

# The Fife and Drum

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## Competing Pasts: Narratives of Haudenosaunee warfare in Ontario during the 1600s

by José António Brandão

Since the very first Haudenosaunee raids were recorded, the five nations of the Confederacy – Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca – and their neighbours – First Nation and European – have offered different explanations of why the Haudenosaunee waged war, and of what that said about their overall aims. The policy of the Haudenosaunee (or the Iroquois, as they've been known for so long) has engaged scholars in many fields for more than 200 years.

Some have suggested that warfare was the product of specific features of 'traditional' Haudenosaunee culture, such as the need for revenge, while others say that warfare was a result of a new culture and of new economic motives. There are no formal names for these narratives – each of which can be traced to its own historic period – but, for want of better labels, they can be identified as the Iroquois/Indigenous explanation, the Cultural Relativist view, and the Economic Determinist or Beaver Wars construction. A review of each of these narratives shows how boundaries – both national and intellectual – shaped them.

### the Beaver Wars never happened

At the same time, statistical data allows us to move beyond the competing versions of the past and show that Haudenosaunee policy was to protect their culture and territory and had little to do with fighting for beaver pelts. In short, the Beaver Wars never happened as such. The name is an historiographical invention that ignores what the historical record reveals about Haudenosaunee foreign policy and its military expression.

*The CNE of 1919 was a full-scale celebration. It was the first summer after the war, the soldiers and the nurses were almost all home from Europe (those who would ever come home) and the previous winter's pandemic, which had claimed another 1,300 lives in Toronto, was largely forgotten. This poster by J.E.H. MacDonald launched the "incomparable programme" – including the CNE's first air show. Story, page 9*



### 1500s-1600s: Indigenous Traditions

Traditions recorded in the late 1500s and early 1600s all agree that the Wendat (the 'Huron' of the historical record) and Algonquin First Nations were the focus of Haudenosaunee aggression in the first half of the seventeenth century. Moreover, native oral traditions hint at, and are in agreement about, the reasons for the warfare between the Wendat, Algonquin and Haudenosaunee evident by 1600.

The wars were fought to avenge previous wrongs committed by one side against the other and the retributive nature of indigenous warfare accounts for the increase and enduring consequences of the initial encounters. As one Iroquois combatant observed matter of factly, "it is our Custome amongst Indians to warr with one another," especially if a member of one group had been killed by that of another. At a conference in Detroit in 1704, a Seneca spokesman explained, without apparent irony, to a group of Wendat – whose nation had been destroyed – the Haudenosaunee philosophy of revenge: "You know, my brothers, our customs which are to avenge, or to perish in avenging our dead."

It may, of course, be argued (and it has been) that these traditions are vague because the real cause is unknown. That, however, is an ethnocentric assessment based on modern writers' willingness to accept as legitimate only causes that appear rational by modern standards. Rationality, however, is culturally defined, and what is rational is specific to both cultures and times. Moreover, oral histories served to account for and justify aspects of a group's action.

Thus, if more important justifications could be found or invented, they would have been. The fact that the Haudenosaunee, Wendat and Algonquin felt that their traditions provided adequate explanation for the devastating wars in which they were engaged should be reason enough for us to take those accounts seriously. More importantly, the hostilities persisted, in part because those reasons continued to be viewed as valid.

### 1600s-1700s: European Cultural Relativists

Early French and English neighbours of the Haudenosaunee also noted the importance of revenge, honour and the taking of captives as motives for their warfare. These observers can be called early cultural relativists in that, even if they did not fully appreciate aspects of indigenous culture, they grounded their explanations of native actions based upon their understanding of indigenous cultures and native explanations thereof.

Pierre Boucher, a soldier and interpreter for the government of New France, noted in 1664 that the "war they wage against one another is not to conquer lands, nor to become great Lords,

not even for gain, but purely for vengeance." In his history of the Iroquois published in 1727, Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant Governor of New York, wrote that it "is not for the Sake of Tribute ... that they make War, but from Notions of Glory which they have ever most strongly imprinted on their Minds; and the farther they go to seek an Enemy, the greater the Glory they think they gain."

General Thomas Gage, writing in 1772 to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, William Johnson, echoed Boucher and Colden's observations: "I never heard that Indians made War for the sake of Territory like Europeans, but that Revenge, and eager pursuit of Martial reputation were the motives which prompted one Nation to make War upon another."

The French in Canada, allied to Haudenosaunee enemies and targets of Haudenosaunee warfare, had plenty of opportunity to contemplate the purposes behind Iroquois hostilities. In 1642 the French Jesuit priest Isaac Jogues, writing from among his Mohawk captors, informed his superiors at Quebec that the "design of the Iroquois, as far as I can see, is to take, if they can, all the Hurons; and, having put to death the most considerable ones and a good part of the other, to make of them but one people and only one land."

The reasons for capturing all these people are made clear in a 1641 document. In that year two French captives freed by the Mohawks reported that Mohawk desires for peace were designed to isolate the French from their native allies. The Mohawks, one said, wanted to eliminate French support "in order that they might take all the savages, our confederates, ruin the whole country, and make themselves masters of the great river."

Possibly the motivation for the Haudenosaunee is best summed up by that

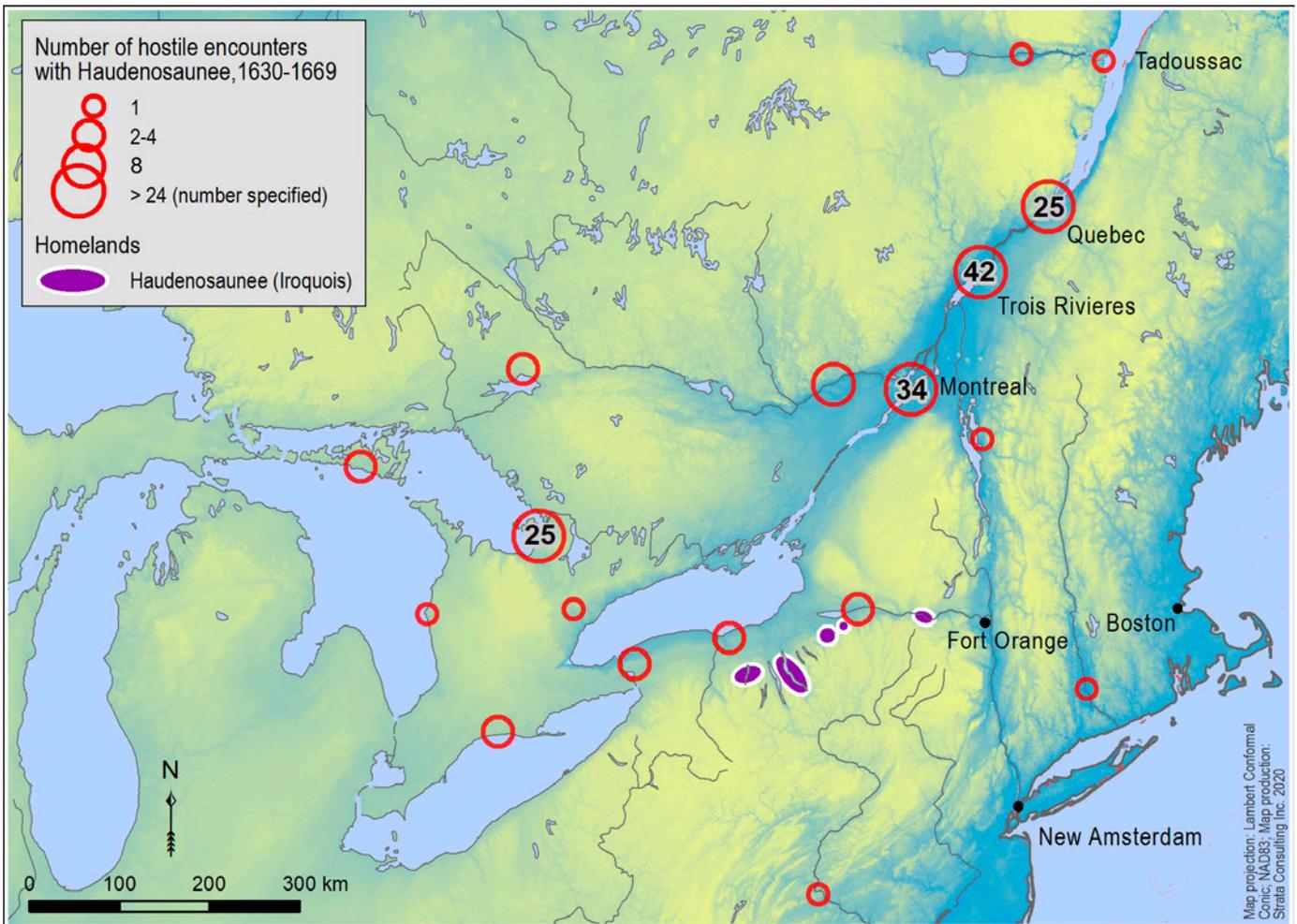
shrewd observer of life in New France, Marie de l'Incarnation. She had no doubt that the "design of the Iroquois" was to drive the French out of Canada. The reason was, she wrote, that they desired to be "alone in all these lands, in order to live without fear, and to have all the game to live off, and to give the pelts to the Dutch." The French, she implies, were a threat to this future.

Thus, adding to other traditional motives for war, early European cultural relativists described Haudenosaunee policy as motivated by a desire to create a buffer zone around their lands. The campaigns against the French were intended to eliminate an important ally of their enemies. The Haudenosaunee made this abundantly clear to the French in 1670. As one Seneca leader – using an honorific given to all the French governors – put it to Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle:

For whom does Onnontio take us?... He is vexed because we go to war, and wishes us to lower our



*This Wendat warrior is wearing armour of wooden slats and carrying a large bow and what appears to be a spiked tomahawk. The armour was proof against flint arrowheads but not against firearms. His shield is of cedar bark. This very French sketch is from Samuel Champlain's Voyages de la Nouvelle France, published in 1640.*



*The Haudenosaunee were the military power of north-eastern North America for much of the 1600s. By mid century the farming First Nations north and west of Lake Ontario had been destroyed. The event near Toronto was in 1634, when 500 Wendat were surprised by 1,000 Iroquois, who had learned of a plan to attack their homelands. The Wendat lost badly. Data from Brandão 1997, Table D-1; Five Nations homelands based on Birch, "Current research on the historical development of northern Iroquoian societies," Journal of Archaeological Research, Vol.23; map by Andrew Stewart*

hatchets and leave his allies undisturbed. Who are his allies? How would he have us recognize them when he claims to take under his protection all the peoples discovered by the bearers of God's word through all these regions; and when every day, as we learn from our people who escape from the cruelty of the stake, they make new discoveries, and enter nations which have ever been hostile to us – which, even while receiving notification of peace from Onnontio, set out from their own country to make war upon us, and to come and slay us under our very palisades?

The Haudenosaunee also complained about French encroachments on land they claimed as their own. Between 1666 and 1701 the French built nearly 30 forts and fortified posts in the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes Basin. Of these, at least seven were located around lakes Ontario and Erie – lands claimed by the Haudenosaunee and used by them for hunting.

They repeatedly expressed their concerns about the threats

### They repeatedly expressed their concerns about the threats posed to their lands

posed to their lands, their livelihood and security by the string of French forts. The French, they said, "build forts around us and penn us up." They felt trapped, as if they were "in prison so long as they are standing," and saw the forts as the first step to the eventual French usurpation of all their lands.

#### 1800s: Cultural Relativists & Economic Determinists

In the 1800s French Canadian nationalist historians offered explanations for Haudenosaunee warfare that combined the views of the early French cultural relativists with the words of the Iroquois and other natives as recorded in French documents. However, their views came to be largely ignored. These historians had all used the Iroquois wars to serve their own nationalist ends (applauding the French and Catholic nature of New France, deploring the pursuit of commerce at the expense of farming) and their concerns did not extend to the larger academic communities of either Canada or the United States. It was Francis Parkman's novel Beaver Wars interpretation that became accepted by most scholars



**Wendat longhouses** had a framework of curved poles and were covered with sheets of bark. A series of holes in the roof let light in and the smoke from family hearths out. At left are vessels for pounding corn, while a palisade – with a firing platform at the extreme right – surrounds the village. This reconstruction is *Ska-nah-doh* ('Village stands again') at the Longwoods Conservation Area near London, Ontario. Courtesy Ron Williamson

as the explanation for Haudenosaunee policy and wars in general, including those against New France.

### **Economic Determinists: The Beaver Wars**

Francis Parkman was an American historian from Boston who chose as his life's work the writing of the history of the struggle between "feudal" France and "liberal" England for control of north-eastern North America. According to Parkman, Haudenosaunee culture was changed by contact with Europeans and as a consequence a new culture arose that became dependent upon European material goods. The Haudenosaunee quickly depleted their fur supply in their desire to obtain the new goods, and were then driven to raid neighbouring nations in order to plunder their furs and maintain the trade. The Iroquois waged war against New France in order to control the fur trade, which the French were trying to monopolize and which the Iroquois needed in order to gain much-required goods.

At the risk of belabouring the point, neither Parkman or his French Canadian contemporaries were interested in the history of the Haudenosaunee, their foreign policy or even their wars,

in their own rights: the Haudenosaunee and their assaults were merely a means to enhance a gripping national story. That the Iroquois could be the bogeymen and cautionary examples in two national narratives is probably noteworthy in some sense, but this attention to them came at the expense of distorting their lived reality and history.

### **20th Century: Economic Warfare & Cultural Relativists**

In 1915 American historian Charles McIlwain elaborated upon Parkman's views, arguing that cultural change, the lack of furs and material necessity had driven the Haudenosaunee to become middlemen in the fur trade and that they fought to gain or maintain that position. In 1930 the Canadian economist Harold Innis used this explanation to account for native participation in the fur trade as part of his ground-breaking work outlining the staples theory of national economic development. In 1940 George Hunt, an American anthropologist, used it as the basis for explaining Haudenosaunee hostilities against a range of First Nations around the Great Lakes in his seminal *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations*.

For these writers, all Iroquois wars were about them acting as rational twentieth-century economic beings – they were reduced, as one critic noted, to being “entrepreneurs in moccasins.” Parkman’s Whig and ethnocentric version of history (with its own form of economic and material determinism), updated according to the canons of modern scholarship by George Hunt, found fertile ground in a post-1940s Canada and United States where the Progressive and Economic schools of historical enquiry were popular.

Among such scholars of New France as Gustave Lanctot and Marcel Trudel, for whom the Iroquois wars were a major feature of the colony’s history, Hunt’s thesis was accepted without question or in only slightly modified form. William J. Eccles was the first historian of New France to fully reject the economic explanation of Haudenosaunee warfare and expansion. In its place Eccles argued, like his nineteenth-century predecessors, that Haudenosaunee warfare was part of a larger policy aimed at creating a buffer zone and maintaining political control over their territories. Following Eccles’ lead, Luca Codignola and Peter Moogk have downplayed the role of economic factors in explaining Haudenosaunee warfare against the colony.

Some scholars who specialize in First Nations history have been less critical of the Beaver Wars narrative. Some, despite the work of American Allen Trelease in 1960 – which pointed out serious problems with Hunt’s middleman narrative – continue to rely on that model to account for Haudenosaunee wars. Another group, namely Francis Jennings (US historian), Elisabeth Tooker (US anthropologist), Denys Déloge (Canadian sociologist), Bruce Trigger (Canadian anthropologist), Ian K. Steele (Canadian historian) and Daniel Richter (US historian) have, for the most part, rejected Hunt’s thesis.

Employing the methodology of ethnohistory, these scholars found that the middleman hypothesis was overly simplistic. Nevertheless, they persisted in the argument that economic goals were a principal driver of Haudenosaunee policy and hostilities. They also argue that the Iroquois warred to obtain furs, either for material profit or because they were dependant on European goods, and because they lacked their own, or a sufficient, supply of furs. Pelts plundered in raids against other First Nations were then traded for needed goods. It was this effort to obtain furs that led to the wars of the Haudenosaunee – in short, they were Beaver Wars.

For some of these writers this was the main motive; for others, it was but one of several. But for all, economic ambitions lie at the root of Haudenosaunee policy and hostilities. Although these scholars recognize the enduring nature of traditional motives for indigenous warfare, rarely, if ever, are the cultural reasons for war used to account for hostilities against any one group.

Of note here is that the nationalist constructions of Haudenosaunee history have broken down – those borders have been transcended. However, Iroquois history remains firmly constrained within even narrower ideological parameters: they are represented as a poor, disadvantaged society caught up in

the maw of an emerging market capitalist society, victims of an advanced system with little agency or control over their culture and destiny. It also remains true that much of Haudenosaunee history is studied not to understand it in its own right, but to test some theory of human development.

### Cultural Relativists: The Indigenous View

Recently some historians of First Nations have come to reject economic explanations for understanding Haudenosaunee policy and wars in the seventeenth century. Conrad Heidenreich and Lucien Campeau (Canadian geographer and historian respectively), scholars of the Wendat, and Dean Snow, William Engelbrecht, and William Starna, American anthropologists, students of the Haudenosaunee, have played down the role of

economic warfare and have suggested that the causes of Iroquois hostility can be found in cultural practices related to war and in responses to population losses brought on by newly introduced diseases. My own work and that of Roland Viau and Jon Parmenter can also be added to this short list.

These works seek to study Haudenosaunee history for its own sake and attempt to ground explanations of Iroquois warfare in Iroquois culture. As well, they accept that Haudenosaunee culture changed more slowly; that traditional values and causes of war – such as the need for captives and revenge – were not completely, or even largely, replaced by warfare to gain access to furs; and that the main focus of Haudenosaunee policy was to preserve their political and cultural independence. These writers are clearly influenced by the contemporary debates around native rights and by the call from First Nations to have their views of the past, and their cultural values, taken into account. If there is going to be a nationalist construction of their history, it should be theirs!

### The Statistics of War

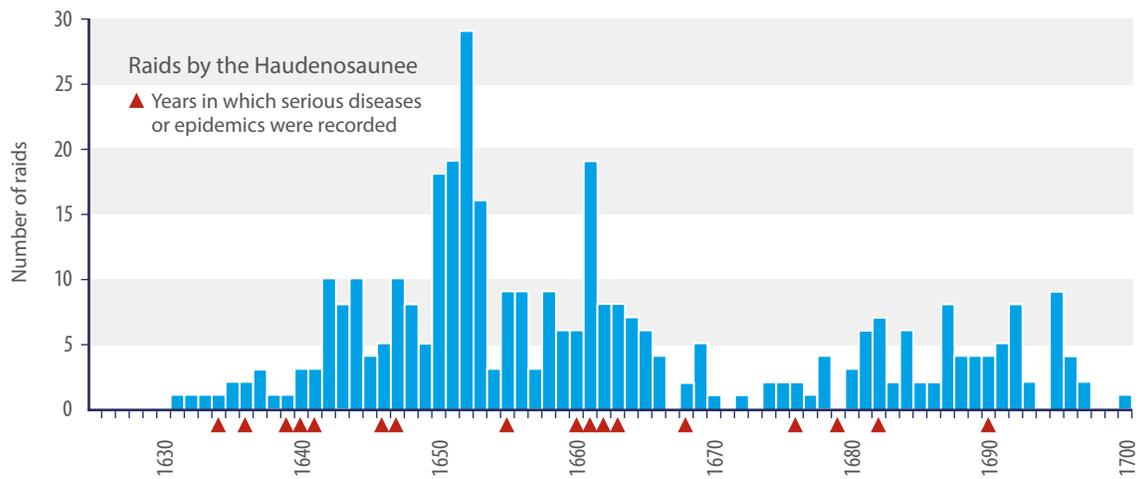
What remains, then, is the question of how to transcend the interpretative impasse produced by the national and intellectual borders imposed on Haudenosaunee history. One possible way forward is to reconsider carefully the various sources used to construct this history. Such a study yields a wealth of detail and numerical data about seventeenth-century Haudenosaunee warfare that supports their own earliest reports of why they fought and of their overall foreign policy.

Up to 1701 the Iroquois were involved in 465 recorded hostilities. Of that number, they initiated 354 (76%), and were on the receiving end of 111. The heaviest fighting took place from 1640 to 1669 and from 1680 to 1701. During the middle decades of the century, the Iroquois were involved in 297 hostilities (an average of 99 per decade), of which they initiated 247 or 83%. In the closing twenty years of the seventeenth century, they were involved in 120 hostilities (60 per decade), of which they initiated 81 or 67%.

This last statistic is particularly interesting since it suggests that the Haudenosaunee continued to pursue their policy objectives



**Tomahawk head**, Eastern Woodlands  
Aboriginal, 1670-1689 (1.7" blade width x 5.6"  
long) McCord Museum M9368



**Raiding increased** in the years following outbreaks of disease, and serious loss of life, in the Five Nations homelands. Data from Brandão 1997, Table D-1; table by Ted Smolak

through warfare at a time when most of the secondary literature pictures them as a defeated people, driven from their northern hunting ranges and desperately suing the French for peace.

The Haudenosaunee attacked 51 different groups or combinations of groups – native and non-native – and were in turn attacked by 20 different groups or combinations of groups during the years up to 1701. The French bore the brunt of Iroquois hostility and were attacked 123 times; the Wendat were struck 73 times and their Ontario towns destroyed; and the Ottawa Valley Algonquins were attacked 23 times and dispersed.

The human toll exacted on the First Nation and European populations of the Northeast by the Haudenosaunee was immense. By 1701 they had captured at least 3,810 to 4,176 people. If one adds to this total people said to have been “lost” to the Iroquois (2,277 to 2,795) but who were almost all captured rather than killed, this puts the total number of people captured at 6,087 to 6,971. During this same period they killed between 2,016 and 2,358 people. Thus the Haudenosaunee captured twice, probably three times, as many people as they killed. The number of captives taken is actually higher in the latter decades: 1,434 to 1,568 captives taken by 1669 and 2,384 to 2,608 taken from 1680 to 1700—a 60% increase.

This data suggests that taking captives, a traditional goal of Haudenosaunee warfare, increased in importance as a policy goal over time. This interpretation is borne out by contemporary observers. Writing in the mid 1700s, the English naturalist John Bartram observed:

Now their numbers being very much diminished ... they very politically strive to Strengthen themselves not only by alliances with their neighbours, but ... [by] prisoners they take; they are almost always accepted by the relations of a warrior slain.... This custom is as antient as our knowledge of them, but when their number of warriors was more than twice as many as now, the relations would more frequently refuse to adopt the prisoners but rather chuse to gratify their thirst of revenge.



Haudenosaunee warriors ranged over a sizeable portion of north-eastern North America in pursuit of military conquest – from Virginia to Lac St. Jean and from to Green Bay to Tadoussac — but most of their hostilities were centred in the St. Lawrence Valley and in the eastern Great Lakes. This, of course, reflects the locations of the French, the Wendat and the Ottawa Valley

Algonquins. This concentration of raiding also suggests, as early French writers noted, that Haudenosaunee warfare was aimed at creating a buffer zone between them and their neighbours. The reasons for doing so, despite the literature’s focus on relating hostilities to the fur trade, could be many.

The Haudenosaunee obviously needed to protect their resources for their own use. But the remarkable range of Iroquois raiding, even up to 1669, suggests that much more was involved in warring than this. Military incursions against nations months of travel from Five Nations homelands tend to reinforce the notion that warfare for revenge and captives was also a factor. The widening range of enemies to the west and south, noticeable after 1680, also supports this notion.

It was toward these regions that the mid-century targets of the Haudenosaunee had fled, and the shift of warfare in these directions suggests the Haudenosaunee pursued their enemies and, in the process, made new ones.

A closer look at the statistics demonstrates some interesting patterns which, in turn, reveal much about the nature and causes of Haudenosaunee warfare and policy. For example, after 1640 New France was rarely free from either Iroquois attacks or of the fear of impending war. Between 1633 and 1697 they launched 123 raids against the French. These attacks led to the loss of 675 to 694 people from the French colony. If one includes French losses suffered in raids against groups of which the French formed a part, the figure rises to 756 to 775 French taken by the Iroquois.

This breaks down to 343 to 356 people captured and 404 to 410 people killed. Unlike the case of attacks against native enemies, the Haudenosaunee killed more French than they captured, suggesting that capture was not their primary goal. Moreover,

twice as many French were killed in the period 1687 to 1701 than in the much longer period ending in 1666, and less than half the number of raids were required to do this.

The size of Haudenosaunee raiding parties during these two periods helps explain this pattern and shows the changing nature of their policy. Most attacks against the French up to 1666 were either by small (3-12 men) or medium sized (30-60 men) groups of warriors. In the years after 1684, raiding parties averaged 200 warriors, and the Haudenosaunee sent armies of more than 1,000 against the colony on three separate occasions. Because no single Iroquois nation could alone field an army that large, forces of this size reflected the joint effort of more than one of the Five Nations and a clear intent to conquer the French.

The data on Haudenosaunee hostilities against the Wendat are less bountiful, but here, too, some interesting patterns emerge. Between 1631 and 1663 the Iroquois attacked the Wendat 73 times. Of these the most important were the large attacks, all but one of which (in 1634) dates from the 1640s. In that decade the Haudenosaunee sent armies against the Wendat four times, destroying their villages and dispersing those inhabitants they did not kill or take captive. In these 73 raids, 300 to 304 Wendat were captured, 523 to 531 killed, and 1,241 to 1,255 otherwise lost.

In all, the Haudenosaunee removed just over 2,000 Wendat from a post-1630 population estimated to have been between 8,700 and 10,000. This represents between one fifth and one quarter of the total population of Huronia. If the Haudenosaunee goal was to capture and kill Wendat to exact revenge, or to deplete their population in order to eliminate them, then it's clear that Haudenosaunee policy achieved a certain measure of success.

The statistics of war and the patterns they reveal, added to evidence left by European observers, confirms the importance of revenge, honour and the need to capture people as objectives of policy, and as prime reasons for wars against the Wendat, Algonquins, Illinois and French. The data also point to the insignificance of economic warfare that has been so commonly accepted as the major cause of Haudenosaunee hostilities in the 1600s.

For example, of the 354 Iroquois-initiated raids against natives, Europeans, men, women, traders, hunters, warriors, soldiers, farmers and fishermen, the theft of goods or furs was reported in only 20 of them. This represents only 5.6% of all raids. If one includes raids against trading parties, possible trading parties, and fur brigades, where the theft of furs or goods are not recorded but may have been intended, 14 more raids are added to the total. In all there were, at most, 34 raids (9.6% of the total) for which economic gain – the capture of goods or fur – could be ascribed as the motive for the attack.



In this same period at least 25% of all Haudenosaunee raids resulted only in people being taken, not goods. Given that pretty well everyone resisted capture, and that such resistance might lead to unintended deaths, this represents a significant percentage. If raids in which some people were captured and some were killed (30%) are added to those in which people only were captured, that produces a figure of 55% of all Iroquois raids in which at least some people were taken captive.

There is one other way in which the statistics of war can be useful in helping to explain Haudenosaunee warfare and what it says about their policies. Specialists on the Iroquois have long postulated a relationship between population decline due to European-introduced diseases and warfare, but have lacked the data from which to draw a firm connection between the two.

The search for evidence of such a pattern in the statistics of war and disease reveals two compelling pieces of evidence to support this hypothesis. The chart on the previous page shows the number of Haudenosaunee raids against all groups by year compared to the years when a serious disease or an epidemic struck the Five Nations. Almost without exception, the years during which epidemics struck, or shortly after, are followed by an increase in raiding.

There does not seem to be a direct relationship between the number of raids and the number of captives taken. This of course can be the result of the vagaries of war. But it also suggests that the increase in warfare was the result of many small raiding parties that did not necessarily capture large numbers of people. There is no evidence to confirm that such attacks were part of an overall Haudenosaunee policy. On the other hand, there is a clear relationship between large attacks and the number of captives taken. The Iroquois armies that were sent against the Wendat, Neutrals, Susquehannocks, Eries, Illinois and Miamis all returned with large numbers of captives. All these expeditions followed shortly on the heels of years when disease had struck the homelands of the Five Nations.

The statistics on Haudenosaunee warfare in the 1600s, and the patterns that the data produce, suggest a picture of Haudenosaunee foreign relations and reveal causes of their warfare and policies that are often at odds with much of the current historiography. The data show that the Haudenosaunee waged war for revenge, honour, to gain captives and to preserve their cultural and political integrity. It is equally evident that economic warfare does not appear to have been a major focus of their efforts and that the capture of people as a goal or a cause of warfare increased in importance during the century.

Moreover, there appears to be a clear connection between epidemics and warfare and, despite claims to the contrary in the secondary literature, the Haudenosaunee appear not to have been

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## The human toll exacted ... by the Haudenosaunee was immense

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## a clear connection between epidemics and warfare

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disabused of their militaristic ways and continued to wage active war against First Nations and Europeans alike until the very end of the century. All of this confirms the explanations of their foreign policy and wars first presented by the Haudenosaunee, their enemies, and those European observers who lived among them.

In summary, a careful reading of the sources left to us by all the participants in Haudenosaunee history, one that does not reduce their story to the nationalist agendas of others – and one that seeks to understand Haudenosaunee history from their own perspective, and not as a case study for some theory of human development – allows us to get closer to the reality of their lives and actions during the 1600s before Canada (French or English) and the United States staked a claim to their land and history.

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## Sources & Further Reading

This essay had its origins as an invited presentation at a conference in Genoa, Italy, and was later published in the *European Review of Native American Studies* Vol.15, No.2 (2001), pp. 7-18. It has been updated and adapted for publication here. For a complete articulation of the article's historiography and thesis, see José Antônio Brandão "Your fyre shall burn no more" – *Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (University of Nebraska Press 1997). In it can be found the data on hostilities that are summarized here.

The great documentary source of the period is *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 1610-1791*, edited by R.G. Thwaites in 73 volumes and published in Cleveland between 1896 and 1904. With a good public library card, they can easily be accessed through Canadiana Online. Almost everything we know about the clash in the spring of 1634 just outside Toronto is in Volume 7, pages 213-15 (the account of Fr Le Jeune).

The period pipe bowls are (p.1 and p.7) ceramic, recovered from the Wendat town of Teanaustaye destroyed in July, 1648, with the murder or capture of some 700 people, mostly women, children and elderly (ROM HD 16061, 16010); bowl p.6 ceramic, from an earlier Wendat site, courtesy Ron Williamson.

To explore the historiography of seventeenth-century First Nations warfare in Ontario and beyond, readers are invited to consult the works of authors mentioned in the text. Accessible Canadian accounts of Iroquoian life and society during the period may especially be found in the works of Bruce Trigger and Conrad Heidenreich, available in any library. The archaeological record in Ontario and upstate New York is detailed in papers by (working independently) William Finlayson, Ron Williamson, Mima Kapches and others. The Museum of Ontario Archaeology in London, Ontario, has a fine online presence at <http://archaeologymuseum.ca/>.

## The Seneca town on the Humber River

From "The History of Toronto: An 11,000 Year Journey" on the City's own web site [www.toronto.ca](http://www.toronto.ca)

After the massive victory over their indigenous enemies, some Iroquois people moved to the Toronto area in the mid 1660s. Thus, its character shifted again, from being a hinterland for the now-dispersed Hurons of Georgian Bay, as it had been since the end of the 1500s, to a colonized area for the Iroquois of New York.

At that time the Iroquois confederacy consisted of five nations – the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca – and it was this last tribe that established two communities in the Toronto area: **Ganatsekwyagon** near the mouth of the Rouge River and **Teiaiaagon** on the Humber near modern Bloor Street [on the high ground of Baby Point]. Both sat strategically on the main lines of the Toronto Passage [the portage route from Lake Ontario to Lake Simcoe and beyond].

These settlements, along with five other Iroquois communities founded in Ontario at the same time, effectively controlled the main hunting and trading routes from the north to the Five Nations' homelands in New York. We know that Roman Catholic missionaries worked at Ganatsekwyagon and Teiaiaagon in the 1660s and 1670s ....

The Seneca occupation of Toronto lasted for about two decades. We do not know what happened to Teiaiaagon and Ganatsekwyagon with certainty, but a likely scenario is that their inhabitants left them and returned to New York in or before 1687. At that time these villages may have been close to being ready to re-locate as part of the natural movement of Iroquoian communities.

A more immediate issue lay in their vulnerability to attack because of an ongoing war between the French and the Iroquois. Part of the evidence for Teiaiaagon and Ganatsekwyagon being abandoned by 1687 is that a French military force travelled through Toronto that year after attacking Seneca villages in New York but apparently encountered no Senecas here.



Spiked tomahawk, 1700-1800 (2.2" blade width x 10.4" long)  
Royal Ontario Museum 966.302.185

# Victory Lap: The 1919 Canadian National Exhibition

by D.E. Graves

For the city of Toronto, as for the rest of the country, 1914 to 1918 had been four long and hard years. From a population estimated to be just under 400,000 in 1914, 50,000 men from Toronto and surrounding area had enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force for overseas service – and 10,000 did not return. Their families and loved ones at home eagerly awaited the arrival of the mailman, hopefully carrying a letter or postcard from overseas. But they did not want to see telegram boys coming down the street because telegrams were bad news, particularly the ones that began with the phrase “Deeply regret to inform you that ...” a loved one was dead, wounded or missing in action.

Life on the home front was not easy. Although there were more jobs and higher wages, the cost of living nearly doubled and there were shortages of milk, bread and eggs. During the last year of the war, Torontonians also experienced fuel shortages that resulted in frequent black-outs or brown-outs. In February 1918 all public buildings in the city, including schools, as well as many businesses were closed for three days to conserve fuel. In the late summer of 1918 news of substantial Allied advances on the Western Front cheered everyone up. Then, a new and terrible enemy appeared.

Popularly known as the Spanish flu – which it was not – this was an H1N1 virus that had appeared in Europe that summer. It grew so rapidly that it became a full-fledged pandemic. By October it had reached Toronto and spread through the school system; by mid-month 50 people a day were dying in the city. By November, when the pandemic seems to have run its course, 200,000 Torontonians – almost half the city’s population – had contracted the virus and 1,300 people had perished. Globally, the pandemic is thought to have killed between 25 and 50 million people. It is small wonder that when news of the Armistice of November 11 reached the city, Torontonians went wild with excitement.

By the following summer of 1919,

people were in the mood to celebrate. The management of the Canadian National Exhibition, sensing that spirit, declared the Ex that year to be “Canada’s Victory Celebration” – an “Incomparable Programme Eclipsing All Former Triumphs.” It was the hope of the management that attendance in 1919 would reach 1,250,000 visitors, surpassing the million-ticket total of the 1913 Ex, the last year the fair was held in its entirety.

They therefore put a lot of effort into advertising the “Victory Celebrations,” commissioning a very fine poster from J.E.H. MacDonald, originally a Toronto graphic designer and soon to be one of the founders of the Group of Seven painters. His mission was to illuminate the military themes of that year’s fair. His poster (on our front page) features a woman as an image of Canada, wearing the breast plate of the Dominion, carrying the Union Jack and riding a mount draped with maple leaves and the laurels of victory. Escorted by a soldier of the 3rd Battalion CEF (The Toronto Regiment), who is wearing a wound stripe, she is about to trample a German helmet of the ostentatious type favoured by Kaiser Wilhelm.

Listed below this patriotic Amazon are the highlights of the Victory Year CNE. The featured displays were all related to the world war that had officially ended on June 28 – five years to the day after the assassination of Arch-Duke Francis Ferdinand that began it all – when the Treaty of Versailles was signed. They include



*Armistice Day, Toronto*, an oil painting by Joseph Ernest Sampson, was one of the most popular works in the war art collection. The crowd preferred the sentimental to the realistic, while the critics were unkind to anything unfamiliar to the academy. Strangely little was written about the most disturbing pictures: the endless mud, the slouching prisoners and the piles of corpses painted in Flanders by Maurice Cullen, A.Y. Jackson and Fred Varley. Courtesy Beaverbrook Collection CWM 19710261-0655

a surrendered German U-boat, a display of Canada’s war trophies, paintings of the war (“hundreds of masterpieces”), daily concerts by the band of the Grenadier Guards of the British Army, and the “Enormous Spectacle” of the grandstand show – called The Festival of Triumph – guaranteed to be “Uncommonly Picturesque, Inspiring and Colorful.” In even larger type is the promise that Edward, Prince of Wales, would officially open the exhibition.

On the first day of the Ex, August 23, it was soon apparent the war trophies were the most popular attraction. “All roads of



*Six months after he was badly wounded and shot down by a swarm of Fokker D-VIIs, Major William Barker is seen pulling one into a loop high over Hounslow Heath Aerodrome on April 20, 1919. It's a rare photo of an air ace in flight, piloting the most modern of aircraft. LAC (DND) PA-006073*



*William Barker, by now in business with fellow air ace Billy Bishop, runs up the Mercedes engine of his Fokker D-VII in August 1919 on the Armour Heights airfield just north of Toronto. When a squadron's worth of these leading-edge fighters (seized from Germany) were shipped in pieces to Canada, they were re-assembled here by their new firm. The 50 on the fuselage was for a race that Barker entered, unsuccessfully. Canadian War Museum, courtesy of Edward Soye*

the C.N.E.” led to the exhibit, one reporter declared, and it was “the one place you have to go.” This collection was largely the work of Arthur Doughty, the Dominion Archivist, who had been appointed Director of War Trophies in 1916. After three years of hard work Doughty had amassed an amazing accumulation of 800 artillery pieces, 4,000 heavy and light machine guns, 10,000 rifles and a multitude of other items.

On display, according to *The Toronto Daily Star*, were “field guns, surrendered and captured; planes, flags, uniforms, helmets, sundry posters, proclamations, photographs, and every conceivable item connected with the science of war.” Unable to contain himself, the *Star’s* man risked repetition by describing the “uniforms, machineguns of all descriptions, swords, decorations, and British publications and proclamations from enemy countries; rifles of all kinds, big guns, revolvers of every description, water torpedoes, air torpedoes, mines, ammunition and all kinds of equipment.”

The field telephone supposedly used by General Ludendorff to conduct the massive German offensives of the spring of 1918 was also on display. Of great interest to visitors was the cockpit section of a Sopwith Snipe fighter aircraft: it was the one flown by Canadian Major William G. Barker of the Royal Flying Corps when he fought an epic battle against a dozen enemy aircraft the previous October. Barker shot down at least two of his opponents but was himself badly wounded and forced to crash land. For this epic aerial duel, Barker received

the Victoria Cross which, added to the impressive number of medals he had already earned, made him one of the most decorated soldiers of the British Empire.

Barker himself was at the 1919 Ex – or at least in the skies above it. When he left the service in the spring of 1919, he went into business with fellow VC winner Major William A. Bishop to form the Bishop-Barker Aeroplane Company. Its

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### the war trophies were the most popular attraction

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headquarters was at the Armour Heights airfield, then just north of the city (and now the site of the Canadian Forces College).

This was fortunate because Doughty had brought back 44 German aircraft from Europe; 17 of them were Fokker D-VIIs, the most advanced fighter aircraft in the world in 1919. They had been taken apart before being shipped to Canada and Doughty, looking for technical assistance to make them flyable, contracted the Bishop-Barker Company to undertake the task. Considering the company was formed by two fighter aces, and had a large number of former fighter pilots on staff, the result was inevitable. The first planes to be assembled were the cutting-edge D-VIIs and, as soon as they were flyable, they were up in the air. The fighter jocks did some dogfighting to “wing them out.”

The next idea was also inevitable: Barker –

a businessman as well as a pilot – suggested giving a daily demonstration over the Ex. Doughty was agreeable to the idea because he was keen on promoting the War Trophy Collection. The fair’s managers must have been ecstatic.

Thus was born the CNE’s first airshow. A reporter from the *The Globe* described Barker and two other pilots flying the Fokker D-VIIs on opening day:

After maneuvering some time in battle formation, one of the airplanes suddenly swooped toward the earth. At a height of about 2,000 feet it then began to “stunt.” When its occupant had exhausted his repertoire of dips, loops, spirals and the other intricacies of trick flying, he ascended and joined his companions, and his place was taken by another.

As the Ex progressed, the aerial displays became more elaborate, usually culminating in mock dogfights above the crowd.

The military and unapologetically triumphal ethos of the 1919 Ex was pervasive. Each day of the fair was named after a battle the Canadians had fought: Mons, Passchendaele, St. Julien, Vimy Ridge and the rest. A Victory Tower was erected which, surmounted by the Union Jack, listed them again. One huge diorama purported to illustrate, with lights and electrical mechanisms, a Canadian attack at Ypres. As well as the war trophies, there was a vast display of the Canadian War Memorials Fund collection of art. Added



**Surrendered German submarine UC-97** manoeuvres alongside a US Navy tug in front of the Toronto Harbour Commission, where a crowd gathers to greet it on June 10, 1919. The mine-laying U-boat was on its way to Chicago and didn't make it back for the CNE. The Beaux-Arts building is today about 300 metres from the water's edge and set to become the centrepiece of a skyscraper. Photo by the Canadian Post Card Company, LAC PA-030314

– newspaper coverage of the fair didn't mention it – and the city was ready for a celebration, especially now that almost all of the men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force had finally come home. A record 1,210,000 visitors went to the CNE that first summer after the war, just thrilled to be alive.

*A frequent contributor to the F&D, Donald Graves is one of Canada's leading military historians. Among more than 20 books and monographs under his byline are many on the War of 1812, including **Where Right and Glory Lead: The Battle of Lundy's Lane, 1814** (RBS 2014). His new history of *The Lincoln and Welland Regiment* is being prepared for publication.*

## Sources & Further Reading

Two histories of The Royal Regiment of Canada were used for this article: D.J. Goodspeed, *Battle Royal, A History of the Royal Regiment of Canada, 1862-1962* (Toronto, 1962); and D.E. Graves, *Always Ready. A History of the Royal Regiment of Canada* (RBS 2017). The unit perpetuates 3<sup>rd</sup> Bn CEF and has been based at Fort York Armoury, just outside the Princes' Gates, since 1935.

The background of Canada's trophy collection is drawn from several articles, including D.E. Graves, "Booty! The Story of Canada's World War I Trophy Collection," *Arms Collecting*, No.1 (1985), and Jonathan Vance, "Tangible Demonstration of A Great Victory: War Trophies in Canada," *Material History Review* No.42 (1995). Edward Soye, himself a pilot of vintage aircraft, is the authority on those German fighters; see his 2009 War Studies thesis for the Royal Military College of Canada, or "Those Elusive Canadian Fokkers: War

to the CNE's annual display of Canadian paintings (a major event in itself) were no fewer than 447 works of war art, making an exhibition of nearly a thousand works by a hundred artists. Among them were soon-to-be famous Canadians at the start of their careers (such as A.Y. Jackson and Fred Varley) while others were among the most prominent names in British art circles (such as Augustus Johns and Paul Nash). The Grenadier Guards Band played each afternoon. The Royal Canadian Dragoons, a unit of the regular army still stationed at the Stanley Barracks, performed the first postwar musical ride, that intricate equine ballet now assumed by the RCMP.

Of course, there were still the normal attractions, including the Food Hall and the Midway. There were displays of livestock, government exhibits, "acres of manufactures" and the annual competitions for dogs, cats and poultry. There was a large and popular exhibit of international photography. Another modern event attracting big crowds was the motor speed tests done on the horse-racing track. Spectators were thrilled by the appearance of Ralph DePalma, the winner of the 1915 Indianapolis 500, who drove his V-12 Packard to nearly 100 miles per hour.

After visitors had had their fill of war trophies and art, of aircraft wheeling in the sky above, and band concerts, and rides

on the midway and endless temptations in the Food Hall, there was still the grand finale: the "Gorgeous Spectacle" of a grandstand show titled *The Festival of Triumph*. This Festival featured massed bands, representative military units from allied nations, and the figures of Britannia, Columbia, John Bull and Uncle Sam. There was a Victory Ballet of a hundred girls "in robes of white with headpieces of electric lights." The grand finale featured "the white-robed Choir of Jerusalem on St. David's steps with golden horns" leading the singing of *God Save the King* backed by the inevitable massed bands. This was a hard act to follow but the fireworks display, which closed every day, did its best. There was certainly no shortage of explosives or expertise in the Toronto of 1919.

One promised exhibit that did not appear was the German submarine. Surrendered to the US Navy, it was on its way to the American naval station in Chicago when it made a one-day stop at Toronto in June. The U-boat was scheduled to return for the fair but trouble with the engine ruined the plan.

Despite the missing warship, when the 1919 CNE ended on September 6 there was no doubt in anyone's mind of the scale and importance of Canada's contribution to the war. The pandemic illness of the previous winter had seemingly been forgotten

Trophies in the Nascent Canadian Air Force” on the Vintage Wings of Canada web site.

The fair was well covered by *The Toronto Daily Star* (notably on August 23 and September 6) and *The Globe* (notably August 23, 25 and 26).

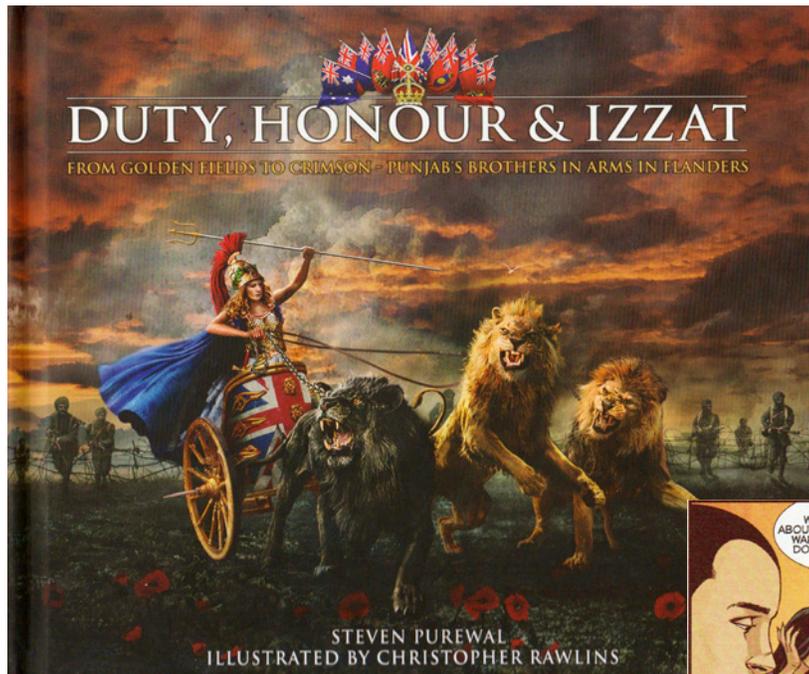
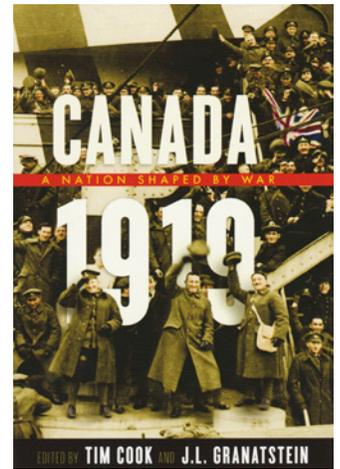
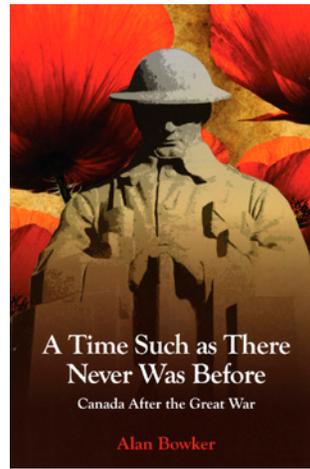
Ian Miller’s book *Our Day of Glory and Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (UTP 2000) ends abruptly with the Armistice but comprehensively describes the society of Toronto at the end of the war. Alan Bowker’s *A Time Such as There Never Was Before: Canada After the Great War* (Dundurn 2014) picks up the story for the country as a whole. Tim Cook and Jack Granatstein have just released a collection of 19 essays as *Canada 1919: A Nation Shaped by War* (UBC 2020). Practically every scholar active in the field is represented and the topics range from

reintegration to politics, paintings, venereal disease and the Spanish Influenza.

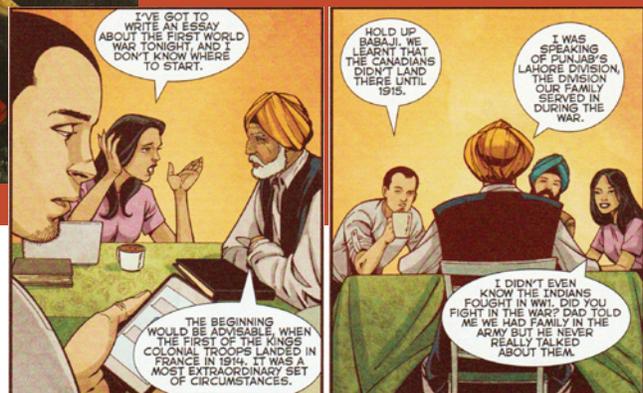
For an insightful look at the pandemic of 1918, see Vivian McAlister, “Myths and echoes: the 1918 pandemic and today,” in *SITREP* (May-June 2020), the journal of the Royal Canadian Military Institute. It can be found [here](#).

Jonathan Vance’s magnificent *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (UBC 1997) explores Canada’s evolution away from the triumphalist milieu of 1919. The story of the art in the extraordinary

Canadian War Memorials Fund collection, including public reaction to the show at the CNE, is told by Maria Tippett in *Art at the Service of War: Canada, Art, and the Great War* (UTP 1984).



**This amazing graphic history** details the stories of soldiers from the Punjab who fought alongside British and Canadian forces in both world wars. From *Renegade Arts Entertainment*, publisher of *The Loxleys* and *the War of 1812*, it was written by Steven Purewal and densely illustrated by Christopher Rawlins. His richly layered pages of turbaned cavalry and infantry fighting in the trenches of the Western Front are simply awesome. The book grew out of a Great War commemoration project in British Columbia by the *Indus Media Foundation* and was named a Best Book of 2019 by the *Canadian Children's Book Centre*. For any young Sikhs who feel our legacy of the Canadian Corps has nothing to do with them, this is the book to find.



## Toronto From the New Fort, 1840



This delightful water colour shows a bucolic scene of the small provincial capital peeking out of the forest along the shores of Lake Ontario. Its artist, Sir Anthony Coningham Sterling – at that time a captain of the 73rd Regiment of Foot – must have been charmed by the view of the town and of what was then called the Old Fort.

An exaggerated Union Jack firmly planted on the shore implies that he was also proud of British dominion over this corner of Upper Canada. He was a career soldier, an historian and a writer, as well as a dabbler in watercolour. After his posting to Toronto, Sterling went on to see action in the Crimean War and the Indian Rebellion of 1857.

The view shows the Old Fort (left of centre) guarded by an embankment and its white palisades. The red brick North and South Soldiers' Barracks obscure all but a corner of the Stone Magazine. One massive building – the two-storey Rebellion Barracks – appears to be missing. One assumes that he edited this out, since it was built in 1838 just beyond the brick buildings and would surely have been visible.

But we do clearly see the two square blockhouses and the Brick Powder Magazine. On the shore in front of the fort one can just make out the roof of a cookhouse and splinter-proof barracks, which had not yet been pulled down. Then the embankment, depicted in a rose-coloured pigment, gently slopes down to the Queen's Wharf. At the end of the wharf is a busy scene: a schooner is berthed on the other side of the lighthouse (built only two years earlier) while a small sailing craft makes the narrow entrance to the harbour. Is that an early steamboat anchored beyond the wharf?

Beyond this lies the town of Toronto, incorporated only six years

before. The most visible structure could only be the spire of St. James, just rebuilt after burning down in 1839 and consecrated a cathedral the same year. The other large buildings are likely the province's third Parliament, and the Court House and Gaol, the white building at the far edge (the eastern edge) of the town, just to the right of centre.

The foreground of the painting is also quite interesting. In August of 1840, work had been underway for about six months on the New Fort – its current remnant is the Stanley Barracks, on the Exhibition Grounds – and it was completed in October, 1841. One imagines the two characters to the left of the picture are soldiers or workmen taking a break from their work on its construction; they're lounging by what might be ruins of the old Western Battery. Sterling here reveals a lingering eighteenth-century aesthetic.

The large grey building (left) with the red brick chimney might be the stables for the officers' horses, which was an outbuilding just east of the New Fort. The mound in the centre of the watercolour is a mystery.

The whole effect of the painting shows an attention to detail with a charming, romantic twist. To pursue your own detective work on this view, consult the many period maps of the waterfront and the Military Reserve available through [www.fortyork.ca](http://www.fortyork.ca).

*We're grateful to Nancy Baines, manager of the Resource Centre at Fort York and a member of the Friends' board, for her insights into the picture, and also to Richard Gerrard, of Museums & Heritage Services, for bringing it to the attention of the F&D. The original is in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum: 949.39.11.*

# The Toronto Garrison and the Red Scare

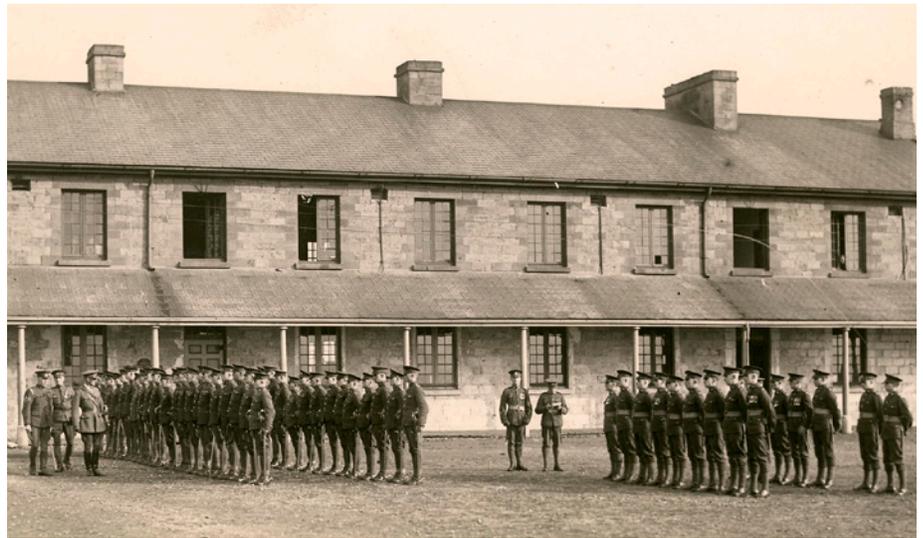
by Tyler Wentzell

The end of the Great War did not mark the beginning of an era free from worries. The veterans of Flanders returned to Canada as the Spanish Influenza spread across the globe, taking more lives than the war itself. Meanwhile, the spectre of Bolshevism had reared its head. Lenin's Bolsheviks toppled the Czar in 1917, removed Russia from the war, and unleashed a civil war in which some Canadians had fought on the side of the Whites. In 1919, the victorious Reds established a Communist International in Moscow to coordinate the worldwide revolution.

Some thought the Winnipeg General Strike had been the work of Moscow, and, in 1921, the RCMP believed that another uprising was planned in Vancouver. In Ottawa, the Defence Committee – precursor to the Department of National Defence – directed each military district to prepare detailed plans of how they would counter such an uprising. The plan developed for Toronto was comprehensive.

The city was part of Military District No.2, a large part of southern Ontario including Hamilton, St. Catharines, Brampton, Oshawa and the countryside stretching from the Niagara Peninsula up to Collingwood. Most of the soldiers in the district were part-timers of the Active Militia. In Toronto this was a sizeable force – more than 7,000 men – organized into seven infantry units, two mounted units, one machine gun unit and one artillery unit.

The infantry units, from largest to smallest, were the 48<sup>th</sup> Regiment (Highlanders), the York Rangers, the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada, the Toronto Regiment, the Mississauga Regiment, the Royal Grenadiers, and the Irish Regiment. The cavalry units were the Ontario Mounted Rifles and the Governor General's Body Guard (for their present equivalents, see Sources & Further Reading). This force had plenty of Lee Enfield rifles, eight machine guns, and between eight and twelve serviceable howitzers. It did not have any vehicles or horses of its own. Horses were rented for



*Royal Canadian Dragoons are inspected on parade outside the west block of the Stanley Barracks in late November 1922. The men of this cavalry regiment would have been among the first to confront any Bolshevik uprising in Toronto. These barracks were built in 1841 and torn down in 1951 after a late career as post-war emergency housing. Photo by James & Son for the Globe, courtesy Toronto Public Library (Baldwin Room) X 65-172*

training, but the government rates were generally too low to get good horses in the city.

The full-time Permanent Force troops were mostly housed at the Stanley Barracks, often called the New Fort. This force included the infantry of "B" Company of the Royal Canadian Regiment, a squadron of cavalry of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, and a battery of machine guns from the still-independent 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Machine Gun Brigade. This force held seven trucks, eight machine guns and 111 horses. Nearby Fort York (called the Old Fort) was still home to ordinance stores, some of the necessary support troops, and a few married quarters. The soldiers of the New Fort were the only standing force anywhere in Military District No.2.

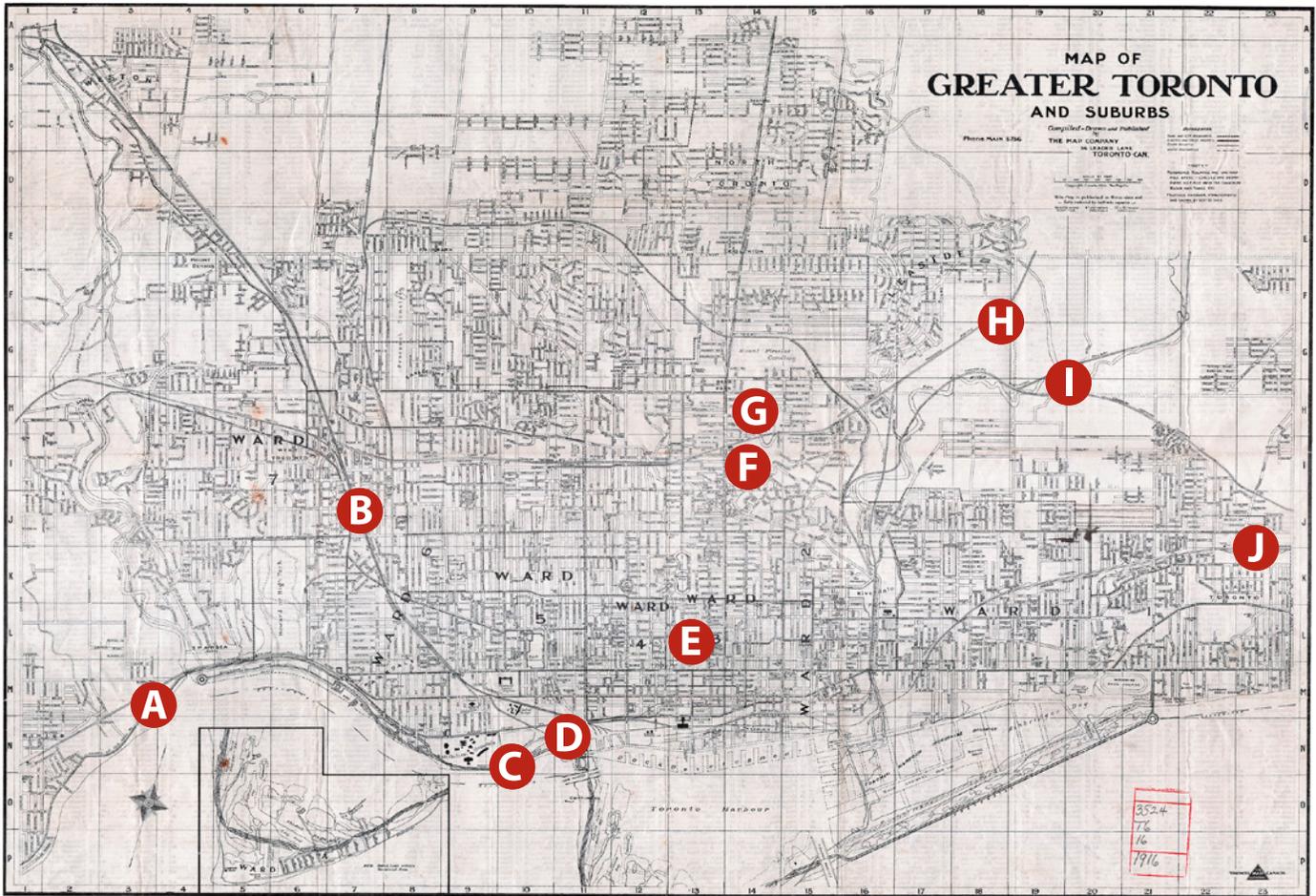
Major-General Victor Arthur Seymour Williams commanded the district in 1921. Williams had begun his career in the North-West Mounted Police but soon transferred to the militia. He had commanded a squadron of mounted rifles in the Boer War, served as Canada's Inspector of Cavalry in peacetime, and commanded Valcartier Camp during the hurried mobilization at the beginning of the Great War. Williams went on to serve

as a general staff officer before commanding a brigade of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Canadian Division at the front. He was wounded and captured at the Battle of Mont Sorrel in 1916 and spent nearly two years in German prisoner-of-war camps.

Williams was an able administrator and he was already worried about the danger of Bolsheviks when he received the Adjutant General's inquiry in the spring of 1921. He responded promptly to the correspondence, providing his assessment of the security situation in Military District No.2 and his plan to counter an uprising.

Williams reported that he had been concerned about the Bolsheviks in Toronto for some time. He had learned that they had planned an uprising in Toronto the previous winter. The Reds were to set small fires around the city, occupying the police and fire services, at which time they would attack the armouries and seize weapons and ammunition. Once armed, they planned to take City Hall and Queen's Park and declare the establishment of a soviet.

The Bolsheviks in Military District No.2, Williams wrote, were well organized in Toronto, Hamilton, St. Catharines, Thorold, Oshawa, Brantford, Collingwood and Port Colborne. The Reds were too weak in the



**This 1916 map of Greater Toronto and Suburbs** shows the city that Major-General Williams was determined to defend. The Harbour Commission building was still across the street from the water (see p. 11) and the Bloor Viaduct spanning the Don Valley was still being built. The grid lines are half a mile apart. Commercially produced by the Map Company, Toronto, courtesy University of Toronto Map Library

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|--------------------------|---|---|
| <b>A</b> Grand Trunk     | <b>B</b> Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk | <b>C</b> New Fort                         |
| <b>D</b> Old Fort        | <b>E</b> University Avenue Armouries      | <b>F</b> New Toronto Station              |
| <b>G</b> Water Reservoir | <b>H</b> Canadian Pacific                 | <b>I</b> Canadian Northern Ontario (both) |
| <b>J</b> Grand Trunk     |   |   |



**The University Avenue Armouries** in 1931. Only a third of its vast length is visible here. Opened in 1894, this was the headquarters of Military District No.2 and many of the city's regiments. Although this magnificent building was torn down in 1963, its medieval towers are still visible on the crest of the district's successor, 32 Canadian Brigade Group. Photo courtesy Toronto Public Library (Baldwin Room) E 5-8a



**Major-General Victor A.S. Williams** was a career soldier who had fought in the Boer War and on the Western Front. After leaving the army in 1922, Williams became the Commissioner of the Ontario Provincial Police. Photo courtesy Toronto Archives F1266 It19217

smaller communities to be of much trouble on their own, but should an uprising occur in Toronto and Hamilton, where they were strongest, the smaller communities would likely follow suit. Williams considered the Reds to be especially dangerous in Toronto, which was home to their headquarters, describing them as “very powerful,” “well supplied with funds” and having “a large and dangerous following.”

Besides those already following the banner of Marx and Lenin, Williams was also concerned with the “disloyal” citizens of Toronto and environs who might join their cause when trouble began. Williams

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### There was no hard intelligence to substantiate Williams’ guess

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was well aware that ex-servicemen had played a role among both the strikers and the auxiliary police during the Winnipeg General Strike, but he believed most of Toronto’s veterans would act in support of the government. He argued that “the large majority of the people in M.D. 2 are loyal and it is only the foreigners, Jews, Sinn Feiners, and a certain element of returned men (men who were always wasters and always will be) who are disloyal.”

Given the number of “disloyal” people and unemployed workers in the city, Williams thought that a large number of them might flock to the Bolshevik banner once an uprising began. He saw an insurrection of up to 20-30,000 workers as a possibility. At its most pessimistic interpretation, this meant that Williams thought that as many as one out of every eighteen Torontonians might join the uprising. There was no hard intelligence to substantiate Williams’ guess, so the assertion mostly speaks to how he viewed Toronto’s precarity.

In the event of such an uprising in Toronto, Williams proposed the following scheme of manoeuvre. First, the Permanent Force soldiers at Stanley Barracks would secure their facilities, the nearby Exhibition Grounds, government installations as required, and weapons and ammunition throughout the city. Meanwhile, the Active Militia would be called out. Williams was confident that the militia “would turn out

and fight if they were required to down Bolshevism.” If need be, Williams would also tap into the University of Toronto’s Canadian Officers’ Training Corps and the different veterans’ organizations around the city. He estimated that he could get 400 people from the COTC and 570 from among the navy veterans. The Great War Veterans’ Association had estimated they could muster 2000 auxiliaries during the affairs the previous winter.

The Active Militia soldiers, and any auxiliaries called out, would immediately secure the armouries and their equipment. The Queen’s Own Rifles would secure the University Avenue Armouries, from which they could protect City Hall and provide a secure rallying point for the police. The Irish Regiment was tasked with securing the College Street Armoury, a former girls’ school (and more recently, a convalescent hospital for veterans) also known as Wickham Lodge. The York Rangers would secure the Rosedale Huts, from which they could protect the city’s waterworks, the rail line entering the city from the east, and the residences of the affluent neighbourhood (including the official home of Ontario’s lieutenant governor). The remaining units would move to the Exhibition Grounds, make camp, and prepare for operations in support of the police, or on their own, as required.

Williams’ plan had to account for the possibility that his garrison would be too small to deal with an uprising in Toronto. He expected that necessary reinforcements would arrive by rail from the west (M.D. No.1 in London, with “C” Company of the Royal Canadian Regiment) or the east (M.D. No.3 in Kingston, with three batteries of artillery). Securing the rail line to the west would be easy enough – the bulk of Williams’ forces would be located at nearby Stanley Barracks and the Exhibition Grounds.

However, if the rebels interfered with the rail line in the vicinity of Mimico, Williams intended to detain the troops in Port Credit and have them march to the Long Branch Rifle Range. The rail line to the east, protected only by the York Rangers, was more vulnerable. If that rail line was cut, Williams would have his reinforcements detain in Scarborough and march to Rosedale.

Williams cautioned his superiors against pulling soldiers out of Hamilton and Toronto. Should an uprising occur in another military district, he warned, soldiers should not be taken from Ontario’s industrial centres. The main garrisons had to be maintained, or the Bolsheviks would seize the opportunity to run amuck. If troops were required elsewhere, Williams proposed that he keep his city units in Toronto and Hamilton while calling out the infantry regiments of rural counties as necessary.

The plans for dealing with an insurrection in Toronto were never put into operation, although it seemed a near sure thing on at least one occasion. During the summer of 1930, by which time Major-General Williams had retired from military service and become the Commissioner of the Ontario Provincial Police, authorities again feared a Bolshevik uprising. The Great Depression was in full swing and rumours swirled of Reds drilling with weapons in the Don River Valley. The Permanent Force garrison secured Stanley Barracks, the ordinance stores at Fort York, and the Exhibition Grounds, but the plan went no further. The anticipated uprising did not occur. Fortunately, there never was an altercation of any kind between the Toronto garrison and the much-feared Bolsheviks.

*Tyler Wentzell is an independent scholar and lawyer based in Toronto. A graduate of the Royal Military College of Canada, he is also a serving infantry officer and a member of the board of The Friends of Fort York.*

### Sources & Further Reading

The files of M.D. No.2 containing the counter-insurrection plans are at Library & Archives Canada in RG24, Volume 2656.

Readers interested in the state of the army between the two world wars might consult Chapter 5 of Jack Granatstein’s standard work, *Canada’s Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace* (UTP 2002). George Stanley, in his more congenial *Canada’s Soldiers* (Macmillan 1974, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed), also devotes a chapter to this sad period

of the army's life. The story of the New Fort is well covered by Aldona Sendzikas, *Stanley Barracks: Toronto's Military Legacy* (Dundurn 2011). The regimental histories of most of the units involved also treat the period but, of course, say nothing about an operation that never happened.

For conditions in the city and Canada as a whole just after the war, see the Sources note with the CNE story in this issue.

The 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Winnipeg General Strike prompted a small surge of interest, notably a work from David Lester and The Graphic History Collective: *1919: a graphic history of the Winnipeg General Strike* (Between the Lines 2019). The view from the top down is in Reinhold Kramer's *When the state trembled: how A.J. Andrews and the Citizens' Committee broke the Winnipeg General Strike* (UTP 2010). A standard work on the subject remains David J. Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations, and the General Strike* (MQUP 1974).

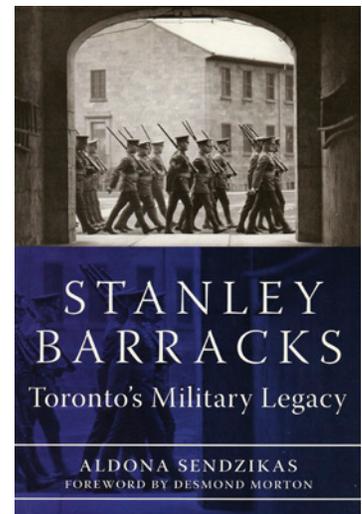
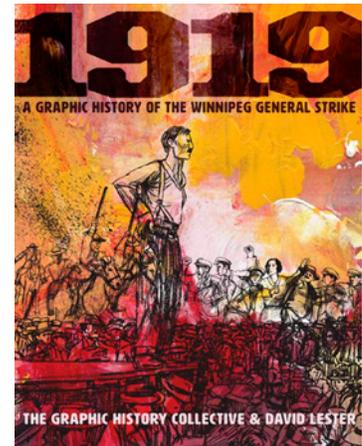
There's a wide variety of books on the early development of Communist organizations in Canada and the state's interest in them (and anyone else thought to be radical). Starting on the left, consider Ian Angus, *Canadian Bolsheviks: The Early Years of the Communist Party of Canada* (Trafford 2004 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed) and Ian McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise: Leftists and the People's Enlightenment in Canada, 1890-1920* (Between the Lines, 2008).

More conventional works are Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Little Band: The Clashes between the Communists and the Canadian Establishment, 1928-1932* (Deneau 1982) and William Rodney, *Soldiers of The International: A History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1919-1929* (UTP 1968).

Two other substantial books focus on the work of the security services: Gregory Kealey, *Spying on Canadians: The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security Service and the Origins of the Long Cold War* (UTP 2017), and – weighing in at 720 pages – there's Whitaker, Kealey and Parnaby: *Secret Service: Political Policing in Canada From the Fenians to Fortress America* (UTP 2012).

Modern units perpetuate most of regiments involved in Williams' plan. The Irish Regiment is now the 2<sup>nd</sup> Bn, Irish Regiment of Canada in Sudbury. The York Rangers are now the Queen's York Rangers, a reconnaissance unit. The Mississauga Regiment is now the Toronto Scottish Regiment, while The Royal Grenadiers and the Toronto Regiment merged to become the Royal Regiment of Canada. The 48<sup>th</sup> Regiment (Highlanders) are now the 48<sup>th</sup> Highlanders of Canada, and the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada has not changed in name or role. The Ontario Mounted Rifles and the Governor General's Body Guard merged into the Governor General's Horse Guard as the cavalry evolved into the armoured corps. Machine gun units were absorbed back into the infantry corps

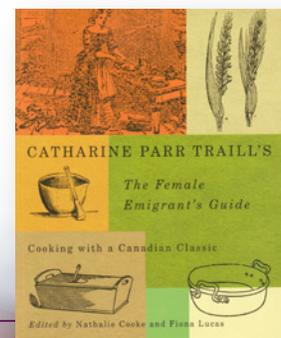
and there is no direct lineage between the garrison's artillery in 1921 and the modern 7<sup>th</sup> Toronto Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery, founded in 1931.



## Mrs. Traill's Advice ON BLACK CURRANTS

**T**his useful fruit may be dried whole, or boiled down and spread on tin plates and dried, with or without sugar; made into jam or jelly, or merely stewed with a little sugar, sufficient to sweeten, not preserve them. The convenience of this method is very apparent. In Canada, preserves are always placed on table at the evening meal, and often in the form of tarts. This method enables any one who has ripe fruit to prepare an agreeable dish at a small expense, and very little trouble, if a party of friends arrive unexpectedly to tea.

From Catherine Parr Traill's *The Female Emigrant's Guide / Cooking with a Canadian Classic*, edited by Nathalie Cooke and Fiona Lucas (MQUP 2017). It was originally published at Toronto in 1855. "Mrs. Traill's Advice" on seasonal topics appears in each issue of *The Fife and Drum*, advice sampled from this attractive and comprehensive new edition of an indispensable Canadian reference.



# At the Birthplace of Toronto

## Notes from the Staff

### Editor's Notes

Signs of life are reappearing inside Fort York National Historic Site. Although the fort remains closed to visitors, site manager Kaitlin Wainwright and her staff were back in place in early July to begin planning the post-lockdown reopening. The Visitor Centre itself is a CampTO site for kids and it will stay in that role until early September. But a smaller version of the Fort York Guard is beginning its training and we're hoping to see the redcoats of the Canadian Regiment of Fencible

Infantry on Garrison Common early in August.

And speaking of the fort's staff: the early days of the pandemic had scattered them far and wide, some of them taking assignments elsewhere in the City's operations. Melissa Beynon, whose photos of the mouth-watering output of the fort's culinary history program often grace our pages, stepped into the breach at Seniors & Long-Term Care. Kristine Williamson, who usually arranges visits of every kind, was temporarily a part of the 311 organization. Welcome back, everyone!

The Annual General Meeting of The Friends of Fort York was May 28 on Zoom. Given the corporate restructuring that was completed last year, this involved only the actual directors, that is, the members of the Board (listed below) and all were present. Don Cranston reported on the highlights of 2019, noting especially the Indigenous Arts Festival, the Fort York Guard and another four issues of our signature publication, your friendly *Fife and Drum*. No less than \$142,500 were obtained from Ottawa and Queen's Park and

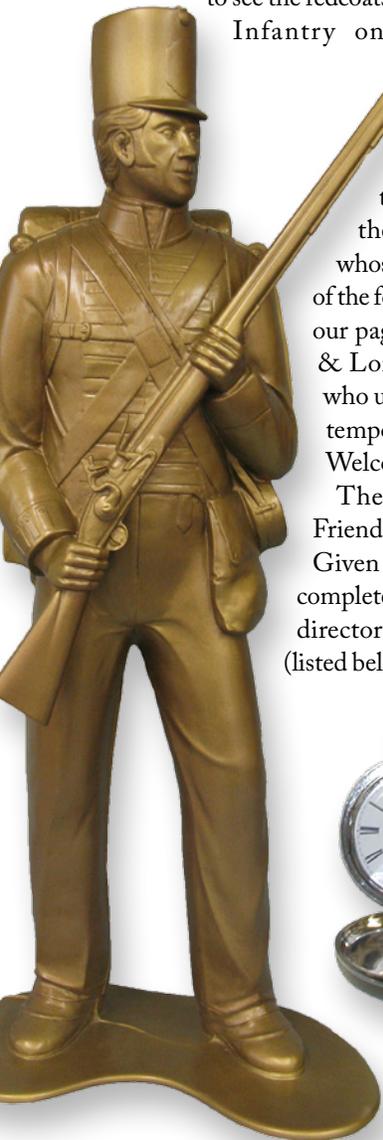
passed along to the comprehensive festival, which attracted to Fort York National Historic Site about 700 people a day and some 3,000 visitors on June 21.

Last summer we had 18 students employed as soldiers or musicians of the Canadian Regiment of Fencible Infantry at a cost of \$133,000, assembled through a combination of solicited grants, City contributions and income from our own long-term investments. The failure to obtain a Young Canada Works grant last year highlights the need to think harder about fundraising. The military history staff, meanwhile, worked as hard as ever – we mean our own Sid Calzavara, Scott Woodland and Anton Degiusti, and Fort York's Kevin Hebib, Ewan Wardle, Colin Sedgwick-Pinn and Sam Horn – and the result was a first-place finish last year at the 20<sup>th</sup> annual field day at Fort George.

Don also pointed to the work of Ted Smolak and Chris Henry on our evolving web site, which in 2019 attracted nearly 80,000 visitors. Nancy Baines and Heather Cirulis were recognized for their steady work – interrupted only by the pandemic – in the fort's Resource Centre. A substantial library in the War of 1812, First Nations and local history, military music and culinary history, it remains important to the interpretive work of the National Historic Site and the training of staff and volunteers.

The year also saw the retirement of some originals from the Board – Harriet De Koven, Pat Fleming and Mima Kapches – and an event to honour Friends co-founder Joe Gill. With the inclusion of the directors of the Fort York Foundation, we confirmed the Board of Directors of The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Common as: Don Cranston (Chair), Andrew Stewart (Vice Chair), Bruce Gooding (Treasurer), Jeff Evenson, Nancy Baines, Sid Calzavara, Chris Henry, Shawn Micallef, Scott Mullin, Anna Okorokov, Len Rodness, Suzy Rodness, Alison Rose, Ted Smolak, Neeraj Seth, Tyler Wentzell and Bob Kennedy.

The pandemic only briefly interrupted construction and so some capital projects at the fort are continuing. Work resumed in May on the necessary roofing project, which has seen beautiful new cedar shingles installed on all of the barracks and most recently on the East Brick Magazine; additional painting should be finished in July. The bad news, though, is termites: they've been found in the wood pile outside the garage, in the fraises on the north side of the entrance, in the built-up kitchen garden beds and in the hydro bunker. Monitors were installed throughout the site



A maquette for the audacious "Monument to the War of 1812" by Douglas Coupland, 2008, and a silver pocket watch that belonged to the army officer and public servant James Fitzgibbon. Both images are from the City's collection, now accessible online (maquette 2010.3.1.1; watch 1960.1370.21).



**The Sir Isaac Brock bridge** in mid July. With most of its trestle enshrouded, the bridge's concrete deck is being stripped to the rebar. New streetcar tracks and a wider sidewalk to the library are promised (by the roads department) in time for Christmas. Pedestrians can still make the crossing but a mask is recommended. In the distance, the rental towers of Garrison Point near completion while the foreground condominium begins to fill with residents. Below the bridge, the tracks are empty and the signals are quiet. Photos by the F&D

and thankfully the little blighters have not had the good taste to move into any of the historic buildings. Remediation work that could chew up more than half-a-million dollars is expected to start in September.

There's some good news for David O'Hara, though: the fort's former site manager has been given a Public Practice Award for 2020 by the Ontario Association of Landscape Architects. "Although still a long way from being over," reads the citation, "David's work and career have already left an indelible mark on Toronto's public realm." Andrew Stewart's tribute covered that ground in the previous *F&D* and so we're looking to David's current projects: the increasingly difficult Rail Deck Park and a new master plan for the mid-century-modern landscape of Toronto Island Park. Congratulations, David, and good luck!

Lastly, some great news from the archives popped up in early

July: the database of the rich Toronto History Museums artifact collection has gone live online. Everyone may now, as the site declares, "explore the City of Toronto's online collection including 150,000 artifacts, 1.1 million archaeological specimens, and 3,000 artworks."

The vast project's driver has been the City's own lovable historian, Richard Gerrard. "A museum collection – its development, research and cataloguing," he told us, "is truly a long game." Indeed, it began with 3x5 file cards and represents more than 70 years of archival cataloguing. For the digital effort, Richard credits colleagues Alex Avdichuk, Gabrielle Major and Tara Bowyer. The web site is uncluttered, searching is easy and efficient (unlike parent toronto.ca!) and many pictures – of that fraction of the collection that's been photographed – are at a useful 300 dpi. Dive in [here](#).

## How to Make Mask for Prevention of Influenza



Instructions as to the making and use of masks have been sent out by the provincial board of health. These are to be used when taking care of influenza patients, and beginning on Thursday morning on all trains and street cars in the province. Here is the method of making the mask, published in *The Bulletin* some days ago and here repeated by request.

**To Make a Mask**—Take a piece of ordinary cheesecloth, 8x16 inches. Next fold this to make it 8x4 inches. Tie cord about 10 inches long at each corner. Apply over mouth and nose as shown in the picture.

To be worn in the sick room when taking care of the patient and on street cars and railway trains.

Keep the nose and mouth covered while coughing or sneezing.

A mask should not be worn more than two hours.

*Provincial health advisory, 1919 (private collection)*

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Photo (1998) courtesy of the National Club

## George Fierheller 1933–2020 *A tribute to an absent friend*

by Sandra Shaul

I never met anyone like George Fierheller but I'm sure glad I did because his addition to the Steering Committee of the Bicentennial Commemoration of the War of 1812 was critical to our success. George

was our fundraising and sponsorship lead, and he started the ball rolling by becoming our lead patron. He then brought in Rogers Media, who enthusiastically embraced the project and gave us access to their enormous and diverse audiences. Working with Freda Kemp, the project's staff fundraiser, he helped pitch the project to others. It was hard to say no to George.

The reason was that his achievements were so broad and his generosity so deep. It would be easier to list what boards he did *not* chair or sit on as a member, what charities and non-profits he did *not* help, and what innovative business ideas he did *not* champion. His main interests were business, science, philanthropy in the arts and social services, and his family with their Four Hall Kennels. The Bicentennial's enthusiastic endorsement from Rogers reflected George's pioneering work in their cable and mobile divisions.

The Bicentennial was not an easy sell at first. After all, York was clobbered during the war. But curiosity was piqued and the more we thought, the more we realized the importance of this war to the city and to the country as a whole. We were all fully committed.

George never had to be convinced. When approached by the Fort York Foundation for his help with a funding application, he wrote back to Curtis Barlow, then executive director, and said:

Dear Curtis,

I am very pleased to lend my personal support to the work of the Toronto Bicentennial Commemoration of one of the most significant events in the city's history. I have a personal interest in the War of 1812 as one of my direct ancestors, John Fierheller, served in the 1<sup>st</sup> York Militia. However, I would be very supportive of the project in any case because of the impact of the events surrounding the War of 1812 on the development of our country.

Diana Bennett, a former Chair of the Toronto Arts Foundation, described George – an early donor and advisor – as “a man of many enthusiasms. His curiosity and diversity of interests

included the arts. Our Toronto Arts Foundation benefitted from his generosity and sparkle at all our special events.”

George was modest but not self-effacing, proud of his achievements, and grateful for the recognition he received from the city, the province, the country and the Queen. He did not have a cell of self-entitlement in his entire body. He would present as a bright, engaged, calm, dignified, articulate gentleman, and then the sandy dry wit would subtly slip in.

His Fierheller's Files website ([www.gfierheller.ca](http://www.gfierheller.ca)) tells the whole story, starting with a biography headlined WHO IS HE ANYWAY? His introduction reveals a sense of humour right away: “This brief summary is more suitable for an obituary but it may help to put the following material in context. When you look back on 50 years of doing things, you realize that your ‘Best Before Date’ has likely expired!”

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### He did not have a cell of self-entitlement in his entire body

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Unfortunately, truer words were never spoken. George died on March 11, 2020, two days before Ontario went into Covid 19 lockdown. Most of us found out from the death notices in

the local newspapers. George and his wife Glenna had moved to Unionville on February 14, Valentine's Day, and both were in poor health. I last saw him for one of our many memorable lunches on February 7, and the last time I heard from him was in an email on March 4; he said he was still shaky but recovering.

How will I remember George? I will always be grateful for his dedicated and enormous help on the Bicentennial and think very fondly about the friendship that grew from it. Pamela Jeffries, now a founder of the Prosperity Project, remembered being invited to the board of the National Club before she was 40, and being awestruck with George as the chair. She was sure that her invitation to join had been a mistake. Seven years later *she* was the chair and George congratulated her and invited her out for lunch.

When we spoke, Pam thought we should imagine George in heaven looking down and thinking how nice it is that these two lovely ladies are having this conversation about him. George was an avowed atheist, but I would like to think that when he arrived at the Pearly Gates, he was informed that his good will toward humanity was enough to let him through and to keep him there.

*Sandra Shaul was the lead for the City of Toronto Bicentennial Commemoration of the War of 1812. She is currently Chair of the Toronto Preservation Board and pursuing an MFA in Creative Nonfiction from the University of King's College, Halifax.*

# Coronation Park restoration is complete

The multi-phase restoration of Coronation Park, on the waterfront south of Fort York, was finished early this summer. It's a lovely example of an updated heritage landscape.

A living memorial to Canadian soldiers, particularly of the First World War, it was opened on May 12, 1937, the day of King George VI's coronation. Each tree stands for a unit of the Canadian Corps, a part of the British Empire, or an arm of the Imperial service (and there are also trees for a handful of other Canadian campaigns).

Led by Brendan Stewart and Rui Félix for ERA architects, the project's aim was not to merely reproduce the design of 1937 but, with due respect to the gravity of its theme, make the design legible to a modern audience. They made careful choices. The new paths follow the curves of the originals – and so restore the visible order of the plantings – but two short lengths were eliminated: one is now a dead end, while the other would have taken down a stand of healthy evergreens.

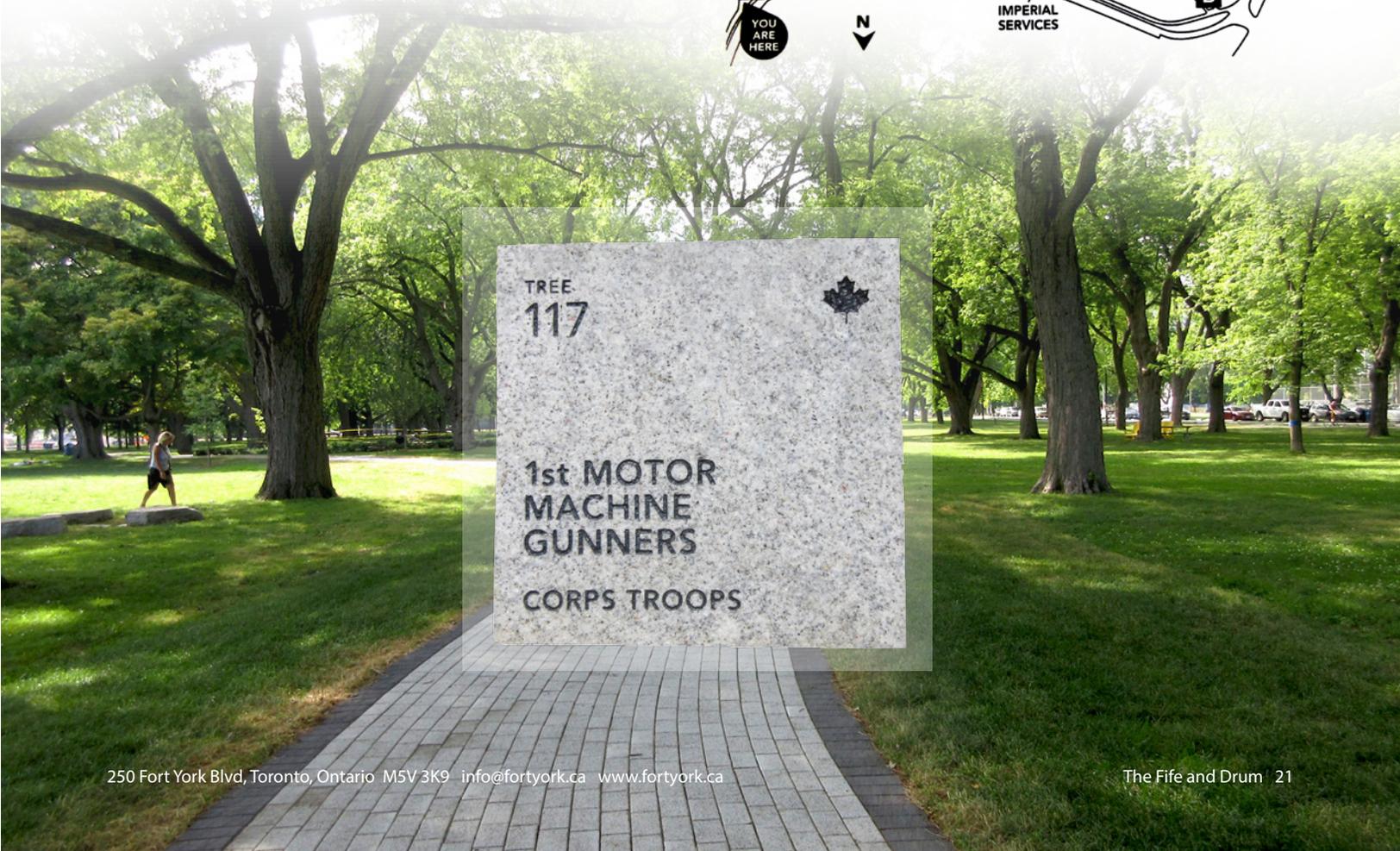
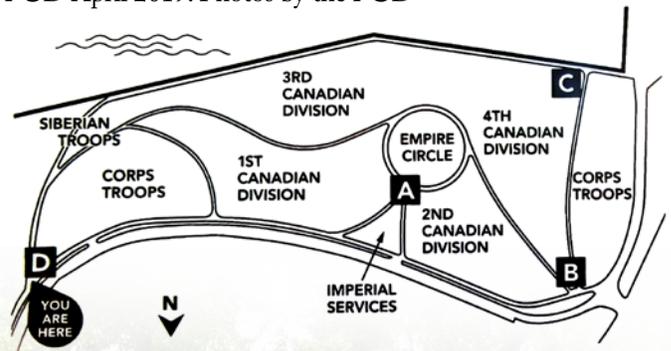
The original trees were all silver maple (except the King's own, which is oak) but the 18 replacements that were needed intentionally diversify the park's canopy: added were four red maple, two tulip, six American sycamore, three black gum and three basswood. A few other maples planted earlier in memory of someone (or, in one case, the Merchant Navy) were incorporated into the unified design. Another maple planted perhaps 15 years ago in the place of the Canadian Army Medical Corps has a marker with an oddly misplaced quotation from Emily Carr: "It is wonderful to feel the grandness of Canada in the raw."

The original markers were of metal in granite, written with military abbreviation and placed at the foot of each tree. Surviving originals have been left in place but each tree also has a new granite version embedded at the edge of the path and worded in plain English. They were engraved by Premier Jet, a small firm in Lac-Drolet, Quebec.

Four interpretive columns cogently explain the creation, planting and layout of the park. Designed by Debbie Adams, they use text and photos from Heritage Toronto. The park's elegant benches are by Soheil Mosun and repeat the pattern of the Music Garden.

Undermining the entire aesthetic – as they do in every high-design park – are those ubiquitous big plastic bins for garbage and recycling. Demanded by bean-counters and designed for the convenience of machines, they're an ongoing travesty.

The contractor of Phase 1 last year was Bond Paving & Construction, and of Phase 2, Mopal Construction. They did a fine job. On the park's theory and origin, including the 1937 map, see Sandra Shaul, "Coronation Park is being restored," *F&D* April 2019. Photos by the *F&D*



It's a great time to catch up on past issues of  
*The Fife and Drum*  
 Click on the covers to download your copy today!

**The Fife and Drum**  
 November of The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Columns Vol. 24, No. 4, Dec. 2019

Silver, bronze and platinum: the American bicentennial of York in April 1817

Collegiate and post-collegiate students in York, Ontario, are celebrating the bicentennial of the founding of York in April 1817. The York University and York University of Applied Arts are both celebrating the bicentennial. The York University of Applied Arts is celebrating the bicentennial of the founding of York in April 1817. The York University of Applied Arts is celebrating the bicentennial of the founding of York in April 1817.

**The Fife and Drum**  
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A warship is launched from Spadina Quay

A large black ship is being launched from a wooden slipway into the water. The ship is being lowered by a crane and is surrounded by people. The ship is being launched from a wooden slipway into the water. The ship is being lowered by a crane and is surrounded by people. The ship is being launched from a wooden slipway into the water.

**The Fife and Drum**  
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A Mohawk warrior at Queenston Heights

A Mohawk warrior is shown in a portrait. He is wearing a traditional Mohawk headdress and a red tunic. He is holding a bow and arrow. The portrait is set against a gold background.

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Fort Raville an outpost of French diplomacy and trade

A map shows the location of Fort Raville in the Great Lakes region. The map is labeled with 'Fort Raville' and 'Great Lakes'. The map shows the fort's location relative to the surrounding water and land.

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Coronation Park is being restored

A group of people is working on a restoration project in a park. They are seen from behind, looking towards a large building. The people are wearing hard hats and safety vests.

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Fort York's brick masonry restored

A close-up of a brick wall shows some restoration work. The bricks are being laid in a pattern. The work is being done by a person who is not visible in the image.

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St. John's fire clinic served the poor

A historical illustration shows a fire clinic. The clinic is a simple building with a sign that says 'FIRE CLINIC'. The clinic is surrounded by people.

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A Canadian rifleman in the summer of '44

A soldier in a green uniform is holding a rifle. He is standing in a field. The soldier is looking towards the camera.

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Restored Skate Trail Opens @ Fort York on January 6

A person is skating on a trail. The trail is made of wood and is surrounded by trees. The person is wearing a winter hat and gloves.

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 November of The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Columns Vol. 24, No. 4, Dec. 2019

The Invasive Games at Fort York

A group of people is playing a game. They are sitting on the ground and looking at a board. The game is being played in a park.

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Fort York Guard Features for Canada

A group of people in uniform is standing in a line. They are wearing dark uniforms with light-colored collars. They are standing in a park.

**The Fife and Drum**  
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John Green Simon's First Fort York

A historical illustration shows a fort. The fort is a large building with a flag on top. The fort is surrounded by a wall.

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New Exhibits Introduce Historic Fort York

A museum exhibit features a large map. The map shows the layout of Fort York. The exhibit is in a museum.

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Toronto's First Historical Plaques

A historical plaque is mounted on a wall. The plaque is made of stone and has a relief of a person. The plaque is surrounded by a frame.

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CityPlus Schooner built for shallow water

A large wooden schooner is on the water. The schooner has three masts and is surrounded by people. The schooner is being built for shallow water.

**The Fife and Drum**  
 November of The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Columns Vol. 24, No. 4, Dec. 2019

Twenty Years of Fife and Drum

A group of people in uniform is standing in a line. They are wearing dark uniforms with light-colored collars. They are standing in a park.

**The Fife and Drum**  
 November of The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Columns Vol. 24, No. 4, Dec. 2019

Project: Under Gardens  
 An Urban Renaissance with Fort York at Its Heart

A construction site shows workers. The workers are wearing hard hats and safety vests. They are working on a building.

**The Fife and Drum**  
 November of The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Columns Vol. 24, No. 4, Dec. 2019

For King and Country: WWI Land and the Mayors of Toronto

A group of people in uniform is standing in a line. They are wearing dark uniforms with light-colored collars. They are standing in a park.

**The Fife and Drum**  
 November of The Friends of Fort York and Garrison Columns Vol. 24, No. 4, Dec. 2019

Not Taking Freedom for Granted

A group of people in uniform is standing in a line. They are wearing dark uniforms with light-colored collars. They are standing in a park.

**The Fife and Drum**  
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Fort York Is Better for the Bicentennial

A group of people in uniform is standing in a line. They are wearing dark uniforms with light-colored collars. They are standing in a park.