

The Fife and Drum

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Inside



8 The word "Toronto"
10 Napoleon's Dandies
12 Elizabeth Simcoe
in cyberspace

14 National Casket
reborn as condos
15 What the Friends
got done in 2020

17 Editor's Desk
19 Skating always
so fashionable
20 Mrs Traill's Advice



The Niagara River looking north from Queenston Heights was painted by Elizabeth Simcoe in 1793. It's the view now from the lookout below Brock's Monument, with Brown's Point in the centre and the U.S. shore on the right. This watercolour is one of hundreds of Simcoe's works newly made available in cyberspace by the Archives of Ontario (page 12). A view of the water through a screen of trees would become a familiar trope of Canadian landscape painting. (AO 6956)

The mystery of Torento

by Rick Laprairie

Gothen Mann's 1788 map "Plan of Torento Harbour with the proposed Town and part of the Settlement" is a well-known early vision for Toronto. It features a square townsite near the lakeshore surrounded by a public common and, beyond them, subdivided plots of land (page 2).

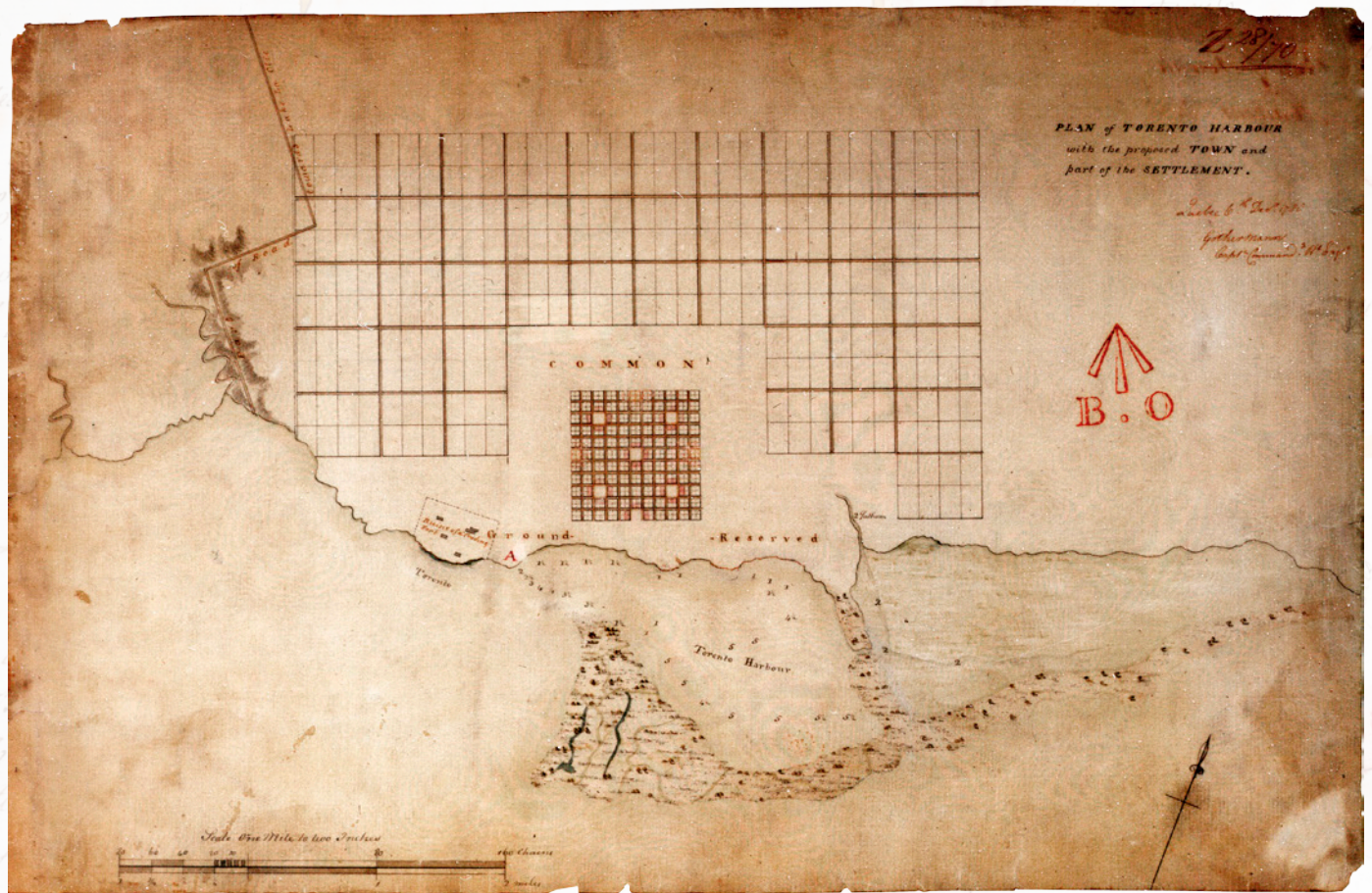
While never pursued, the plan is almost obligatory content for histories and historical atlases of early Ontario. Mark Osbaldeston, who looks at unfulfilled visions of Toronto in his book *Unbuilt Toronto: A History of the City That Might Have Been*, says "it provides the perfect graphic representation of the British Government's attempt to impose eighteenth-century rational order on the Canadian wilderness."

But the name "Torento" remains an enigma. Despite the plan's frequent publication, the unusual naming is rarely acknowledged. Yet it raises the question: how could Mann make such a mistake? Only Alan Rayburn, in his insightful essay "The Real Story of how Toronto got its Name," speaks to the puzzle. But he too is stumped, conceding that "why he spelled the name with an 'e' remains a mystery."

However, it may not be such a mystery after all. This article seeks to show that Mann's use of "Torento" is deliberate, albeit an error imported from elsewhere.

We will examine a series of period documents and maps which show that for a brief period before John Graves Simcoe arrived in 1793 and established the Town of York, some senior British officials mistakenly thought of the site as "Torento."

This little-known episode in Toronto's history starts with maps of Lake Ontario that were seized in 1758 by the British from French warships at Fort Frontenac (now Kingston, Ontario) during the Seven Years War. The story then weaves its way through the changing British occupation of North America, from their victory over the French to not long afterward being defeated in the American Revolution. They were reduced to those parts of the continent formerly claimed by France that were largely unfamiliar to them.



Gother Mann, 1788, "PLAN of TONRETO HARBOUR with the proposed TOWN and part of the SETTLEMENT." Coloured manuscript, 13" x 19½." Original at Library & Archives Canada NMC4435; image courtesy Map & Data Library, University of Toronto.

Mann's Plan of Toronto Harbour

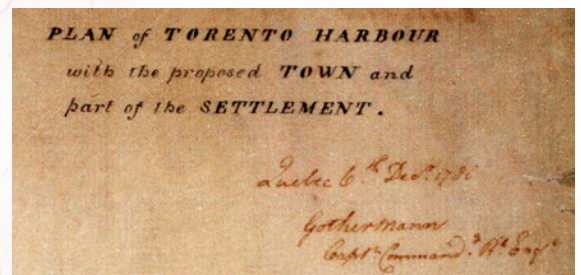
At age 38, Gother Mann (1747–1830) was a British army captain and military engineer when he came to Canada in 1785. His work was focused on defence installations. In 1788 Lord Dorchester, Governor-in-Chief of British North America, instructed Mann to conduct assessments of harbours, transportation routes and military posts from Kingston to Sault St. Marie. The first reference to "Toronto" in any form surfaced in correspondence between them.

In a letter of May 29, 1788, Dorchester instructed Captain Mann to examine the overland route between Lake Ontario and Georgian Bay:

You will examine the mouth of the French river, and that of the river Matchedosh, upon Lake Huron likewise **Toronto** [sic] upon Lake Ontario and give every information how far they will answer for shipping and if what size, whether the Country adjacent is propitious for settlements and if these by nature of the ground can at small Expense be defended....

Mann's response on December 6, 1788, uses similar language:

From Lac La Clie [Lake Simcoe] there is a Communication, sometimes used, to **Toronto** on Lake Ontario.... It is very impractical to pass with large canoes, on account of the Rapids and difficult carrying places, and if to this is added the great length of Portage, from **Toronto** to Lac La Clie these seem to be at the first view, to be very

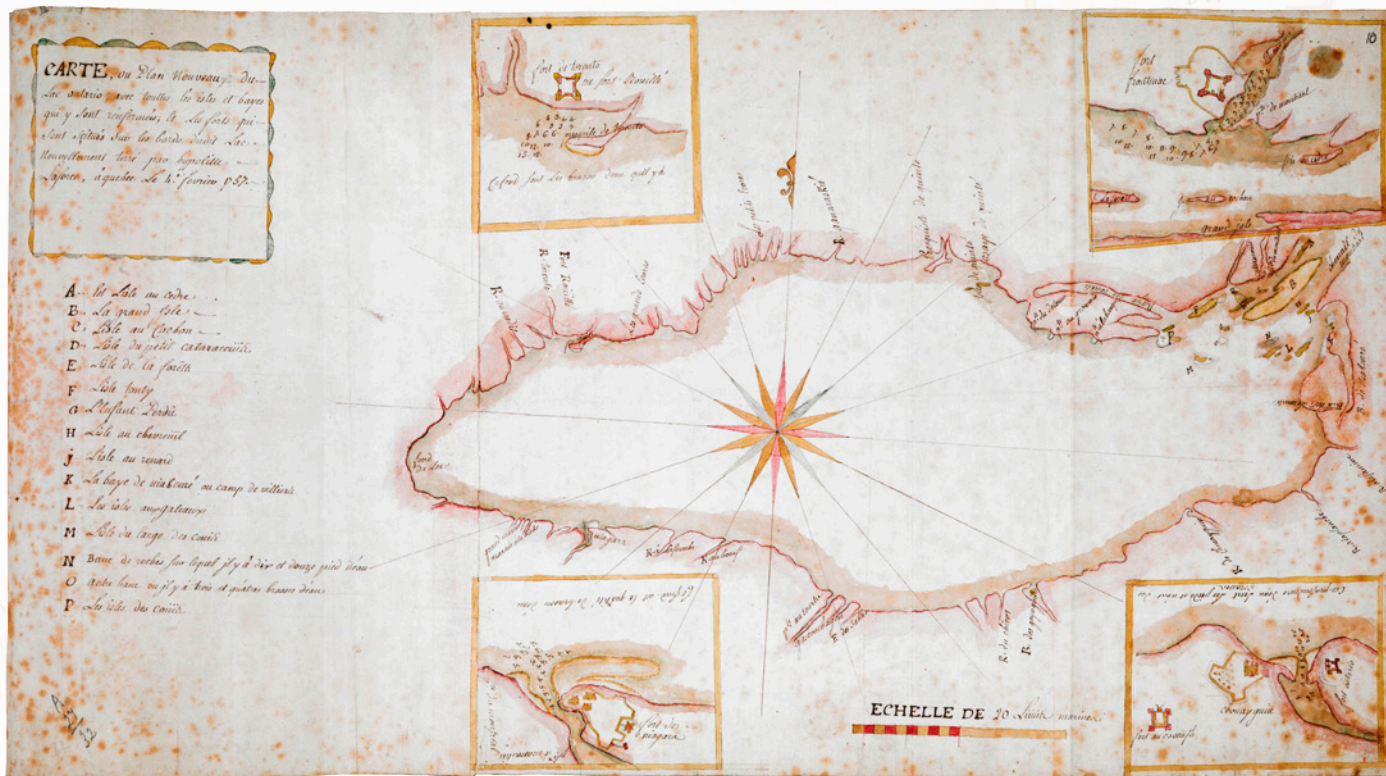


Captain Mann signed and dated his map just below the title block, writing in script "Quebec 6th Dec. 1788 / Gother Mann / Captn Commandg Royl Engr."

Mann was the senior engineer of the British Army in Canada (we can read the last line as "captain commanding") from 1785 to 1791 and from 1793 to 1804. A career Royal Engineer, he was a full general and in charge of English fortifications when he died in 1830.

"**Toronto**" is found twice on Gother Mann's map: in the harbour and as a name for the site of the "Ruins of a Trading Fort" – the old Fort Rouillé, also called Fort Toronto.





René-Hippolyte Laforce, 1757 "CARTE, ou plan Nouveau du Lac Ontario, avec toutes les isles et bayes qui y sont renfermées: Et les forts qui sont Scitués Sur les bords du dit Lac." Map is on two sheets, manuscript pen & ink with watercolour, 15½" x 28." Original in the British Library; image courtesy Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library

The Toronto area is easy to recognize in this detail of Laforce's map, which includes "fort de Toronto ou fort Rouillé." To the west is the unmarked Humber River, while the landform to the south was a peninsula until being cut by a storm in 1858. The script in the lake explains that the numbers in the harbour are measures of depth in "brasses," an old French sounding measure equalling 1.6 metres (5¼ feet), slightly less than a fathom.

The Laforce Map of Lake Ontario

Thirty years before Mann drew his plan, the British acquired two French manuscript maps of Lake Ontario. Neither of them uses the name Toronto.

In August 1758, when the British attacked Fort Frontenac, two French naval vessels sought to sail out of the Cataraqui River into open water. Hampered by unfavourable winds, they were fired upon and hulled by British cannon. Both ships ran aground below the fort and were abandoned by captains and crews, who disappeared into the nearby woods. Fort Frontenac, its stores and the entire French fleet on Lake Ontario fell into British hands. One and possibly both maps were seized that day from the beached French vessels.

One of the seized maps, by René-Hippolyte Laforce (1728–1802), is titled (as translated) "Map or New plan of Lake Ontario with all of the isles and bays enclosed; and of the forts situated on the shores of said Lake." Two years earlier, Laforce had been appointed commander of the French naval squadron at Fort Frontenac by Governor Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil. He became at the same time commander of the newly built schooner *Marquise de Vaudreuil*.

The map identifies Laforce as the cartographer and as having

strong obstacles to any business being carried on this way upon the great scale of Trade. [Lac La Clie is a name some French traders gave to Lake Simcoe in reference to the fish weirs there; see "About the word..." on p.8.]

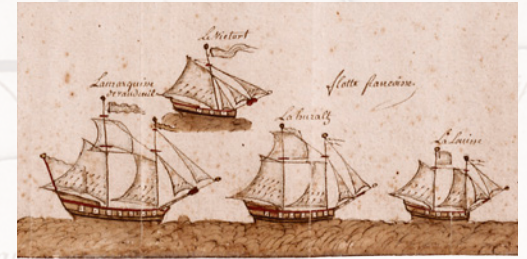
Mann gives the ancient Toronto Passage little support as a substantial trade route. In his letter he also seems conflicted about the spelling of "Toronto," which he uses interchangeably with "Torento." That is not the case for his plan of the harbour, where in addition to the title, the name Torento is used twice more on the map itself.

Dorchester's and Mann's repeated use of the name Torento argues against this being an inadvertent spelling error. But if Torento is used by them deliberately, contradicting an already long-established toponym, then we need still to understand the source of their misunderstanding. Insight into that question will be found in a succession of evolving period maps, copied from one another by different cartographers, some of which also place "Torento" near the mouth of what we now call the Humber River.

Pierre Boucher de Labroquerie, 1757 "Carte Du Lac ontario nouvellement Rellevé avec ces port a grand pois a bitté Lescadre Engloisse & francoisse Leur gremant Leur Cantité de Canon." Manuscript pen & ink with watercolour, 15½" x 20." Original in the British Library; image courtesy Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library



The British fleet on Lake Ontario in 1757



The French fleet on Lake Ontario in 1757



The Toronto area of Labroquerie's map includes a red fort Toronto and the Scarborough bluffs, the "grand Ecart." The Don is suggested, "R de Toronto" is the Humber, Mimico Creek is unnamed, and "R de aucredei" is the Credit. "R des deux folies" (or "River of the two follies") is possibly Sixteen Mile Creek. The name did not last long and the story of its origin is not known.

been made at Quebec, February 4, 1757. There are four insets: the French forts of Toronto, Niagara and Frontenac and the English Fort Ontario at Oswego. The insets detail tactical locations and local depth soundings. On the left side of the map is an alphabetically arranged legend listing 15 place names corresponding to sites at the eastern end of Lake Ontario.

Although commonly known and mapped as Fort Toronto, the name "Fort Rouillé" (on both the inset and the main map) was the official designation of what was administratively an outpost of Niagara. It was named after Antoine Louis Rouillé, the Secretary of State for the Navy under King Louis XV. This is one of only a few maps to properly include the name Rouillé.

The Labroquerie Map of Lake Ontario

The other seized French map of Lake Ontario is by Pierre Boucher de Labroquerie, who was the commander of the French warship *La Hurault* (or *Hurault*). His work is titled (as translated) "Map of Lake Ontario newly drawn with its ports for heavy moorings of the English and French fleets, their rigging and number of Cannon." The map is signed and dated October 4, 1757 – only ten months before it was seized – and noted as having been made at Fort Frontenac.

Labroquerie's map is a copy of the Laforce map (made earlier the same year) but with some key differences. Notably, Labroquerie reversed the orientation of his map to put south at the top, in contrast to a convention established over the previous two centuries. As well, the map has no legend of place names, instead putting a more limited set of names in situ.

An added feature of Labroquerie's map are the drawings of the French and English ships based on Lake Ontario. They depict

the ship types, their relative sizes, their rigging and number of masts, and the number of gun ports. Labroquerie's map has only three insets of forts: Frontenac, Niagara and Ontario (at Oswego). It places Toronto on the north shore of Lake Ontario at a site marked by a red symbol of a fort. There is no mention of the name Rouillé, nor any soundings of the waters off the fort.

Unlike so many anonymous and undated manuscript maps of the period, we have the benefit of the Laforce and Labroquerie maps both being signed and dated along with their location of production. They exhibit meticulous detail in the siting of forts, harbour depth soundings, river outlets and islands as well as the characteristics of ships. Made in the midst of the Seven Years War for navigational and military purposes, they would have provided valuable intelligence to the British.

Brehm's Plan of Lake Ontario

The British made several copies of the two captured French maps of 1757. We know this because some are specific in their attribution, using phrases like "taken from a French Draft" or "having belonged to Monsieur Labroquerie" or simply "from a French Original." The Laforce map is known to have been in the possession of General Jeffery Amherst, then Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in North America.

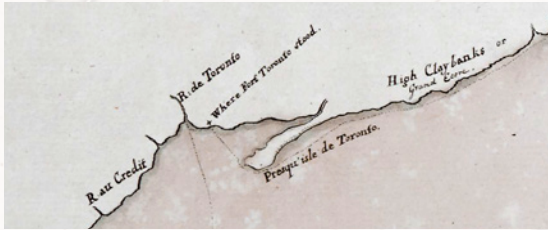
Lieutenant Dietrich Brehm, an officer of the 60th Regiment of Foot who was serving as an Assistant Engineer in Amherst's

PLAN, OF LAKE ONTARIO.

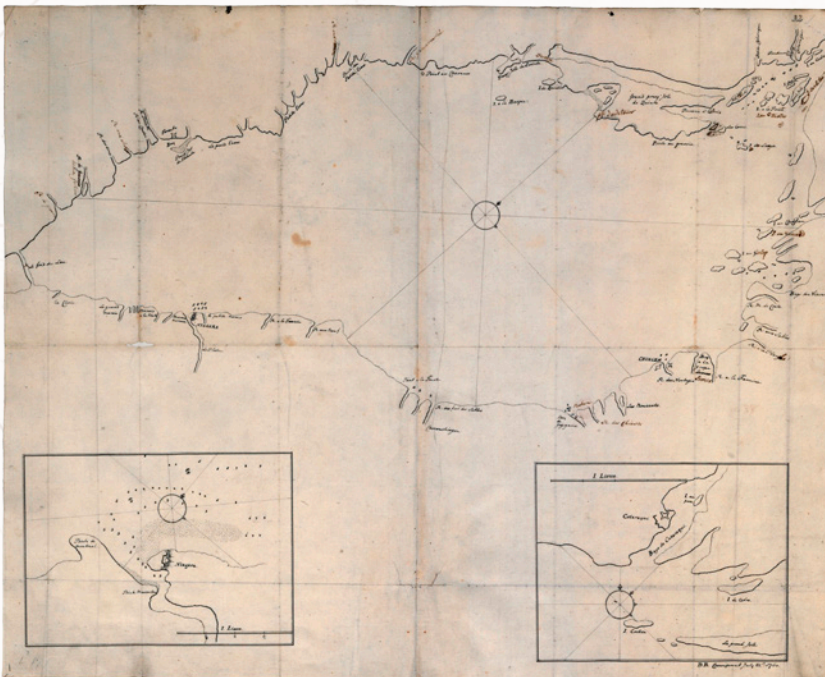
Copied and enlarged from a French Original, the North Shore corrected in some places, likewise the South from Oswego to Niagara by a Sketch of Cap^s Sowers

The French lineage of Brehm's map is clearly acknowledged: "Copied and Enlarged from a French Original; the North Shore corrected in some places...." Captain Sowers was on the staff of Lieutenant-Colonel John Bradstreet, commander of the expedition against Fort Frontenac, and he was the officer who delivered the articles of surrender.

Dietrich Brehm, c.1760 "PLAN, OF LAKE ONTARIO." Manuscript pen & ink with watercolour, 19¼" x 30." Original in the British Library; image courtesy Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library



Brehm's polished map shows "Where Fort Toronto stood" – while the much larger site of Fort Frontenac is marked only as anonymous "ruins." Corrections to the north shore noted in the title block included the now-destroyed status of these two French forts. The dotted line is Brehm's route in September 1760.



D.B., 1760 Untitled map of Lake Ontario, identified in the bottom right corner as "D.B. Crownpoint July 31st 1760." It is presumed to be the work of Dietrich Brehm, perhaps a draft version of Map 4. Manuscript pen & ink, 15" x 18." Original in British Library, image courtesy Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library



This is the first known use on a map of the odd spelling. "Toronto" is written above a fort symbol and the "R: Toronto" is immediately to the west – but the sandy peninsula is clearly named "Toronto."

army, made at least two copies of the French maps. Both were drawn in 1760, when Amherst was building Fort Crown Point on Lake Champlain in preparation for the final advance north to Montreal. Together with British armies advancing down the St. Lawrence from Oswego, and up the river from Quebec, this convergence on the unfortified city completed the conquest of New France. Brehm is known to have been at Crown Point until early in September 1760.

Just after the capitulation of Montreal on September 8, he was ordered to join the expedition to the west being assembled by Major Robert Rogers. The famous commander of the Rangers was being sent to assume control of the French posts in the interior, and Brehm's assignment was to map and sketch their route. He travelled extensively in the lower Great Lakes and surrounding area and saw more of the territory in the two years he spent there than any other cartographer before him, French or English.

The first of Brehm's maps to consider is titled "Plan of Lake Ontario." Though not dated, it is catalogued as being made in 1760 and he signed it "D: Brehm Lieut." in the lower right corner. The shoreline is tidily drawn and the map, being without any insets, is spartan. The title and place names are meticulously scribed in typeset-style lettering, looking like finely printed text, giving the map every appearance of a polished product.

The title block testifies to the map's French lineage, stating that it was "Copied and Enlarged from a French Original." Like Laforce's map, Brehm's also has a legend of place names arranged by capital letters. His legend precisely copies 14 place names from Laforce's legend, leaving little

doubt that the original he copied is Laforce's. And unlike Labroquerie's map, Brehm's is oriented with north at the top.

Brehm's map plots a dotted line along the north shore of Lake Ontario marked in spots by the letter "a." The line runs into the site of Toronto – which the Rogers expedition reached on September 30, 1760 – and then crosses the lake to Fort Niagara. A note written in script at the bottom of the legend explains the marking: "NB: The places where we went in the Night is markt with a small a." As the note was written in script, it and the dotted line of their route could have been added to the map after Brehm's return from the west.

Brehm's Untitled Map of Lake Ontario

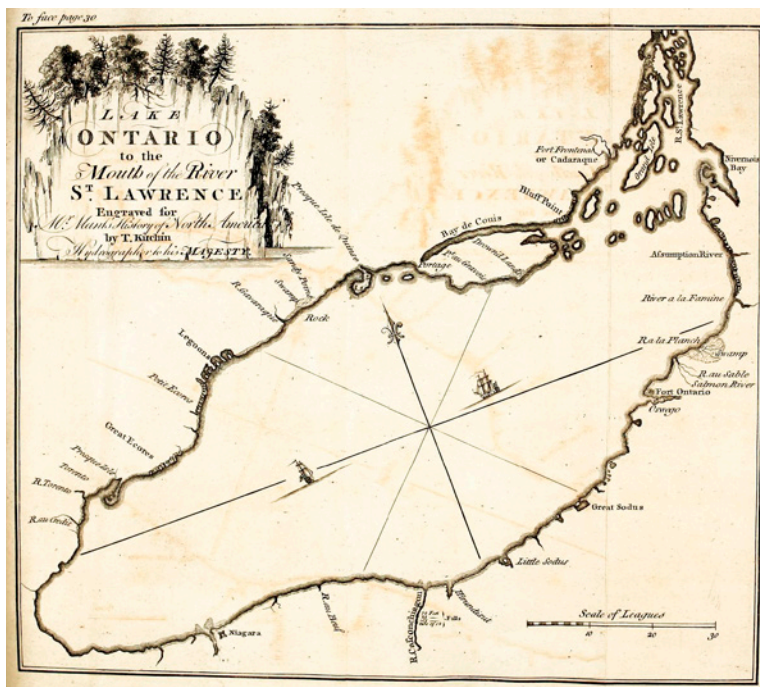
The other Brehm map of note is an untitled map of Lake Ontario. Written in the bottom right of the map is "D.B. Crownpoint July 31st 1760." The work is attributed to Brehm by virtue of the initials and the location of production coinciding with information on Brehm's whereabouts at the time. Notably, it displays the names "Torento Bay" and "R. Torento."

In contrast to Brehm's "Plan of Lake Ontario," the lake outline on this map is raggedy and sketch-like. There is no reference on this map to any French source. There are, however, two fort insets, one of the Fort Frontenac site and the other of Fort Niagara. The text on this map is almost entirely in cursive script. There are also two different colours of ink used on the place names and some of those appear to have undergone some editorial revisions. On the whole, this map is a much less finished product than his "Plan of Lake Ontario."

In comparing the two Brehm maps it is evident that the execution of his untitled map has all the hallmarks of a rough draft of his more polished "Plan of Lake Ontario." Thus, when the map's title block notes "The North shore corrected in some places," Brehm is likely pointing as much to changes from his draft as to corrections or updates to the French parent map (or maps). One of the corrections was changing the spelling of Torento back to Toronto. As well, the corrections on the south shore attributed to Captain Sowers suggests the sharing and copying of maps in theatre, which would certainly be expected. And if indeed Brehm's "Plan of Lake Ontario" is his second map, then it can now be more accurately dated to between July 31, 1760 (when the draft was finished) and his departure to the west on September 13, 1760, from Montreal.

Kitchin's engraving of Lake Ontario

The final map considered is Thomas Kitchin's, published in a 1772 book by Thomas Mante, *The history of the late war in North America and the islands of the West-Indies including the campaigns of 1763 and 1764 against His Majesty's Indian enemies*. Kitchin's finely executed map is the second one known to use the name Toronto. Mante's book is a monumental account of key engagements in several theatres of the Seven Years War, from 1758 to 1763, as well as those of Pontiac's Rebellion in 1764. The actions covered



Thomas Kitchin, 1772 "LAKE ONTARIO to the Mouth of the River St. LAWRENCE." As the cartouche beautifully notes, this map is from Thomas Mante's contemporary history of the Seven Years War. Engraving 11¾" x 8¾" courtesy Baldwin Collection, Toronto Public Library 971.018 M125



Kitchin labels the area of the old French fort and the nearby Humber River as "Torento" and "R. Torento" and retains the French names for the Credit, the peninsula and the bluffs. But apart from appearing on this map, there is no other reference to Toronto or Toronto in Mante's history.

include Louisburg, Quebec and Montreal, those in the Lake Champlain Valley, and those at Fort Frontenac and Niagara.

Mante's history draws on original diaries, records and correspondence to give reliable and vivid first-hand accounts of the battles. The book also includes 18 superbly illustrated fold-out maps and architectural drawings of forts. No expense was spared in its publication and it would have been an important acquisition for institutional libraries and for the personal collections of military strategists and the wealthy.

Thomas Kitchin (1719–1784) was a London cartographer and engraver who apprenticed under Emanuel Bowen, Royal Mapmaker to King George II, and became Hydrographer to the King in 1773. He engraved the famous 1755 Mitchell Map (see "About..." p.8) which spawned the profuse number of maps carrying the name Toronto in the second half of the eighteenth century. Kitchin would have had easy access to cartographic information from throughout the British Empire as well as from foreign sources.

Kitchin was not without criticism from his peers. Some claim he was a plagiarist whose privileged access to cartographic information and his unattributed use of others' maps contributed to the large body of work he produced. He would not have been

alone in this, as such uncredited duplication of cartographic materials was not uncommon at the time. But there are also instances of inconsistent attention to his work. In the engraving of the Mitchell Map he ignominiously misspells the name and address of his publisher. And despite having engraved the name Toronto on that famous map, on at least four smaller versions of it made later he spells it “Toranto.” Kitchin’s renown as a cartographer seems due more to his proficiency as a skilled and prolific engraver than to any meticulous care with the geographic accuracy of places and their names.

Did Kitchin Copy “Torento” From Brehm’s Draft Map?

The similarities among the Lake Ontario maps discussed here, and the attributions of the maps in Mante’s publication to their engravers, point to Kitchin’s map of Lake Ontario being based on some form of copy of Brehm’s 1760 draft map. Putting Brehm’s map directly into Kitchin’s hands, however, is problematic. Today, Brehm’s draft map is catalogued by the British Library as being among the papers of Sir Frederic Haldimand, who took possession of Montreal after its surrender and later became Governor of Quebec.

Haldimand personally knew Brehm (who was also in the action at Montreal) and mentions him favourably in his correspondence, making it no surprise that he would have acquired Brehm’s draft map. But Haldimand only returned to England in 1784, well after the 1772 publication of Mante’s book and before Mann’s 1788 “Plan of Torento Harbour.” If Haldimand had Brehm’s draft map the entire time he was in North America, it would have been unavailable to either Mante or Mann (who arrived in Quebec the year after Haldimand left) to copy from.

It is often difficult to ascertain how and when cartographic artifacts from the British colonies made their way to England. Maps were usually separated and retained independently from their covering letters, making their date of receipt difficult, if not impossible, to determine. Brehm’s unnamed draft is no different. There is a red stamp of the British Museum on the verso, but no date of receipt is recorded. Brehm’s draft map may have been forwarded as part of the regular transmissions of documents, letters and reports sent to the Admiralty, the Board of Trade or the Board of Ordnance, which continuously sought current information and up-to-date maps.

However, it is also possible that Haldimand forwarded a collection of his papers concerning the Seven Years War to Britain in 1765, when he was expecting to return there (he had been granted leave for the purpose). Departing Quebec in September, and travelling first to New York, he was told there of a change in plans. Because of the death of a colleague, Haldimand was promoted to brigadier-general and assigned to the Southern Department, where he was headquartered in Pensacola and St. Augustine until the spring of 1773.

Papers from his northern postings, dutifully assembled for his planned return in 1765, may well have been forwarded on to officials in England without him, for they would have been of

little use in Florida – but of great interest in London.

Even without knowing precisely how Brehm’s draft map was conveyed, there is enough inferential evidence to make a case for Kitchin’s map of Lake Ontario being derived from Brehm’s. First, Kitchin’s map shares two key features with those of Labroquerie, Laforce and Brehm: all of them have a similar compass rose, with rhumb lines emanating from them, prominently centred in Lake Ontario. As well, none of these maps have any latitudinal or longitudinal coordinate markings. While such an omission might be forgivable in colonial naval and military officers sketching maps in the field, we should expect more from a royal mapmaker etching maps in studio for publication.

The consistency of these crucial cartographic elements among these four maps testifies to Kitchin’s own descending from the family of maps of Lake Ontario which originated on site during the Seven Years War.

we should expect more from a royal mapmaker

More importantly, all the maps and drawings in Mante’s book would have been derived from original manuscript maps and sketches drafted in North America, most likely by military personnel in

capacities similar to Brehm’s. But not a single map in Mante’s book gives any credit to the creators of the original manuscripts; the only attribution is to the engravers. Kitchin is noted as engraver of ten of the maps, with others being credited to John Lodge and Thomas Jefferys, both highly reputed cartographers of the time. None of these maps, however, would have originated with them. As engravers, being mere scribes in these circumstances, they would have transferred detail from the original hand-drawn maps to etched copper plates for printing.

But the identities of some of the original map-makers can be found elsewhere. For example, Mante’s map “The retaking of Newfoundland” is a copy of a manuscript map titled “Plan of the harbour town and fort of St. Johns in Newfoundland... shewing the operations... commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Amherst... September, 1762.” That map is credited to a survey by “Capt. Hugh Debbieg, engineer on that expedition.”

Similarly, the “Map of the Attack on Quebec” in Mante’s book is a facsimile of one published circa 1760 by Jefferys under the title “A correct plan of the environs of Quebec, and of the battle fought on the 13th September, 1759.” This iconic piece of Canadian cartographic history is credited in its title heading as being “drawn from the original surveys taken by the engineers of the army.” And not least is an example from Kitchin himself, who copied one of his own previously published works, “A new map of the Cherokee nation,” for Mante’s book. The attribution on Kitchin’s original 1760 map, “Engrav’d from an Indian draught by T. Kitchin,” is omitted from the copy in Mante.

Judicious research in British archives could well turn up the identities of more of the makers of the original manuscript maps underlying those in Mante’s book. In any event, unattributed sources and minor spelling inconsistencies do not appear to have been unusual for Thomas Kitchin.

Closing the loop

The correspondences among the maps and documents connected with the name “Torento” examined here are too compelling to be dismissed as a series of unlinked, coincidental errors. Failing any yet-unknown derivative of Brehm’s draft map turning up, there is every indication the name was passed on through these documents, leading finally in 1788 to Mann’s “Plan of Torento Harbour” – even if we don’t have the fingerprints on them to conclusively trace their journey through the hands of all those involved.

The likeliest scenario is that Kitchin’s map was based on information from Brehm’s draft map, and that Mann and Lord Dorchester were working from Kitchin’s map of Lake Ontario included in Mante’s book. It would undoubtedly have been of interest to both Mann and Dorchester. The quality of Mante’s historical sources and the book’s meticulous and artistically rendered maps give Mante’s compilation overpowering credibility. Even if the name “Toronto” had been familiar to Mann and Dorchester beforehand, Mante’s book provided a compelling recent authority – with maps by a British royal cartographer, no less – to lead them to revise their spelling.

The cartographic trail followed here tracks a minute detail which winds its way through a few rare and obscure maps and letters which survived the turmoil of wars that twice overturned the balance of power in North America. The grand enterprise of establishing a vast British dominion over the entire expanse of North America came to a grinding halt with the American Revolution. Afterward, many new colonial organizers were left to pick up the pieces in what remained of British North America, reduced mostly to those unfamiliar lands that had once been under French rule. In this chaos of conflict and reversal of fortune, the continuity of Toronto’s naming was for a brief period lost in the mêlée.

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About the word “Toronto”

It is now widely accepted that the name Toronto originated as the Mohawk phrase “tkaronto,” later modified by French explorers and map-makers, meaning “where there are trees standing in the water.” The name referred to an ancient fish weir in a waterway now known as The Narrows, connecting Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching. The French adopted that name for today’s Lake Simcoe – “Tarontos Lac” – and its first recorded appearance is on a map by Jean-Louis Baptist Franquelin in 1678. Other spellings used during that period include “Lac Taronto,” “Lac de Taronto” and “Lac Taronteau.”

Some period maps also labelled southern Georgian Bay as “Baye de Taronto” and both the Severn and Humber rivers were at times called the “Taronto River.” Over the next 120 years (as late as the 1790s) the name Toronto imprinted itself across the landscape linking Lake Ontario and southern Georgian Bay. The area that was then known as the “Passage de Taronto” is now referred to in English as the “Toronto Passage” or “Toronto Carrying Place,” and was a well-used trail up the Humber River to Lake Simcoe with origins before recorded history.

“Toronto” as a stand-alone place name located at its present site (with no fort designation) first appeared on a manuscript map of 1752, “Carte generale du Canada ou Nouvelle France,” by Jacques-Nicolas Bellin, a French

Royal Cartographer. In fact, Bellin’s map recognizes Fort Rouillé, commonly known as Fort Toronto, which was built in 1751 on a site now part of the CNE grounds.

The first published work showing Fort Toronto was a 1755 map by John Mitchell, “A map of the British and French dominions in North America,” engraved by Thomas Kitchin, Royal Hydrographer. Later editions of that map were used at the treaty negotiations of 1783 to delineate the boundary between the new United States and the territory that remained British North America. The Mitchell Map was widely copied, giving Toronto a continuing presence on maps well into the 1790s (despite the fort having been burned by the French in 1759 to prevent it from falling into British hands).

Over the second half of the eighteenth century, the name Toronto gained world-wide cartographic recognition. During that time Toronto existed primarily as a place name on maps, giving it a global manifestation that belied any on-site occupation by Europeans, which was at best sparse and transient.

Nonetheless, this cartographic validation cemented the name “Toronto” into posterity. This repute was key to the name being called back into life 41 years after Simcoe eschewed it in 1793 by calling his new town York. Mann’s interjection of “Torento” stands apart from a naming convention that was already 100 years old. – *R. L.*

Sources & Further Reading

Fine resolution images of the first five of the maps featured here may easily be downloaded from the libraries cited (search by title and author); the eccentric and beautiful detail of these maps – some of them, as manuscripts, unique – is now accessible to everyone. They make a rewarding and pleasurable exploration.

For an overview of the early maps of the city, find an *Historical Atlas of Toronto*, an impressive compilation by Derek Hayes (Douglas & McIntyre 2008), which every library has. Also available in libraries is *Ontario's History in Maps*, published by the province and UTP in 1984. It includes many rarely seen early maps in a broader provincial perspective. The definitive bibliography (at 986 pages) is Joan Winearls, *Mapping Upper Canada: an annotated bibliography of manuscript and printed maps* (UTP 1991).

There are biographies of sailor René-Hippolyte Laforce (one of the romantic heroes of New France) and engineer Gotter Mann in the *Canadian Dictionary of Biography*. Engraver Thomas Kitchin can be found in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

The best single-volume account of the Seven Years War in North America (or the French & Indian War, as many Americans prefer) is Fred Anderson, *The crucible of war: the Seven Years' War and the fate of empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (Knopf 2000). It's 862 pages long but has a fine index. Closer to our story is Robert Malcomson's beautiful *Warships of the Great Lakes, 1754-1834* (Caxton 2001), which includes particulars of the fleets Labroquerie drew so carefully. Thomas Mante's 1772 history, rich in primary sources and including the maps, may be seen at the Toronto Public Library or in cyberspace at archive.org [here](#), which provides access to a copy at the University of Pittsburgh.

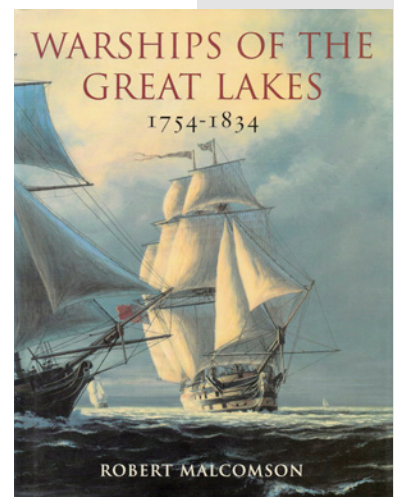
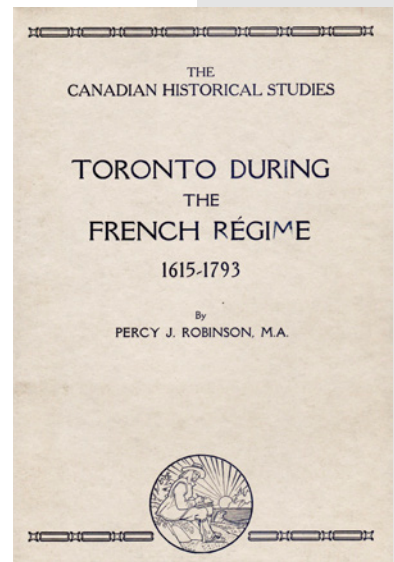
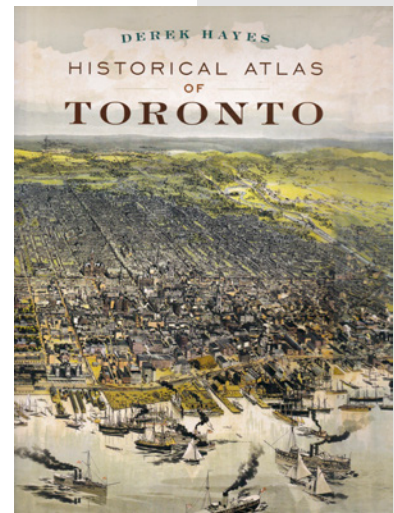
C.H.J. Snider's eccentric *Tarry Breeks & Velvet Garters: Sail on the Great Lakes ... under the Fleur-de-Lys* (Ryerson 1958) recounts the exploits of Laforce, while many of the documents of the period – including Captain Sowers' account of the two escaping ships – may be found in *Royal*

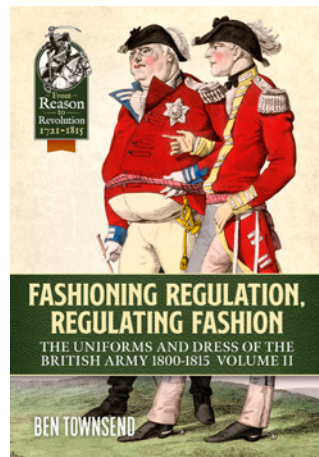
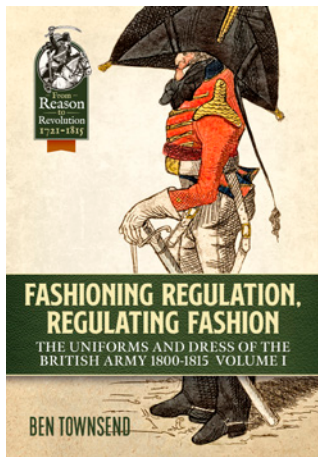
Fort Frontenac, published by the Champlain Society in 1958. Outdated but still valuable (and an elegant book, illustrated by C.W. Jefferys) is Percy Robinson, *Toronto During the French Regime, 1615-1793* (Ryerson 1933). An earlier work with a broader view is F.H. Severance, *An old frontier of France: the Niagara region and adjacent lakes under French control*, two volumes published in 1917 by the Buffalo Historical Society.

Dietrich Brehm's cartography is examined in Keith Widder, "The cartography of Dietrich Brehm and Thomas Hutchins and the establishment of British authority in the Western Great Lakes region, 1760-1763," *Cartographica* (April 1999). His trip to the west can be followed in Rogers, *The Journals of Robert Rogers*, published in New York in several editions. The story of the Mitchell map is in *Dr. John Mitchell: the man who made the map of North America*, by Edmund and Dorothy Berkeley (University of North Carolina 1974).

The period of Gotter Mann's plan (and the underlying reason it was made) is that of the United Empire Loyalists, the political refugees of the American Revolution. Two works that cover the period but escape the Loyalist hagiography are Hilda Neatby, *Quebec: The Revolutionary Age, 1760-1791*, and Gerald Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841*, both in the Canadian Centenary Series of McClelland & Stewart. A comprehensive work on the St. Lawrence Valley after the Conquest, and one important to Canadian historiography, is A.L. Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec* (Ryerson 1933). The correspondence between Mann and Dorchester is in *Muskoka and Haliburton, 1615-1875*, edited by Florence Murray for the Champlain Society in 1963.

Finally, Alan Rayburn's article "The real story of how Toronto got its name" is in the *Canadian Geographic* (Sep/Oct 1994). Rick Laprairie discusses the order of the appearance of the name "Toronto" on seventeenth-century maps in "Toronto's Cartographic Birth Certificate: Hiding in Plain Sight for 350 Years," published in *Ontario History* (Autumn 2018) and enthusiastically reported by the *Toronto Star*.





REVIEW

Ben Townsend, *Fashioning Regulation, Regulating Fashion: The Uniforms and Dress of the British Army 1800-1815* (Helion Press)
Volume I (2019) 420 pages, 21 colour plates; Volume II (2020) 420 pages, 16 colour plates

Wellington's dandies

by Donald E. Graves

In 1975, the British historian Hew Strachan published a book titled *British Military Uniforms, 1768-96: The Dress of the British Army from Official Sources*. This was an attempt to assemble all the official orders on the dress of the army between the clothing warrants of 1768 and 1796, as extracted from official records and illustrated by contemporary art. Strachan's work quickly became a standard reference and, although he apparently "intended to produce similar volumes to continue the story," he only published this one.

There were many who regretted the lack of a follow-up volume. Among them was Ben Townsend, a British writer and historical consultant to radio, television and film who decided to take up the demanding task of continuing Strachan's work. The result is *Fashioning Regulation, Regulating Fashion*, which examines the dress of the British army from 1800 to 1815.

This is a very difficult book to review because there is so much in it. Townsend's object was to incorporate the considerable amount of new material available on the internet into a study that would detail what the soldiers were required to wear, when and how, and then contrast that with specific images and other information that is dateable and well provenanced to show

Soldiers of the English army, 1815, by Marie-Éléonore Godefroid, was published in Paris by Maison Martinet, a firm with a reputation for satirical prints. The figures are labelled, left to right, Hussard Hanoverien, Soldat du Train, Vivandiere Anglaise, Soldat d'Infanterie en négligé, Tambour and Chasseur. Godefroid (1778-1849) was a French painter well known for her portraits of aristocrats and their children. Private collection, by permission.

what soldiers actually wore, and how and why it was adapted, with an emphasis on fashion as much as utility.

In this he succeeds admirably. Townsend first outlines how uniform regulations are created and then discusses the Boards of General Officers – the main bureaucratic

Wellington disliked seeing his officers carrying umbrellas in battle

instrument that devised them. Over the course of the two volumes he examines the regulations from 1799 to 1816.

This in itself would warrant the entrance price but it is only the beginning. Using a variety of sources – images, memoirs and, above all, regimental orders – he then demonstrates how uniform regulations

were modified and how they evolved. Changes might be driven by regimental peccadillos, civilian fashion or even military fads from the continent, particularly the affectations of hussar and rifle/light infantry regiments.

Townsend describes these military "fashions" or fads in detail with excerpts from period memoirs and correspondence. Let me stress that the author not only provides the official regulations, he includes rare and interesting memoirs that contain details of uniforms, and he includes the notes of previous researchers in the field. Thus, there are either complete monographs or lengthy excerpts from such writers as Alexander Cavalie Mercer, Rees Howell Gronow, David Roberts, John Luard and one anonymous but informative cavalry officer. Townsend has also scoured



non-military memoirs and letters for any mention of the details of a uniform and, finally, has amassed an impressive collection of images.

The two volumes contain 37 colour plates and 91 black and white illustrations, almost all from the period. The work of artists such as Atkinson, Beechey, Dighton, Hamilton Smith, Loftie, Pyne and Rowlandson is on display as well as drawings of patterns and photographs of actual items of clothing.

Among the most interesting images are those of French artists who painted the British occupation army in Paris in 1815. They captured (and caricatured) the high point of British military faddism: the dress of the officers of the Peninsular army. Townsend calls them “Wellington’s Dandies.”

Wellington never concerned himself with what his officers wore (although he disliked seeing them carry umbrellas in battle) and the result was that an amazing variety of dress flourished.

The Peninsular officers disdained the regulation headgear for a round hat or a cocked hat severely cut down to the width

of a hand but adorned with the biggest feather available. Forage caps were in all shapes and colours, some resembling a pork pie hat, some a wedge cap, and some a scholar’s mortarboard – all often trimmed with velvet and festooned with tassels.

trimmed with velvet and festooned with tassels

Vests were brocade, usually embroidered and closed with gold or silver buttons. Overalls, strapped with leather along the inseams or cuffs, fastened on the outseams with large buttons and held under the instep with chains, were also popular.

A favoured outer garment was a *surtout* (“overall”), a bulky garment resembling a dressing gown, tailored from heavy material, decorated with braid and available in a variety of colours. The ensemble was often completed by a Spanish “seegar” in the officer’s mouth. The appearance of Wellington’s officers was so amazing, one quipped, that the only thing their outlandish dress lacked

was “the Appendage of Bells.”

The one criticism I have of this book concerns the lay-out: it is sometimes hard to distinguish the author’s text from the lengthy quoted material. However, I do not think many will read this book cover-to-cover, as it is intended to be a comprehensive reference.

Townsend’s work fulfills that role splendidly, and I think *Fashioning Regulation, Regulating Fashion* will become the standard reference on its subject. It belongs on or near the desk of anyone with a professional interest in the British army of the Napoleonic period. Highly recommended.

Donald Graves is a frequent contributor to the F&D and the author of many works in military history on the Second World War and especially the War of 1812. His new history of The Lincoln and Welland Regiment (the infantry of the Niagara Peninsula) will be published this year.



Sir George was not amused

When regiments of Wellington’s army were sent to Canada in the summer of 1814, their officers’ appearance shocked Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, the local commander. He immediately issued an order stating that, having “observed in the Dress of several officers of Corps and Detachments lately added to this army, from that of the Duke of Wellington, a fanciful variety inconsistent with the Rules of the Service,” he wanted changes made. In the future, therefore, he would “only permit such derivation from the regulations ... as may be justified by particular causes of Service, and climate, and even then uniformity is to be retained.” As one of the Peninsular veterans lamented, it was back to “the old red rag.”

Portrait is Sir George Prevost (1767-1816), by Robert Field 1808-1816, oil on canvas (20¾" x 26¾") courtesy McCord Museum M403

From Watercolours to Wikimedia: Elizabeth Simcoe's documentary art at the Archives of Ontario

By Jay Young and Renee Saucier

Like many other memory institutions across the globe, the Archives of Ontario is adding digital images from its collections to the Wikimedia Commons and encouraging researchers to use these resources to edit Wikipedia articles and to inspire other creative projects. Over the past six months, the AO has added more than 1,750 images from five separate collections to the Commons. Among them are 365 artworks and other related records created or collected by Elizabeth Simcoe.

The AO selected works from the Simcoe family fonds as part of its first bulk collections upload because many of them provide some of the earliest visual documentation of the landscapes of Toronto and other areas in Upper Canada by European settlers. They record the experiences and worldview of Elizabeth Simcoe, who travelled throughout Upper and Lower Canada during the 1790s with her husband, John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. Some of these works come from Elizabeth's famous diaries.

The recent Commons upload is the latest moment in the history of the Simcoe family fonds. These records were held

by descendants of Elizabeth Simcoe until their final transfer to Ontario in the late 1940s, when Dr. S. McLaughlan purchased and subsequently donated the collection to the University of Toronto. In 1952, the university transferred the Simcoe fonds to the AO (then known as the province's Department of Archives and Records) by way of a long-term loan agreement.

Although most of Elizabeth Simcoe's sketches and watercolours are held at the Archives of Ontario (in a facility on the campus of York University) other repositories hold material she created throughout her lifetime. For example, the British Library holds 32 ink-on-birchbark works Simcoe presented to King George III upon her return to Britain in the late 1790s.

The rise in popularity of the internet has provided new opportunities to make the Simcoe works more accessible and to increase awareness of them around the world. Circa 2001, the AO launched an online exhibit on its website about Simcoe's years in North America and added digitized images from the Simcoe fonds to its online Visual Database. The AO believes that with high resolution images from the fonds on the Wikimedia

Barracks at Queenston, about 1792, watercolour, 3¾" x 6" (6924)



This tree was the first bridge over the Don River, felled (or found) below what became Winchester Street in 1794. "It was a butternut tree," reports J.R. Robertson, "with a pole fastened through the branches" by George Playter, an early settler of York. He and his sons – notably Ely, the diarist – used this trail between their farms on either side of the river. Elizabeth labelled her painting "Playter's Bridge near York" and dated it June 6, perhaps in 1796. Watercolour, 10½" x 7" (7085). For Ely's account of the Battle of York, see the F&D of April 2020.

Commons, more researchers will discover the sketches and watercolours.

The images now available on the Wikimedia Commons are only a selection of the total Simcoe family fonds images held by the AO. Because of the pandemic, most archives staff have been exclusively working from home, and so we chose to upload images that the AO had already digitized.

An additional consideration was how to describe the images for use within the Wiki ecosystem, since our in-house systems organize data very differently from Wikimedia. The Commons organizes images by category, so we created new categories for the Simcoe images and cross-referenced them to Commons categories already being used, such as 'Ontario in art,' 'Maps of Ontario' and 'Quebec in art.'

The Archives of Ontario encourages readers to peruse these images on the Commons, add descriptive information, and share your feedback. Looking forward, the AO intends to expand its Wiki project with more image uploads from its collections and other initiatives that will encourage researchers within the Wiki ecosystem to use our records and share knowledge related to our collections. You can find the Simcoe images [here](#).

Jay Young is an Outreach Officer at the Archives of Ontario. He holds a PhD in history from York University. Renee Saucier is an Archivist at the Archives of Ontario, and a volunteer at The ArQives: Canada's LGBTQ2+ Archives. Mrs. Simcoe's Diaries in the edition by Mary Quayle Innis is available in the new Toronto Museums online shop.

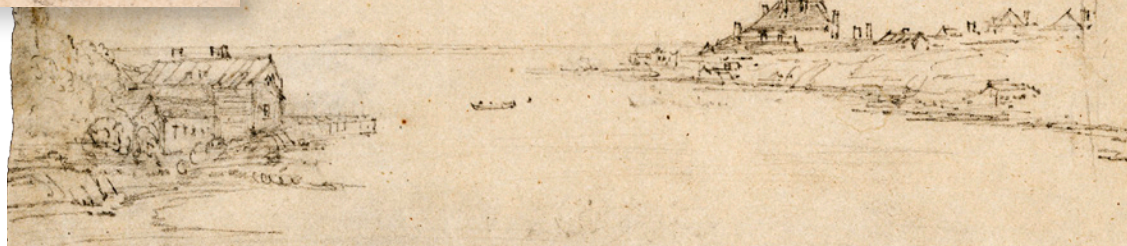


This butterfly, perhaps an Eastern Black Swallowtail (and with blue, a female) was painted at Montreal in June, 1792. Elizabeth's note reads "the Black as rich as velvet" and (below) "the inside of the above Butterfly." Watercolour, 4¾" x 8¾" (6884)

Miami Chief P'Koum-Kwa (or "Pacanne") is an etching made some time after 1796, 3" x 4 ½" (7139) (reversed)



Fort Chippawa on the Welland River, about 1795, drawing 4½" x 8¾" (7019) (detail)



Newark (left) and **Fort Niagara** (right), 1792 or 1793, drawing 6½" x 10½" (6927)

Work begins at National Casket Company Factories

The solid old line of nineteenth-century factory buildings from 89 to 109 Niagara Street – due north across the tracks from the Blue Barracks – has been ripe for redevelopment for years. When Aspen Ridge Homes acquired the site from Jerudan Developments, work began on a new design. Unsurprisingly, the project is not being called “The Coffin Factory,” which is how most people know it – the developers just call it “West.”

Led by Babak Eslahyou, Core Architects created a two-phased design. The industrial buildings along Niagara will become residential in the upper floors and have substantial commercial spaces at street level. The heritage consultant is Philip Goldsmith Architect.

Residents of the inexpensive live-work units in the old factories were evicted in 2019 and the industrial outbuildings behind the solid brick structures began to be cleared last summer. By year’s end the excavation was nearly ready for cranes to be erected.

Under construction now is the first phase, a six-storey podium that reflects the massing of the heritage block and supports two square towers rising a further six and eight storeys (to a height of 52 metres). The two main structures are separated by an interior courtyard whose north side will be the restored brick walls at the back of the factories. The courtyard includes, at the eastern end, the old Kiln Building and its chimney. The only direct connection of the two phases will be a tunnel under the courtyard into the basement of the factories.

The new build includes 15 live-work units and 272 condominiums while the heritage block (the second phase) will have 52 condos, 6 live-work units and almost 20,000 square feet of ground-floor commercial space. Each apartment will have what the developer calls a bicycle locker and – if you commit to one of the larger market units – you could have one of the 178 underground parking spots for an extra \$55,000. The main vehicle access will be off Tecumseth.

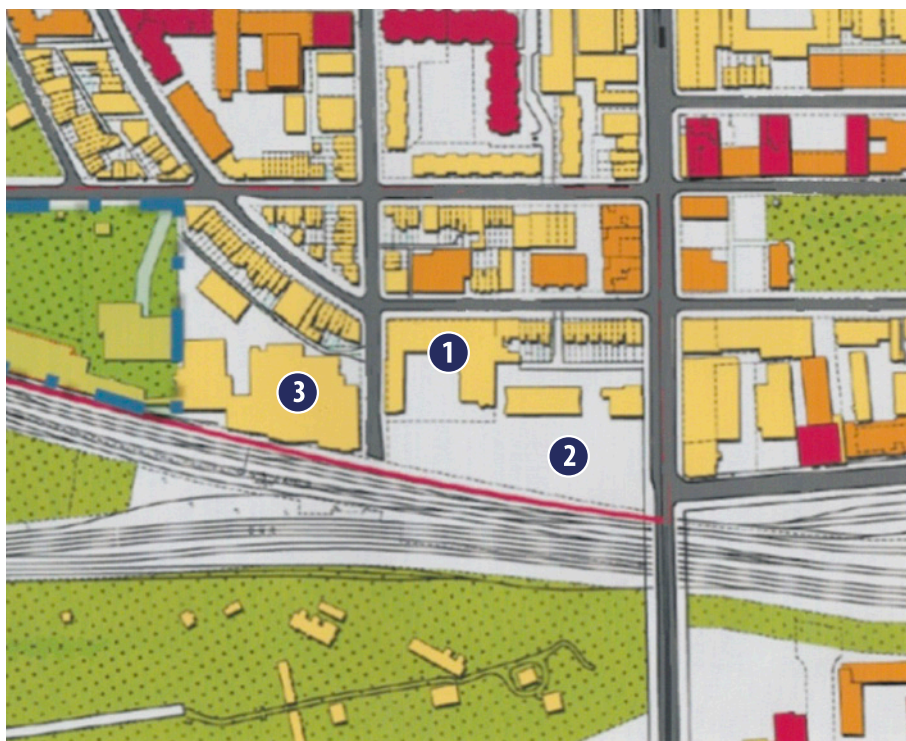
The 1880s factory buildings occupy half the block between Bathurst and Tecumseth and have been empty for about two years. Photo by F&D



The National Casket factories are seen paired with the podium of the first phase of the West condominiums. The lawn to the right of the new building represents 28 Bathurst, now the Stackt Market but destined to be parkland. The Minto building at Front and Bathurst is shown under construction, while the flat roof in the bottom right corner is the former Quality Meats, about to be redeveloped by TAS (see F&D July 2019). Courtesy Aspen Ridge



The National Casket factories are shown (1) with their outbuildings still in place on this outdated but revealing map. The white space north of the tracks is 28 Bathurst (2) now occupied by the temporary Stackt Market. The old municipal abattoir site (3) is about to be redeveloped TAS; see the F&D of July 2019. Map adapted from South Niagara Secondary Plan



Excavation was nearly complete at the end of December. The back of the heritage block is on the left, with its Kiln Building and chimney – which will both be preserved – in the centre. The two-part yellow structure is the City Kids building on Bathurst, while behind it is the distinctive angled roofline of the new Minto apartments. The Belgian Moon Brewery at the Stackt Market is just off the right edge of the picture. Photo by F&D



The heritage block is a row of similar structures. At the eastern end, 89-91 Niagara was built in 1884, with a fifth floor added later; 95-97 was built in 1886; 101-107 was built in 1887; and 109 Niagara, at the corner of Tecumseth, was also built in 1887. City Council designated them all “as being of cultural heritage value or interest” on February 11, 2015, in By-Law 1036-2015. Heritage staff recommended approval of the PGA conservation plan on October 25, 2019.

Exterior walls of the old buildings will be preserved and restored while the interiors are entirely gutted. The new floors will be aligned with existing windows and organized along a central corridor serving units that face north and south. An old carriageway at the eastern end of the block will be reopened as a pedestrian passage to the courtyard. The existing passageway becomes a one-way vehicle exit to Niagara.

Although the old industrial buildings

seemed to back onto the railway corridor, in fact they’re separated from the tracks by 28 Bathurst. That’s now the Stackt Market on a short-term lease from the City. This deep lot with a long history of industrial contamination – it’s where the old gas holders stood – is designated future parkland. For a look at how the industry here was portrayed in 1912, see the *F&D* of April 2020.

What the Friends did in 2020

Like most organizations this past year, the Friends of Fort York & Garrison Common found many of their usual activities constrained by the arrival of Covid 19. The fort was subsequently closed for much of the year. That also reduced, of course, the most tangible benefits of membership – free admission to Fort York and discounts in the Canteen – as well as invitations to co-sponsored special events on site (there weren’t any). In light of this, current memberships have been extended for another year.

Meeting on Zoom, the work of the board nevertheless continued. Two new Directors joined the board, while two others, after long service, retired. Elizabeth Quance, an original who worked for many years for the Architectural Conservancy of Ontario, and who was the board’s recording secretary, retired in the spring. Her trenchant observations, indomitable humour and thorough knowledge of the issues will be missed. Ted Smolak, another long-serving original, resigned from the board but will continue – to everyone’s relief and delight – producing *The Fife and Drum*. A professional graphic designer, Ted continues to make a huge contribution to the Friends. When the plague lifts, there will be a party for these two!

Len and Suzy Rodness joined the board early in the year. Len is a partner at Torkin Manes LLP, a full-service law firm recognized by *Canadian Lawyer* last year as the best regional practice in Ontario. Suzy is an executive at TMDL, a residential property management firm long established in the GTA. We got to know both when they were co-chairs of Magna Carta Canada, the project that brought a copy of the great charter to



The Fort York Guard in 2020 was raised for a six-week summer campaign. They are (back row, left to right) Holly Benison, Liam Chisholm, Stuart McPherson, Douglas Fanson, Malcolm Garvey, Neil Ballantyne and Hazel Scott Pankratz; and (middle row, left to right) Stuart Murray, Hayden Landolt, Sally O’Keeffe, Julia Fowell, Ada Cooke-Baskier and (front row) Sean La Prairie and Ethan Scott. Photo by Sid Calzavara

Canada in 2015. It was the first travelling exhibition to occupy the brand-new Fort York Visitor Centre.

The Annual General Meeting was held in Zoom on May 28. Among the highlights was the final accounting of 2019’s contribution to the Indigenous Arts Festival: by way of various granting agencies, the Friends acquired no less than \$142,500 to pass along to the fort for use in support of the festival in June. Although nothing similar was possible this past year, plans are in train for a hybrid online/onsite event in 2021.

Two other initiatives were undertaken in promotion of the history of the fort. A comprehensive submission was prepared for the City team that’s creating a new master plan for Exhibition Place – which plan, incredibly, failed to notice that the CNE grounds encompass the battlefield of 1813 (see the *F&D* Oct 2020). And, although progress has been complicated by the pandemic, the board revived its History & Architecture

Committee. Its goal now is “to build a network of historians and archaeologists, mobilize them, and give them a platform” in various social media as well as in our own journal.

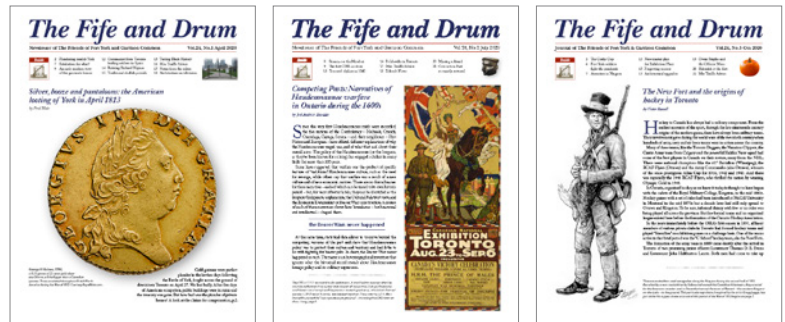
But the largest projects of the Friends – the Fort York Guard and *The Fife and Drum* – successfully soldiered on despite the plague. Fourteen members were in place for a six-week campaign in co-operation with the expertise of Anton Degiusti and Kevin Hebib. The payroll was a healthy \$63,500, raised from federal summer grants, the City and our own investments.

Four issues (including this one) of *The Fife and Drum* were produced. In April, Fred Blair explored the household goods of the families of early York as revealed by their claims for compensation following the American occupation in 1813. The aesthetics of an early-modern depiction of the fort were probed and there was coverage of two aspects of Fort York’s great culinary history program: the flavours of Jewish communities in Toronto, and the innovations of contemporary Black chefs updating traditional Afro-Canadian cuisine.

In July, Jose Antonio Brandao – a leading scholar of seventeenth-century Canada – reviewed the historiography and our current understanding of Haudenosaunee warfare in Ontario. Two other articles by historians Donald

Graves and Tyler Wentzell looked at Toronto in the immediate post-war period 100 years ago – the period of the flu epidemic and the Red Scare.

In October, lastly, retired archivist Victor Russell outlined the involvement of the New Fort’s soldiers in the origins of hockey in Toronto and uncovered the beautiful and long-forgotten Cosby Cup. Along with the continuing features of Mrs. Traill’s Advice and the works of artists inspired by Fort York, Donald Graves returned with a new account of the atrocities of warfare along the Niagara Frontier. An excerpt from his forthcoming history of the Lincoln and Welland Regiment, the story was illustrated with original new drawings by Greg Legge.



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The Sir Isaac Brock Bridge reopened on time December 28 and streetcar service resumed a few days later. It was in early March 2020 that the City warned us that the grand old bridge on Bathurst at the edge of Fort York National Historic Site would be closed to all vehicles for eight months. Now, there’s new concrete, pavement, tracks, lights, wiring, an LRT stop and a fine new coat of paint on the steel. Photos by the F&D

At the Birthplace of Toronto **Notes from the Staff**

Editor's Desk

Nine months into the pandemic and with Ontario as I write in a state of emergency, Fort York National Historic Site remains closed to visitors. Although planning continues on various scenarios of reopening, a lot of concurrent effort is going into creating new resources in cyberspace.

In July, the database of the rich Toronto History Museums artifact collection went online. It means that everyone may now, as the website promises, “explore the City of Toronto’s online collection including 150,000 artifacts, 1.1 million archaeological specimens, and 3,000 artworks.” Fine resolution imagery of many of the items can be accessed [here](#).

A week before Christmas, the Toronto History Museums online store went live with a fine selection of items from the small shops at Mackenzie House, Spadina House and especially (the largest) Fort York’s Canteen. The offerings are strong in exquisite small pewters; Indigenous jewellery; books on food, local history and the War of 1812; historical reproductions and no-battery toys (still looking for the Blue Willow china, the rare model soldiers and all those heritage cookbooks!) Delivery is by Canada Post or curbside pick-up at the Fort York Visitor Centre. It’s the only store of its kind – so check it out [here](#).

Roger Mooking is on the Awakenings task force and, with Shad Kabango and Byron Kent Wong, an articulate tourist in “Behind the Curtain” at Montgomery’s Inn. The conversation, mixed with Mooking’s own jazz, ranges over bread, racism and mental health and the remarkable Joshua Glover. Detail of photo by Jesse Bertrand



Choreographer Esie Mensah pushes open the gates of Fort York in “A Revolution of Love,” a work of contemporary dance that follows a young Black woman as she grapples with history, violence and a vision of the future. The digital short film is in the first wave of the Awakenings series from Toronto History Museums, all on YouTube. Image by Esie Mensah Creations



The most spectacular efforts of Toronto History Museums have not been in sales or even history, however, but art. In December was unveiled the Awakenings series of short videos, part of the City's response to anti-Black racism and the Truth & Reconciliation Commission. "Toronto History Museums recognized the need," says the mayor's December 14 news release, "to reassess the way in which it develops, delivers and evaluates its programming." The cultural bureaucracy of the City is therefore "embracing partnerships that embody Indigenous voices, stories and knowledge into programs, collections management and sites."

The seven-member task force assembled to manage Awakenings includes one historian, Natasha Henry of York University. The mayor's news release declares this activist task force to exist "under the principles of anti-oppression, anti-colonialism, sustainability, advocacy and storytelling." You can see the first videos of the series in YouTube; search "Toronto Awakenings."

Lastly, some congratulations are in order.

The Governor General's list of new Members of the Order of Canada at the end of 2020 included Elder Carolyn King, C.M., former Chief of the Mississaugas of the Credit. The citation pointed to "her expertise in community development, her advocacy of Indigenous-led initiatives, and her efforts to improve Canadians' understanding of First Nations." Carolyn has long been involved around Fort York and there's beautiful evidence on a grand scale of one of her initiatives – the Moccasin Identifier project – carved into the rock of nearby Trillium Park at Ontario Place.



Our own Andrew Stewart has been recognized by the Ontario Archaeological Society with a Charles & Ella Garrad Award for outstanding service to the OAS and to archaeology in general – and in particular, to *ideas* in archaeology. The nomination cited Andrew's "own cross-disciplinary and innovative research" as underlying the honour. With degrees from Trent, Toronto, Cambridge and Santa Barbara arcing from anthropology to physical geography, Andrew skillfully and with perseverance edited for ten years *Ontario Archeology*, broadening the venerable society's discourse of landscape.



He has focused on floodplains, cutting-edge digital mapping (including some for the *F&D*) and Fort York National Historic Site itself, Toronto's founding landscape. As an original Friend of the fort and the chair of the Fort York Foundation, Andrew (along with the late Steve Otto) was crucial to the raising of the Visitor Centre.

The best part of this award, though, is that it's for a *mid-career* scholar and activist! Thanks, Andrew, and congratulations from all of us.

For Remembrance Day this year, the public was obliged to stay home but the history staff at Fort York could still mount a small and meaningful event. In the centre is Marvin Gord, aged 99, once a Leading Aircraftsman in the Royal Air Force. He's the veteran leading Marvin's Million, a quest to walk a million steps raising money for the Baycrest Centre, his home and a leading site of geriatric research. For his walk at Fort York, he was issued an RAF wedge cap and rank badge. The medals are his own but the staff is dressed in uniforms that Marvin could remember.

Erica Ropollo (on the left) is a Lieutenant (Navy) of the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service, c.1944; Kevin Hebib is an RCAF Flight Sergeant (Navigator Bomb Aimer) in Bomber Command, c.1943; Colin Sedgwick-Pinn is an RCAF Pilot Officer, Fighter Command, c.1940; and Samantha Horne is a Corporal in the Canadian Women's Army Corps, c.1944. With rank and headdress, Marvin was assured (but happily unconvinced) that he was "back in again." Photo courtesy Baycrest Centre



Skating always so fashionable



“The real amusement of the young people is furnished by the skating rinks,” wrote Mrs. Robinson to her granddaughter in England. “It seems a most popular exercise basically bringing all ages together. They are lighted by gas at night, and a Band is often in attendance to render them more attractive.”

Seen above, the Victoria Skating Rink was on the south-west corner of Sherbourne and Gerrard streets in Toronto, across the street from the brand-new Allen Gardens. We’re looking north up Sherbourne, four years before Confederation.

The picture was made for the *Canadian Illustrated News* on March 7, 1863, and the occasion was a “grand prize skating match.” This moment is the presentation of prizes to the winners: Miss Alice Worts, of the distillery family, won the biggest ribbon. But clearly, not everybody was paying attention!

Emma Robinson’s letter to 17-year-old Emmie was written on January 7, 1865. The wife of the Chief Justice had an enduring interest in the daughter of the soldier-scientist Captain John

Henry Lefroy, who had married her own daughter Emily while in charge of the Magnetic & Meteorological Observatory at the nascent University of Toronto. Captain Lefroy was recalled to England in 1853; the girl’s mother died there a few years later, at only 37 years of age. The influence and friendship of a grandmother reached across the ocean.

Another letter written just before Christmas in 1861 reported on the prospects for skating. “I cannot tell you that we have winter weather. It is far more like the autumn,” she told Emmie, then 13. “No snow, no ice, the sun shining warmly every day. The boys are longing to have their skates on, and I may say the girls too,” she continued, “for it is an equally favourite amusement with both.”



Image is a photograph of an engraving, enhanced with watercolour, 6" x 5" (Baldwin Collection, JRR 536 Cab). Citations are courtesy of Sharon Lefroy, whose love story of Emily (pictured) and Henry is in the F&D of July 2019. For that other great winter pastime – sleigh rides, including racing on city streets – find Kevin Plummer’s hilarious account in the F&D of December 2012.



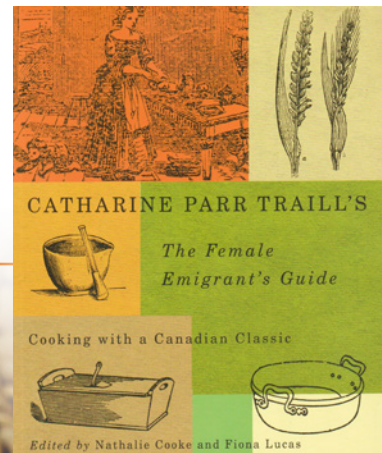
Mrs. Traill's Advice ON APPLE RICE

The nice dishes that can be made with apples would fill in description a small volume; such as puddings, pies, tarts, puffs, turnovers, dumplings, &c., &c. I will only add one more, which is very simple, agreeable and cheap.

APPLE RICE

Wet a pudding-cloth; place it in a basin or colander, having (in it a) previously well washed and picked a pound of rice, if your family be large: half the quantity will be sufficient if small: place some of the wetted rice so as to line the cloth in the mould all round, saving a handful to strew on the top; fill the hollow up with cored apples, and a bit of lemon peel shred fine, or six cloves; throw on the remainder of the rice; tie the bag not too tight, as the rice swells much; and boil a full hour, or longer if the pudding be large. Eaten with sugar this is an excellent, and very wholesome, dish: acid apples are best, and are so softened by the rice as to need very little sugar to sweeten them.

From Catherine Parr Traill's *The Female Emigrant's Guide* originally published in 1855 by a printer in Toronto. "Mrs. Traill's Advice" appears regularly in *The Fife and Drum*, sampling from this attractive new edition from McGill-Queen's University Press of an indispensable Canadian reference (now available from the Toronto Museums online store).



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The Fife and Drum

Number 3 of The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Common Vol. 24, No. 3 July 2015



The Fife and Drum

Number 4 of The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Common Vol. 24, No. 4 Sept 2015



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Number 5 of The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Common Vol. 24, No. 5 Oct 2015



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The Fife and Drum

Number 11 of The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Common Vol. 24, No. 11 Oct 2016



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Number 19 of The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Common Vol. 24, No. 19 Feb 2018



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