq., notwithstanding the greatness of his subscription, and the pains which he took in getting the church well-finished, has presented the clergyman with cushions for the pulpit and reading desk, covered with the richest and finest damask; and likewise cloth for the communion-table. This pious liberality," the writer remarks, "cannot be too much commended; it tells us that the benevolent zeal of ancient times is not entirely done away. The congregation were so much pleased," it is further recorded, "that a vote of thanks was unanimously offered to Mr. Crookshank for his munificent present." (The pulpit, sounding-board, and desk had been a gift of Governor Gore to the original church, and had cost the sum of one hundred dollars.)

When the necessity arose in 1830 for replacing the church thus enlarged and improved, by an entirely new edifice of more respectable dimensions, the same cool, secular ingenuity was again displayed in the scheme proposed; and it was resolved by the congregation (among other things) "that the pew-holders of the present church, if they demanded the same, be credited one-

third of the price of the pews that they purchased in the new church, not exceeding in number those which they possessed in the old church: that no person be entitled to the privilege granted by the last resolution who shall not have paid up the whole purchase money of his pew in the old church; that the present church remain as it is, till the new one is finished; that after the new church is completed, the materials of the present one be sold to the highest bidder, and the proceeds of the same be applied to the liquidation of any debt that may be contracted in erecting the new church, or furnishing the same; that the upset price of pews in the new church be twenty-five pounds currency;” and so on.

The stone edifice then erected (measuring within about 100 by 75 feet), but never completed in so far as related to its tower, was destroyed by fire in 1839. Fire, in truth, may be said to be, sooner or later, the “natural death” of public buildings in our climate, where, for so many months in every year, the maintenance within them of a powerful artificial heat is indispensable. Ten years after the re-edification of the St. James's burnt in 1839, its fate was again to be totally destroyed. But now fire was communicated to it from an external source—from a general conflagration raging at the time in the part of the town lying to the eastward. On this occasion was destroyed in the belfry of the tower, a Public Clock, presented to the inhabitants of Toronto, by Mr. Draper, on his ceasing to be one of their representatives in Parliament.

#### XI.—KING STREET: DIGRESSION NORTHEWARD AT CHURCH STREET: THE OLD DISTRICT GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Immediately north of the church plot, and separated from it by an allowance for a street, was a large field, almost square, containing six acres. In a plan of the date 1819, and signed “T. Ridout, Surveyor-General,” this piece of ground is entitled “College Square.” (In the same plan the church reservation is marked “Church Square;” and the block to the west, “Square for Court House and Gaol.” The fact that the Jail was to be erected there accounts for the name “Newgate Street,” formerly borne by what is now Adelaide Street.) In the early days, when the destined future was but faintly realized, “College Square” was probably expected to become in time, and to continue for ever, an ornamental piece of ground round an educational institution. The situation, in the outskirts of York, would be deemed convenient and airy. For many years this six-acre field was the play-ground of the District Grammar School. Through the middle of it from north to south passed a shallow “swale,” where water collected after rains; and where in winter small frozen ponds afforded not bad sliding-places. In this moist region, numerous crayfish were to be found in summer. Their whereabouts was always indicated by small clay chimneys of a circular form, built by the curious little nipping creatures themselves, over holes for the admission of air.—In different places in this large area were remains of huge pine-stumps, underneath the long roots of which, it was an amusement to dig and form cellars or imaginary treasure-vaults and powder-magazines. About these relics of the forest still grew remains of the ordinary vegetation of such situations in the woods; especially an abundance of the sorrel-plant, the taste of which will be remembered, as being quite relishable. In other places were wide depressions shewing where large trees had once stood. Here were no bad places, when the whim so was, to lie flat on the back and note the clouds in the blue vault over head; watch the swallows and house-martens when they came in spring; and listen to their quiet prattle with each other as they darted to and fro; sights and sounds still every year, at the proper season, to be seen and heard in the same neighbourhood, yielding to those who have an eye or ear for such matters a pleasure ever new; sights and sounds to this day annually resulting from the cheery movements and voices of the direct descendants, doubtless, of the identical specimens that *fitted hither and thither over the play-ground of yore*.—White clover, with other herbage that commonly appears spontaneously in clearings, carpeted the whole of the six acres, with the exception of the places worn bare, where favourable spots had been found for the different games of ball in vogue—amongst which, however, cricket was not then in these parts included. After falls of moist snow in winter, gigantic balls used here to be formed, gathering as they were rolled along, until by reason of their size and weight they could be urged forward no further: and snow-castles on a large scale were laboriously built; destined to be defended or captured with immense displays of gallantry. Preparatory to such contest, piles of ammunition would be stored away within these structures.



It was prohibited indeed in the articles to be observed in operations of attack and defence, to construct missiles of very wet snow; to dip a missile in melted snow-water prior to use; to subject a missile after a saturation of this kind, to the action of a night's frost; to secrete within the substance of a missile any foreign matter; yet, nevertheless, occasionally such acts were not refrained from; and wounds and bruises of an extra serious character, inflicted by hands that could not always be identified, caused loud and just complaints. Portions of the solid and extensive walls of the extemporized snow-fortresses were often conspicuous in the play-ground long after a thaw had removed the wintry look from the rest of the scene.

The Building into which the usual denizens of the six-acre play-ground were constrained, during certain portions of each day, to withdraw themselves, was situated at a point 114 feet from its western, and 104 from its southern boundary. It was a large frame structure, about fifty-five long, and forty wide; of two storeys; each of a respectable altitude. The gables faced east and west. On each side of the edifice were two rows of ordinary sash windows, five above, and five below. At the east end were four windows, two above, two below. At the west end were five windows and the entrance-door. The whole exterior of the building was painted of a bluish hue, with the exception of the window and door frames, which were white. Within, on the first floor, after the lobby, was a large square apartment. About three yards from each of its angles, a plain timber prop or post helped to sustain the ceiling. At about four feet from the floor, each of these quasi-pillars began to be chamfered off at its four angles. Filling up the south-east corner of the room was a small platform approached on three sides by a couple of steps. This sustained a solitary desk about eight feet long, its lower part cased over in front with thin deal boards, so as to shut off from view the nether extremities of whosoever might be sitting at it.—On the general level of the floor below, along the whole length of the southern and northern sides of the chamber, were narrow desks set close against the wall, with benches arranged at their outer side. At right angles to these, and consequently running out, on each side into the apartment, stood a series of shorter desks, with double slopes, and benches placed on either side. Through the whole length of the room from west to east, between the ends of the two sets of cross benches, a wide space remained vacant. Every object and surface within this interior, were of the tawny hue which unpainted pine gradually assumes. Many were the gashes that had furtively been made in the ledges of the desks and on the exterior angles of the benches; many the ducts cut in the slopes of the desks for spilt ink or other fluid; many the small cell, with sliding lid, for the incarceration of fly or spider; many the initials and dates carved here, and on other convenient surfaces, on the wainscot and the four posts.

On the benches and at the desks enumerated and described, on either side, were ordinarily to be seen the figures and groups which usually fill up a school-interior, all busily engaged in one or other of the many matters customary in the training and informing the minds of boys. Here, at one time, was to be heard, on every side, the mingled but subdued sound of voices conning or repeating tasks, answering and putting questions: at another time, the commotion arising out of a transposition of classes, or the breaking up of the whole assembly into a fresh set of classes; at another time, a hushed stillness preparatory to some expected allocution, or consequent on some rebuke or admonition. It was manifest, at a glance, that the whole scene was under the spell of a skilled disciplinarian.

Here, again, the presiding genius of the place was Dr. Strachan. From a boy he had been in the successful discharge of the duties of a schoolmaster. At the early age of sixteen we find that he was in charge of a school at Carmyllie, with the grown-up sons of the neighbouring farmers, and of some of the neighbouring clergy, well under control. At that period he was still keeping his terms and attending lectures, during the winter months, at King's College, Aberdeen. Two years afterwards he got a slightly better appointment of the same kind at Denino, still pursuing his academical studies, gathering, as is evident from his own memoranda, a considerable knowledge of men and things, and forming friendships that proved life-long. Of his stay at Denino he says, in 1800: "The two years which I spent at Denino were perhaps as happy as any in my life; much more than any time since." "At Denino," the same early document states, "I learned to think for myself. Dr. Brown [the parish-minister of the place, afterwards professor at Glasgow,] corrected many of my false notions. Thomas Duncan [afterwards a professor at St. Andrews] taught me to use my reason and to employ the small share of

penetration I possess in distinguishing truth from error. I began to extend my thoughts to abstract and general ideas; and to summon the author to the bar of my reason. I learned to discriminate between hypotheses and facts, and to separate the ebullitions of fancy from the deductions of reason. It is not to be supposed that I could or can do these things perfectly; but I began to apply my powers: my skill is still increasing."—Then for two years more, and up to the moment of his bold determination to make trial of his fortunes in the new world beyond the seas, he is in charge of the parish-school of Kettle. We have before us a list of his school there, March the 22nd, 1798. The names amount to eighty-two. After each, certain initials are placed denoting disposition and capability, and the direction of any particular talent. Among these names are to be read that of D. Wilkie, afterwards the artist, and that of J. Barclay, afterwards the naval commander here on Lake Erie. We believe that Thomas Campbell, author of the Pleasures of Hope, was also for a time under his care.

In the history of Dr. Strachan's educational labours in Canada, the school at York presents fewer points of interest than that at Cornwall, which is rendered illustrious by having had enrolled on its books so many names familiar in the annals of Upper Canada. Among the forty-two subscribers to an address accompanying a piece of Plate in 1833, there are Robinsons, and Macaulays, and M'Donnells, and M'Leans, and Joneses, and Stantons, and Bethunes; a Jarvis, a Chewett, a Boulton, a Vankoughnet, a Smith of Kingston, an Anderson; with some others now less known: and so illustrative is that address of the skill and earnest care of the instructor on the one hand, and of the value set upon his efforts by his scholars, on the other, after the lapse of many years, that we are induced to give here a short extract from it. "Our young minds," the signers of the address in 1833 say, referring to their school-days in Cornwall—"our young minds received there an impression which has scarcely become fainter from time; of the deep and sincere interest which you took, not only in our advancement in learning and science, but in all that concerned our happiness or could effect our future prospects in life." To which Dr. Strachan replies by saying, among many other excellent things—"It has ever been my conviction that our scholars should be considered for the time our children; and that as parents we should study their peculiar dispositions, if we really wish to improve them; for if we feel not something of the tender relation of parents towards them, we cannot expect to be successful in their education. It was on this principle I attempted to proceed: strict justice tempered with parental kindness: and the present joyful meeting evinces its triumph: it treats the sentiments and feelings of scholars with proper consideration; and while it gives the heart and affections full freedom to shew themselves in filial gratitude on the one side, and fatherly affection on the other, it proves that unsparring labour accompanied with continual anxiety for the learner's progress never fails to ensure success and to produce a friendship between master and scholar which time can never dissolve."

## XII.—DISTRICT GRAMMAR SCHOOL—(Continued.)

Notwithstanding the greater glory of the school at Cornwall, (of which institution we may say, in passing, there is an engraving in the board-room of our Mechanics' Institute,) the lists of the school at York always presented a strong array of the old, well-known and even distinguished, Upper Canadian names. This will be seen by a perusal of the following document, which will also give an idea of the variety of matters to which attention was given in the school. The numerous familiar family names that we shall at once recognize, will require no explanatory comments. The intervals between the calling up of each separate class for examination appear to have been very plentifully filled up with recitations and debates. "Order of Examination of the Home District Grammar School [at York]. Wednesday, 11th August, 1819. First Day. The Latin and Greek Classics. Euclid and Trigonometry. Thursday, 12th August. Second Day. To commence at 10 o'clock. Prologue, by Robert Baldwin.—Reading Class.—George Strachan, The Excellence of the Bible. Thomas Ridout, The Man of Ross. James McDonell, Liberty and Slavery. St. George Baldwin, The Sword. William McMurray, Soliloquy on Sleep. Arithmetic Class.—James Smith, The Sporting Clergyman. William Boulton, jun., The Poet's New Year's Gift. Richard Oates, Ode to Apollo. Orville Cassel, The Rose.—Book-keeping.—William Myers, My Mother. Francis Heward, My Father. George Dawson, Lapland.—First Grammar Class.—Second Grammar Class.—Debate on the Slave Trade. For the

Abolition: Francis Ridout, John Fitzgerald, William Allan, George Boulton, Henry Howard, William Baldwin, John Ridout, John Doyle, James Strachan. Against the Abolition: Abraham Nelles, James Baby, James Doyle, Charles Heward, Allan McDonell, James Myers, Charles Ridout, William Boulton, Walker Smith.—First Geography Class.—Second Geography Class.—James Dawson, The Boy that told Lies. James Bigelow, The Vagrant. Thomas Glaseo, The Parish Workhouse Edward Glennon, The Apothecary.—Natural History.—Debate by the Young Boys: Sir William Strickland, Charles Heward. Lord Morpeth, John Owens. Lord Hervey, John Ridout. Mr. Plomer, Raymond Baby. Sir William Youge, John Fitzgerald. Sir William Windham, John Boulton. Mr. Henry Pelham, Henry Heward. Mr. Bernard, George Strachan. Mr. Noel, William Baldwin. Mr. Shippen, James Baby. Sir Robert Walpole, S. Givins and J. Doyle. Mr. Horace Walpole, James Myers. Mr. Pulteney, Charles Baby.—Civil History.—William Boulton, The Patriot. Francis Ridout, The Grave of Sir John Moore. Saltern Givins, Great Britain. John Boulton, Eulogy on Mr. Pitt. Warren Claus, The Indian Warrior. Charles Heward, The Soldier's Dream William Boulton, The Heroes of Waterloo.—Catechism.—Debate on the College at Calcutta. Speakers: Mr. Canning, Robert Baldwin. Sir Francis Baring, John Doyle. Mr. Wainwright, Mark Burnham. Mr. Thornton, John Knott. Sir D. Scott, William Boulton. Lord Eldon, Warren Claus. Sir S. Lawrence, Allan Macaulay. Lord Hawkesbury, Abraham Nelles. Lord Bathurst, James McGill Strachan. Sir Thomas Metcalf, Walker Smith. Lord Teignmouth, Horace Ridout.—Religious Questions and Lectures.—James McGill Strachan, Anniversary of the York and Montreal Colleges anticipated for 1st January, 1822. Epilogue, by Horace Ridout."

In the Prologue pronounced by "Robert Baldwin," the administration of Hastings in India is eulogized:

"Her powerful viceroy, Hastings, leads the way  
For radiant Truth to gain imperial sway:  
The arts and sciences, for ages lost,  
Roused at his call, revisit Brahma's coast."

Sir William Jones is also thus apostrophized, in connection with his "Asiatic researches":

"Thy comprehensive genius soon explored  
The Learning vast which former times had stored."

The Marquis of Wellesley is alluded to, and the College founded by him at Calcutta:

"At his command the splendid structures rise:  
Around the Brahmins stand in vast surprise."

The founding of a Seat of Learning in Calcutta suggests the necessity of a similar institution in Canada. A good beginning, it is said, had been here made in the way of lesser institutions: the prologue then proceeds:

"Yet much remains for some aspiring son,  
Whose liberal soul from that, desires renown,  
Which gains for Wellesley a lasting crown;  
Some general structures in these wilds to rear,  
Where every art and science may appear."

Sir Peregrine Maitland, who probably was present, is told that he might in this manner immortalize his name:

"O Maitland blest! this proud distinction woo  
Thy quick acceptance, back'd by every muse;  
Those feelings, too, which joyful fancy knew  
When Learning's germs first open'd to thy view,  
Bid you to thousands smoothe the thorny road,  
Which leads to glorious Science' bright abode."

"The Anniversary of the York and Montreal Colleges anticipated" is a kind of Pindaric Ode to Gratitude: especially it is therein set forth that offerings of thankfulness are due to benevolent souls in Britain:

“For often there in pensive mood  
 They pond deeply on the good  
 They may on Canada bestow—  
 And College Halls appear, and streams of Learning flow!”

The “Epilogue” to the day’s performances is a humorous dissertation in doggerel verse on United States’ innovations in the English Language; a pupil of the school is supposed to complain of the conduct of the master:

“Between ourselves, and just to speak my mind,  
 In English Grammar, Master’s much behind:  
 I speak the honest truth—I hate to dash—  
 He bounds our task by Murray, Lowth and Ashe.  
 I told him once that Abercrombie, moved  
 By genius deep, had Murray’s plan improved.  
 He frowned upon me, turning up his nose,  
 And said the man had ta’en a maddening dose.  
 Once in my theme I put the word *progress*—  
 He sentenced twenty lines, without redress.  
 Again for ‘measure’ I transcribed ‘endeavour’—  
 And all the live-long day I lost his favour.” &c., &c.

We have ourselves a good personal recollection of the system of the school at York, and of the interest which it succeeded in awakening in the subjects taught. The custom of mutual questioning in classes, under the eye of the master, was well adapted to induce real research and to impress facts on the mind when discovered. In the higher classes each lad in turn was required to furnish a set of questions to be put by himself to his class-fellows, on a given subject, with the understanding that he should be ready to set the answerer right should he prove wrong; and again: any lad who should be deemed competent was permitted to challenge another, or several others, to read or recite select rhetorical pieces: a memorandum of the challenge was recorded; and, at the time appointed, the contest came off, the class or the school deciding the superiority in each case, subject to the criticism and disallowance of the master. It will be seen from the matters embraced in the programme given above, that the object aimed at was a speedy and real preparation for actual life. The master, in this instance, was disembarassed of the traditions which, at the period now referred to, often rendered the education of a young man a cumbersome, unintelligent and tedious thing. The circumstances of his own youth had evidently led him to free himself from routine. He himself was an example, in addition to many another Scottish-trained man of eminence that might be named, of the early age at which a youth of good parts and sincere, enlightened purpose, may be prepared for the duties of actual life, when not caught in the constrictor-coils of custom, which, under the old English Public School system of sixty years since, used sometimes to torture parent and son for such a long series of years. His methods of instruction were productive, for others, of the results realized in his own case. His distinguished Cornwall pupils were all, we believe, usefully and successfully engaged in the real work of life in very early manhood. “The time allowed in a new country like this,” he said to his pupils at Cornwall in 1807, “is scarcely sufficient to sow the most necessary seed; very great progress is not therefore to be expected: if the principles are properly engrafted we have done well.”—In the same address his own mode of proceeding is thus dwelt upon: “In conducting your education, one of my principal objects has always been to fit you for discharging with credit the duties of any office to which you may hereafter be called. To accomplish this, it was necessary for you to be accustomed frequently to depend upon, and think for yourselves: accordingly I have always encouraged this disposition, which, when preserved within due bounds, is one of the greatest benefits that can possibly be acquired. To enable you to think with advantage, I not only regulated your tasks in such a manner as to exercise your judgment, but extended your views beyond the meagre routine of study usually adopted in schools; for, in my opinion, several branches of science may be taught with advantage at a much earlier age than is generally supposed. We made a mystery of nothing: on the contrary, we entered minutely into every particular, and patiently explained by what progressive steps certain results were obtained. It has ever been my custom, before

sending a class to their seats, to ask myself whether they had learned anything; and I was always exceedingly mortified if I had not the agreeable conviction that they had made some improvement. Let none of you, however, suppose that what you have learned here is sufficient; on the contrary, you are to remember that we have laid only the foundation. The superstructure must be laid by yourselves." Here is an account of his method of teaching Arithmetic, taken from the introduction to a little work on the subject, published by himself in 1809: "I divide my pupils," he says, "into separate classes, according to their progress. Each class has one or more sums to produce every day, neatly wrought upon their slates: the work is carefully examined; after which I command every figure to be blotted out, and the sums to be wrought under my eye. The one whom I happen to pitch upon first, gives, with an audible voice, the rules and reasons for every step; and as he proceeds the rest silently work along with him, figure for figure, but ready to correct him if he blunder, that they may get his place. As soon as this one is finished, the work is again blotted out, and another called upon to work the question aloud as before, while the rest again proceed along with him in silence, and so on round the whole class. By this method the principles are fixed in the mind; and he must be a very dull boy indeed who does not understand every question thoroughly before he leaves it. This method of teaching Arithmetic possesses this important advantage, that it may be pursued without interrupting the pupils' progress in any other useful study. The same method of teaching Algebra has been used with equal success. Such a plan is certainly very laborious, but it will be found successful; and he that is anxious to spare labour ought not to be a public Teacher. When boys remain long enough, it has been my custom to teach them the theory, and give them a number of curious questions in Geography, Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, a specimen of which may be seen in the questions placed before the Appendix."

The youths to be dealt with in early Canadian schools were not all of the meek, submissive species. With some of them occasionally a sharp regimen was necessary; and it was adopted without hesitation. On this point, the Address just quoted, thus speaks: "One of the greatest advantages you have derived from your education here, arises from the strictness of our discipline. Those of you who have not already perceived how much your tranquillity depends upon the proper regulation of the temper, will soon be made sensible of it as you advance in years. You will find people who have never known what it is to be in habitual subjection to precept and just authority, breaking forth into violence and outrage on the most frivolous occasions. The passions of such persons, when once roused, soon become ungovernable; and that impatience of restraint, which they have been allowed to indulge, embitters the greatest portion of their lives. Accustomed to despise the barriers erected by reason, they rush forward to indulgence, without regarding the consequences. Hence arises much of that wretchedness and disorder to be met with in society. Now the discipline necessary to correct the impetuosity of the passions is often found nowhere but in well-regulated schools: for though it should be the first care of parents, they are too apt to be blinded by affection, and grant liberties to their children which reason disapproves. \* \* \* That discipline therefore, which you have sometimes thought irksome will henceforth present itself in a very different light. It will appear the teacher of a habit of the greatest consequence in the regulation of your future conduct; and you will value it as the promoter of that decent and steady command of temper so very essential to happiness, and so useful in our intercourse with mankind." These remarks on discipline will be the more appreciated, when it is recollected that during the time of the early settlements in this country, the sons of even the most respectable families were brought into contact with semi-barbarous characters. A sporting ramble through the woods, a fishing excursion on the waters, could not be undertaken without communications with Indians and half-breeds and bad specimens of the French *voyageur*. It was from such sources that a certain idea was derived which, as we remember, was in great vogue among the more fractious of the lads at the school at York. The proposition circulated about, whenever anything went counter to their notions, always was "to run away to the nor'-west." What that process really involved, or what the "nor'-west" precisely was, were things vaguely realized. A sort of savage "land of Cockaigne," a region of perfect freedom among the Indians, was imagined; and to reach it Lakes Huron and Superior were to be traversed.—At Cornwall the temptation was in another direction: there, the idea was to escape to the eastward: to reach Montreal or Quebec, and get on board of an ocean-going ship, either a man-of-war or merchantman. The flight of severa

lads with such intentions was on one occasion intercepted by the unlooked-for appearance of the head-master by the side of the stage-coach as it was just about to start for Montreal in the dusk of the early morning, with the young truants in or upon it.

As to the modes of discipline:—in the school at York—for minor indiscretions a variety of remedies prevailed. Now and then a lad would be seen standing at one of the posts above mentioned, with his jacket turned inside out: or he might be seen there in a kneeling posture for a certain number of minutes; or standing with the arm extended holding a book. An “ally” or apple brought out inopportunistically into view, during the hours of work, might entail the exhibition, article by article, slowly and reluctantly, of all the contents of a pocket. Once, we remember, the furtive but too audible twang of a jewsharp was followed by its owner’s being obliged to mount on the top of a desk and perform there an air on the offending instrument for the benefit of the whole school. Occasionally the censors (senior boys appointed to help in keeping order) were sent to cut rods in Mr. McGill’s property adjoining the play-ground on the north; but the dire instruments were not often called into requisition: it would only be when some case of unusual obstinacy presented itself, or when some wanton cruelty, or some act or word exhibiting an unmistakable taint of incipient immorality, was proven.

Once a year, before the breaking-up at midsummer, a “feast” was allowed in the school-room at York—a kind of pic-nic to which all that could, contributed in kind—pastry, and other dainties, as well as more substantial viands, of which all partook. It was sometimes a rather riotous affair.

At the south-east corner of the six-acre play-ground, about half-an-acre had been abstracted, as it were, and enclosed: here a public school had been built and put in operation: it was what we should call now a Common School, conducted on the “Bell and Lancaster” principle. Large numbers frequented it. Between the lads attending there, and the boys of the Grammar School, difficulties of course arose: and on many occasions feasts of arms, accompanied with considerable risk to life and limb, were performed on both sides, with sticks and stones. Youngsters, ambitious of a character of extra daring, had thus an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the eyes of their less courageous companions.—The same would-be heroes had many stories to tell of the perils to which they were exposed in their way to and from school. Those of them who came from the western part of the town, had, according to their own shewing, mortal enemies in the men of Ketchum’s tannery, with whom it was necessary occasionally to have an encounter. While those who lived to the east of the school, narrated, in response, the attacks experienced or delivered by themselves; in passing Shaw’s or Hugill’s brewery.

Across the road from the play-ground at York, on the south side, eastward of the church-plot, there was a row of dilapidated wooden buildings, inhabited for the most part by a thriftless and noisy set of people. This set of houses was known in the school as “Irish-town;” and “to raise Irish-town,” meant to direct a snowball or other light missile over the play-ground fence, in that direction. Such act was not unfrequently followed by an invasion of the Field from the insulted quarter. Some wide chinks, established between the boards, in one place here, enabled any one so inclined, to get over the fence readily.—We once saw two men, who had quarrelled in one of the buildings of Irish-town adjourn from over the road to the play-ground, accompanied by a few approving friends; and there, after stripping to the skin, have a regular fight with fists: after some rounds, a number of men and women interfered and induced the combatants to return to the house from which they had issued forth for the settlement of their dispute.

The Parliamentary Debates, of which mention has more than once been made, took place, on ordinary occasions, in the central part of the school-room; where benches used to be set out opposite to each other, for the temporary accommodation of the speakers. These exercises consisted simply of a memoritor repetition, with some action, of speeches, slightly abridged, which had actually been delivered in a real debate on the floor of the House of Commons. But they served to familiarize Canadian lads with the names and character of the great statesmen of England, and with what was to be said on both sides of several important public questions: they also probably awakened in many a young spirit an ambition, afterwards gratified, of being distinguished as a legislator in earnest. On public days the Debates were held up stairs on a platform at the east end of a long room with a partially vaulted ceiling, on the south side of the

building. On this platform the public recitations also took place; and here on some of the anniversaries a drama by Milman or Hannah More was enacted. Here we ourselves took part in one of the hymns or choruses of the "Martyr of Antioch."

### XIII.—DISTRICT GRAMMAR SCHOOL—(Continued.)

The immediate successor of Dr. Strachan in the school was Mr. Samuel Armour, a graduate of Glasgow, whose profile resembled that of Cicero, as shewn in some engravings. Being fond of sporting, his excitement was great when the flocks of wild pigeons were passing over the town and the report of fire-arms in all directions was to be heard. During the hours of school his attention, on these occasions, would be much drawn off from the class-subjects. In those days there was not a plentiful supply in the town of every book wanted in the school. The only copy that could be procured of a "Eutropius" which we ourselves on a particular occasion required, was one with an English translation at the end. The book was bought, Mr. Armour stipulating that the English portion of the volume should be sewn up: in fact, he himself stitched the leaves together. In Mr. Armour's time there was, for some reason now forgotten, a barring-out. A pile of heavy wood (sticks of cordwood whole used then to be thrust into the great school-room stove) was built against the door within; and the master had to effect, and did effect, an entrance into his school through a window on the north side. Mr. A. became afterwards a clergyman of the English Church, and officiated for many years in the township of Cavan.

The master who succeeded to Mr. Armour was Dr. Phillips, who came out from England to take charge of the school. He had been previously master of a school at Whitchurch, in Herefordshire. His degree was from Cambridge, where he graduated as a B.A. of Queen's in the year 1805. He was a venerable-looking man—the very ideal, outwardly, of an English country parson of an old type—a figure in the general scene, that would have been taken note of congenially by Fuller or Antony à Wood. The costume in which he always appeared (shovel-hat included), was that usually assumed by the senior clergy some years ago. He also wore powder in the hair, except when in mourning. According to the standards of the day he was an accomplished scholar, and a good reader and writer of English. He introduced into the school at York the English public-school traditions of the strictest type. His text books were those published and used at Eton, as Eton then was. The Eton Latin Grammar, without note or comment, displaced "Ruddiman's Rudiments"—the book to which we had previously been accustomed, and which really did give hints of something rational underlying what we learnt out of it. Even the Eton Greek Grammar, in its purely mediæval untranslated state, made its appearance: it was through the medium of that very uninviting manual that we obtained our earliest acquaintance with the first elements of the Greek tongue. Our "Palæphatus" and other Extracts in the *Græca Minora* were translated by us, not into English, but into Latin, in which language all the notes and elucidations of difficulties in that book were given. Very many of the Greek "genitives absolute," we remember, were to be rendered by *quum*, with a subjunctive pluperfect—an enormous mystery to us at the time. Our Lexicon was *Schrevelius*, as yet un-Englished. For the Greek Testament we had "Dawson," a vocabulary couched in the Latin tongue, notwithstanding the author's name. The thickets across the path to knowledge were numerous and dense. The Latin translation, line for line, at the end of Clarke's Homer, as also the *Ordo* in the Delphin classics, were held to be mischievous aids, but the help was slight that could be derived from them, as the Latin language itself was not yet grasped. For whatever of the anomalous we moderns may observe in all this, let the good old traditional school-system of England be responsible—not the accomplished and benevolent man who transplanted the system, pure and simple, to Canadian ground. For ourselves: in one point of view, we deem it a piece of singular good fortune to have been subjected for a time to this sort of drill; for it has enabled us to enter with intelligence into the discussions on English education that have marked the era in which we live. Without this morsel of experience we should have known only by vague report at what the reviewers and essayists of England were aiming their attacks. Our early recollections in this regard, we treasure up now among our mental curiosities, with thankfulness; just as we treasure up our memories of the few years which, in the days of our youth, we had an opportunity of passing in the old father-land, while yet mail

coaches and guards and genuine coacumen were extant there; while yet the time-honoured watchman was to be heard patrolling the streets at night and calling the hours. Deprived of this personal experience, how tamely would have read "School-days at Rugby," for example, or "The Scouring of the White Horse," and many another healthy classic in recent English literature—to say nothing of "The Sketch Book," and earlier pieces, which involve numerous allusions to these now vanished entities!—Moreover, we found that our boyish initiation in the Eton formularies, however little they may have contributed to the intellectual furniture of the mind at an early period, had the effect of putting us *en rapport*, in one relation at all events, with a large class in the old country. We found that the stock quotations and scraps of Latin employed to give an air of learning to discourse, "to point a moral and adorn a tale," among the country-clergy of England and among members of Parliament of the ante-Reform-bill period, were mostly relics of school-boy lore derived from Eton books. Fragments of the *as in presenti*, of the *propria quæ maribus*; shreds from the Syntax, *as vir bonus est quis, ingenuus didicisse*, and a score more, were instantly recognized, and constituted a kind of talismanic mode of communication, making the quoter and the hearer, to some extent, akin. Furthermore: in regard to our honoured and beloved master, Dr. Phillips himself: there is this advantage to be named as enjoyed by those whose lot it was, in this new region, to pass a portion of their impressive youth in the society of such a character: it furnished them with a visible *concrete illustration of much that otherwise would have been a vague abstraction in the pictures of English society set before the fancy in the Spectator*, for instance, or Boswell's *Johnson*, and other standard literary productions of a century ago. As it is, we doubt not that the experience of many of our Canadian coevals corresponds with our own. Whenever we read of the good Vicar of Wakefield, or of any similar personage; when in the Biography of some distinguished man, a kind-hearted old clerical tutor comes upon the scene, or one moulded to be a college-fellow, or one who had actually been a college-fellow, carrying about with him, when down in the country, the tastes and ideas of the academic cloister—it is the figure of Dr. Phillips that rises before the mental vision. And without doubt he was no bad embodiment of the class of English character just alluded to.—He was thoroughly English in his predilections and tone; and he unconsciously left on our plastic selves traces of his own temperament and style.—It was from him we received our first impressions of Cambridge life; of its outer form, at all events; of its traditions and customs; of the Acts and Opponencies in its Schools, and other quaint formalities, still in use in our own undergraduate day, but now abolished: from him we first heard of Trumpington, and St. Mary's, and the Gogmagogs; of Lady Margaret and the cloisters at Queen's; of the wooden bridge and Erasmus' walk, in the gardens of that college; and of many another storied object and spot, afterwards very familiar. A manuscript Journal of a Johnsonian cast kept by Dr. Phillips when a youth, during a tour of his on foot in Wales, lent to us, for perusal, marks an era in our early experience, awakening in us, as it did, our first inklings of travel. The excursion described was a trifling one in itself—only from Whitechurch, in Herefordshire, across the Severn into Wales—but to the unsophisticated fancy of a boy it was invested with a peculiar charm; and it led, we think, in our own case, to many an ambitious ramble, in after years, among cities and men.—In the time of Dr. Phillips there was put up, by subscription, across the whole of the western end of the school-house, over the door, a rough lean-to, of considerable dimensions. A large covered space was thus provided for purposes of recreation in bad weather. This room is memorable as being associated with our first acquaintance with the term "Gymnasium:" that was the title which we were directed to give it.—There is extant, we believe, a good portrait in oil of Dr. Phillips.

We here close our notice of the Old Blue School at York. In many a brain, from time to time, the mention of its name has exercised a spell like that of Wendell Holmes's *Marc Rubrum*; as potent as that was, to summon up memories and shapes from the Red Sea of the Past—

"Where clad in burning robes are laid  
Life's blossom'd joys untimely shed,  
And where those cherish'd forms are laid  
We miss awhile, and call them dead."

The building itself has been shifted bodily from its original position to the south-east corner of Stanley and Nelson Street. It, the centre of so many associations, is degraded now into being a depot for "General Stock;" in other words a receptacle for Rags and Old Iron.



The six acres of play-ground are thickly built over. A thoroughfare of ill repute traverses it from west to east. This street was at first called March Street; and under that appellation acquired an evil report. It was hoped that a nobler designation would perhaps elevate the character of the place as the name "Milton Street" had helped to do for the ignoble Grub Street in London. But the purlieus of the neighbourhood continue, unhappily, to be the Alsatia of the town. The filling up of the old breezy field with dwellings, for the most part of a wretched class has driven "the schoolmaster" away from the region. His return to the locality, in some good missionary sense, is much to be wished; and after a time, will probably be an accomplished fact.

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## CANADIAN INSTITUTE.

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### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1867-'68.

(Continued from page 176.)

#### DONATION OF BOOKS, &c., RECEIVED SINCE LAST ANNUAL REPORT.

<i>From Commissioner T. C. Theaker, United States Patent Office, Washington.</i>	
Patent Office Reports, 1862, Vols. I. & II.....	2
“ “ “ 1863, Vols. I. & II.....	2
“ “ “ 1864, Vols. I. & II.....	2
“ “ “ 1865, Vols. I., II. & III.....	3
<i>From the office of the Secretary for India, London.</i>	
Magnetical and Meteorological Observations made at the Observatory, Bombay, year 1864....	1
<i>From the Dominion Legislature.</i>	
The Statutes of Canada, 31st Vict., 1867, Part 1 .....	1
“ “ 31st Vict., 12th March, 1868, 1st Session, 1st Parliament of Canada, Part 2 .....	1
<i>From the Society, per Smithsonian Institute.</i>	
Nederlandsch Meteorologisch Jaarboek voor 1866, &c., &c., Utrecht, 1866, Nos. I. & II.....	2
<i>From Peabody Institute, Baltimore.</i>	
Catalogue of Books proposed to be Purchased .....	1
The Peabody Institute, Illustrated, City of Baltimore .....	1
<i>Presented to the Library of the Institute in memory of the author by his widow.</i>	
Illustrations of the <i>Genus Carex</i> , by Francis Boot, M.D., Treasurer of the Linnean Society, Vols. I., II., III. & IV.....	4
<i>From L. Heyden, Esq.,</i>	
A Book of Chinese Alphabetical Characters .....	1
Chrisi. Clavii Bombergensis in sphaeram Ionnis de sacro Bosco commentarius, Lugduni .....	1
Gisb. Cuperi Harpocrates et Monumenta Antiqua, 1687.	
<i>From U. J. Macdonald, Esq.</i>	
Inner Africa laid open, &c., by W. Desborough Cooley, London, 1852, Longman ..	1
British Almanacks, Years 1833 and 1848 .....	2

(To be concluded in next number.)

ERRATA.

Page 241, eight lines from bottom, for " Lord Stanley" read " Lord Derby."

Page 251, nine lines from top, for " Belzune" read " Belzunce."

MONTHLY ABSOLUTE VALUES OF THE MAGNETIC ELEMENTS AT TORONTO,

from 1865 to 1868 inclusive, with the Annual Means from 1841 to 1868,

BY G. T. KINGSTON, M.A.,

DIRECTOR OF THE MAGNETIC OBSERVATORY.

In the *Canadian Journal* for 1865 the absolute values of the magnetic elements at Toronto were given for each month of the years 1856 to 1864, as well as the annual means (as far as they could be procured), from 1841 to 1864.

The following tables shew the monthly means from 1865 to 1868, and the annual means from 1841 to 1868. The methods employed in the determination of the several elements are the same as those explained in the earlier Toronto volumes.

**DECLINATION.**—The annual means of the Declination from 1841 to 1851 are reprinted from Vols. I. and II. of the Toronto observations. In 1853, '54, '55, approximate annual means are obtained by taking the averages of the results for the months wherein observations were made, each monthly result being corrected for annual variation and secular change, as explained on p. 115 of the *Canadian Journal* for 1865.

**INCLINATION.**—The annual means of the Inclination for the years 1841 to 1854 are reprinted from the 3rd Toronto volume, p. cxix.

The decrease of the Inclination since its maximum in 1859 is materially interrupted in 1868; but that the interruption does not amount to a reversal is rendered probable from the subsequent determinations, the mean of which from January, 1869, to May, 1869, inclusive, is  $75^{\circ} 16'.4$  nearly.

**HORIZONTAL FORCE.**—The annual means of the Horizontal force from 1845 to 1852, are reprinted from p. cxvii. of the 3rd Toronto volume. The value given as the annual mean for 1855 is an approximation derived from the four months September to December.

MONTHLY ABSOLUTE VALUES OF THE MAGNETIC ELEMENTS AT TORONTO, FROM 1865 TO 1868 INCLUSIVE.

MONTHS.	DECLINATION.				INCLINATION.			
	1865	1866	1867	1868	1865	1866	1867	1868
JANUARY .....	2 22.7	2 27.1	2 28.6	2 30.7	75 20.8	75 20.0	75 18.1	75 20.4
FEBRUARY .....	2 23.6	2 27.8	2 29.3	2 32.0	20.8	20.0	18.8	19.4
MARCH .....	2 22.5	2 27.0	2 28.9	2 32.0	21.8	20.0	19.1	19.2
APRIL .....	2 24.3	2 27.1	2 29.7	2 32.8	21.5	20.1	19.1	20.9
MAY .....	2 23.5	2 27.4	2 29.1	2 32.9	22.0	20.3	18.6	20.9
JUNE .....	2 24.3	2 27.6	2 29.1	2 31.6	21.7	19.8	18.9	20.2
JULY .....	2 24.0	2 27.2	2 29.0	2 34.6	20.2	19.3	18.7	19.6
AUGUST .....	2 25.8	2 27.7	2 31.1	2 33.8	20.5	18.3	18.8	20.2
SEPTEMBER .....	2 25.8	2 27.8	2 30.7	2 34.6	21.0	17.7	18.3	20.2
OCTOBER .....	2 27.4	2 28.6	2 30.3	2 34.0	21.4	17.8	18.7	20.5
NOVEMBER .....	2 27.6	2 28.6	2 31.0	2 34.5	20.7	18.3	18.9	19.4
DECEMBER .....	2 26.4	2 28.2	2 31.2	2 35.2	20.2	18.2	19.8	19.6
YEARLY MEANS..	2 24.8	2 27.6	2 29.8	2 33.2	75 21.1	75 19.2	75 18.8	75 20.1

MONTHS.	HORIZONTAL FORCE.				TOTAL FORCE.			
	1865	1866	1867	1868	1865	1866	1867	1868
JANUARY .....	3·493	3·491	3·498	3·497	13·810	13·786	13·785	13·816
FEBRUARY .....	·493	·491	·493	·501	·807	·787	·776	·819
MARCH .....	·496	·491	·498	·495	·835	·789	·799	·791
APRIL .....	·493	·495	·496	·497	·819	·805	·793	·825
MAY .....	·496	·492	·503	·497	·833	·798	·816	·824
JUNE .....	·493	·497	·498	·499	·823	·810	·797	·825
JULY .....	·494	·495	·499	·503	·804	·792	·800	·830
AUGUST .....	·491	·490	·498	·497	·795	·758	·797	·814
SEPTEMBER .....	·487	·494	·494	·496	·789	·767	·775	·809
OCTOBER .....	·485	·493	·496	·496	·787	·762	·789	·820
NOVEMBER .....	·496	·493	·493	·497	·819	·708	·803	·803
DECEMBER .....	·492	·494	·500	·500	·794	·773	·820	·819
YEARLY MEANS..	3·492	3·493	3·497	3·498	13·810	13·788	13·796	13·816

ANNUAL MEANS OF THE MONTHLY DETERMINATIONS OF THE ABSOLUTE DECLINATION, INCLINATION, HORIZONTAL FORCE, AND TOTAL FORCE, AT TORONTO, 1841 TO 1868 INCLUSIVE.

YEARS.	Declination.	Inclination.	Horizontal Force.	Total Force.	YEARS.
1841 .....	0 14·3	75 16·6	.....	.....	..... 1841
1842 .....	1 18·9	16·4	.....	.....	..... 1842
1843 .....	.....	14·7	.....	.....	..... 1843
1844 .....	.....	14·8	.....	.....	..... 1844
1845 .....	1 29·1	15·5	3·5443	13·929	..... 1845
1846 .....	1 30·8	15·1	·5381	13·898	..... 1846
1847 .....	1 33·2	15·3	·5342	13·886	..... 1847
1848 .....	1 35·4	18·3	·5299	13·915	..... 1848
1849 .....	1 36·9	18·8	·5328	13·934	..... 1849
1850 .....	1 38·6	20·0	·5280	13·934	..... 1850
1851 .....	1 40·9	20·4	·5255	13·930	..... 1851
1852 .....	.....	20·5	·5110	13·874	..... 1852
1853 .....	1 46·1(a)	22·2	.....	.....	..... 1853
1854 .....	1 48·0(b)	23·0	.....	.....	..... 1854
1855 .....	1 52·3(c)	23·5	·5154(d)	13·937	..... 1855
1856 .....	1 56·3	24·0	·5049	13·905	..... 1856
1857 .....	2 00·5	24·3	·4883	13·844	..... 1857
1858 .....	2 04·5	24·4	·4900	13·852	..... 1858
1859 .....	2 07·4	25·0	·4811	13·825	..... 1859
1860 .....	2 10·6	24·5	·4792	13·811	..... 1860
1861 .....	2 14·3	23·8	·4839	13·817	..... 1861
1862 .....	2 15·7	23·2	·4853	13·814	..... 1862
1863 .....	2 19·1	21·5	·4891	13·803	..... 1863
1864 .....	2 21·9	20·9	·4932	13·811	..... 1864
1865 .....	2 24·8	21·1	·4924	13·810	..... 1865
1866 .....	2 27·6	19·2	·4930	13·783	..... 1866
1867 .....	2 29·8	18·8	·4975	13·796	..... 1867
1868 .....	2 33·2	20·1	·4979	13·816	..... 1868

(a) From determinations in July and August,  
 (b) From " in Feb. Mar. Apr. & June } corrected for annual and secular variation.  
 (c) From " in Aug. to Dec. inclusive }  
 (d) From " in September to December, both inclusive.

MONTHLY METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER, AT THE MAGNETICAL OBSERVATORY, TORONTO, ONTARIO,—SEPTEMBER, 1868.  
 Latitude—43° 39' 4 North. Longitude—81° 17m. 33s. West. Elevation above Lake Ontario, 103 feet

Day.	Barom. at temp. of 32°.			Temp. of the Air.			Excess of Max. above Normal.	Tension of Vapour.			Humidity of Air.			Direction of Wind.			Regulant†	Velocity of Wind.					Rain in Inches.	Snow in Inches.				
	6 A.M.	10 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	2 P.M.	10 P.M.		Normal.	6 A.M.	2 P.M.	10 P.M.	6 A.M.	2 P.M.	10 P.M.	6 A.M.	2 P.M.		10 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	2 P.M.	10 P.M.						
																									6	2	10	6
1	29.553	29.626	29.693	66.9	67.7	68.7	0.23	1.20	441	618	617	623	82	90	87	80	86	W b N	N b W	N b W	N 35 W	10.0	6.0	1.5	4.88	5.32	...	...
2	711	724	7193	64.4	69.2	63.7	63.85	+ 1.12	385	450	617	448	91	64	87	76	80	N b W	S E	S E	N 50 E	8.0	9.5	0.0	6.56	7.36	...	...
3	673	650	6476	63.0	67.3	67.4	67.70	+ 5.27	518	556	561	540	68	83	80	80	80	N b W	S E	S E	N 50 E	8.0	9.0	10.6	6.50	7.83	...	...
4	601	683	6863	62.3	73.8	67.4	67.70	+ 4.07	521	518	391	482	93	62	71	75	75	W b S	W	W	N 81 W	5.0	15.0	2.6	3.95	5.74	...	...
5	678	681	6123	55.4	70.6	58.0	62.05	+ 0.22	310	286	369	331	72	68	74	61	61	N W	N E	N E	N 67 E	4.0	7.2	0.7	4.53	7.33	...	...
6	701	660	6015	57.5	64.1	61.2	62.28	+ 1.13	439	464	410	433	94	68	76	77	77	N b S	S	S	N 36 W	14.2	7.0	2.8	1.03	6.24	...	...
7	668	644	6058	51.8	69.2	64.8	63.82	+ 2.58	353	523	569	504	92	78	92	86	86	W b S	S E	S E	N 26 E	2.6	11.2	5.6	6.75	6.72	...	...
8	370	411	4403	63.7	71.7	63.4	66.87	+ 0.62	667	477	469	507	94	61	80	77	80	W b N	W b N	W b N	N 67 W	1.6	4.4	1.0	4.10	4.42	...	...
9	640	601	6243	62.0	68.1	67.7	64.05	+ 4.00	332	489	571	483	84	73	84	80	80	N b S	W b N	W b N	N 82 E	3.2	5.2	0.0	2.61	2.75	...	...
10	622	602	6178	60.9	63.4	67.4	67.78	+ 8.08	500	641	617	620	90	84	92	91	91	Calm	E b S	E b S	N 83 E	0.0	7.2	4.0	3.28	3.68	...	...
11	694	612	6137	67.4	70.2	68.4	68.73	+ 0.50	632	652	662	649	94	88	95	92	92	E b N	S E	S E	N 78 E	7.6	5.0	0.0	2.71	3.67	...	...
12	637	720	6137	64.5	69.6	65.4	66.68	+ 1.65	507	452	—	—	83	93	—	—	—	N b N	N W	N W	N 34 W	10.6	10.2	3.8	9.94	10.02	...	...
13	864	831	8368	47.1	63.0	55.4	56.68	+ 1.65	299	337	327	327	92	69	74	72	72	N b N	N W	N W	N 83 E	6.6	9.6	1.0	4.51	5.64	...	...
14	735	695	5778	59.0	64.8	66.0	63.72	+ 5.80	403	489	572	468	81	79	87	82	82	E b S	E b S	E b S	N 83 E	6.0	6.2	7.2	2.09	10.37	...	...
15	815	763	7610	40.7	54.0	39.0	47.93	+ 0.68	328	150	194	223	91	35	70	68	68	N W	N W	N W	N 61 W	10.8	23.5	5.0	12.57	12.64	...	...
16	845	847	8653	36.7	63.8	43.0	46.32	+ 10.48	188	210	218	200	85	60	75	67	67	N W	N W	N W	N 80 W	3.6	8.5	2.0	0.13	6.33	...	...
17	845	847	8393	37.3	60.9	47.0	50.00	+ 0.62	190	297	259	234	87	60	77	71	71	W b S	S	S	N 23 W	6.0	11.6	3.0	5.71	6.99	...	...
18	934	923	8173	45.4	61.2	57.2	55.62	+ 0.59	243	422	439	370	80	78	94	83	83	W b S	S	S	N 85 W	5.0	9.0	6.0	7.63	8.47	...	...
19	650	687	683	58.3	58.3	57.6	55.62	+ 0.59	243	422	439	370	80	78	94	83	83	W b S	S	S	N 85 W	5.0	9.0	6.0	7.63	8.47	...	...
20	662	769	7407	36.7	49.8	42.8	44.07	+ 11.05	171	202	223	201	78	57	81	70	70	N b S	S E	S E	N 88 E	8.2	6.4	3.2	3.70	4.37	...	...
21	623	431	4447	47.2	60.0	56.2	53.78	+ 0.85	279	351	410	350	80	70	98	84	84	E b N	S E	S E	N 88 E	8.2	6.4	3.2	3.70	4.37	...	...
22	410	676	6768	56.5	56.6	41.4	45.07	+ 3.95	435	228	204	203	90	60	78	71	71	W b N	S	S	N 68 W	3.2	14.2	0.6	8.05	8.37	...	...
23	935	830	8058	42.8	62.6	45.7	47.27	+ 0.48	218	219	260	234	77	64	84	73	73	N b W	N b W	N b W	N 74 E	6.0	6.6	7.0	5.15	7.21	...	...
24	557	631	6682	41.7	46.8	45.7	44.63	+ 8.60	263	253	254	254	93	70	83	86	86	N b S	N b S	N b S	N 10 E	12.6	4.8	0.0	3.41	3.50	...	...
25	710	639	6837	38.9	63.8	50.8	48.57	+ 4.07	203	279	303	268	80	60	81	78	78	N b S	S E	S E	N 10 E	12.6	4.8	0.0	3.41	3.50	...	...
26	671	489	504	50.4	50.0	—	—	+ 0.30	374	—	—	—	90	80	81	78	78	N b S	S E	S E	N 10 E	12.6	4.8	0.0	3.41	3.50	...	...
27	671	489	504	50.4	50.0	—	—	+ 0.30	374	—	—	—	90	80	81	78	78	N b S	S E	S E	N 10 E	12.6	4.8	0.0	3.41	3.50	...	...
28	683	653	6807	41.4	64.0	42.1	45.48	+ 0.20	332	298	270	300	94	64	86	78	78	W b S	W b S	W b S	N 82 W	6.0	17.0	0.5	7.26	6.60	...	...
29	683	653	6807	41.4	64.0	42.1	45.48	+ 0.20	332	298	270	300	94	64	86	78	78	W b S	W b S	W b S	N 82 W	6.0	17.0	0.5	7.26	6.60	...	...
30	683	653	6807	41.4	64.0	42.1	45.48	+ 0.20	332	298	270	300	94	64	86	78	78	W b S	W b S	W b S	N 82 W	6.0	17.0	0.5	7.26	6.60	...	...
31	650	650	6500	51.20	61.93	55.92	56.60	+ 1.49	350	384	385	375	88	66	83	77	77	W b S	W b S	W b S	N 63 W	2.6	8.0	3.6	2.75	6.12	...	...

REMARKS ON TORONTO METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER FOR SEPTEMBER, 1868.

COMPARATIVE TABLE FOR SEPTEMBER.

YEAR.	TEMPERATURE.				RAIN.		SNOW.		WIND.		
	Mean.	Excess above average.	Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Range.	No of days.	Inches.	No. of days.	Inches.	Resultant Direc- tion.	Mo-an Velocity.
1840	54.0	- 4.0	73.6	39.2	43.4	4	1.38	...	...	o	...
1841	61.3	+ 2.3	80.2	46.0	34.2	9	2.34	...	...	...	0.26 lbs.
1842	55.7	+ 3.3	83.8	27.9	55.9	12	6.16	...	...	...	0.45
1843	59.1	+ 1.1	80.0	32.2	56.8	10	0.76	...	...	...	0.37
1844	58.0	+ 0.6	81.8	28.2	58.6	4	Imp	...	...	...	0.34
1845	56.0	- 2.0	79.6	34.0	45.0	10	6.24	...	...	...	0.33
1846	63.6	+ 5.6	84.3	37.3	47.0	4	4.56	...	...	...	0.33
1847	55.6	- 2.4	74.5	35.0	39.5	15	6.06	...	...	...	0.33
1848	54.2	- 3.8	80.4	28.1	52.3	11	3.11	...	...	...	5.81 miles.
1849	53.2	+ 0.2	80.1	32.7	47.4	0	1.48	...	...	...	...
1850	56.5	+ 1.5	76.0	29.5	46.5	11	1.73	...	...	...	...
1851	60.0	+ 2.0	86.3	32.0	54.3	9	2.06	...	...	...	...
1852	57.5	+ 0.5	81.8	35.8	46.0	10	3.63	...	...	...	...
1853	58.8	+ 0.8	85.5	33.9	51.0	12	5.14	...	...	...	...
1854	61.0	+ 3.0	93.0	35.8	57.8	11	5.37	...	...	...	...
1855	59.5	+ 1.5	82.0	33.0	49.0	12	5.58	...	...	...	...
1856	57.1	- 0.9	78.4	35.0	48.4	13	4.10	...	...	...	...
1857	58.6	+ 0.6	82.0	34.1	47.9	11	2.64	...	...	...	...
1858	59.1	+ 1.1	81.4	35.6	45.8	3	0.75	...	...	...	...
1859	55.2	- 2.8	75.4	35.7	39.7	15	3.52	...	...	...	...
1860	56.3	- 2.7	75.8	28.7	47.1	14	1.85	...	...	...	...
1861	59.1	+ 1.1	78.8	37.1	41.7	17	3.60	...	...	...	...
1862	50.6	+ 1.0	79.4	39.0	40.4	0	2.34	...	...	...	...
1863	55.9	- 2.1	80.0	31.4	48.0	11	2.50	...	...	...	...
1864	56.4	- 1.6	73.0	37.8	38.2	8	2.45	...	...	...	...
1865	64.5	+ 6.5	90.5	42.0	48.5	12	2.45	...	...	...	...
1866	55.2	- 2.3	80.0	34.4	45.0	15	5.67	...	...	...	...
1867	57.0	- 0.1	87.0	31.8	55.2	9	1.22	...	...	...	...
1868	56.6	- 1.4	75.5	36.0	39.5	10	4.23	...	...	...	...
Results to 1867.	57.98	.....	81.24	33.66	47.5	11.11	3.661	...	...	...	5.42
Excess for 1868.	- 1.38	.....	- 5.74	+ 2.34	- 8.08	4.89	0.578	...	...	...	+ 1.26

NOTE.—The monthly means do not include Sunday observations. The daily means, excepting those that relate to the wind, are derived from six observations daily, namely, at 6 A.M., 8 A.M., 2 P.M., 4 P.M., 10 P.M., and midnight. The means and resultants for the wind are from hourly observations.

Highest Barometer . . . . . 29.098 at 6 a.m. on 10th. } Monthly range = 0.664 inches.  
 Lowest Barometer . . . . . 29.354 at 10 p.m. on 8th. }  
 Maximum temperature . . . . . 76° on 9th. } Monthly range = 39° 5  
 Minimum temperature . . . . . 36° on 30th. }  
 Mean maximum temperature . . . . . 61° 30' } Mean daily range = 11° 18  
 Mean minimum temperature . . . . . 50° 12' }  
 Greatest daily range . . . . . 26° 4 from a.m. to p.m. of 18th.  
 Least daily range . . . . . 7° 3 from a.m. to p.m. of 13th.  
 Warmest day . . . . . 12th... Mean temperature . . . . . 68° 73' } Difference = 24° 60.  
 Coldest day . . . . . 21st... Mean temperature . . . . . 41° 97' }  
 Maximum { Solar . . . . . 95° 0 on 11th. } Monthly range = 63° 0  
 Addition { Terrestrial . . . . . 24° 4 on 50th. }  
 Aurora observed on 6 nights, viz.—5th, 7th, 20th, 25th and 30th.  
 Possible to see Aurora on 19 nights; impossible on 11 nights.  
 Lightning on 6 days; depth, 4 230 inches; duration of fall, 55.8 hours.  
 Mean of cloudiness = 0.62. Most cloudy hour observed, 2 p.m.; mean, 0.72; least do. do, 10 p.m.; mean, 0.55.

Sums of the components of the Atmospheric Current, expressed in Miles.  
 North, 1462 76      East, 1423 01  
 South, 1531 37      West, 2031 05

Resultant direction, N. 74° W.; resultant velocity, 0.83.  
 Mean velocity, 6.68 miles per hour.  
 Maximum velocity, 27.0 miles, from 8 to 9 a.m. of 18th.  
 Most windy day, 16th; mean velocity, 12 64 miles per hour. } Difference, 9.89 miles.  
 Least windy day, 10th; mean velocity, 2.75 miles per hour. }  
 Most windy hour, 11 a.m.; mean velocity, 10 18 miles per hour. } Difference 6.56 miles.  
 Least windy hour, 10 p.m.; mean velocity, 3.62 miles per hour. }

4th. Heavy thunderstorm, a.m.  
 8th. Heavy thunderstorm at night.  
 15th. Thunderstorm.  
 17th. First recorded hear frost of season.  
 Sheet lightning on the 3rd, 9th, 11th, 12th, and 27th.  
 Fog on 11th, 12th, 20th, and 26th.



REMARKS ON TORONTO METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER FOR OCTOBER 1858  
COMPARATIVE TABLE FOR OCTOBER

YEAR.	TEMPERATURE.						RAIN.			SNOW.			WIND.	
	Mean	Excess above average	Max. num.	Mini. num.	Range.	No. of days.	Inches.	No. of days.	Inches.	No. of days.	Inches.	Direction.	Vely.	Mean Velocity.
1840	44.4	1.5	73.0	23.0	50.0	13	1.896	3	...	...	...	...	...	0.41 lbs
1841	41.0	-4.3	59.7	20.6	39.1	6	1.890	2	...	...	...	...	...	0.35
1842	45.1	-0.8	68.6	27.5	41.1	8	6.175	0	...	...	...	...	...	0.54
1843	41.8	-4.1	68.0	24.2	43.8	12	3.790	4	2.5	...	...	...	...	0.43
1844	43.3	-2.6	71.6	16.9	56.7	7	Imper.	4	12.0	...	...	...	...	0.26
1845	44.6	-0.5	64.0	19.7	44.3	11	1.760	1	inap.	...	...	...	...	0.44
1846	46.4	-1.3	70.1	20.7	49.4	14	4.180	2	inap.	...	...	...	...	0.19
1847	44.0	-1.9	64.6	20.4	44.2	13	4.300	0	inap.	...	...	...	...	4.60 m.
1848	46.3	-0.4	61.8	24.5	37.3	11	1.550	0	...	...	N 54 W	1.24	4.60 m.	
1849	45.3	-0.6	68.9	24.2	34.7	13	5.965	1	inap.	...	N 12 W	1.27	7.70	
1850	45.4	-0.5	66.7	22.4	44.3	10	2.085	0	...	...	N 66 W	1.10	6.30	
1851	47.4	-1.5	66.2	25.2	41.0	10	1.680	2	0.3	...	8 72 W	1.06	4.39	
1852	48.0	-2.1	70.7	23.8	46.9	12	5.280	0	...	...	N 5 E	1.19	4.47	
1853	44.4	-1.5	64.7	23.4	41.3	10	0.875	2	inap.	...	8 88 W	1.74	4.77	
1854	49.5	-3.6	75.4	26.4	49.0	16	1.495	3	inap.	...	N 45 W	1.52	4.57	
1855	45.4	-0.5	68.0	22.6	45.4	14	2.485	5	0.8	...	N 66 W	4.91	0.88	
1856	46.3	-0.6	71.4	23.0	48.4	10	0.875	2	0.1	...	N 70 W	2.16	0.07	
1857	48.5	-0.5	64.0	26.5	37.5	10	1.040	2	0.2	...	N 19 W	2.83	6.24	
1858	48.4	-2.9	70.3	31.5	44.8	17	1.797	1	inap.	...	N 34 W	0.36	5.96	
1859	43.0	-2.0	69.8	22.3	47.5	11	0.940	4	inap.	...	N 68 W	5.04	8.12	
1860	47.3	-1.4	68.0	28.4	39.6	15	1.618	1	inap.	...	N 45 W	2.00	6.93	
1861	48.7	-2.8	71.0	29.0	42.0	16	1.093	1	inap.	...	N 61 W	1.06	6.96	
1862	48.7	-2.8	70.6	26.2	50.4	19	2.684	2	0.5	...	N 78 W	2.89	6.53	
1863	45.0	-0.0	66.4	30.6	35.0	16	2.522	0	...	...	8 71 W	0.48	6.16	
1864	45.2	-0.7	67.0	28.0	39.0	22	3.321	1	inap.	...	N 60 W	3.17	6.66	
1865	44.5	-1.4	71.4	21.6	48.8	17	2.705	3	...	...	N 36 W	3.56	7.28	
1866	49.1	-3.2	71.0	31.8	39.2	11	2.470	1	inap.	...	N 30 W	0.84	5.63	
1867	49.9	-4.0	75.4	31.0	44.4	11	1.970	0	...	...	N 45 W	1.51	5.73	
1868	42.4	-3.5	67.6	24.0	43.6	10	1.365	2	2.0	...	N 89 W	1.27	7.10	
Results to 1867.	45.88	...	61.95	22.40	39.55	12.61	2.514	1.75	0.84	...	N 50 W	1.75	6.99	...
Excess for 1868	3.52	...	5.65	1.60	4.05	2.61	1.490	2.5	1.16	...	...	...	...	1.11

NOTE.—The monthly means do not include Sunday observations. The daily means, excepting those that relate to the wind, are derived from six observations daily, namely at 6 A.M., 8 A.M., 2 P.M., 4 P.M., 10 P.M., and midnight. The means and resultants for the wind are from hourly observations.

Highest Barometer.....30.158 at 10 a.m. on 23rd. } Monthly range=  
 Lowest Barometer.....29.152 at mid. on 7th. } 1.006 inches.  
 { Maximum Temperature .....67°6 on 7th. } Monthly range=  
 { Minimum Temperature .....24°0 on 23rd. } 43°6.  
 { Mean Maximum Temperature .....49°7.0 } Mean daily range=  
 { Mean Minimum Temperature .....30°23. } 13°56.  
 { Greatest daily range.....1°9 from a.m. to p.m. of 15th.  
 { Least daily range.....2°2 from a.m. to p.m. of 21st.  
 Warmest day.....7th. Mean Temperature.....69°53. } Difference=28°98.  
 Coldest day.....23rd. Mean Temperature.....30°96. }  
 Maximum { Solar .....7°50 on 12th. } Monthly range=  
 Radiation. { Terrestrial .....10°2 on 18th. } 65°8.  
 Aurora observed on 5 nights, viz.: 16th, 17th, 19th, 22nd and 23rd.  
 Possible to see Aurora on 14 nights; impossible on 17 nights.  
 Snow on 2 days; depth 2.0 inches; duration of fall 9.8 hours.  
 Raining on 10 days; depth 1.365 inches; duration of fall 42.5 hours.  
 Mean of Cloudiness=0.63.  
 Most cloudy hour observed 2 p.m.; Mean=0.70; least cloudy hour observed 6 a.m.; Mean=0.56.

Sums of the components of the Atmospheric Current, expressed in Miles.  
 North. 1463.83  
 South. 1401.29  
 East. 2344.12  
 West.

Resultant Direction N. 89° W.; Resultant Velocity 7.27.  
 Mean Velocity 7.10 miles per hour.  
 Maximum Velocity 25.8 miles, from 5 to 6 a.m. of 8th.  
 Most Windy day 30th; Mean Velocity 14.29 miles per hour. } Difference 12.34 miles.  
 Least Windy day 23rd; Mean Velocity 1.95 miles per hour. }  
 Most Windy hour 2 p.m.; Mean Velocity 10.95 miles per hour. }  
 Least Windy hour 10 p.m.; Mean Velocity 4.92 miles per hour. } Difference 6.03 miles.  
 14th. Thin ice. 22nd. First measurable snow of season.  
 27th. Sheet lightning, thunder at 11 p.m.  
 20th. Solar halo. Lunar halo on 26th.  
 Fog recorded on the 14th, 15th and 27th.





REMARKS ON TORONTO METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER FOR NOVEMBER, 1863.

NOTE.—The monthly means do not include Sunday observations. The daily means, excepting those that relate to the wind, are derived from six observations daily, namely at 6 A.M., 8 A.M., 2 P.M., 4 P.M., 10 P.M., and midnight. The means and results for the wind are from hourly observations.

Highest barometer . . . . . 30.068 at 8 a. m. on 7th. } Monthly range=  
 Lowest barometer . . . . . 29.105 at 6 a. m. on 30th. } 0.903.  
 Maximum temperature . . . . . 50°5 on 13th. } Monthly range=  
 Minimum temperature . . . . . 20°1 on 30th. } 30°4  
 Mean maximum temperature . . . . . 41°90 } Mean daily range=  
 Mean minimum temperature . . . . . 31°70 } 9°20  
 Greatest daily range . . . . . 29°2 from a.m. to p.m. of 3rd.  
 Least daily range . . . . . 3°0 from a.m. to p.m. of 26th.  
 Warmest day . . . . . 13th. Mean temperature . . . 41°98 }  
 Coldest day . . . . . 30th. Mean temperature . . . 24°27 } Difference=16°81.  
 Maximum { Solar . . . . . 67°0 on 3rd } Monthly range=31°8  
 Radiation { Terrestrial . . . . . 15°2 on 23rd }  
 Aurora observed on 1 night, viz.: 19th.  
 Possible to see aurora on 12 nights; impossible on 18 nights.  
 Snowing on 10 days; depth, 4.3 inches; duration of fall, 27.0 hours.  
 Raining on 14 days; depth, 5.150 inches; duration of fall, 105.8 hours.  
 Mean of cloudiness=0.78.  
 Most cloudy hour observed, 6 a.m.; mean, 0.81; least cloudy hour observed, 2 p.m.; mean, 0.75.

Sums of the components of the Atmospheric Current, expressed in Miles.

North. South. East. West.  
 2015.45 785.17 1828.45 2704.64

Resultant direction, N. 85° W.; Resultant velocity, 2.10.

Mean velocity, 8.16 miles per hour.

Maximum velocity, 25.4 miles, from noon to 1 p.m. of 26th.

Most windy day, 16th; mean velocity, 16.96 miles per hour.

Least windy day, 27th; mean velocity, 2.62 miles per hour.

Most windy hour, noon; mean velocity, 10.96 miles per hour. } Difference, 14.34 miles.  
 Least windy hour, 5 p.m.; mean velocity, 6.55 miles per hour } Difference, 4.41 miles.

9th. Heavy rain storm from 4 p.m.

17th. Heavy rain storm all day.

24th. Lunar halo.

13th. Splendid display of periodic meteors from 10.45 p.m. to 5.45 a.m. of 14th, 2556 were observed, many of them of considerable magnitude and great brightness.

COMPARATIVE TABLE FOR NOVEMBER.

YEAR.	TEMPERATURE.				RAIN.		SNOW.		WIND.			
	Mean.	Excess above Average	Maxi. mum.	Mini. mum.	Range.	No. of days.	Inches.	No. of days.	Inches.	Resultant.		
										Direc. tion.	Vel. city.	
1840	35.9	- 1.0	59.8	14.6	42.2	5	1.220	8	0	...	...	0.91lbs
1841	35.0	- 1.9	63.8	8.5	58.3	9	2.450	6	...	...	...	1.22
1842	33.3	- 3.4	62.6	8.1	48.7	9	5.310	10	...	...	...	0.50
1843	33.5	- 2.0	56.0	14.1	43.9	8	4.765	7	1.2	...	...	0.58
1844	34.9	- 2.0	56.0	12.1	43.9	8	Imp.	4	8.0	...	...	0.48
1845	36.8	- 0.1	59.5	8.1	51.4	7	1.105	4	5.0	...	...	0.53
1846	41.3	+ 4.4	55.6	18.0	37.6	12	5.805	2	0.4	...	...	0.64
1847	38.6	+ 1.1	57.9	8.7	49.2	14	3.185	3	Imp.	...	...	0.6
1848	34.5	- 2.4	49.0	15.9	33.1	9	2.020	3	1.4	N 31 W	1.81	4.81 m.
1849	42.6	+ 5.7	56.4	20.5	29.9	10	2.815	2	1.0	N 30 W	1.54	4.78
1850	38.8	+ 1.9	62.8	11.0	51.8	7	2.055	1	Imp.	N 42 W	1.43	5.27
1851	32.9	- 4.0	50.2	15.8	36.4	5	5.885	6	6.7	S 50 W	1.25	4.70
1852	35.0	- 0.9	50.4	18.2	32.2	7	1.775	3	2.9	S 59 W	1.61	6.50
1853	38.7	+ 1.8	55.6	12.8	42.3	15	2.325	6	2.7	N 9 W	0.56	5.52
1854	36.8	- 0.1	55.4	13.8	41.6	13	1.115	4	1.3	W	3.44	7.54
1855	38.0	+ 1.7	50.2	15.5	46.7	8	4.596	6	3.0	N 65 W	3.18	10.81
1856	37.4	+ 0.5	56.4	18.8	37.6	10	1.375	5	9.5	S 83 W	2.05	8.75
1857	33.5	- 8.4	58.2	...	61.7	14	3.225	9	6.9	S 61 W	8.45	9.25
1858	34.2	- 2.7	53.0	15.3	37.7	12	3.879	13	4.9	N 25 W	13.14	8.87
1859	38.9	+ 2.0	62.0	16.8	40.8	12	5.193	9	0.6	N 51 W	3.30	9.65
1860	37.9	+ 1.0	64.5	13.2	51.3	12	2.569	8	1.9	S 89 W	4.95	11.02
1861	37.1	+ 0.2	62.4	23.0	29.4	14	4.294	8	3.2	S 40 W	1.94	7.41
1862	35.6	- 1.3	58.0	15.2	41.8	11	2.205	11	5.3	S 46 W	3.00	6.60
1863	39.1	+ 2.2	67.0	17.8	49.2	13	3.656	8	0.1	N 88 W	3.51	7.86
1864	36.9	+ 0.0	60.2	21.0	39.1	11	3.765	6	4.5	S 73 W	3.81	7.64
1865	38.6	+ 1.7	63.2	23.6	39.6	5	0.975	7	1.1	N 79 W	2.96	7.90
1866	38.4	+ 1.5	64.2	21.8	32.4	13	2.945	4	2.2	N 85 W	3.00	6.06
1867	36.9	+ 0.0	60.4	9.0	60.8	8	1.8...	9	0.9	N 57 W	1.02	7.75
1868	36.2	- 0.7	50.5	20.1	80.4	14	5.150	10	4.3	N 85 W	2.11	8.16
Result to 1861	36.88	.....	57.43	14.94	42.59	10.07	3.012	6.26	2.92	N 79 W	2.57	7.48
Excess for 1863	-0.73	.....	-6.93	+5.16	12.04	3.932	1383.75	1.38	+	...	...	+

MONTHLY METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER, AT THE MAGNETICAL OBSERVATORY, TORONTO, ONTARIO,—DECEMBER, 1888.  
*Latitude—43° 39' 4 North. Longitude—5h. 17m. 53s. West. Elevation above Lake Ontario, 108 feet.*

Day	Barom. at temp. of 32°			Temp. of the Air.			Excess of Rain above Normal.			Tension of Vapour.			Humidity of Air.			Direction of Wind.			Velocity of Wind.			Rain in inches	Snow in inches				
	6 A.M.	10 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	10 P.M.	M.F.N.	6 A.M.	10 P.M.	M.F.N.	6 A.M.	10 P.M.	M.F.N.	6 A.M.	10 P.M.	M.F.N.	6 A.M.	10 P.M.	M.F.N.	6 P.M.	10 P.M.	6 P.M.			10 P.M.			
																									6 A.M.	10 P.M.	M.F.N.
1	29.365	29.400	29.492	18.3	22.3	17.2	19.38	-1.40	.087	.885	.075	.083	87	71	78	70	N W	N W	N W	N W	5.8	13.6	4.8	7.79	8.57	inap.	
2	.599	.713	.7427	19.0	23.7	23.9	21.98	-8.50	.091	.098	.109	.099	89	77	85	83	Cal.	Cal.	Cal.	Cal.	0.0	9.0	0.0	4.14	4.38	inap.	
3	.948	30.008	.9957	25.5	31.0	30.6	29.18	-0.90	.125	.140	.134	.134	91	78	85	84	N W	N W	N W	N W	0.0	8.5	1.5	3.85	4.11	4.0	
4	.920	29.738	.7203	26.6	27.8	26.0	25.88	-3.90	.126	.120	.113	.127	87	87	92	90	N E	N E	N E	N E	6.4	11.5	17.5	11.96	13.06	3.5	
5	.621	.563	.758	23.0	27.3	23.0	25.73	-3.62	.113	.133	.126	.124	92	89	87	89	N E	N E	N E	N E	0.8	5.0	0.8	5.21	5.22	3.5	
6	.808	.798	.798	27.7	29.1	27.7	29.1	-1.42	.141	.141	.141	.141	89	87	87	89	N E	N E	N E	N E	0.4	6.5	13.0	7.97	8.71	3.0	
7	.358	.041	.0850	29.1	32.7	26.2	29.72	+1.05	.148	.160	.131	.157	92	97	92	95	N E	N E	N E	N E	10.8	12.8	9.6	2.86	12.56	3.0	
8	29.906	28.967	.0618	26.9	28.0	21.2	24.18	+4.28	.120	.133	.072	.094	86	66	63	71	N W	N W	N W	N W	10.8	21.8	17.3	9.31	18.70	0.1	
9	29.449	29.553	.5282	18.3	19.4	16.5	17.77	-10.35	.081	.074	.076	.076	81	70	83	78	N W	N W	N W	N W	13.0	5.5	12.2	8.80	10.88	0.1	
10	.568	.649	.590	57.07	12.2	17.6	8.5	12.82	-15.02	.065	.064	.048	.058	86	65	75	74	W	W	W	W	9.0	13.2	8.5	9.39	9.48	inap.
11	.541	.507	.480	51.53	6.3	20.5	16.5	18.68	-13.97	.052	.074	.076	.067	92	67	83	82	W	W	W	W	6.5	16.5	10.2	9.23	9.27	0.4
12	.642	.769	.7955	18.6	23.3	14.7	18.47	-8.88	.090	.103	.072	.087	90	82	85	86	W	W	W	W	13.0	14.2	14.0	14.85	15.04	0.4	
13	.027	.949	—	13.2	20.1	—	—	-0.71	.059	.107	.138	.133	124	89	86	89	W	W	W	W	7.0	12.5	8.8	6.27	7.60	0.4	
14	.651	.411	.517	53.02	22.3	30.6	27.3	26.37	-0.60	.107	.138	.133	124	89	86	89	N W	N W	N W	N W	9.0	1.2	9.0	1.97	4.38	0.4	
15	.805	.868	.8162	26.2	28.0	28.0	27.23	+0.47	.124	.131	.148	.132	87	80	95	89	N W	N W	N W	N W	6.0	1.0	4.0	1.10	3.27	0.4	
16	.544	.556	.3496	21.2	29.8	24.2	25.63	+0.93	.099	.125	.120	.116	87	75	90	83	N E	N E	N E	N E	12.2	13.5	14.0	12.30	14.04	inap.	
17	29.908	28.937	.0958	33.4	37.1	34.5	34.77	+8.72	.163	.158	.148	.163	85	71	76	76	N W	N W	N W	N W	12.2	13.5	14.0	12.30	14.04	inap.	
18	29.583	29.638	.881	29.0	30.2	13.2	20.46	-5.40	.129	.116	.071	.066	88	82	90	85	N W	N W	N W	N W	12.0	15.8	4.6	9.18	9.66	0.1	
19	30.006	.944	.711	.8655	5.0	21.2	28.0	18.42	-7.65	.049	.099	.131	.092	90	86	86	85	N E	N E	N E	N E	11.0	13.4	19.2	13.15	14.49	0.1
20	29.365	.224	—	35.3	42.1	—	—	-1.70	.162	.162	.162	.162	83	69	—	—	N E	N E	N E	N E	9.6	18.4	12.4	8.24	10.27	0.2	
21	.300	.435	.4667	34.2	34.6	29.8	32.28	+6.50	.177	.149	.147	.161	89	75	88	87	N W	N W	N W	N W	9.6	18.4	12.4	8.24	10.27	0.2	
22	.076	.668	.6276	27.7	30.5	25.6	27.38	+1.76	.135	.106	.126	.124	80	65	91	84	N W	N W	N W	N W	11.0	11.0	16.0	13.17	13.39	0.5	
23	.613	.724	.807	7.968	10.5	15.4	6.7	11.48	-14.08	.076	.059	.047	.050	83	68	77	77	N W	N W	N W	N W	11.0	14.0	0.0	6.80	8.16	0.2
24	.806	.788	.7208	—	0.8	6.7	6.98	-18.50	.040	.041	.072	.052	94	68	85	83	N W	N W	N W	N W	15.2	10.8	10.2	8.27	11.06	0.2	
25	.383	.369	—	16.1	22.3	—	—	-0.74	.034	.074	.034	.034	83	78	—	—	N W	N W	N W	N W	19.0	20.5	8.9	8.19	13.33	0.5	
26	.551	.935	.904	.9060	10.7	16.6	16.03	-8.27	.059	.076	.105	.080	82	83	82	82	N E	N E	N E	N E	3.6	9.0	10.0	5.75	7.19	0.1	
27	.779	.694	—	27.0	32.0	—	—	-1.29	.158	.129	.158	.158	88	87	87	87	N E	N E	N E	N E	10.4	12.0	13.0	9.83	11.71	0.1	
28	.822	.900	.8457	27.0	27.7	27.0	27.38	+2.23	.136	.092	.121	.118	93	60	82	79	N W	N W	N W	N W	9.5	8.6	1.4	6.32	7.36	0.4	
29	.502	.620	.6882	33.4	32.4	24.1	29.55	+4.38	.178	.124	.100	.132	93	67	77	79	N W	N W	N W	N W	8.4	17.0	8.6	9.21	11.54	0.4	
30	.005	.809	.843	.9183	14.0	22.8	18.3	17.77	-7.40	.068	.102	.087	.083	83	85	87	84	N E	N E	N E	N E	8.2	6.2	2.2	6.00	6.37	0.4
31	29.869	.915	.9172	17.6	20.5	24.4	23.48	-1.76	.088	.136	.110	.109	91	83	84	85	N E	N E	N E	N E	3.2	5.8	13.0	8.15	9.53	0.4	
31	29.698	29.6087	29.6346	20.6194	20.6034	48.27	13.22.50	-4.50	.105	.109	.104	.105	88	76	84	83	N E	N E	N E	N E	9.77	11.26	9.12	9.80	10.05	15.5	

REMARKS ON TORONTO METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER FOR DECEMBER, 1868.

Note.—The monthly means do not include Sunday observations. The daily means, excepting those that relate to the wind, are derived from six observations daily, namely at 6 A.M., 8 A.M., 2 P.M., 4 P.M., 10 P.M., and midnight. The means and resultants for the wind are from hourly observations.

Highest Barometer ..... 30.027 at 6 a.m. on 13th } Monthly range =  
 Lowest Barometer ..... 28.824 at midnight on 7th } 1.203 inches,  
 { Maximum Temperature ..... 44°2 on 24th } Monthly range =  
 { Minimum Temperature ..... 3°2 on 24th } 41°0,  
 { Mean Maximum Temperature ..... 29°07 } Mean daily range =  
 { Mean Minimum Temperature ..... 17°07 } 12°00  
 { Greatest daily range ..... 32°7 from a.m. to p.m. of 10th.  
 { Least daily range ..... 3°6 from a.m. to p.m. of 21st.  
 Warmest Day ..... 17th. Mean Temperature ..... 34°977 } Difference = 27° 79  
 Coldest Day ..... 24th. Mean Temperature ..... 6°98 }  
 Maximum { Solar ..... 56°2 on 20th } Monthly range =  
 Radiation. { Terrestrial ..... 69°7 on 24th }  
 Aurora observed on 4 nights, viz.:—10th, 12th, 16th and 17th.  
 Possible to see Aurora on 11 nights; impossible on 20 nights.  
 Snowing on 18 days; depth 15.5 inches; duration of fall 108.6 hours.  
 Raining on 1 day; depth 0.005 inches; duration of fall 0.6 hours.  
 Mean of Cloudiness = 0.75.  
 Most cloudy hour observed 2 p.m.; Mean 0.83; least cloudy hour observed 6 a.m.;  
 Mean 0.67.

Sums of the components of the Atmospheric Current, expressed in Miles.

North.	South.	East.	West.
2191.86	2131.67	1472.31	4331.05

Resultant Direction N 71° W.; Resultant Velocity 4.05.  
 Mean Velocity 9.86 miles per hour.  
 Maximum Velocity 28.0 miles, from 8 to 9 p.m. of 8th.  
 Most Windy day 8th; Mean Velocity 18.26 miles per hour. } Difference 14.10 miles.  
 Least Windy day 3rd; Mean Velocity 4.16 miles per hour. }  
 Most Windy hour 1 p.m.; Mean Velocity 11.85 miles per hour. } Difference 3.12 miles.  
 Least Windy hour 8 p.m.; Mean Velocity 8.73 miles per hour. }  
 23rd. Perfect solar halo. 28th. Lunar halo.  
 31st. Lunar halo.  
 11th. Bay frozen.

COMPARATIVE TABLE FOR DECEMBER.

YEAR.	TEMPERATURE.				RAIN.		SNOW.		WIND.		
	Mean.	Excess above average.	Maxi. num.	Mini. num.	Range.	No. of days.	Inches.	No. of days.	Inches.	Direction.	Velocity.
1840	28.3	9.7	42.1	8.6	60.7	3	1nap	18	...	...	...
1841	28.7	2.7	46.1	3.1	43.0	7	6.606	5	...	...	1.33 Drs
1842	24.7	1.3	40.6	3.2	37.3	3	0.880	17	...	...	0.61
1843	30.0	4.0	48.5	3.1	45.4	6	1.046	8	8.1	...	0.53
1844	28.2	2.2	48.5	1.0	40.9	6	1nap.	6	4.2	...	0.40
1845	21.1	4.9	39.7	3.9	42.1	2	1nap.	12	4.7	...	0.70
1846	27.6	1.5	49.2	3.9	45.3	5	1.215	9	6.0	...	0.57
1847	30.1	3.1	49.6	0.3	49.3	7	1.185	8	6.8	...	0.35
1848	29.1	4.1	48.8	1.1	47.7	7	2.750	7	16.5	8 83 W	1.12
1849	28.5	0.5	40.8	0.6	47.3	5	0.840	12	9.6	N 82 W	2.55
1850	21.7	4.3	48.8	9.0	57.8	2	0.190	13	29.5	N 44 W	2.93
1851	21.5	4.5	44.0	14.8	53.8	6	1.076	15	10.7	N 82 W	4.00
1852	31.9	5.9	51.0	13.2	37.8	7	3.995	10	20.1	8 69 W	1.03
1853	25.3	0.7	46.4	8.4	54.8	4	0.625	13	22.3	N 35 W	2.39
1854	21.9	4.1	44.8	7.9	51.8	6	0.590	12	17.2	N 44 W	4.30
1855	26.8	0.8	47.0	5.2	52.2	6	1.845	10	29.5	8 88 W	5.29
1856	22.9	3.1	42.2	9.1	51.3	6	1.790	20	16.3	8 57 W	4.62
1857	31.9	5.9	46.0	4.7	41.9	3	3.205	14	9.0	N 89 W	2.50
1858	27.4	1.4	45.4	4.2	41.2	11	1.657	18	10.4	N 78 W	1.66
1859	17.0	8.1	54.8	0.0	60.8	3	1.035	23	87.4	N 53 W	4.29
1860	24.0	2.0	39.0	7.5	46.0	3	1.362	21	13.5	N 62 W	3.50
1861	31.1	5.1	65.2	6.0	49.7	6	0.560	8	6.8	N 72 W	7.96
1862	28.8	2.8	50.1	3.4	53.5	5	1.945	8	10.4	N 43 W	3.17
1863	27.0	1.0	53.4	1.5	64.9	10	2.060	17	7.1	N 71 W	1.61
1864	24.7	1.3	60.4	10.4	60.8	9	2.045	18	27.1	8 82 W	4.94
1865	27.1	1.7	54.2	5.7	48.5	7	1.727	11	5.2	8 81 W	4.07
1866	25.7	0.9	51.0	6.0	56.0	7	2.790	13	15.5	8 88 W	9.91
1867	21.6	4.4	49.5	12.8	62.3	7	1.408	21	13.8	8 81 W	4.82
1868	22.5	3.5	44.2	3.2	47.4	1	0.009	18	15.5	N 71 W	4.05
Results to 1867	26.05	...	47.39	2.41	49.80	6.79	1.678	13.29	14.30	N 70 W	3.09
Excess for '68	3.55	...	3.19	0.79	2.40	4.79	1.673	4.71	1.20	...	1.35

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GENERAL METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR 1868.

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## GENERAL METEOROLOGICAL

MAGNETICAL OBSERVATORY.

Latitude 43° 39' 4" North. Longitude 5h. 17m. 33s. West. Elevation above

	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APR.	MAY.	JUNE.	JULY.
Mean temperature .....	19.02	17.18	31.80	33.04	51.82	61.99	75.80
Difference from average (23 years)...	- 4.06	- 5.98	+ 1.50	- 3.05	+ 0.42	+ 0.47	+ 8.72
Thermic anomaly (lat. 43° 40') .....	-13.78	-17.52	- 8.80	-12.16	- 6.28	- 2.61	+ 7.10
Highest temperature .....	30.0	45.0	59.0	64.0	73.0	84.2	93.4
Lowest temperature .....	- 7.0	- 11.5	- 15.6	0.2	33.2	38.0	59.0
Monthly and annual ranges.....	46.0	56.5	74.6	64.8	39.8	46.2	34.4
Mean maximum temperature .....	24.10	26.57	39.10	46.13	59.72	70.60	85.40
Mean minimum temperature .....	11.85	8.23	23.92	29.74	44.47	52.32	60.16
Mean daily range.....	12.25	18.34	15.18	16.39	15.25	18.28	19.24
Greatest daily range .....	30.0	38.7	34.6	31.1	25.4	27.2	27.4
Mean height of the Barometer .....	29.5959	29.7440	29.6690	29.5872	29.5205	29.6591	29.6003
Difference from average (23 years)...	-0.0509	+0.1162	+0.0728	-0.0099	-0.0531	+0.0874	+0.0013
Highest barometer .....	30.145	30.445	30.274	30.097	29.907	29.921	29.782
Lowest barometer .....	28.975	29.129	29.049	28.962	29.190	29.274	29.340
Monthly and annual ranges.....	1.170	1.316	1.225	1.135	0.717	0.647	0.442
Mean humidity of the air.....	82	81	74	71	75	74	69
Mean elasticity of aqueous vapour.....	0.092	0.086	0.140	0.170	0.209	0.422	0.619
Mean of cloudiness.....	0.77	0.66	0.58	0.62	0.67	0.51	0.59
Difference from average (15 years)...	+ .05	- .06	- .04	+ .02	+ .13	- .01	+ .11
Resultant direction of the wind.....	S 83 W	N 69 W	N 21 W	N 63 W	N 38 E	N 16 E	S 87 E
Velocity of the wind .....	3.97	3.23	2.12	2.43	3.16	0.85	0.72
Mean velocity (miles per hour) .....	8.90	10.34	8.58	9.24	6.87	5.26	4.06
Difference from average (20 years)...	+ 0.80	+ 2.42	- 0.23	+ 1.18	+ 0.11	+ 0.12	- 0.31
Total amount of rain.....	Inapp.	0.040	2.660	0.990	7.670	2.217	0.510
Difference from average (27-28 years)	-1.219	-0.959	+1.069	-1.461	+4.449	-0.543	-2.943
Number of days rain .....	2	1	7	7	16	11	5
Total amount of snow .....	14.6	32.8	4.2	5.3	...	...	...
Difference from average (25 years)...	- 1.41	+15.03	- 6.19	+ 2.82	- 0.08	...	...
Number of days snow .....	21	16	5	10	...	...	...
Number of fair days .....	10	12	19	14	15	19	26
Number of auroras observed .....	1	3	10	6	5	4	4
Possible to see aurora (No. of nights)...	10	15	18	20	17	19	18
Number of thunderstorms .....	...	...	1	...	4	4	5

REGISTER FOR THE YEAR 1868.

TORONTO, ONTARIO.

Lake Ontario, 108 feet. Approximate elevation above the Sea, 342 feet.

AUG.	SEPT.	Oct.	Nov.	DEC.	Year 1868.	Year 1867.	Year 1866.	Year 1865.	Year 1864.	Year 1863.	Year 1862.
67.18 + 1.13 - 1.32	68.60 - 1.38 - 4.90	68.30 - 3.52 - 11.44	68.15 - 0.73 - 7.05	68.50 - 3.55 - 13.50	48.83 - 0.83 - 7.67	48.84 - 0.82 - 7.16	48.51 - 0.65 - 7.49	49.02 + 0.76 - 6.08	49.70 + 0.54 - 6.30	49.57 + 0.41 - 6.43	49.35 + 0.19 - 6.65
84.4 46.8 37.0	75.0 36.0 39.0	67.6 24.0 43.6	50.5 20.1 30.4	44.2 - 8.2 47.4	93.4 - 15.6 109.0	95.2 - 12.8 108.0	94.0 - 14.0 108.0	90.5 - 10.0 100.5	94.0 - 15.0 109.0	88.0 - 19.8 107.8	95.5 - 5.2 100.7
76.91 58.17 18.74 33.7	64.30 60.12 14.18 26.4	49.79 36.23 13.50 22.2	41.39 31.70 9.69 23.2	29.07 17.07 12.00 82.7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29.6446 + .0218	29.6590 - .0025	29.7565 + .1119	29.6490 + .0378	29.6194 - .0352	29.6421 + .0248	29.6146 - .0033	29.6216 + .0043	29.6330 + .0157	29.5590 - .0577	29.6536 + .0363	29.6248 + .0075
29.915 29.220 0.695	29.998 29.334 0.664	30.158 29.152 1.006	30.068 29.165 0.903	30.027 28.824 1.203	30.445 28.824 1.621	30.332 28.768 1.564	30.940 28.807 2.133	30.354 28.707 1.647	30.327 28.671 1.656	30.502 28.704 1.798	30.469 28.605 1.664
70	77	77	81	83	76	74	75	75	76	77	77
0.463	0.375	0.216	0.175	5.105	0.264	0.252	0.248	0.259	0.263	0.266	0.262
0.55 + .07	0.62 + .14	0.63 + .02	0.78 + .04	0.75 + .01	0.64 + .04	0.61 + 0.01	0.61 + 0.01	0.61 + 0.01	0.65 + 0.05	0.61 + 0.01	0.63 + 0.03
8 58 W 1.01 6.15 + 1.01	N 74 W 0.88 6.68 + 1.26	N 89 W 1.27 7.10 + 1.11	N 85 W 2.10 8.16 + 0.69	N 71 W 4.05 9.80 + 1.35	N 57 W 1.47 7.69 + 0.79	N 60 W 2.05 7.00 + 0.10	N 73 W 2.83 7.41 + 0.51	N 60 W 1.98 6.78 - 0.12	N 76 W 2.49 7.40 + 0.50	N 41 W 1.34 7.13 + 0.23	N 48 W 2.03 7.33 + 0.43
1.562 - 1.460 13	4.239 + 0.578 16	1.365 - 1.143 10	5.150 + 2.138 14	0.005 - 1.673 1	26.408 - 3.173 103	19.041 - 10.540 100	34.209 + 4.628 126	20.599 - 2.982 111	29.486 - 0.095 132	26.483 - 3.098 130	25.529 - 4.072 118
...	...	2.0 + 1.16 2	4.3 + 1.38 7	15.5 + 1.20 18	78.7 + 13.91 82	110.5 + 45.71 84	52.1 - 12.69 69	63.3 - 1.49 68	74.6 + 9.81 70	62.9 - 1.89 74	85.4 + 20.61 72
18	14	20	11	12	190	181	180	201	180	181	189
2	5	6	1	4	50	43	44	55	34	44	48
20	19	14	12	11	193	202	209	201	158	182	176
6	4	1	...	...	25	23	24	17	20	24	24

## MEAN METEOROLOGICAL RESULTS

## TEMPERATURE.

	1868.	Average of 28 years.	Extremes.	
Mean temperature of the year.....	43.33	44.16	46.36 in '40.	42.16 in '56.
Warmest month .....	July,	July.	July, 1868.	Aug. 1860.
Mean temperature of the warmest month .....	75.80	67.08	75.80	64.46
Coldest month .....	February.	January.	Jan. 1857.	Feb. 1848.
Mean temperature of the coldest month .....	17.18	23.08	12.75	26.60
Difference between the temperatures of the warmest and the coldest months .....	58.62	44.00	...	...
Mean of deviations of monthly means from their respective averages of 28 years, signs of deviation being disregarded.....	2.88	2.37	3.67 in 1843.	{ 1.33 in 1853 '64.
Months of greatest deviation, without regard to sign .....	July.	January.	Jan. 1857.	...
Corresponding magnitude of deviation.....	8.72	3.8	10.3	...
Warmest day .....	July 14.	...	July 14, '68.	July 31, '41.
Mean temperature of the warmest day.....	84.50	77.59	84.50	72.75
Coldest day .....	Feb. 22.	...	{ Feb. 6, '55. Jan. 22, '57.	Dec. 22, '42.
Mean temperature of the coldest day.....	-2.38	-1.29	-14.38	9.57 *
Date of the highest temperature.....	July 13.	...	Aug. 24, '54.	Aug. 19, '40.
Highest temperature .....	93.4	90.9	99.2	82.4
Date of the lowest temperature .....	March 3.	...	Jan. 26, '59.	Jan. 2, '42.
Lowest temperature .....	-15.6	-12.3	-26.5	1.9
Range of the year .....	109.0	103.2	118.2	87.0

## BAROMETER.

	1868.	Average of 27 years.	Extremes.	
Mean pressure of the year .....	29.6421	29.6173	{ 29.6670 in 1849.	29.5602 in 1864.
Month of highest mean pressure .....	October.	September	Jan. 1849.	June, 1864.
Highest mean monthly pressure .....	29.7565	29.6624	29.8046	29.6525
Month of lowest mean pressure.....	May.	June.	March, 1859.	Nov. 1849.
Lowest mean monthly pressure .....	29.5205	29.5717	29.4143	29.5886
Date of highest pressure in the year.....	{ Feb. 23, 9 a.m. }	...	Jan. 8, '66.	Oct. 22, '45.
Highest pressure.....	30.445	30.383	30.940	30.242
Date of lowest pressure in the year .....	{ Dec. 7, midnight }	...	Mar. 19, '59.	Mar. 17, '45.
Lowest pressure .....	28.824	28.600	28.286	28.939
Range of the year .....	1.621	1.693	{ 2.133 in 1866.	1.803 in 1845.



## RELATIVE HUMIDITY.

	1868.	Average of 26 years.	Extremes.	
Mean humidity of the year .....	76	77	82 in 1851.	73 in 1858.
Month of greatest humidity .....	December.	January.	Jan. 1867.	Dec. 1858.
Greatest mean monthly humidity .....	83	83	89	81
Month of least humidity .....	July.	May.	Feb. 1843.	April, 1849.
Least mean monthly humidity .....	69	71	68	76

## EXTENT OF SKY CLOUDED.

	1868.	Average of 15 years.	Extremes.	
Mean cloudiness of the year.....	0.64	0.60	0.65 in 1864	0.57 in 1856.
Most cloudy month .....	November.	November.	...	...
Greatest monthly mean of cloudiness .....	0.78	0.74	0.83	0.73
Least cloudy month .....	June.	August.	...	...
Lowest monthly mean of cloudiness .....	0.51	0.48	0.29	0.50

## WIND.

	1868.	Average of 20 years.	Extremes.	
Resultant direction.....	N. 57° W.	N. 61° W.	...	...
Resultant velocity in miles .....	1.47	1.89	...	...
Mean velocity, without regard to direction.....	7.69	6.89	8.55 in 1860.	5.10 in 1858.
Month of greatest mean velocity .....	February.	March.	Mar. 1860.	Jan. 1848.
Greatest monthly mean velocity.....	10.84	8.81	12.41	5.82
Month of least mean velocity .....	July.	July.	August, 1852	Sept. 1860.
Least monthly mean velocity .....	4.66	4.97	3.30	5.79
Day of greatest mean velocity.....	March 21.	...	Mar. 19, '59.	Dec. 2, 1848.
Greatest daily mean velocity.....	28.68	22.95	31.16	15.30
Day of least mean velocity .....	March 9.	...	...	...
Least daily mean velocity.....	1.37	...	...	...
Hour of greatest absolute velocity.....	April 8.	...	Dec. 27, '61.	Mar. 14, '53.
	2 to 3 p.m.	...	9-10 a.m.	11 to noon.
Greatest velocity .....	38.0	39.81	46.0	25.0

MEAN METEOROLOGICAL RESULTS:

RAIN.

	1868.	Average of 28 years.	Extremes.	
Total depth of rain in inches .....	26.408	29.581	{ 43.65 in 1843.	19.041 in 1867.
Number of days in which rain fell.....	103	109	130 in 1861.	80 in 1841.
Month in which the greatest depth of rain fell	May.	September	Sept. 1843.	Sept. 1848.
Greatest depth of rain in one month.....	7.670	3.661	9.760	3.115
Month in which the days of rain were most frequent.....	May, Sept.	October.	Oct. 1864.	May, 1841.
Greatest number of rainy days in one month...	13	13	22	11
Day in which the greatest amount of rain fell	Nov. 17.	...	Sept. 14, '43.	Sept. 14, '48.
Greatest amount of rain in one day .....	2.230	2.037	3.455	1.000
Hour of heaviest rain .....	Sept. 8.	...	...	...
Greatest amount of rain in one hour.....	11 to 12 p.m. 0.715	...	...	...

SNOW.

	1868.	Average of 25 years.	Extremes.	
Total depth in the year in inches .....	78.7	64.8	{ 110.5 in 1867.	{ 38.4 in 1851.
Number of days in which snow fell .....	82	60	87 in 1859.	33 in 1843.
Month in which the greatest depth of snow fell	February.	February.	Feb. 1846.	Dec. 1851.
Greatest depth of snow in one month .....	32.8	17.8	40.1	10.7
Month in which the days of snow were most frequent.....	January.	January.	Dec. 1859.	Feb. 1843.
Greatest number of days of snow in one month	21	13	Jan. 1861.	8
Days in which the greatest amount of snow fell .....	Feb. 24.	...	Feb. 5, 1863.	Jan. 10, 1857.
Greatest fall of snow in one day .....	12.0	8.7	16.0	5.5

## WORKS OF REFERENCE.

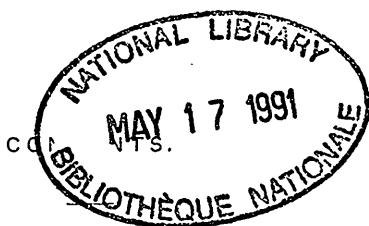
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