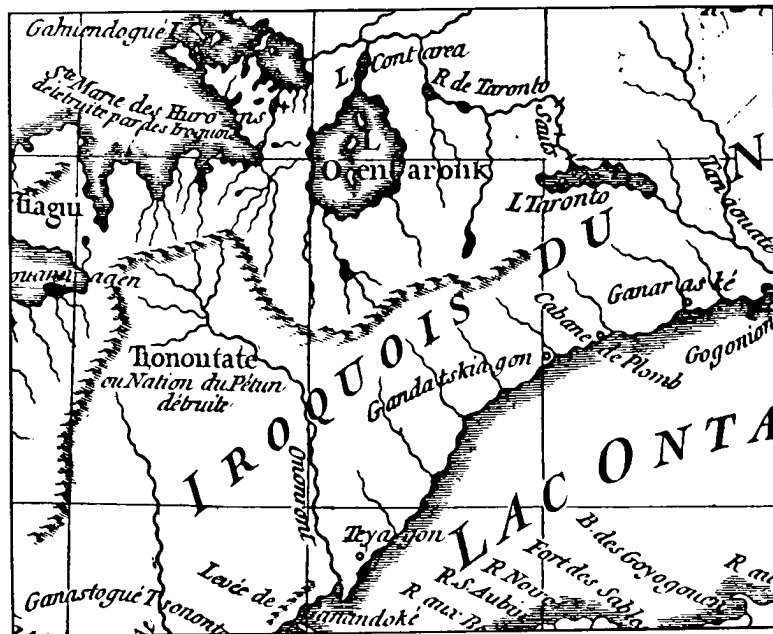


CHARLEVOIX-BELLIN—1744
 The most accurate of the printed maps.



DANVILLE—1755

This remarkable map of the Huron country appeared a century after the expulsion of the Hurons. The mapmaker has moved the R. de Toronto and the L. Taronto too far to the east. This map is the source of the mistaken statement that the name "Toronto" was applied to the Trent Valley region.

*

goods sent there in 1722-1723,¹ as to a regular post, and the appointment of a permanent clerk during the same year at a salary of 350 *livres*, without mention that it is a new establishment. The clerks at Frontenac received 900 *livres*, the clerk at Niagara 400, while the clerks at Toronto and Quinte each received 350 *livres* for the years 1722 and 1723. Six soldiers were employed to assist in the trade at the various posts and received 30 *livres* apiece. The profits of the trade for two years were 5,700 *livres*, 11 *sous*. As the accounts for all the posts on Lake Ontario were included in one schedule, it is impossible to estimate the comparative importance of these places.

The *Magasin Royal*, built by Joncaire at the foot of the Niagara portage at Lewiston in 1720, soon became a blockhouse, forty feet by thirty, musket-proof, with portholes and surrounded by a palisade. The house built at Toronto by the Sieur Douville was, no doubt, a similar structure, possibly with an attic in which to store trade goods and the peltries acquired in exchange. Since the Niagara *Magasin Royal* was placed at Lewiston at the foot of the portage, there is every reason to believe that the Toronto *magasin* was similarly situated. Two sites suggest themselves: one at the mouth of the Humber on the site afterwards occupied by Rousseau's house; the other on Baby Point, where the remains of a palisade were observed in the eighties. The latter site is also the site of Teiaiagon. When Portneuf in 1750 built his first fort at Toronto, he built it, as we shall presently see, not on the site marked by the monument on the Exhibition Grounds, but on the east bank of the Humber.

I have before me a schedule of goods offered in exchange for the furs of the Indians at the four posts on Lake Ontario in the year 1726.² The number and variety of the items suggests that these frontier posts of two centuries ago resembled the

1 Ibid., Vol. 45, pp. 195-199: "Etat des vivres munitions et marchandises qui ont été traitées au fort frontenac, à Niagara, au fond du Lac Ontario et à la Baye de Quinté pendant les Années 1722 et 1723. . . . Fait à Québec le trentième octobre, 1723.—Bégon." Ibid., pp. 200-202.

2 Ibid., Vol. 48, pp. 243-248, "Dupuy au ministre, 26 octobre, 1726."

country shops of to-day; they sold everything from buttons and shirts and ribbons to combs, knives, looking-glasses and axes; flour and lard, pepper, prunes, raisins, olive-oil, tobacco, vermilion, powder and shot, caps of various sizes all mingled confusedly in this curious inventory. It is plain that even in 1726 Toronto had assumed that commercial character which still distinguishes her inhabitants.

Having established and stocked these emporiums, the authorities were naturally impatient of competition, whether it came, as it often did, from the English in New York, or from unlicensed *coureurs-de-bois* from Quebec. In 1726 the Intendant Bégon issued the following regulation:

Concerning the illicit trade in the neighbourhood of the posts on Lake Ontario and Lake Erie pertaining to the King.— Being informed that several private individuals are carrying on trade in Lake Ontario, Lake Erie and other places to the prejudice of that carried on for the King at Fort Frontenac, at Niagara, at the foot of Lake Ontario (Toronto) and elsewhere, we forbid all persons to trade in the aforesaid lakes Ontario and Erie, in their environs or anywhere else, on pain of confiscation of canoes, merchandise and the peltries with which they are laden, and a fine of five hundred *livres*, to which the said traders will be liable as well as those who outfit them; the said fines being awarded to those who lay the information or to whom it shall seem suitable, and the merchandise shall be confiscated to the profit of His Majesty. And to this intent we order that all those passing Fort Frontenac, Niagara and the other posts where the trade is conducted for His Majesty, whether on the way up to the Upper Country or on the way down from the said country, shall be required to present to the store-keepers or other officers in charge of His Majesty's trade in the said posts, the licenses under which they go up, and on their return to present the same licenses granting them permission to go to the Upper Country; and if they fail to present the said licenses, we instruct the said store-keepers and other officers in the said posts, to seize the said canoes, goods and peltries and to draw up indictments to be forwarded us for execution. We beg those in charge of the said store-keepers and others employed in the same trade always and as often as they shall be required to do so, to keep all traders and those also under their authority in

hand in the execution of this ordinance, which will be issued in due form, published and posted in the cities of Quebec, Three-Rivers and Montreal, for the information of all. Ordered and done at Quebec the fourteenth day of September one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six.¹

This edict was one of the last of the official acts of the Intendant Bégon, as the following despatch to the Minister was among the first official communications of his successor, the Intendant Dupuy. Both documents are concerned with the same subject, the difficulties of the trade on Lake Ontario. Dupuy's despatch bears the date of October 20, 1726, one month after the edict issued by Bégon, who was at the moment on his way back to France. The Intendant Dupuy wrote as follows:

My Lord,

I have the honour to send you herewith the statement of account of the skins purchased at Fort Frontenac and at Niagara and at the *fond du lac Ontario* (Toronto) and also of the provisions, merchandise and munitions given in exchange for the said skins, by which you will see, My Lord, by a comparison of the profits of the sale of these skins and the goods given in exchange, transport to Fort Frontenac and wages of clerks employed in the trade, that there is a loss of 5003 *livres 18 sld.* Those which could not be sold have been put back in the warehouses of the King and will not make up the loss of the 5003 *livres 18 sld.* This trade has been so bad only because all spring and a part of the summer the English were in the neighbourhood of Niagara and secured all the best skins there. There have also been *coureurs-de-bois* from Montreal who have wintered in the trading ground of Fort Frontenac; they have done much harm there. Added to all this there has been a great decline in the price of skins.

I have the honour to be with profound respect, my Lord,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

DUPUY.

Quebec the 20th October 1726.²

¹ *Ordres des Intendants, 1726-1727*, pp. 1-2.

² *Archives des Colonies*, CII A, Vol. 48, pp. 243-248. "Dupuy au ministre, 20 octobre, 1726."

The simultaneous establishment in 1720 of magazines at Toronto, Quinte and Niagara, in addition to Fort Frontenac, had given notice to the English that the French intended to close Lake Ontario to their rivals and to secure all the profits of the lake trade for themselves. For a short time these efforts were successful. The profits of the trade at New York declined almost one-half. It was not long till the challenge was accepted. The energetic Burnet, Governor of New York, protested the post at Niagara, and by erecting a fortified stone house at Oswego in 1726 he established the first English permanent post and settlement on the lakes; and again the French were unable to prevent the Indians from going to Albany to trade. That the efforts of the French were futile is apparent from the report of the younger Longueuil to his father, the baron, in 1725, concerning his mission to the Onondagas; he wrote that he had seen more than a hundred canoes on Lake Ontario making their way to Oswego. And returning from Onondaga he encountered many canoes, propelled by Nipissings and Sauteurs from the Huron regions, making their way into Lake Ontario by the Toronto river and all headed for the mouth of the Oswego. He was of the opinion that the new *barques* which the French were constructing at Fort Frontenac would put a stop to this.¹

In their turn the French now endeavoured to frustrate the English at Oswego by the erection of a more permanent structure at Niagara. In 1725 the Intendant Bégon notified the Minister that, in view of the importance of doing everything to prevent the English from driving the French from Niagara, he had determined to build two *barques* at Fort Frontenac to serve in case of need against the English and to serve also for carrying materials to Niagara for the erection of a stone fort. These vessels were not in commission till the spring of 1726, when they began the task of transporting stone and other building material to Niagara. On October 17, 1727, de Léry was able to report to the Minister that the stone house at Niagara was

¹ SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, p. 265.

entirely finished and surrounded with palisades to protect it from the savages. The French had now realized their dream of a permanent fortress on the Niagara River. From the erection of Fort Niagara there is a thread of continuous history which runs down to the present. This building, the oldest in America west of the Mohawk, is still standing and has recently been restored to the condition in which the French maintained it. From its windows the visitor may look out across the lake—as its isolated garrison did two centuries ago—and recall in imagination the feeble trading post at Toronto, which remained during all its history, whether as magazine or fort, an outpost and dependency of the great fort at Niagara, whose fall in 1759 was the occasion of national rejoicing in Great Britain. Nor did the connection of Toronto with Niagara terminate then; for another fifty years the connection was maintained under British auspices and it was from the mouth of the Niagara River, while Fort Niagara was still in British hands, that Simcoe sailed in 1793 to establish a town destined to become the capital of the new Province of Upper Canada on a site which had borne the name of Toronto for at least a century. The poet, Moore, had ample justification for attaching the epithet “old” to the name when he wrote in 1804,

Where the blue hills of old Toronto shed
Their evening shadows o'er Ontario's bed.

Oswego, or, as the French called it, Chouéguen, began at once to be a serious competitor. It was found necessary to lower the price of goods in the king's posts on Lake Ontario to a dangerous point in order to retain the trade. The profits began to shrink and disappear. It was decided to adopt the policy of leasing the posts.¹ Graft and incompetency seem to have ruined the enterprise from the first. In 1727 we find Beauharnois complaining of Dupuy's management of the posts.

¹ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 265-276.

Under the date of September the 20th, he wrote to the Minister:¹

That was his (Dupuy's) first manoeuvre at Montreal; the second was not to my taste, having found it contrary to the good of the service. He has leased for four hundred francs the post at Toronto to a young man who is not at all fit. M. d'Aigremont to whom M. Dupuy sent the lease for signature refused to sign it, saying that he would speak of it to the Intendant. He did so, representing to him that it would do much injury to the trade at Forts Frontenac and Niagara. In spite of that he sent the lease back to him the next day to make him sign, which he refused. The Intendant went on just the same. M. d'Aigremont to whom I spoke about the matter told me his reason was that a man of the city had offered a thousand crowns (about \$600) for it some years ago, and M. de Longueuil told me the same thing two days later in his office; M. d'Aigremont was there at the time.

The person who secured this very advantageous lease at Toronto was Philippe Douville, Sieur de la Saussaye; we shall see presently that he secured also the post of *garde-magasin* at Niagara, and that the appointment provoked a scandal.

Dupuy seems to have appealed to the President of the Navy Board. We have the latter's reply under date of May 18th, with reference to the lease at Toronto.

I agree with you that the leasing of the Post at Toronto ought not to prejudice the trade at Forts Frontenac and Niagara, but it seems to me that the price of 400 *livres* a year at which you have leased this post is very moderate since several years ago a man offered 3000 *livres* for it, which makes me sure that you have been overreached. You ought to put right what could have been avoided if you had consulted M. d'Aigremont, who has been in the country for twenty-eight years and knows it well. Besides, it would not be right to lease this post without first informing M. le Marquis de Beauharnois, on account of the Indians.²

¹ *Archives des Colonies*, CII A, Vol. 49-1, pp. 98-99. "Beauharnois au ministre, 20 septembre, 1727."

² *Archives des Colonies*, Série B, Vol. 52-1, p. 143. "The President of the Navy Board to Dupuy, May 18, 1728."

A copy of this letter seems to have been sent to M. d'Aigremont. On October 15, 1728, M. d'Aigremont wrote to the Minister from Quebec.

My Lord, I have received your letter of the 18th of May last to M. Dupuy. The letter being almost entirely concerned with the differences between M. le Marquis de Beauharnois and M. Dupuy, I have nothing to reply. I had the honour to explain to you in another letter that the lease of the post at Toronto was very prejudicial to the trade at forts Frontenac and Niagara carried on there for the King, and the reasons that there are for cancelling the lease given by M. Dupuy which had still a year to run. I have the honour to be very respectfully and gratefully My Lord, your very humble and very obedient servant,—D'AIGREMONT.¹

There is no mistaking the tone of this letter. D'Aigremont was an old and experienced official, thoroughly acquainted with the Indians and the fur trade. Dupuy, the Intendant, was a man of ability, who during his brief period of office was involved in constant quarrels with the Governor and the Bishop. Both Beauharnois and Dupuy assumed office in 1726, and neither of them could have known very much about conditions on Lake Ontario. Beauharnois continued in office as Governor for twenty-one years. Dupuy was superseded in 1728. The quarrel between the two officials over the Toronto affair was terminated by instructions from France to cancel the lease. M. d'Aigremont, finding that Dupuy had not only leased the post at Toronto at a nominal rate to Douville, but had in addition appointed the same person store-keeper or *garde-magasin* at Niagara, drew the attention of the Minister to this impossible situation in his report on the trade of the various posts for the year 1728. M. d'Aigremont's report, to which he refers in his letter of May 18, 1728, has been preserved, as well as the reply addressed to M. Hocquart, the Intendant, by the

¹ *Archives des Colonies*, CII A, Vol. 50, p. 131, "M. d'Aigremont au ministre, 15 octobre, 1728."

President of the Navy Board, which bears the date of April 19, 1729.¹

In his report M. d'Aigremont explained that there had been incompetency at Niagara and that the official in charge of trade at Niagara, Le Clerc, had died and had left his accounts in confusion, and that he was afraid he would have no better report to give for the following year:

M. Dupuy having sent to Niagara to replace the Sieur Le Clerc, a man who is scarcely able to read and sign his name, notwithstanding representations which I have made regarding it. This man is Rouville la Saussaye (*sic*), to whom was leased last year the post at Toronto for one year for 400 *livres*. He still has that lease which is not compatible with his employment as clerk (*commis*) and store-keeper (*garde-magasin*) of Niagara. This lease-hold which is at the foot of Lake Ontario and which has been exploited in past years in the King's interest as a dependency of Fort Niagara, ought not to be leased to the store-keeper in charge of trade at Niagara, because of the abuses which may spring from it—this man may send off to the Toronto post the Indians who come to Niagara, under pretext that he has not in the storehouse there the articles they ask for. Furthermore he might make exchanges of good peltries for bad ones, and besides he could intercept all the Indians in Lake Ontario and so utterly ruin the trade at Forts Frontenac and Niagara.

The result of these representations was the cancelling of the lease at Toronto; and since the post does not appear again in the reports for the period, it may be inferred that the schemes of M. Douville were responsible for its abolition. In 1750 it reappeared as Fort Toronto.² The text of the order will be given in the original French:

Je vous observeray que le Poste de Toronto qui est dans le fonds du Lac Ontario et qui a esté de tout Temps Exploité pour

¹ *Archives des Colonies*, Série B, Vol. 53-2, pp. 338-339. "The President of the Navy Board to Hocquart, April 19, 1729: 'Je vous observeray que le Poste de Toronto qui est dans le fonds du Lac Ontario et qui a esté de tout Temps exploité pour le Compte du Roy. . . .'"

² Fort Toronto was seldom called Fort Rouillé. The name appears only once or twice in official documents. On the maps it is always Fort Toronto. The place was Toronto long before the fort built by Dufaux in 1750-1751.

le Compte du Roy comme dependant du fort de Niagara a esté donné a ferme par M. Dupuy en 1727 et 1728 moyennant 400 livres par an au nommé Douville. M. d'Aigremont m'a marqué a ce Sujet qu'après la mort du Sr. Le Clerc qui estoit commis au Poste de Niagara M. Dupuy avoit donné cette Commission à Douville qui ne Scait ny lire ny écrire et par consequent hors d'Etat de l'exploiter, que dailleurs il y avoit incompatibilité entre cette Commission et la ferme de Toronto à cause des abus qui pouvoient s'ensuivre en ce que la personne qui exploiteroit ces deux Postes pourroit renvoyer au poste de Toronto les Sauvages qui Iroient travailler à Niagara, sous pretexte qu'il n'auroit pas dans ce magasin ce qu'ils demanderoient, que d'ailleurs ils pourroient échanger toutes les bonnes pelleteries contre de mauvaises, qu'il pourroit aussy arrester à Toronto tous les Sauvages du Lac Ontario et par ce moyen ruiner les Traites de Niagara et de frontenac toutes ces raisons l'ont engagé a retirer ce Commis du Poste de Niagara et à Supprimer la ferme de Toronto; ce que j'ai aprouvé, vous agirez Sur le mesme principe.¹

The President of the Navy Board seems to repeat the phrases of M. d'Aigremont, but there are one or two variations; the name of the holder of the lease at Toronto, M. d'Aigremont calls him Rouville la Saussaye; the President of the Navy Board speaks of him as "a man called Douville." According to the former, this person was "scarcely able to read and to sign his name"; according to the latter, "he could neither read nor write."

M. Aegidius Fauteux, Librarian of the Public Library of Montreal, has placed at my disposal the following extract from a deed drawn in 1728 between Philippe Dagneau de la Saussaye, the holder of the lease at Toronto and the clerkship at Niagara, and his brother, Alexandre Dagneau Douville. M. Fauteux informs me that the extract is taken from manuscript notes of the Abbé Faillon, but that the abbé or his scribe had not thought it worth while to mention where the original was to be found; it is probably buried in the Montreal Archives. The extract bears the number (74) with the heading, "August 11, 1728—

¹ *Archives des Colonies*, Série B, Vol. 53-2, pp. 338-339. "The President of the Navy Board to Hocquart, April 19, 1729."

Transfer of the post at the head of the lake by the Sieur de la Saussaye," and reads as follows:

We the undersigned, Alexandre Dagneau Douville and Philippe Dagneau, have agreed in good faith to the following, to wit: that I, de la Saussaye, not being able myself to exploit the lease of the post at Toronto for the year commencing July 2nd, last, on account of the employment which I have at Niagara, and not being even free to withdraw my effects from the said post, to have them returned to the Sieur Desruisseaux who has stayed for the trade and to have them brought to this city to satisfy my engagements, of my own accord and under the good pleasure of Monsieur l'Intendant transfer and hand over to Douville all my rights and claims in the said lease as much for the year ending the 2nd of July last as for the current year from the same date and in consequence arrange and dispose at his discretion conjointly with the Sieur Desruisseaux that he shall have a share in the interests of the said lease as well as in the beaver skins and furs which are actually received by the Sieur Desrivieres.

Have appeared (before me) the Sieurs Alexandre and Philippe Douville, the Sieur Julien Trottier Desrivieres mentioned in the above agreement who have stated and admitted that they have made the above bargains and agreements.

As we have already seen, the Sieur de la Saussaye was not able to retain his lease at Toronto. His efforts to continue the exploitation of that post by delegating his rights to his brother were not successful. The illiteracy of the Sieur de la Saussaye was probably exaggerated. M. Fauteux is of the opinion that he has seen some of his letters among the manuscripts of St. Sulpice and that they are no worse than those written by his contemporaries. Alexandre Douville, his brother, became an ensign in the army in 1735 and eventually became captain. He was in command of the garrison of Fort Toronto when it was abandoned and burned in 1759.

Severance, in his *Old Frontier of France*, Volume I, p. 184, makes the suggestion that the builder of the post at the head of the lake, whom Durant in his memorial calls the "Sieur de Anville," and the builder of the post at Quinte in the same

year, whom Durant calls "the Sieur d'Agneaux," and the "Sieur D'Ouille" who, according to Durant, spent the winter of 1720 and 1721 at the *Magasin Royal* at Lewiston in company with the young La Corne, are the same person. This is an assumption which may or may not be true. If true, it would still leave us in doubt as to the builder of the magazine at Toronto in 1720. Durant may have meant the same person in each case, but still there would be nothing to indicate which member of the Douville family was intended. The members of the Douville family bore a variety of appellations which make identification difficult. The Sieur Michel Dagneau Douville is described in a document of 1734 as "*Sr. Dagneaux Douville Enseigne en second*"; he was an inferior officer in the Marine troops serving in Canada. In that year he was permitted to retire from the service and his commission was transferred to his son, Philippe Dagneau de la Saussaye, by mistake,¹ the latter not being in the service; this mistake was rectified next year and another son, Alexandre Dagneau Douville, was appointed. The father of the Douvilles, the Sieur Michel Dagneau Douville, had, as we have seen, a large family of sons. The builder of the post at Toronto may have been the father, the Sieur Michel Dagneau Douville, or any one of the three elder sons, Jean, Alexandre or Philippe. Until further information is forthcoming, it is not possible to accept or disprove Severance's suggestion,² and the name of the builder of the first post at Toronto must remain in doubt, except that he was a Douville.

What influence Philippe Dagneau de la Saussaye was able to bring to bear upon the Intendant Dupuy does not appear. The terms on which he obtained a lease of the post at Toronto, and his subsequent appointment as *garde-magasin* at Niagara,

¹ *Archives des Colonies*, Série B, Vol. 61-1, p. 107.

² M. Aegidius Fauteux has corrected some of the mistakes made by historians in regard to the Douvilles: "Philippe Dagneau de la Saussaye, who died about 1754, was never an officer, and Alexandre Douville, who was an officer, was not killed, but died in his bed in Montreal about 1773. The Dagneau who was killed in 1755 was a son of Philippe Dagneau de la Saussaye."

led to a change in the administration of the post. His subsequent career deserves a more extended notice. Closely associated on several occasions with both the elder and the younger Joncaire, it is not quite certain whether he is to be regarded as a confidential agent of the government of the Joncaire species, or as a simple trader. There is evidence that the governor, Beauharnois, employed his services on several occasions, and that his influence with the Indians, especially the Chaouenons or Shawnees, made him an important person in the wilderness. Such men were indispensable to the French in their efforts to control the interior. If La Saussaye never attained the same importance as Joncaire, like de Rocheblave and Rousseau, who will come into the story a little later, he played a useful part in the control of the tribes.

After 1730, Philippe, known as La Saussaye, and his brother, Alexandre, seem to have been engaged in the fur trade at Green Bay and among the Miami. In 1730 he was at Detroit, and in 1731 at the River St. Joseph. From 1735 to 1743 he was continuously employed among the Chaouenons on the Ohio. At this time the latter were established on the Ohio some miles below the modern city of Franklin. It was to this region that the elder Joncaire was despatched after he had finished his work among the Senecas and had enabled the French to establish themselves at Niagara. The Joncaires and La Saussaye were pioneers on the Ohio, preparing the way for the formal occupation of the Ohio Valley in 1749. In 1735, oddly enough, La Saussaye was employing Jean Rousseau *dit* St. Jean among the Chaouenons, probably the same Rousseau who was later established at Toronto. In 1736 we find La Saussaye and the elder Joncaire partners in some trading enterprise on the Ohio. In 1739 La Saussaye conducted a band of Shawnees to Montreal for a conference with Beauharnois, and on this occasion he brought with him the news of the death of the elder Joncaire at Niagara. In 1739 Beauharnois employed La Saussaye in connection with a migration of the Shawnees and in the autumn of that year he was wrecked on Lake Ontario and the Governor

commended him to the Minister.¹ In 1749, when Céloron led his famous expedition into the Ohio region, it was La Saussaye who served as guide over the Chautauqua portage. The names of La Saussaye and of his brother, Alexandre Douville, are attached to the statement of independence made by the Iroquois chiefs at Quebec in 1749. It is plain that they had great influence with the Shawnees and with the Iroquois. Possibly he was the M. Douville to whom the Hurons of Detroit gave the name *Andououtore*. It is to be noted that it was the Shawnees who contributed most to the defeat of Braddock, and that Tecumseh belonged to this tribe. Evidently the work was well done and La Saussaye, whether he was the builder of the first post at Toronto or not, was a person of some consequence in the wilderness. His name will remain associated with Toronto.

The effect of the English post at Oswego had been felt at once.² The profits of the French in 1725 were less than a third of what they had been in 1724. Again in 1726 the English had the best of it; the French sustained a loss of 5,000 *livres*. After the building of the stone house at Niagara, matters improved, but only temporarily. The competition of unlicensed traders from Quebec and the English colonies, and even as far as Louisiana, and the French prohibition of the liquor trade,³ made it difficult for intendants alternating between energy and slackness to show a profit. The region was rich in furs. A schedule of furs received from the Lake Ontario posts in 1727 enumerates 7,124 skins of a great variety of animals, of which the beaver far outnumbers the rest. It was, in fact, chiefly for the skin of this animal that the trade was conducted, a beaver skin being worth twice as much as a bear or an otter.

1 In November, 1739, Beauharnois, in a letter to the Minister remarked, "Le Sieur Douville de la Saussaye que j'avais chargé de nos ordres chez les Chouanons pour l'exécution de mon projet. . . ." *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec*, 1922-1923, p. 186.

2 SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, p. 220.

3 "The one thing that killed the trade at Niagara and Frontenac was the restriction put upon the sale of brandy." Severance, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, pp. 267-268.

Since the most valuable beaver hunting-ground was north of the lakes, it is a fair deduction that much of this trade came from Toronto.¹

Following the dispute about La Saussaye's lease of the post at Toronto, the name "Toronto" disappears from the records. For the twenty years between 1730 and 1750, there was not, so far as is known, a regular post at Toronto. The place continued to be served from Niagara. The English from Oswego probably came frequently to the foot of the Carrying-Place, and we know from the complaints of the French that the Missisaugas were frequent visitors at Oswego. On October 1, 1728, Beauharnois intimated his intention of adopting measures which would render Oswego or Chouéguen useless to the English; he proposed to issue orders obliging the canoes of the *voyageurs* on their way down from the upper country to pass along the north shore of Lake Ontario. It became customary after 1739 to insert in the licenses of those traders who obtained permission to go to the upper country the words, "*défense de prendre d'autre route que celle du nord du lac Ontario.*" Between 1739 and 1748 I have found fifty *congés* in which these words appear. There must have been many jolly parties at the mouth of the Toronto river during this period.

Early in the forties the fur trade in Lake Ontario was leased for a period of six years to the French Company of the Indies, and under this company the lessee of the trade was the Sieur Chalet. In the summer of 1743 Chalet made the round of Lake Ontario to learn the requirements and conditions of the trade. There was at this time no establishment at Toronto, but Chalet sent to Toronto that summer several *voyageurs*, who camped at the mouth of the Toronto or Humber River and carried on a considerable trade with passing Indians, most of whom, had they not found the French there, would have gone with their furs to Oswego.² In 1746 Chalet relinquished his lease of the Lake Ontario posts.

¹ SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. I, p. 273.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 388.

In 1749 the younger de Léry, acting under instructions from Galissonnière, made a journey from Montreal to Detroit, making astronomical observations at certain points along the route. The party was under the command of Captain de Sabrevois, who was on his way to assume command at Detroit; it consisted of traders and several families intending to settle there. On the afternoon of the 29th of June, the canoes came to shore at the mouth of the Rouge. Embarking again about midnight, they reached Toronto Island towards dawn. Here they breakfasted, and, resting again at the mouth of the Credit, they reached the end of the lake that night. The first of July they were wind-bound, but on the second they paddled fourteen leagues and reached Niagara. As they made nineteen leagues on the thirtieth, they could not have stayed long at Toronto, where they did not enter the river, nor at the mouth of the Credit, where they ate their dinner. At the Credit, de Léry found a village of Missisaugas and gathered some inaccurate information which led him to suppose that the foot of the trail from Lake Huron was at that place. In his diary he suggests the establishing of a trade-house at the mouth of the Credit to prevent the Indians from the north going to Chouéguen. On his return to Quebec, on the twenty-fifth of September, de Léry found that Galissonnière had set sail for France. He made four copies of his report, one of which he handed to Jonquière, the new governor, another he forwarded to Galissonnière, another to the Minister of Marine, and the fourth he retained. On the ninth of October Jonquière wrote to the Minister, recommending the establishment of a post at Toronto.¹

In the autumn of 1728, Chaussegros de Léry made a map of Lake Ontario which is preserved in the archives of Laval University, Quebec. This map has the following legend attached to the Oswego River, *R. Chueguen ou des Onontagues ou se sont établis les Anglais*. There is nothing to show that there were any establishments along the north shore of the lake at that time, except at Kenté and the mouth of the Humber. At the

¹ *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec*, 1926-1927, pp. 334-348.

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latter place the village of Teiaiaagon is indicated, though misspelt, "Terraiaagon," and wrongly placed on the west bank of the river. In the map which de Léry drew in 1744, he tells us that in the earlier map he had embodied the results of an exploration of the south shore; he had not at that time explored the north shore. In the 1744 map the Humber appears as R. Toronto.

VI

FORT TORONTO OR FORT ROUILLÉ: 1750-1759

EVEN in a record of fact, imagination may occasionally be permitted to point a contrast and to emphasize the rapidity with which great changes have taken place. Brûlé, at the mouth of the Humber in 1615, beheld a scene which bore no resemblance to the summer pageantry of Sunnyside. The Humber of Hennepin and La Salle is now the Humber of golf clubs and dance-halls. Douville's first magazine of 1720 could only faintly prophesy by the variety of its wares the palatial shops of to-day. Toronto has forgotten Teiaiagon. But nowhere is the contrast between what is and what has been more striking than in the grounds of the Canadian National Exhibition, where a monument was erected in 1878 on the site of Fort Rouillé. Here, where world championships are won and the wealth of half a continent is annually displayed, the more reflective may remember that two centuries ago French couriers paused on their way from Louisiana to Quebec, and the Missisaugas brought in the scalps of their English enemies south of the lake and claimed their reward. An inscription on a huge boulder contains these words:

This monument marks the exact site of Fort Rouillé, commonly known as Fort Toronto . . . established A.D. 1749 . . . on the recommendation of the Count de la Galissonnière 1747-1749. Erected by the corporation . . . 1878.¹

This inscription is at fault. Fort Toronto was built by the Marquis de la Jonquière, and the fort on the site indicated by the monument was the second fort and was not completed till the spring of 1751.

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, Oswego, or

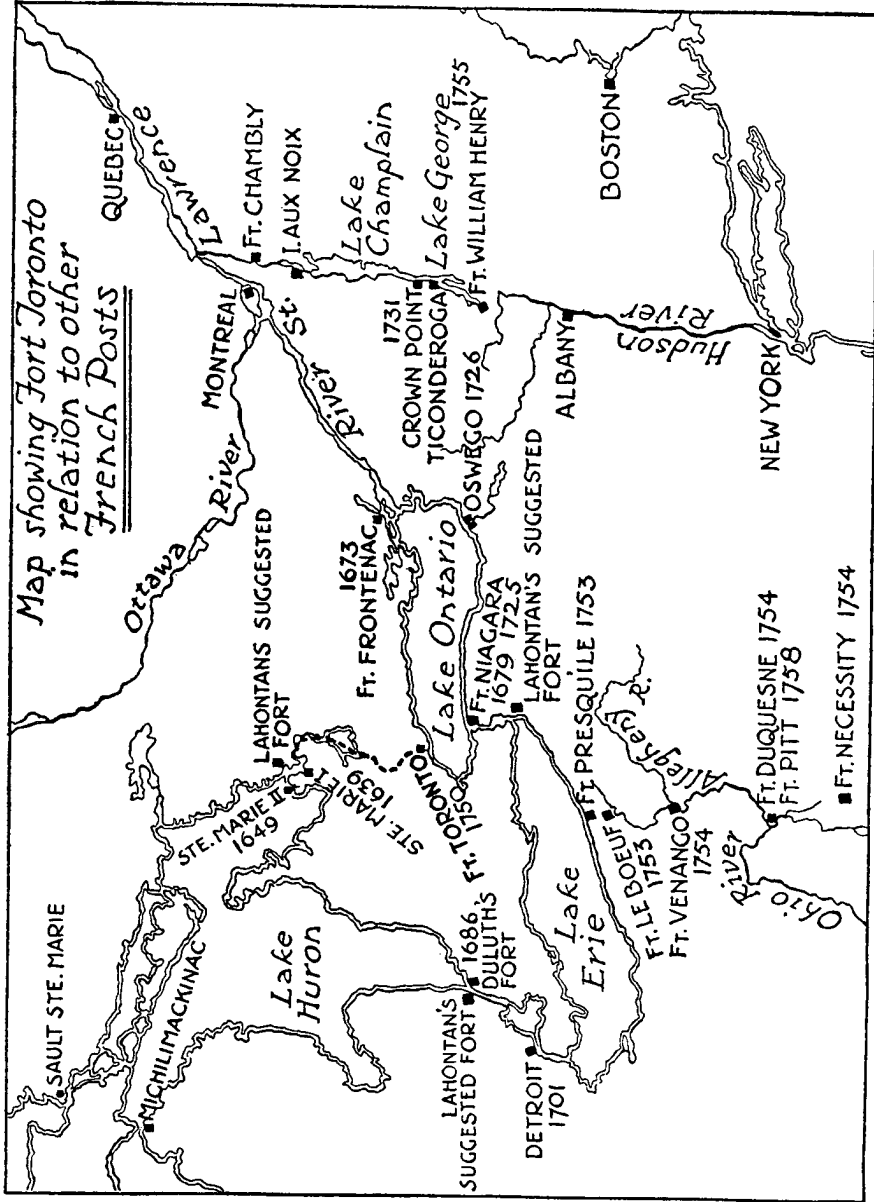
¹ This is the inscription on the boulder marking the original site; the monument bears the following: "Fort Toronto, an Indian Trading Post, for some time known as Fort Rouillé, was established here A.D. MDCCXLIX by order of Louis XV."

Chouéguen, had become a formidable menace to the French trade. It is to this fact that Fort Toronto owed its origin, or rather its re-establishment. Although English traders had been active at Oswego for more than twenty years, the French had not been awake to the reality of the menace. They were now faced with a much more desperate struggle. The building of Fort Toronto, intended primarily as an offset to Oswego and as a place at which to sell liquor to the Indians, was also part of a much more ambitious scheme conceived by the Comte de la Galissonnière for the possession of the Ohio Valley and the exclusion of the English from the west.¹

Hardly had the Count arrived in Canada, according to the anonymous author of the *Mémoire du Canada*, when he embarked upon the project of defining and determining the limits and boundaries of the French possessions in North America. His design was just; but the interests of the colony demanded peace, and as the Comte de la Galissonnière succeeded in imposing his views upon the French Court and upon his successor, the Marquis de la Jonquière, his policy must be held responsible for the outbreak of hostilities in America long before the formal commencement of the Seven Years War in Europe. It was in 1749, the year after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, that the Comte de la Galissonnière sent one of his officers, Céloron de Blainville, to establish the claims of the French to the Ohio River and the region which it drained, and it was in the autumn of the same year that the Marquis de la Jonquière, his successor, intimated to the Minister in Paris his intention of establishing a post at Toronto.

The new post did not actually come into existence till the next year, and the part which it played in the history of the dramatic years which preceded the capture of Quebec is entirely insignificant; but the remote origin of a great modern city cannot be without interest, and if the actual events which

¹ "After the conquest the importance of Oswego steadily waned: the last remaining trader was driven out in 1778. . . . For a few years after the conquest the trade at Oswego exceeded that at any other point on the continent." Cruikshank, *Transactions Canadian Institute*, 1891-1892, p. 261.



FORT TORONTO IN RELATION TO OTHER FRENCH POSTS

transpired in the neighbourhood of Toronto at this time are of no historic importance except to the student of local history, the inhabitants of this lonely post were spectators of a series of episodes which determined the destiny of the American continent. In 1753, Washington, still an unknown young officer, was sent to protest the incursion of the French into the valley of the Ohio, and in the next year was forced to surrender ignominiously to de Villiers, brother-in-law of Captain Douville of Toronto. In 1755 occurred the disastrous defeat of General Braddock, and a year later Oswego fell to the French. In 1757 Montcalm captured Fort William Henry, and then came calamity, for in the next year Louisbourg and Fort Frontenac and Fort Duquesne all fell to the English. In 1759 Fort Niagara was taken by Johnson, Ticonderoga and Crown Point by Amherst, and then came the battle of the Plains of Abraham and the end. Such was the martial panorama unrolled on distant horizons for the feeble garrison of Fort Toronto during the troubled years of its existence. As we shall see, echoes of these events reached the lonely trading-post in the wilderness; Indian runners carried news quickly, and there were Missisaugas from Toronto in the army of Montcalm.

While the name of Fort Toronto hardly appears in the military annals of the period, everything that transpired at Toronto was connected in one way or another with the distant struggle and reflected the current of events. That de la Galissonnière included the post in his plan for the control of the lakes and the west seems probable from the account contained in the *Mémoire du Canada*, and since the writer of this document, after describing the re-establishment of the post, proceeds at once to the question of the control of the Ohio Valley, it is apparent that Fort Toronto in his judgment was part of this ambitious policy.

Here is what the *Mémoire* has to say:

The English had built upon the south shore of Lake Ontario a fort which they called Oswego, or in Indian, Chouaguin. The situation of the place was very advantageous, for it was in

the midst of the country of the Five Nations and it attracted them to it and kept them in check. For though we had Niagara on the same side of the lake and Frontenac on the other, these two forts were not sufficient for the needs of the savages; they did not find there the *eau-de-vie* and the rum which they were accustomed to find at Couaguin or Chouaguin, and this was a very great disadvantage. The priests had made the sale of liquor a matter of conscience, and had placed it among the sins that incur excommunication. They had the Governor on their side so that it was a crime to sell it. This was a good rule in the towns where the savages might indulge in license and so stir up trouble; but it is quite a different matter at the posts. It is the liquor which attracts the Indians and thanks to the drink Chouaguin had maintained itself and we had against us the tribes who resorted there. The Governor thought that the re-establishment of Fort Toronto would catch all the Missisaugas and the tribes of the North who passed that way on their road to Chouaguin; and as M. Rouillé was the Minister of Marine it received the name Fort Rouillé. This fort was directly opposite Fort Niagara. It had a palisade and mounted four small cannon. A large quantity of merchandise was sent up yearly. The commandant was instructed to maintain a good understanding with the savages and to divert them from trading at Chouaguin.

The author of the *Mémoire* then proceeds to remark that the Governor, having assured himself in this direction, began to think of enforcing the prohibition of English trading in the Ohio Valley which the Comte de la Galissonnière had sent M. de Céloron to proclaim.

While it was apparently the restless and ambitious de la Galissonnière who conceived the project of a fort at Toronto, it was the penurious Marquis de la Jonquière who put the project into execution. Jonquière's despatch to the Minister, informing him of his intention to erect a fortified trading-post on the site of the former magazine of the king, bears the date of October 9, 1749.¹ It is of special interest since it indicates that the Intendant Bigot, who also signed the document, was

¹ *Archives des Colonies*, CII A, Vol. 93, pp. 46-47.

already watching with attention this new opportunity for enrichment. It begins:

Quebec Oct. 9 1749.

On being informed that the Indians from the north generally stop at Toronto on the west side of Lake Ontario 25 leagues from Niagara and 75 from Fort Frontenac on their way to Chouaguen with their furs, we have felt it would be advisable to establish a post at this place and to send there an officer, fifteen soldiers and some workmen to build a small stockaded fort. The expense will not be great for there is timber at hand and the rest will be brought by the Fort Frontenac boats. Too much care cannot be taken to prevent the said Indians from continuing their trade with the English and to see that they find at this post all that they need as cheaply as at Chouaguen.

We shall permit some canoes to go there on license and shall employ the funds for a gratuity for the officer in command.

Instructions will have to be given to those in command at Detroit, Niagara and Fort Frontenac to be careful that the traders and shopkeepers in these posts furnish goods in future at the same price as the English for two or three years. In this way the Indians will lose the habit of going to Chouaguen, and the English will be forced to abandon the place. If anything else occurs to us likely to hasten the downfall of Chouaguen we shall act.

LA JONQUIÈRE,
BIGOT.

Jonquière would have established other trading-posts on Lake Ontario and still others on Lake Erie. He has been accused, perhaps falsely, of an interest in the liquor trade.¹ He had to be content with the new post at Toronto. "More posts," wrote the President of the Navy Board, "would mean merely more expense and a scattering of the forces of the colony." In 1750, traders at Toronto were warned not to encroach on the territory tributary to Niagara.

It was not till the fifteenth of April, 1750, that M. Rouillé

¹ The author of the *Mémoire du Canada* accuses Jonquière of complicity in the liquor trade with the Indians: "Débaucher les nations, telle était la politique des deux gouvernements. . . . Il était temps que M. le Marquis de Jonquière mourut." *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec*, 1925, p. 102.

approved the project of the new post at Toronto; his reply did not reach M. de la Jonquière in Quebec till the early summer. Meantime the Governor, assuming the approbation of the Minister, had given instructions early in the spring of 1750 to proceed with the construction of the fort. The officer entrusted with this task was M. Pierre Robineau, the Chevalier de Portneuf, an ensign in the marines on duty at Fort Frontenac, who was ordered to Toronto with a sergeant and four soldiers. Portneuf belonged to an old and distinguished French family, and had it not been for the British conquest, he would in all probability share with the Douville of 1720 the honours usually accorded to the founders of cities. The builder of Fort Toronto was the second son of René, third Baron de Portneuf and a descendant of that Maître Pierre Robineau, "councillor of the King and treasurer of the light cavalry of France," who in 1651 had been suggested as Governor of New France; although the first Baron de Portneuf did not become governor, he shared with M. de Longueuil the distinction of being among the first to be ennobled in New France. M. Pierre de Portneuf, the founder of Fort Toronto, was born on August 9, 1708, at Montreal; he held the rank of ensign in the marines when instructed to proceed to Toronto, and attained his captaincy in 1757. Later Portneuf saw considerable service in the Ohio Valley, where he was in command of Presqu'Île from 1756 to the fall of Niagara. The winter of 1756-1757 was severe; provisions ran short at Presqu'Île, and Portneuf despatched a sergeant and forty-three men to subsist on the bounty of Fort Niagara, which was itself none too well stocked with provisions. Montcalm records in his journal: "M. de Portneuf carried too much brandy and too little flour."¹ He was not at the defence of Niagara; for some reason he remained at Presqu'Île where it had been his task to assemble the Indians of the west. After the fall of Niagara we find him sending a flag of truce to Johnson, and a little later burning Presqu'Île and retiring along with the garrisons of other French posts to Detroit. In 1761 he sur-

¹ *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm*, pp. 195-196.

rendered to the British and, in company with many others who were reluctant to take the oath of allegiance, he embarked in the autumn of that year at Quebec on the *Auguste* for France. On November 15th this unfortunate vessel, described by the Abbé Faillon as "a floating Babylon," on account of its cargo of swindlers and grafters, was wrecked on the coast of Cape Breton, and of her 121 passengers, 113 were drowned, including the Chevalier de Portneuf.

On May 20, 1750, de Portneuf arrived at Toronto. The Intendant Bigot, acting in concert with the Governor, de Jonquière, had dispatched at the same time from Montreal a party with the necessary goods for the trade at the new post, which was to be a King's Post. Teiaiaagon had disappeared, but there was a village of Missisaugas somewhere near the mouth of the Humber, then known as the Toronto River. It is likely that the Missisauga Toronto, which is shown on the Johnson map of 1771, was either on Baby Point or on the west bank of the Humber above the Old Mill. De Portneuf began at once, and in less than two months a small palisaded enclosure had been erected and a small storehouse, in which to store the King's goods. On July 17, 1750, M. de Portneuf and the trader sent thither by Bigot left Toronto, the former for Fort Frontenac and the latter for Montreal. During their brief sojourn of less than two months, they had obtained seventy-nine bundles of peltries, valued at 18,000 *livres*. Portneuf's small fort erected in 1750 was called Fort Toronto. It is now known that it stood, not on the site subsequently occupied by Fort Rouillé at the foot of Dufferin St., but on the east bank of the Humber. There is no record that it was burned in 1759, and it is quite possible that this was the building subsequently occupied by the Rousseaus, whose site is well known.

A letter from Jonquière to the Minister, written from Quebec, August 20, 1750, gives further details and informs the Minister of his intention to build another and a larger fort at Toronto. The trade had far exceeded expectations; Portneuf's Fort Toronto proved too small. To this second fort Jonquière

asked permission to give the name Fort Rouillé. The new fort was not built on the old site, but it continued to be known, except occasionally in official documents, as Fort Toronto. The name Fort Rouillé does not, I think, occur on any contemporary map. Jonquière wrote:¹

My Lord,

I learned by your honoured letter of April the 15th last that you approve the proposal which I made to you in the letter signed by myself and the Intendant on the 9th of September last for the establishment of a post at Toronto. I have the honour to submit an account of the trade there.

To avoid expense to the King I undertook to instruct the Sieur Chevalier de Portneuf, ensign on duty at Fort Frontenac to report at Toronto with a sergeant and four soldiers. He set out from the said fort on the 20th of May last, and at the same time a clerk appointed by the Intendant left Montreal with the goods necessary for the said trade for the King.

On his arrival at Toronto the Sieur de Portneuf had his men build a small stockaded fort and a small house for the safe-keeping of His Majesty's effects. He remained there with the said clerk till the 17th of July last. The said Sieur de Portneuf then left to rejoin his garrison and the clerk-trader went down to Montreal with the bales of furs.

They traded with most of the tribes who called at the said post. This trade has not been altogether bad; they made seventy-nine bales valued at about eighteen thousand *livres*.

The trade-clerk assures us that he would have made more than 150 bales if he had had more cloth, *eau-de-vie* and bread for the Indians, and this would have been provided had we expected such success.

Since the tribes from the north have promised the said Sieur de Portneuf to come next year in much greater numbers and to give up the English altogether, it is very essential, my Lord, to profit by their friendliness and to establish the said post firmly.

The house which the Sieur de Portneuf had built is too small and it might have been feared that the King's effects would not have been safe in as much as the large numbers of Indians of various tribes who will probably go there to trade next year (most of whom have been guilty of the worst conduct

¹ *Archives des Colonies*, CII A, Vol. 95, pp. 171-177.

during the late war) could easily overpower the Sieur de Portneuf and plunder all the goods.

To avoid any risk I shall have built a double-staked fort (*fort de pieux doubles*) with curtains of eighty feet not including the gorge of the bastions, with a lodge for the officer on the right side of the gate of the fort, and a guard-house for twelve or fifteen soldiers on the left.

The warehouse will be along the curtain facing the entrance; the trade-clerk will lodge there; a bakery will be built in one of the bastions.

This fort will be placed on the point of the bay formed by the peninsula (*Sur la pointe de la Baye de la Presqu'Île*) at about a quarter of a league to the north of the Toronto river where the boat (*la barque*) from Fort Frontenac can anchor safely quite close to land and bring there all that is needed for the fort and for the trade. A pilot who has navigated before in the said river undertakes to bring the boat there without any risk. This anchorage is sheltered from all the winds except from the south where it could be protected by having a small pier built.

It is of importance that this fort should be finished early in the year so that the Sieur de Portneuf can move there in the month of April with his party. It is certain that the trade will be best if we are there early. In view of this the Intendant and I have despatched a carpenter with three men to cut and square the timber. The trade-clerk has gone with them, also a baker, a tanner and five or six hired men to help him in the trade which he will be able to carry on during the winter with about ten Indians who are good hunters and live in the neighbourhood of the said post.

During the autumn I shall have delivered by ship planks from Fort Frontenac and by *bateaux de cent* the provisions, merchandise, liquors and other necessaries, so that there may be no lack at the said post.

In this way the said fort will be built without trouble and there is room to hope that this establishment will be in every way profitable. My Lord, I beg your approval, for my naming it hereafter Fort Rouillé. Your honoured name will attract in great numbers all the tribes, and will give it all the importance we should wish.

In fact all the tribes from the north who go to Chouaguen and pass the said post will be stopped there; and finding in abundance all that they need and especially *eau-de-vie* and cloth,

they will naturally do their trading there and not go to Chouaguen.

The English will be deprived of the visits of these Indians and will find from that time a great decrease in the revenue which they have been accustomed to draw from their furs. This might help hereafter to make them give up the said post which would become useless.

Besides, if we succeed in making these tribes trust us and have nothing to do with the English, on the one hand we shall be quiet and nothing will hinder the French in their trade in the north; and on the other hand it will be very easy to persuade these tribes that it is in their interest not to allow the English to have a post at all beside them because they are enemies always at hand to harm them; and little by little we shall be able to make the Indians decide to destroy Chouaguen by force of arms. They are malicious, and once they form a decision, they are sure to carry it out.

The destruction of Chouaguen is a powerful motive for which I neglect nothing to accomplish its downfall one way or another. I am in earnest about this, but in time of peace I can do no more than try to bring over to our side the tribes loyal to the English.

I venture to assure you, my Lord, that if unhappily we should have a new war with them, Chouaguen would have to be well defended to prevent my becoming master there, having devoted myself to find out all I can about this post.

I am, with deep respect, my Lord, your very humble and very obedient servant,

LA JONQUIÈRE.

Four days later Jonquière again wrote to the Minister:

The pass at Toronto is not the only one which the savages from the north use in resorting to the English, they employ also the portage at the Sault Ste. Marie situated at the entrance to Lake Superior. This post has been almost neglected hitherto and as we can draw great advantages from it, especially by stopping these tribes and preventing them from going to trade at Chouaguen, I am determined to have it guarded.¹

This extract is an indication of the wide circuit from which Oswego drew its trade and of the remote tribes who crossed the

¹ *Archives des Colonies*, CII A, Vol. 95, pp. 178-179, *Ibid.*, Série B, Vol. 91, p. 86.

Carrying-Place. From the days of Rooseboom and Mac-Gregorie, the Dutch and English of Albany had hankered after the trade with the Ottawas of the upper lakes. The Dutch were using the Toronto Carrying-Place before the French had Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, and it is of interest to note the large number of Dutch names among the first inhabitants of York.

It is at this point that a great deal of light has been thrown upon the history of the building of the second Fort Toronto by a series of documents recently discovered by M. E.-Z. Massicotte in the Archives of the District of Montreal. By the courtesy of the learned Archivist, I have been able to consult the original documents, but since the *résumé* published by M. Massicotte in *La Presse*, Montreal, on April 1, 1933, contains everything of importance, I shall translate the essential parts of the published summary. After pointing out that M. de la Galissonnière had nothing to do with the construction of the fort, having left the country in August, 1749, and that it is from the letter signed jointly by MM. de la Jonquière and Bigot of October 9, 1749, that our first knowledge of the project is derived, M. Massicotte proceeds to make abstracts from the newly-discovered documents and to summarize the less important parts. It now appears that the small stockaded fort built by the Sieur de Portneuf in the spring of 1750 was erected on the banks of the Humber, or as it then was, the Toronto River; that this structure was not rebuilt but that an entirely new building was constructed during the winter and spring of 1750 and 1751 about three miles to the east of the original fort on the site made familiar by the monument erected in 1878; that Portneuf's stockaded fort of 1750 never bore the name Fort Rouillé, and that the second fort, although so designated by Jonquière, is more correctly denominated *le fort royal de Toronto*. The plans for the second fort were prepared in whole or in part by M. Roberth de la Morandière, the king's engineer in Montreal, who was associated with M. Varin de la Marre, the commissary (*commissaire ordonnateur*), in the same city in

issuing instructions for its construction to Joseph Dufaux, a contractor of Montreal, who was to erect the building at Toronto under the oversight of M. Du Chouquet,¹ the shopkeeper at Toronto. Dufaux arrived at Toronto in September, 1750, and though hindered by illness went to work energetically. From the first there was friction with Du Chouquet, who seems to have done his best to alienate the workmen and to impede the work. In the spring Du Chouquet dismissed Dufaux a month before the completion of the fort; it would seem that the latter was not paid for his work. In April, 1752, a year later, the contractor, Dufaux, and several of his loyal workmen signed a series of sworn statements before a notary in Montreal alleging that the delay at Toronto had been occasioned by sickness among the men, the obstinacy and interference of Du Chouquet and the misconduct of the workmen, Delorme and Gascon, who had sided with Du Chouquet, the shopkeeper. As nothing has so far come to light giving the other side of this dispute, it is not possible to apportion the blame; nor is it yet known whether the contractor was successful in securing his money. The counter-accusations against Dufaux seem to have been that he was disobedient and engaged in the fur trade while at Toronto.

Since the records of this dispute shed light on many points in local history, M. Massicotte's summary is given in translation. The sworn statements are five in number and include the allegation of Dufaux and the testimony of his workmen, as follows:

1st. The statement of Joseph Dufaux, contractor, master carpenter, husband of Marie-Anne Harel, residing at the corner of St. Gabriel street and Ste. Thérèse street, Montreal. (His son born in Montreal in 1752 took orders in 1778 and became *grande vicaire* of the Bishop of Quebec at Sandwich, Ontario, in 1785. He died there in 1796.)

¹ According to M. E.-Z. Massicotte there were two Lefebvre Du Chouquets attached to posts on Lake Ontario in 1750 and 1752: first, Louis Joseph, born 1704, store-keeper at Fort Frontenac between 1746 and 1752; second, Pierre, born in 1702, brother of the preceding, who was store-keeper at Toronto in 1750, 1751 and 1752. In 1731 Philippe Dagneau made an engagement with Louis Lefebvre Du Chouquet to go to the river St. Joseph. (*Archives de Québec*, 1929-1930, p. 286.)

2nd. The dispositions of Joseph Latour, master joiner of faubourg S.-Laurent, and of Joseph Roy, mason of the faubourg S.-Joseph.

3rd. —Of François Latour, joiner apprentice of the faubourg S.-Laurent.

4th. —Of Joseph Larche, master mason of the faubourg S.-Laurent, and of Pierre Du Plessis (Bélair), master tanner of Coteau S.-Louis.

5th. —Of Sebastien Laville, carpenter of l'île Jésus.

Statement of the Sieur Joseph Dufaux.—April 14, 1752, Joseph Dufaux, contracting carpenter, signed a long statement which begins, "I am compelled to make known the truth that an effort was made to cause me to lose all chance of success during my stay at Toronto . . ." We summarize the remainder of his record.

The Sieur Dufaux set out from Fort Frontenac in his *bateau* (in the summer of 1750). Among those who accompanied him there was a sick man which obliged Dufaux to replace him; he was not well himself.

The ninth of September Dufaux camped a long league on this side of the fort of M. Du Chouquet. The same day he went to visit the old fort (*le vieux fort*). Not having considered the place suitable, he came back by the woods, examining the ground. Next day, the tenth of September, having found a good place, he planted a stake and set all the men to work. His zeal in discharging his duty added to the fatigue which he had given himself caused an eruption with fever. Without a doctor or good food, he was very ill; in addition, at the same time eleven of his men took sick. All this did not decrease Dufaux's eagerness to do his duty. Remaining on his *bateau*, he oversaw all that was done.

"The work being in hand," Dufaux said to Delorme *fils*, "that it was not much to cook for the workmen," but Delorme *père* was not of this opinion.

From that time they leagued themselves with Gascon against Dufaux, drew over the storekeeper, Du Chouquet, to their side and did all they could to injure the contractor.

The eighteenth of November, M. Du Chouquet, setting out for Niagara with his wife, ordered six of M. Dufaux's men to accompany him. These men were absent thirty-two days. Soon after, he sent the same men to Fort Frontenac, and this voyage took seventeen days. Then Du Chouquet made Delorme and Gascon dig a useless ditch, etc.

These annoyances prevented the contractor, Dufaux, from putting up the commandant's house and the guard-house before the end of January. He began also four undertakings, namely, two curtains, the baker's house, the blacksmith's house and the gate of the fort.

At this moment a fresh revolt of Gascon and Delorme, who took with them a group of workmen. These malcontents injured the work done, cut the posts, etc., and all this in the sight of M. Du Chouquet.

Dufaux resolved to write to the commissary (Varin) to inform him, but on the order of the shopkeeper no one would take Dufaux's letters, even those addressed to his wife.

M. Dufaux attributed the commencement of the quarrel between the shopkeeper and himself to the fact that when he was sick he had asked M. Du Chouquet for some wine, knowing well that he had a barrel for the sick. Dufaux could get only a pint and his workmen none. Dufaux had brought some himself, and he was then obliged to use his own (for the workmen), although it had been promised to him. Furthermore, M. Du Chouquet borrowed eight cans of it from him from a barrel of sixteen cans, and for this gave him an order on his brother at Cataragui. During an absence of M. Du Chouquet, a detachment commanded by M. de la Ronde¹ stopped at Toronto. This detachment needed provisions to return to Niagara, and he wanted some.

Now M. Dufaux had been forbidden to give provisions to any one; however, to get rid of a detachment which kept his men from working and to avoid all disputes with an officer, he let him take some.

M. Du Chouquet on his return made a noise about this.

Finally M. Du Chouquet ordered Dufaux to leave in three days. He proceeded to obey, the twenty-first of March, at a time when he hoped to finish all his work within a month, and to be able to have the honour of presenting himself with his workmen to pay his respects to the commissary and to M. de la Morandière.

Depositions of J. Latour, Tessier and Roy.—April 14, 1752. Joseph Latour, J. B. Tessier and Joseph Roy, engaged to work

¹ M. MASSICOTTE has the following note: "I think the officer may have been François-Paul Denys de la Thibaudière, Sieur de la Ronde, but M. Ægidius Fauteux is of the opinion that it is rather Charles Denys de la Ronde, brother of the former, whose name is not in Tanguay. Charles became lieutenant in 1759, and was killed in the battle of Ste. Foye in 1760."

at their trade in the construction of the fort for the King called Fort Rouillé, otherwise called Fort Toronto, declare that M. Dufaux, although sick during the undertaking, left nothing undone to push forward the work vigorously.

The sole cause of the delay of the works was occasioned by the obstinacy of the shopkeeper, Du Chouquet, and by the men called Delorme and Gascon. The latter wasted time in useless undertakings.

That the Sieur Dufaux had not traded with the Indians, that he had not disposed of any of the effects of His Majesty, that M. Dufaux had given provisions to M. de la Ronde and his detachment, but that he did so to prevent the pillage of the store.

That it is true that M. Dufaux had some buck skins in his possession, but that he had been entrusted with them by a man named Arcand and another named Latulippe to take to Montreal.

Deposition of F. Latour.—April 16, 1752. François Latour declares that he has read the depositions of the Sieurs Dufaux, Joseph Latour, Tessier and Roy and that they agree with the truth, for the Sieur Dufaux showed himself in all his work at Fort Toronto a true and zealous servant of his prince.

That the cause of the disputes with M. Du Chouquet, with Delorme and Gascon, proceeded only from his freedom in finding fault with them when the works were neglected.

That M. Du Chouquet resorted to several devices to make the workmen admit that M. Dufaux was a trouble maker (*un séducteur*), but that none had been ready to agree.

That M. Du Chouquet had deceived the Récollet Father Couturier,¹ and that the latter believed wrongly that Dufaux was a rascal and a bad servant.

Depositions of J. Larche and of P. Duplessis.—April 16, 1752. Joseph Larche and P. Duplessis on their soul and conscience declare that all the above is true, that it is within their knowledge that Gascon and Delorme declared that they would set about making the Sieur Dufaux leave the fort and that he would not be master to boss them.

That after the departure of the Sieur Dufaux, M. Du Chouquet and others "tried to intimidate the workmen in the

¹ Father Nicolas Albert Couturier, born at Montreal May 17, 1703, was almoner at Fort Frontenac from 1750 to 1752, according to our archives. E.-Z. M.

shop, saying that whoever took his part would lose his wages and even that someone would hang for it."

In spite of this, the workmen declared that M. Dufaux's conduct had been discreet and without reproach.

Deposition of S. Laville.—April 20, 1752. Sebastien Laville confirms all the above.

Before discussing the inferences which may be drawn from M. Massicotte's summary relative to the sites of the various posts at Toronto, one or two additional fragments of information, drawn from the documents themselves, must be included. It is plain that there were horses at Toronto, for there are two complaints in the depositions of the shortage of hay for the horses, as well as of provisions for the men. One at least of the buildings in the fort had a cellar, which had filled with water. M. Dufaux remarks that he would have finished the buildings in a month. He proceeds,

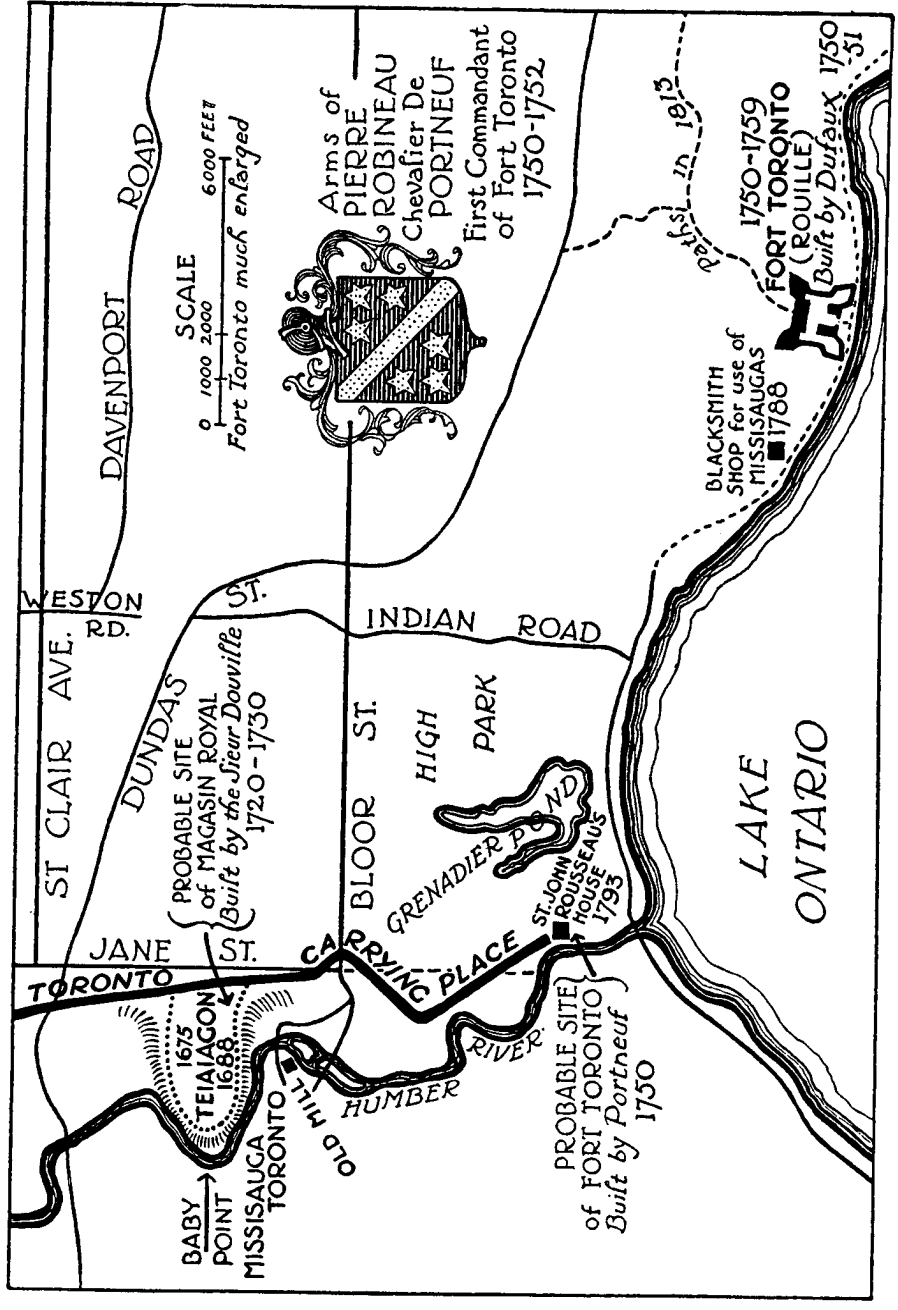
At the time of my departure from Toronto the storehouse was not finished, the officer's house was up, the guard-house was up, the four bastions were hewed (*taillé* I take to mean smoothed off with the broad-axe) except two flanks, on account of these annoyances. I took from my shop the few people who were not well and I hewed the fronts of the houses of the commandant in the enclosure, the chief part of the work, where all the windows and doors are, that of the shopkeeper and the guard-house, the two curtains and the two houses namely those of the baker and the blacksmith which I hewed entirely and a bastion, except the two flanks which were not hewed which is a small matter. (This was towards the end of March.) Loss of time prevented me from hewing and raising the officer's house and the guard-house until the end of January as soon as there was some timber ready.

This, however, does not exhaust what is to be learned or inferred from M. Massicotte's documents. The journey from Fort Frontenac in canoes and *bateaux* would occupy eight or nine days. M. Dufaux would have with him his workmen and their tools and necessary supplies. Heavily loaded, he would proceed at once to the spot where the fort was to be built. From Jonquière's letter of August 20th, written from Quebec, we

learn that the site of the proposed fort had been already selected. It was to be the point of land at the entrance of the bay formed by the peninsula. The only spot adjacent to this site where *bateaux* could anchor in safety was the mouth of the small creek somewhat to the east, known later as Garrison Creek. It was a small stream and has long since disappeared into a sewer. Here, on the ninth of September, Dufaux established himself. As he states that he camped "*une grande lieue en deça du fort de M. Du Chouquet,*" it is a reasonable assumption that M. Du Chouquet's fort, the small stockaded fort of Portneuf, was on the east bank of the Humber at the foot of the Toronto Carrying-Place, on the site occupied in the eighties and nineties by the house of the trader Rousseau. Forty years is not a long life for a log building if continuously occupied. Left alone, such a building speedily falls into decay. There was, however, intermittent trading at the mouth of the Toronto River from 1750 down to Simcoe's time, and Rousseau's father, who was at the river mouth in 1770, may have fallen heir to the old structure.

On this occasion we may conjecture that Dufaux, who was not himself very well, went by boat from his camp to what he calls the "old fort." He did this the day of his arrival. Not considering the place suitable, he returned through the woods, examining the ground, and the next day, having discovered a suitable place, he planted a stake and set all hands to work. Next day, owing to over-fatigue, he was sick.

There is just a possibility that by *le vieux fort* Dufaux meant not Portneuf's fort on the Humber mouth, but the site of the Douville post of 1720, whose history we have already traced from 1720 to 1730 and which must now be regarded as the first permanent settlement at Toronto. There is reason to suppose that this fort or post was at Baby Point on the site of the Seneca village of Teiaiagon, and further evidence will be awaited with interest. Meantime, it is sufficient to observe that de Léry, who was at Niagara during the period, indicates the post at Toronto by "Terraiaagon," an obvious mistake for



MAP SHOWING POSITION OF THE THREE FRENCH POSTS AT TORONTO

"Teiaiagon"; he had not, as yet, in 1728, surveyed the north shore of the lake and erroneously places this place on the west side of the Toronto River. Trade pipes, similar to one found on the site of Fort Rouillé, have been found on Baby Point and may indicate the site of the earlier post.

There are also certain mis-statements in Jonquière's letter of August 20, 1750, which seem to indicate that in selecting the site of the fort to be built in 1750 and 1751—that is, Dufaux's fort—he had two sites in mind and that he may have left the final choice to his contractor. Jonquière states that the new fort will be on "the point of land at the entrance of the bay formed by the peninsula," a perfectly accurate description of the well-known site. But his next remark introduces confusion; he says that the fort will be a quarter of a league north of the Toronto River. This is wrong in two ways; the fort, officially named Fort Rouillé, was two and a half miles, that is, about a league, to the *east* of the Toronto River. Baby Point, on the other hand, is just a quarter of a league north of the spot on the Toronto River where navigation ceased. It was from the village of Teiaiagon on Baby Point, as La Salle says, that the road ran to Lake Toronto. The site was strategic, the end of navigation and the beginning of the long overland route to the north. There is confusion again when Jonquière speaks of employing a pilot who "has navigated before in the said river and undertakes to bring the boat there without risk."

However this may be, M. Massicotte's documents, added to previous discoveries, now make it plain that there were three forts or posts at Toronto: Douville's of 1720 to 1730, whose site is still in debate; Portneuf's stockaded fort of 1750, which was probably at the mouth of the Humber on the site of Rousseau's house; and Fort Toronto, *le fort royal de Toronto*, officially Fort Rouillé, on the site marked by the monument of 1878 on the Exhibition Grounds.

As we have seen, the second fort, or, more correctly, the third fort at Toronto was not completed till the spring of 1751. Jonquière wrote to the Minister in October of that year, giving

an account of the building of the new fort which now officially at least bore his name.¹ He says nothing about the difficulties of the contractor, except that the work had been interrupted by sickness; but he adds interesting details of the success of the French in alienating the Indians from the English.

Quebec October 6, 1751.

My Lord,

Trade at Fort Toronto.

I had the honour to inform you in my letter of August 20th last year that the trade-house established at Toronto being too small to hold the King's goods, I intended to have built there a stockaded fort, a lodge for the officer in command, a guard house, a storehouse and a bakery.

Work went on all winter. The Sieur Chevalier de Portneuf, an officer in the garrison at Fort Frontenac, arrived there on the 23rd of April. He found that the work was fairly well on (*assez avancés*).

The fort is of squared oak timbers. (*Le fort est de pièces sur pièces tout de chesne.*) It is entirely enclosed and the shop-keeper housed. The other buildings are not finished, most of the workmen having been unable to work steadily on account of the illnesses they have had.

Since there is no proper place in the fort for the powder, the said Sieur de Portneuf has had stone prepared for building a little powder-magazine.

He has observed to me that the situation of the place is very suitable for a saw-mill, the stream furnishing water in abundance all the year. On this point I shall confer with the Intendant and we shall have the honour of receiving your orders, if we think that this mill will be useful to the King's service.

All these undertakings have been accomplished with great economy, and it is certain that at the high price at which the goods have been sold, the trade this year with the Indians will repay the King's outlay upon the fort and upon the goods for the store.

This trade cannot but increase in future. In fact, the tribes in the regions about Toronto who hitherto had resorted only to the English, have not been to Chouaguen at all; they have preferred to barter their furs at Toronto.

¹ *Archives des Colonies*, CII A, Vol. 97, pp. 107-111.

The inhabitants of Toronto have had at heart the establishment of the fort. One can only attribute their docility to the protection with which you honour this colony, in which protection they profit especially. They even sent messages to all their allies and to the other tribes to divert them from Chouéguen and to invite them to go and trade at Fort Rouillé. They did more; they refused their canoes to several Indians from the Upper Country who wanted to buy them in order to go to Chouéguen. This secured us their peltries.

The growth of this trade causes inexpressible jealousy to the English and the Five Nations. In their anxiety they have done everything to entice the inhabitants of Toronto, but without success.

The Sieur de Portneuf discovered that the Five Nations last year sent four collars to a Fort Frontenac Indian who was on an embassy to the Montagués (Onondagas) who had passed them about among different tribes and that one of them remained with the Toronto Indians along with a flag. The English had given these collars and these flags to the Five Nations to engage the Indian tribes to go to Chouéguen to trade and to let them know that they would be very well treated there.

The said Sieur de Portneuf had no trouble in having this collar and flag sent back. The inhabitants begged him to send them to me, and told him that they wanted this same collar to serve to bind them very closely to the French and as a more particular proof of their loyalty they added their flag.

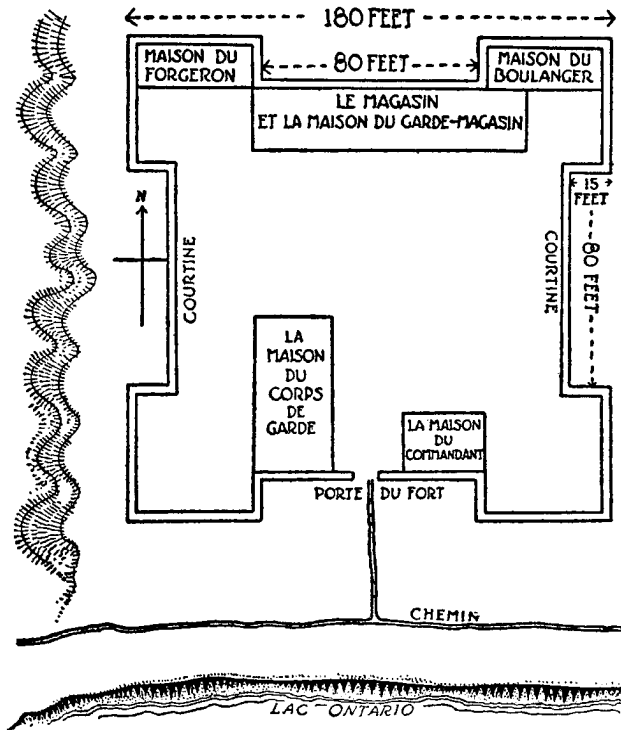
I replied to this message with a similar collar by which I testified to them my satisfaction in the sacrifice they had made of what they had received from the English, and I bound myself to them. At the same time I gave them a flag and exhorted them not to recognise any other than that of the King my master.

When the trading was finished the Sieur de Portneuf called the chiefs and the inhabitants together; he told them to be sure to keep an eye on the bad thoughts of the other tribes. He returned to Fort Frontenac to go on duty there.

I am with deep respect, my Lord,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LA JONQUIÈRE.

Jonquière's suggestion of a saw-mill at Toronto is of interest. There still seems to be confusion in his mind as to the two sites. No mill would be likely or possible on the Garrison Creek.



FORT ROUILLÉ OR TORONTO, 1750-1759

The materials for this reconstruction are drawn from various sources; the dimensions are given in French feet.

One of Simcoe's first acts was to authorize a king's mill on the Humber just below Baby Point on a site still marked by the ruins of a later erection and by the Old Mill Tea Room.

It is now possible for the first time, with the aid of the various letters of Jonquière, the depositions of Dufaux and his workmen, the description of the fort contained in Pouchot's memoir, and the numerous maps of the ruins, to reconstruct Fort Toronto as it existed between 1751 and 1759, when it was burned by Captain Alexandre Douville in obedience to instructions from de Vaudreuil.

In his *Memoir upon the Late War in North America, in 1759-1760*, Captain Pouchot, the last French commandant of Fort Niagara, supplies precise information as to the form and size of the fort at Toronto. He writes:

The Fort of Toronto is at the end of the Bay on the side which is quite elevated and covered by a flat rock,¹ so that vessels cannot approach within cannon-shot. This fort or post was a square of about thirty *toises* (180 feet) on a side externally, with flanks of fifteen feet. The curtains formed the buildings of the fort. It was very well built, piece upon piece; but was only useful for trade. A league west of the fort is the Toronto river, which is of considerable size. This river communicates with Lake Huron by a portage of fifteen leagues, and is frequented by the Indians who come from the North.

Further information may be obtained from the map drawn by Captain Gother Mann and dated Quebec, December 6, 1788, which shows the ruins of the fort. From this map it is learned that there were five buildings within the enclosure. Traces of these buildings and of the palisade which surrounded them could be observed as late as 1878, when the ground was levelled and appropriated for the use of the Toronto Exhibition. In addition to these buildings, Dr. Scadding observed the mark left in the side of the bank where the flag-staff had stood, and the remains of an outside oven.²

Of the other existing maps the most definite and precise is that drawn in 1813 by George Williams and now in the Public Archives in Ottawa. This map indicates that the fort stood on the familiar site at the foot of Dufferin Street, near the steep bank of the shore which later crumbled away under the action of the waves and obliterated much of the area formerly occupied by the buildings. Williams' map shows that the lake-shore trail ran along the front of the fort on the edge of the bank and that the gate of the fort was on the lake side. To the west a ditch or ravine is indicated, possibly Du Chouquet's

¹ i.e., protected by rocky shoals.

² *History of the Old French Fort and Its Monuments*, by Henry Scadding, D.D., Toronto, 1887.

useless canal. The accompanying reconstruction, which is substantiated by Pouchot's measurements, must leave one small point in doubt; were the curtains and bastions, where not formed by the buildings themselves, formed of a double row of stakes placed upright, or were they, too, composed of squared timbers superimposed horizontally one upon another?

In that summer of 1751, the first year of the history of Fort Rouillé, we catch two brief glimpses of life at Toronto. The first is contained in a letter of the Chevalier de Portneuf, addressed to the commandant either of Frontenac or Niagara. The original French of this document is quaint and the spelling suggests that even a nobleman in Canada in the first half of the eighteenth century had little time or opportunity to acquire that difficult art. Evidently the malady which interrupted the work of Dufuax continued during the summer and assumed the proportions of a malignant epidemic.

Sir:

The sickness we have had here for a long time compels me at last to have recourse to you to beg you to be so kind as to send us your doctor for a few days. If it had been possible to have our numerous invalids conveyed to you I should have done so; but of all the garrison and all the employees we have only three soldiers left who are well and the three Canadians by whom I am asking you to be so good as to aid us in our present need.

You will oblige me for I myself will be ready to get cured since I am not at all well myself again after the fevers which left me some days ago. There must be some bad air to contend with, for the strongest are among those struck down among the first comers.

If you have a soldier, sir, in your garrison who knows how to cook I beg you to send him to us till our's recovers; he and his wife are very sick.

You see we cannot be more reduced, so I flatter myself you will consider our situation. This will be another reason for my subscribing myself with all respect possible sir

Your humble and obedient servant,

CHEVALIER DE PORTNEUF.

Fort Rouillé,
August 20th 1751.

Our second glimpse of life at the fort is the Abbé Picquet's account of his visit earlier in the summer of the same year. In June, 1749, Picquet had founded his famous mission of La Présentation, now the city of Ogdensburg, and in order to gain recruits for this establishment, he set out early in the summer of 1751 on a tour around Lake Ontario. A record of this interesting journey is preserved in Lalande's memoir of Père Picquet, contained in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*.¹

In the month of June, M. Picquet made a trip around Lake Ontario, with a King's boat and a bark canoe carrying five savages; his object was to entice native families to the new establishment at "La Présentation." An account of this trip was found among his papers, from which I give an extract.

His first visit was to Fort Frontenac or Cataracoui, twelve leagues west of La Présentation. He found no savages there, although it used to be a resort of the Five Nations. The bread and the milk were bad; there was not even brandy to dress a wound.—He visited Fort Toronto seventy leagues from Fort Frontenac, at the extreme west of Lake Ontario; there he found good bread and good wine, and all that was necessary for the trade, although there was a scarcity at all the other posts. He found there some Mississaguas who gathered around him; they began to say how fortunate their young people and their wives and children would be if the King would be as kind to them as he had been to the Iroquois for whom he procured missionaries: they complained that instead of building them a church they had only been provided with a brandy-shop. M. Picquet did not let them finish, and replied that they had been treated as they had deserved, they had never shown the least interest in religion, their attitude had been quite hostile, and that the Iroquois had shown their love for Christianity; but since he had no instructions to entice them to his mission, he avoided further explanations.

This is all the abbé has to say about Toronto, but after his visit to Niagara he had evidently formed the opinion that a post at Toronto was only necessary so long as Chouéguen continued to exist. Of the latter much-detested establishment he writes:

¹ Paris, 1783, Vol. XXVI.

This post has been much more prejudicial to us by the facility which it afforded the English of maintaining relations with all the Indian tribes in Canada, than by the trade carried on there with the French from Quebec as well as with the savages; Chouéguen had goods to sell to the French, as well as goods for the savages; which shows that illicit trade went on. Had the instructions of the Minister been followed Chouéguen would have been almost ruined, at least with the savages of Upper Canada; we ought to have stocked Niagara and especially the Portage¹ rather than Toronto. The difference between the two first posts and the latter, is that three or four hundred canoes can come loaded with peltries to the Portage, and only those canoes can go to Toronto which cannot pass by Niagara and on to Fort Frontenac, such as the Ottawas from the head of the lake and the Missisagues; so that Toronto could not but impair the trade of these two old posts which would have been more than sufficient to stop all the Indians if their stores had been provided with the wares which they like. We should have imitated the English in the matter of the trinkets which they sell to the savages, such as silver bracelets, etc. The savages compared them and weighed them, according to the store-keeper at Niagara, and it was found that the bracelets from Chouéguen weighed as much and were purer silver and more attractive and cost them only two beaver skins, while they wanted to sell them for ten skins at the King's magazines. So we were discredited and these silver articles remained a dead loss in the magazines of the King. The French brandy was better liked than the English; but that did not prevent the savages from going to Chouéguen. To destroy the trade there, the King's posts should have been furnished with the same goods as Chouéguen and at the same price; and the French should have been prevented from sending there the savages belonging to the settlements; but that would have been difficult.²

It is evident from these extracts that the Abbé Picquet did not think the post at Toronto necessary;³ the truth is that he did

1 i.e., the Niagara Portage.

2 *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 38 and 39.

3 "Nous avons dit que les officiers et aumôniers des forts Frontenac et Niagara se nourriraient au moyen des gratifications qui leur seraient payées, qu'il n'était point besoin de garnison à la Présentation, qu'à Toronteaux qui n'aurait qu'un détachement pendant l'été tiré de la garnison du fort Frontenac." *Mémoire sur les postes du Canada, par le chevalier de Raymond*, publié par M. Aegidius Fauteux, Québec, 1929.

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not think any of the posts in the interior desirable or necessary. The account of his tour around Lake Ontario is appended to a statement of his views; the garrisons and the shop-keepers demoralized and defrauded the savages, estranged them from the missionaries and alienated them from the King.

Before the missionaries had won over the tribes of Upper Canada, the Indians conspired in all the posts against the French; they looked for opportunities to cut their throats. Those who were for us were hardly any support in time of war. We had not more than forty of them in the first years of the war of 1755.

In the opinion of the abbé, the missionaries were the only persons who could attach the savages to the King and induce them to serve against the English. He observed that where there had at one time been flourishing Indian villages in the vicinity of the forts in the interior, these villages were now deserted and the inhabitants had gone over to the English. Picquet was given an opportunity to test his theories in his mission of La Présentation; he rallied the wavering Indians to the support of the French and he and his mission proved such a thorn in the side of the English in the final war that he decided not to face the victors but fled away down the Mississippi to Louisiana, where he received a triumphal reception; when he reached Italy the Pope rewarded him with a gift of 5,000 *livres*.

Holding such views, it is hardly to be expected that the abbé would have much good to say about the new post at Toronto. It had been established only a year, and he probably saw in Fort Toronto another evil influence in the interior. The Missisaugas had accused the French of giving them *un cabaret d'eau-de-vie* rather than a chapel, and no doubt they were right; in a *Mémoire sur l'état de la Nouvelle France*, bearing the date 1757, Toronto is described as "situé au nord du lac Ontario vis-à-vis de Niagara, établi pour empêcher les sauvages du nord d'aller commercer a Chouéguen; Chouéguen n'existant plus, ce poste devient inutile," and in a list of posts attached to this memoir there is this note: "Toronto ou Saint-Victor, petit fort

de pieux sur le lac Ontario, pour vendre l'eau-de-vie aux sauvages afin de contre-balancer le commerce qui se faisait a Chouéguen."

We learn from this brief note that the post was occasionally referred to as Saint Victor. There were at least two saints of that name: a Victor who was Pope from 190 to 202 A.D.; the second was a martyr of the third century, specially revered at Soleure in Switzerland; both are obscure saints and it remains to be explained why the name of either should be selected to screen a *cabaret d'eau-de-vie* at Toronto.

There is a copy of the Abbé Picquet's original journal in the Public Archives at Ottawa. Here are the *ipsissima verba* of his visit to Toronto:

The 26th, I reached Fort Toronto sixty leagues or thereabouts from Fort Frontenac; I only stopped there to get provisions, being out of bread, I had got bad bread and bad lard at Fort Frontenac and only enough for a week, and it is twelve days since I left that place; I was very well received at Toronto and it is there that I ate the best bread and drank the best wine. There is no scarcity in this fort; everything is in abundance excellent and good, I should not be surprised if I were told that this post has done as much alone for him¹ as all the others together which have all lacked the necessities for the trade. I shall not make any reflections in this journal on this new establishment as I was not supposed even to stop here according to the intentions of the Governor-General and the Intendant.

On the 25th, I was ready to embark when the Mississagués all gathered to talk to me. I told the commandant at first that the Governor and the Intendant had forbidden me to draw them to a mission; in spite of myself I had to listen to them. They spoke at first of the happiness which their young people, their wives and children would enjoy if the King had the same blessings for them as he had for the Iroquois for whom he procures missionaries; that instead of building them a church, a brandy shop (*cabaret d'eau de vie*) had been placed among them. I did not let them finish and told them that they had been treated according to their taste, that they had never shown the least zeal for religion, on the contrary they had been much opposed to it and that the Iroquois had done much to show their love for Christianity. Being afraid that my zeal

¹ It is not clear to whom Picquet refers.

would urge me to act contrary to the intentions of the Governor and the Intendant I set out at once and spent the night six leagues from this post.

In the middle of autumn we catch another glimpse of life at the fort. This time Du Chouquet, the storekeeper, writes to the commandant of either Frontenac or Niagara, for the address is missing:

Sir,

I have the honour of writing to inform you that a canoe is leaving here to go for a man who died at your fort named Poutine. He belonged to M. de Bellestre's party. His grandfather here who is called "Miscouanquier" begs you to have pity on the mother of the said defunct; she goes to bring her son; and he asks you to have a coffin made to put the dead man in so that they can carry him more easily. He begs you too to have rations given them to bring them as far as this place. The old Miscouanquier is a good chief and deserving; he keeps the young people in order. There is nothing new here of importance.

Sir, your humble and obedient servant,

LEFEBVRE DUCHOUQUET.

Fort Rouillé,
October 12th, 1751.

Early in 1752 the Chevalier de Portneuf was succeeded as commandant at Toronto by Thomas Robutel de la Noue. M. Massicotte informs me that de la Noue was born at Montreal, December 21, 1702, and was the son of Zacharie Robutel de la Noue, seigneur of Chateauguay, who had married Catharine Le Moyne at Montreal in 1689. The second commandant at Toronto remained single and died at Montreal, April 3, 1754. The sources of our information for the year 1752 include a letter from de la Noue, two letters from the store-keeper at Fort Rouillé, Du Chouquet, who seems to have spent the winter at Toronto, and several references to the post in official despatches to France. We shall begin with the despatches. On April 21, 1752, M. de Longueuil¹ wrote to the Minister, M. de Rouillé.²

¹ M. DE LONGUEUIL had assumed control on the death of M. de la Jonquière.

² PARKMAN, *Montcalm and Wolf*, I, p. 88.

M. de Celeron had addressed these despatches to M. de la Valterie,¹ the Commandant at Niagara, who detached a soldier to convey them to Fort Rouillé, with orders to the store-keeper at that post to transmit them promptly to Montreal. It is not known what became of that soldier. About the same time a Mississague from Toronto arrived at Niagara, who informed M. de la Valterie that he had not seen that soldier at the fort, nor met him on the way. 'Tis to be feared that he has been killed by the Indians, and the despatches carried to the English. M. de la Valterie has not failed to recommend to this Indian to make every search on his way back to his village and to assure him, that should he find that soldier, and convey the despatches entrusted to him to the store-keeper of Toronto, he would be well rewarded.²

From another passage in the same despatch we obtain the following information:

The store-keeper at Toronto writes to M. de Verchères, commandant at Fort Frontenac, that some trustworthy Indians have assured him that the Saulteux (Missisaugas) who killed our Frenchman some years ago, have dispersed themselves along the head of Lake Ontario; and seeing himself surrounded by them, he doubts not but they have some evil design on his Fort. There is no doubt but 'tis the English who are inducing the Indians to destroy the French, and that they would give a good deal to get the Savages to destroy Fort Toronto, on account of the essential injury it does their trade at Chouéguen.

And again in October of the same year, de Longueuil writes of various outrages committed on Frenchmen by the Indians in the south-west, on the Wabash and the Illinois rivers: "You are fully informed, my Lord, by the details that I have just had the honour to submit to you:—" (here he enumerates the perils which threatened the French, of which the eighth and ninth alone concern the present record). "8th. That we are menaced with a general conspiracy. 9th. That we must fear even for Toronto."³

The three letters from Fort Rouillé dating from this year, recently discovered by M. Massicotte in the Baby collection and

¹ For de la Valterie consult *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, Vol. 23, p. 71.

² *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. X, p. 246.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 250.

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now published for the first time, all refer to the disappearance of the soldier and the loss of despatches to which M. de Longueuil refers in his report to M. de Rouillé. The incident was apparently serious enough to be reported to the Minister. In February the store-keeper, Du Chouquet, wrote from Fort Toronto to the commandant at Fort Niagara (the address is missing):

Sir,

I have received the honour of your letter of the 14th of February informing me of the annoying accident to your soldier. I have not had any news. You tell me to try and get some. You can be sure, Sir, that I will do all I can to find out what has become of him. For this purpose I sent three savages to go and look for the said soldier. The said tribes of this post are not at all satisfied with this news. They say they will know what has become of this man. I reckon that he has been killed, for there are bad men in the country round the head of the lake who have killed Frenchmen in Lake Huron. I hope soon to have news of your soldier, for the three men I sent to look for him are very faithful, and he who bears the said letter is very deserving for his devotion to the good of the service, so are the men of his band who are searching for the poor soldier.

I have had the honour to receive a letter from Monsr. Celoron by the couriers coming from Detroit in which he informs me of the massacre of our poor French and asks me to be sure to see that your letters reach you at any cost. And it is so important that you receive them that I have made the said occasion as much for your letter as for the soldier.

I kept the couriers a day knowing that the savage who was coming from you had letters for Montreal so I gave them to them; they went the 24th of this month.

The man who carries your letter asks as his pay the value of ten beaver skins in goods; I ask you, sir, to have this given him and to do your best to see that he is satisfied, he is a man loyal to the French.

My wife takes the liberty of sending her respects and I who am with deep respect sir

Your humble and obedient servant

LEFEBVRE DUCHOUQUET.

Fort Rouillé
February 27th, 1752.

In April Du Chouquet wrote again about the same matter:

Sir,

According to your letter I have sent three times savages to search for the man named La Lime and the last time they found him, without his coat; his waistcoat was not pierced, all his head was there, not a wound remained on what was left of his body, but the arm and the left side were carried away. I am telling you what they told me.

The savages have also reported to me that the English were building in a river between Niagara and Chouéguen; I think perhaps at Gascouchagon.¹

You will make, Sir, whatever use you like of this information I am only warning you on the report of the savages.

I address myself to you, sir, and I have written to M. Sermet to get a cooper for us. A cooper is of infinite importance here for the trade. M. le Commissaire has this matter much at heart and if you do not procure us this advantage we shall not be able to pour out brandy not having any kegs and lots of savages.

My wife presents her respects and I beg you to believe that no one is with more respect than I,

Sir,

Your humble and obedient servant,

LEFEBVRE DUCHOUQUET.

Fort Rouillé
April 23rd, 1752.

A letter from the commandant, de la Noue, was written on the same day and was also addressed to the commandant at Niagara; the address is lacking:

Sir,

M. de Verchères acting on the orders of M. de Longueuil having detached me to come and take command in this post I left Fort Frontenac on the tenth of April and arrived here on the 19th of the same month.

I am sending you M. Vaucouret to carry your letters. I should have detached him immediately after my arrival according to the intention of these gentlemen if it had been possible for me to find canoes.

¹ The Genessee River.

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I beg you, Sir, to be so good as to give orders to send us a cooper from your fort. The store-keeper has shown me a letter in which M. le Commissaire instructs him to ask you for one and as for the store-keeper he seems to have this matter very much at heart; we are almost out of kegs and consequently almost out of business.

I have been informed by the savages that the body of La Lime has been found all the left side carried away, without other wounds, and that the English were building in a river between Chouéguen and Niagara.

I shall have the honour, Sir, to inform you of any news here. All is very quiet, and I beg you to be persuaded that no one is with more respect than I, Sir,

Your humble and obedient servant,

ROBUTELLE (DE LA NOUE).

Fort Rouillé
April 23rd, 1752.

If your orders do not retain M. de Vaucauret I beg you to send him back as soon as possible as we need the men.

It is plain that the encroachments of the English into the lake region and into the valley of the Ohio had shaken the loyalty of the Indians, and that events were rapidly drifting towards the final struggle. Meantime the inhabitants of the isolated posts in the interior led anxious lives; the French government could send them little assistance, they were menaced by the disaffection of the savages who still came to trade, and the trade itself was debauched by the corruption of the Intendant Bigot and his satellites. There is one more reference to Toronto this year. A French military expedition on its way from Quebec to the Ohio paused at Toronto. We gather this from the narrative of Stephen Coffin, a captive from New England, who accompanied the troops as a volunteer. "They stopped," he says, "on their way a couple of days at Cadaraghqui Fort, also at Taranto (*sic*) on the north side of Lake Ontario; then at Niagara fifteen days."¹

¹ *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. VI, p. 855.

Between 1752 and 1756,¹ when the Seven Years War broke out in earnest, there are scanty materials for the history of Fort Toronto.² When it becomes possible to write the annals of the fort for these years the record will probably be found to consist of furtive attacks upon Chouéguen and the efforts of the English to lure the Missisaugas from the French. An official report of the lake posts for 1754 reveals the fact that the garrison at Toronto at that time consisted of one officer, two sergeants, four soldiers and a store-keeper; eight men constituted the entire military establishment. Some Canadians, labourers or boatmen, lived in or near the fort.³ In the same year an expedition under Captain Contrecoeur left Quebec on January 15th and Montreal on February 3rd. Following the north shore of Lake Ontario, there were long stretches where many of the soldiers skated in single file "drawing seven or eight sledges one after the other with men on them, making in this way as much as twenty leagues." In this way the hardy troops entered Toronto Bay, thence they crossed by *bateaux* to Fort Niagara, which they reached on February 25th. A member of this party, J. C. Bonnefons, afterwards secretary to Captain Pouchot, kept a

1 M.E.-Z. MASSICOTTE has sent me a copy of an unpublished document dated 22nd of February, 1756, and drawn by notary G. Hodiesne, in which it is stated that Basile Gagnier, blacksmith, of the Fort of Toronto, entrusts to his father (also a Montreal blacksmith) and his mother the sum of 1810 *livres* 10 *sols*, and that he will resume possession on demand. Two years later, on the 19th of February, 1758, Basile Gagnier, then in Montreal and residing in the "faubourg St. Laurent" (a suburb of north Craig Street) declares that his mother (widow of Pierre Gagnier) has given him back the amount mentioned. Basile Gagnier was born in Laprairie, near Montreal, in 1725, and married in Montreal in 1757 Marie Amable Perras. He must have been thrifty to be able to put aside so large a sum at the age of 31. He may have been at Toronto two or three years before 1756.

2 At the New York Council which opened December 12, 1755, Governor Shirley asserted, "That could the French be dislodged from Frontenac, and the little fort at Fronto (*sic*) and their entrance into Lake Ontario obstructed, all their other forts and settlements on the Ohio and the western lakes were deprived of their support from Canada and must ere long be evacuated."

3 At Fort Niagara there were five officers—one of them usually attached to Little Niagara above the Falls, and residing there—two sergeants, a drummer, twenty-four soldiers, a storekeeper, surgeon and chaplain, the last named being expected occasionally to visit Toronto and any other isolated white men in the region. Five canoes came up from below annually, with supplies for Toronto, ten were sent to Niagara and (in 1754) seventeen others with goods for Detroit and its dependencies." SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. II, p. 90.

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journal of this and other experiences in Canada between 1751 and 1761 which was published at Quebec by the Abbé Casgrain in 1887.

The time had now come for the long-delayed attack upon the hated Chouéguen. M. Massicotte has supplied me with four hitherto unpublished letters from the Baby collection written by the commandant at Fort Rouillé, M. de Noyelle,¹ and addressed to the commandant at Fort Frontenac in the winter and spring of this year. In February, M. de Noyelle wrote:

Sir,

I had the honour to inform you of what news there is here by two Frenchmen who came from Detroit about whom I am very much disturbed, Mr. de Lorimier not having met them and three days after they left their dog came back here.

The Missisakés of this post and of the *fond du lac* have received several belts of wampum which the English have sent by a renegade Montagné (Onondaga); Mr. Duplessis has got back one of them and some strings of wampum. I have got back two, four strings and a shell.

The Governor-General instructs me to send bands of savages continually to harrass the English at Chou8akin; I have brought the Missisaké of this post to this decision: they are preparing to set out as soon as navigation opens.

I shall continue, Sir, to have the honour of informing you of all that comes to my knowledge.

I am with deep respect

Sir,

Your humble and obedient servant

NOYELLE.²

Fort Rouillé
February 15th, 1756.

¹ "In November, 1756, De Noyelle, with ten men, was assigned to Toronto." Severance, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. II, p. 188.

² M. Aegidius Fauteux informs me that the commandant at Toronto in 1756 was Charles Joseph de Noyelle, one of the three sons, all officers, of Nicolas Joseph de Noyelle, mayor of Three Rivers and later "lieutenant du roy."

In March he wrote again to the commandant at Fort Frontenac:

Sir,

Here is a courier from the Illinois charged with despatches from *Mr. Le gouverneur de La Louisiane* and *Mr. Le Commandant des Illinois* for the Governor-General. Not being able to find a guide to show him the way to you he has been obliged to stay here eight days. I was waiting for Charette with impatience being sure that the companion you had been so good as to give him would have gone back to Frontenac with this courier; but my anxiety for this Charette increases; it is twenty-seven days since he left; something must have happened to him. He is however one of the most capable mariners for refitting the barque. In case he is still at Frontenac I beg you, Sir, to have the goodness to send him back with this savage whom I am giving for guide to the man named Mercier.

There is no news at all here worthy of your attention. I am always with much respect

Sir,

Your humble and obedient servant

NOYELLE.

Fort Rouillé

March 15th, 1756.

By the middle of April the war-parties from Fort Rouillé were ready to set out and de Noyelle wrote to the commandant at Fort Frontenac:

Sir,

I have the honour to direct to you this war party of ten savages from this post which I have raised in accordance with the instructions of the Governor-General, to go and strike at Chou8akin. As there are two parties which I am embarking for the same place and at the same time, one has decided to go by your post and the other I shall send by Niagara.

I beg you, Sir, to be so kind as to be ready to have them supplied with provisions to pursue their way. This fort, as I have had the honour to inform you, is so absolutely stripped I have been able to give them only enough ammunition for hunting till they reach you, as I am doing for the party which is to pass M. Duplessis's fort, from whom I am expecting relief every day, for we haven't more than two quarts of flour.

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There is however some reason to suppose that the barques are at Niagara, we heard three days ago twenty-seven cannon-shots. I am with deep respect

Your very humble and obedient servant

NOYELLE.

Fort Rouillé
April 19th, 1756.

In May, Vaudreuil sent Coulon de Villiers, with eleven hundred soldiers, Canadians and Indians, to harass Oswego and cut its communications with Albany. The following letter from de Noyelle to the commandant at Fort Frontenac indicates that Toronto furnished its quota for this expedition:

Sir,

I received from Chabot who arrived this morning and set out at the end of an hour, your honoured communication of the ninth of the month.

The Governor-General instructs me, as you do me the honour to inform me, to send thirty Missisakés to Mr. de Villiers.

I have seven here who are setting out to-morrow morning for Pimidaichkontayny (Port-Hope?) to enlist there seven others of their people, and to embark there for your post. They assure me that there will be at least fourteen and probably twenty. But that I may be sure of their numbers they are to send and let me know at the moment of their departure how many they will be so that I can carry out to the letter the Governor's order. Most of these savages have just left their winter encampment; ten leagues from here they say there is still snow and ice on the ground and that that is the reason of their tardiness in setting out this spring. The scarcity of provisions also with which this fort was supplied has also been in part the cause, for if I had been in a position to support their families some of them would have gone in the month of February.

I am sending off those here in great haste and even without being able to give them provisions. Several of them have no guns or tomahawks. It is impossible to give them guns, as for tomahawks I should have had some made for them if I had not made them set out so quickly. They have asked me to beg you to supply their needs. The Governor instructs me to tell them that if they are afraid that their wives cannot live in their absence, to bring them to your post to live there till their return.

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I shall do everything, Sir, to despatch as quickly as possible these thirty savages; but the scarcity of provisions where I am is a great obstacle. However we have heard several cannon-shots from Niagara which makes us hope that the barques reached there to-day.

Accept my humble thanks for charging yourself with the letter which I wrote to my wife.

I am with deep respect, Sir,

Your humble and obedient servant,

NOYELLE.

Fort Rouillé
May 18th, 1756.

In July, Vaudreuil and Montcalm¹ had completed their preparations for the attack upon Oswego (Chouéguen). The troops assembled at Montreal and were joined by Indians from the far west; among them were Menominees from beyond Lake Michigan. These warriors, "naked, painted, plumed, greased, stamping, uttering short yelps, shaking feathered lances, brandishing tomahawks, danced the war-dance before the Governor, to the thumping of the Indian drum."² The Governor commended them for their zeal in spite of the ravages of smallpox, praised their valour in their recent campaign with M. de Villiers, and rewarded the most distinguished among them. He then proceeded to urge them to accompany M. de Rigaud,³ his brother, in the expedition against Chouéguen, reminding them that it would not take them out of their path on their way back to Toronto. He begged them not to listen to the words of any evil persons who should attempt to seduce them from obedience to the voice of their father. The orator

¹ "Du 3 juin 1756—On a eu des nouvelles du 27 avril, des forts Duquesne, Rouillé, Machault, la Presqu'île, Toronto. Il parvit par les diverses lettres que les sauvages d'En-Haut son bien disposés et font de fréquents courses chez les Anglois, où nous avons toujours la supériorité par les prisonniers que l'on amène. Nous avons perdu trois Mississagués et un enseigne des troupes de la colonie appelé M. Douville. Dans ces divers postes, on se plaint du retard pour les subsistances." *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm*, p. 68. (The M. Douville mentioned was a son of the Sieur de la Saussaye.)

² PARKMAN, *Montcalm and Wolf*, I, p. 421.

³ "Official Report on French Posts," *Michigan Historical Magazine*, Winter Number, 1932, p. 73.

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of the Menominees rose; he thanked the governor for the presents, accepted the wampum belts and promised that they would all follow M. de Rigaud on the expedition, with the exception of the sick and wounded. He asked for some new canoes, and for provisions to take them as far as Toronto, and from there to the bay,¹ as usual. His request was granted.² It will not be necessary to follow these warriors to Oswego, whose walls collapsed so suddenly before the attack of the French; what we are concerned with is to observe that the road from Montreal to the west lay across the Toronto Carrying-Place and that many other fantastic savages probably passed that way during the years of struggle which ended in the defeat of the French.

Another brief mention of Toronto occurs in the account of the arrival at the rendezvous at Fort Frontenac of a part of the regiment of Béarn from Niagara:

Niagara, du 31 Juillet-Ier Août. Béarn est arrivé à 3h. La cause de son retard a été des gros vents qui l'ont obligé de relâcher à Toronto et de retourner à Niagara dont il est parti hier matin. Le navigation du lac Ontario est assez périlleuse et fort pénible. Le moindre vent le rend clapoteux; les lames y sont courtes et frequentes et dans les gros temps on y est plus fatigué qu'en pleine mer.³ (The men of Béarn arrived at three o'clock. The cause of their delay was the strong winds which compelled them to put in at Toronto and to return to Niagara from which they had set out yesterday morning. Navigation is quite dangerous and very unpleasant on Lake Ontario. The least wind renders it choppy; the waves are short and frequent and in bad weather one is more fatigued than on the ocean.)

There is an allusion to the same incident in the diary of Malartic. The Count de Maurès de Malartic, a brigade major in the regiment of Béarn, was stationed with his regiment at

¹ La Baye (Green Bay, Wisconsin), a post established upon the Baye des Puants. This post was worth in three years to Messrs. Rigaud and Morin, 312,000 *livres*. *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, July, 1931, and article by Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell, *Michigan Historical Magazine*, Vol. 16, No. 1, p. 72.

² *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec*, 1923-1924, p. 209.

³ *Ibid.*, 1923-1924, p. 215.

Fort Frontenac in August, 1755; his diary, published at Dijon in 1890, contains many vivid glimpses of life at Cataraqui and of the traffic on Lake Ontario. On August 27, 1755, ten Indians from Niagara reached Frontenac and spread out the plunder they had taken at the defeat of Braddock. One wonders how many Mississaugas from Toronto¹ shared in that bloody triumph. Next year the regiment of Béarn was at Niagara, and the diary contains several allusions to Toronto. On the seventh of June, 1756, while still stationed at Frontenac and waiting for transport for Niagara, he remarks, "The *bateau*, *Victor*, which had anchored at Toronto to load furs there, came into the bay, discharged her cargo and took on stores." This *bateau* was one of four armed ships on Lake Ontario commanded at this time by the Sieur La Force;² the corvette, *Marquise de Vaudreuil*, of twenty cannon, the corvette, *Hurault*, of fourteen, the schooner, *Louise*, of eight, and the *bateau*, *Victor*, or, as Montcalm's *Journal* calls her, the *Saint-Victor*,³ which carried four small cannon. Probably all these ships were familiar with the anchorage at Toronto, which, as Walter Butler's *Journal* informs us, was not opposite the fort but "a few miles below the fort down the bay."⁴

On June the 14th the regiment of Béarn embarked at Cataraqui on the *Marquise de Vaudreuil*; but even in June the weather could be stormy, and it was two weeks before they reached Niagara. On the twentieth Malartic records, "The wind rose in the south-west, freshened a good deal, piling up seas on which we tossed till sunset, when the wind dropped. At ten o'clock the wind rose in the north-north-east and we were off again. The moon was bright and we could see the Rivière

1 In the list of Indians in Montcalm's army, July 28, 1757, there were "35 Mississagués de Toronto" under the command of M. de la Corne et de Saint Luc. *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm*, p. 265.

2 VAUDREUIL's letter dated Montreal, April 22, 1756, to the commandant at Fort Frontenac announces the appointment of La Force and defines his duties. The Governor enclosed a letter to M. de Noyelle at Toronto. The original of Vaudreuil's letter is in the Baby Collection.

3 See page 121.

4 See page 157.

au Boeuf to the south, and to the north the Great Bluffs (Scarborough Heights) and lands of Toronto." Again, on the twenty-first, he remarks: "The wind veered to the south-south-west; we saw land often. We came in sight again of the Great Bluffs and their river (the Rouge). After noon we kept to the north to gain the anchorage at Toronto, but night kept us from making it." Two days later the storm-tossed regiment reached Niagara, where the soldiers were set to work on the fortifications. The entry for the sixth and seventh of July contains the following: "Work as usual; the demi-bastion towards the lake has been finished; a boat sent to Toronto with fresh provisions returned; the man in charge said he had seen three prisoners and nine scalps taken by the savages from an English boat crossing (Lake Ontario) at the Gallop Islands (near Sackett's Harbour). The Mississagues brought us roebuck." Again, on the thirteenth: "A dull sound was heard in the distance; we supposed it came from the guns¹ of Toronto, the workers along the shore thought of protecting the boats. Three Mississagues brought us a buck and told us they had met their companions who had left us yesterday." On the twenty-third:

The regiment embarked at 8 o'clock in the four corvettes or barks. The boats set sail before nine from the river with the wind south-south-west; at noon the wind veered to the north and forced us to put back to Toronto where we anchored at four o'clock. On the 24th, the wind being still in the north-east, we lay at anchor. I landed and went into the fort, which I found like the others in the country, in bad condition and built of wood; it is situated on the north, twelve leagues from the head of the lake and one league from the river from which it takes its name. The 25th, the commander of the fleet, fearing that we could not leave Toronto if the wind changed, signalled to all the ships to weigh anchor. We sailed at 8 o'clock and made several tacks. The wind remaining in the north, we steered for Niagara and entered the river at eight in the evening.

¹ The fort at Toronto mounted four small cannon. These were probably only *boîtes à pierriers* which were loaded with stones. Malartic speaks of the *boîtes* of Toronto. See also SNIDER, *The Glorious Shannon's Old Blue Duster*, p. 45.



THE TORONTO RIVER; THE SECOND BEND
Looking down from Riverside Drive.

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Population (millions)	10.5	10.6	10.7	10.8	10.9	11.0	11.1	11.2	11.3	11.4	11.5	11.6	11.7	11.8	11.9	12.0	12.1	12.2	12.3	12.4	12.5	12.6	12.7	12.8	12.9	13.0	13.1	13.2	13.3	13.4	13.5	13.6	13.7	13.8	13.9	14.0	14.1	14.2	14.3	14.4	14.5	14.6	14.7	14.8	14.9	15.0	15.1	15.2	15.3	15.4	15.5	15.6	15.7	15.8	15.9	16.0	16.1	16.2	16.3	16.4	16.5	16.6	16.7	16.8	16.9	17.0	17.1	17.2	17.3	17.4	17.5	17.6	17.7	17.8	17.9	18.0	18.1	18.2	18.3	18.4	18.5	18.6	18.7	18.8	18.9	19.0	19.1	19.2	19.3	19.4	19.5	19.6	19.7	19.8	19.9	20.0	20.1	20.2	20.3	20.4	20.5	20.6	20.7	20.8	20.9	21.0	21.1	21.2	21.3	21.4	21.5	21.6	21.7	21.8	21.9	22.0	22.1	22.2	22.3	22.4	22.5	22.6	22.7	22.8	22.9	23.0	23.1	23.2	23.3	23.4	23.5	23.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	24.0	24.1	24.2	24.3	24.4	24.5	24.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	25.0	25.1	25.2	25.3	25.4	25.5	25.6	25.7	25.8	25.9	26.0	26.1	26.2	26.3	26.4	26.5	26.6	26.7	26.8	26.9	27.0	27.1	27.2	27.3	27.4	27.5	27.6	27.7	27.8	27.9	28.0	28.1	28.2	28.3	28.4	28.5	28.6	28.7	28.8	28.9	29.0	29.1	29.2	29.3	29.4	29.5	29.6	29.7	29.8	29.9	30.0	30.1	30.2	30.3	30.4	30.5	30.6	30.7	30.8	30.9	31.0	31.1	31.2	31.3	31.4	31.5	31.6	31.7	31.8	31.9	32.0	32.1	32.2	32.3	32.4	32.5	32.6	32.7	32.8	32.9	33.0	33.1	33.2	33.3	33.4	33.5	33.6	33.7	33.8	33.9	34.0	34.1	34.2	34.3	34.4	34.5	34.6	34.7	34.8	34.9	35.0	35.1	35.2	35.3	35.4	35.5	35.6	35.7	35.8	35.9	36.0	36.1	36.2	36.3	36.4	36.5	36.6	36.7	36.8	36.9	37.0	37.1	37.2	37.3	37.4	37.5	37.6	37.7	37.8	37.9	38.0	38.1	38.2	38.3	38.4	38.5	38.6	38.7	38.8	38.9	39.0	39.1	39.2	39.3	39.4	39.5	39.6	39.7	39.8	39.9	40.0	40.1	40.2	40.3	40.4	40.5	40.6	40.7	40.8	40.9	41.0	41.1	41.2	41.3	41.4	41.5	41.6	41.7	41.8	41.9	42.0	42.1	42.2	42.3	42.4	42.5	42.6	42.7	42.8	42.9	43.0	43.1	43.2	43.3	43.4	43.5	43.6	43.7	43.8	43.9	44.0	44.1	44.2	44.3	44.4	44.5	44.6	44.7	44.8	44.9	45.0	45.1	45.2	45.3	45.4	45.5	45.6	45.7	45.8	45.9	46.0	46.1	46.2	46.3	46.4	46.5	46.6	46.7	46.8	46.9	47.0	47.1	47.2	47.3	47.4	47.5	47.6	47.7	47.8	47.9	48.0	48.1	48.2	48.3	48.4	48.5	48.6	48.7	48.8	48.9	49.0	49.1	49.2	49.3	49.4	49.5	49.6	49.7	49.8	49.9	50.0	50.1	50.2	50.3	50.4	50.5	50.6	50.7	50.8	50.9	51.0	51.1	51.2	51.3	51.4	51.5	51.6	51.7	51.8	51.9	52.0	52.1	52.2	52.3	52.4	52.5	52.6	52.7	52.8	52.9	53.0	53.1	53.2	53.3	53.4	53.5	53.6	53.7	53.8	53.9	54.0	54.1	54.2	54.3	54.4	54.5	54.6	54.7	54.8	54.9	55.0	55.1	55.2	55.3	55.4	55.5	55.6	55.7	55.8	55.9	56.0	56.1	56.2	56.3	56.4	56.5	56.6	56.7	56.8	56.9	57.0	57.1	57.2	57.3	57.4	57.5	57.6	57.7	57.8	57.9	58.0	58.1	58.2	58.3	58.4	58.5	58.6	58.7	58.8	58.9	59.0	59.1	59.2	59.3	59.4	59.5	59.6	59.7	59.8	59.9	60.0	60.1	60.2	60.3	60.4	60.5	60.6	60.7	60.8	60.9	61.0	61.1	61.2	61.3	61.4	61.5	61.6	61.7	61.8	61.9	62.0	62.1	62.2	62.3	62.4	62.5	62.6	62.7	62.8	62.9	63.0	63.1	63.2	63.3	63.4	63.5	63.6	63.7	63.8	63.9	64.0	64.1	64.2	64.3	64.4	64.5	64.6	64.7	64.8	64.9	65.0	65.1	65.2	65.3	65.4	65.5	65.6	65.7	65.8	65.9	66.0	66.1	66.2	66.3	66.4	66.5	66.6	66.7	66.8	66.9	67.0	67.1	67.2	67.3	67.4	67.5	67.6	67.7	67.8	67.9	68.0	68.1	68.2	68.3	68.4	68.5	68.6	68.7	68.8	68.9	69.0	69.1	69.2	69.3	69.4	69.5	69.6	69.7	69.8	69.9	70.0	70.1	70.2	70.3	70.4	70.5	70.6	70.7	70.8	70.9	71.0	71.1	71.2	71.3	71.4	71.5	71.6	71.7	71.8	71.9	72.0	72.1	72.2	72.3	72.4	72.5	72.6	72.7	72.8	72.9	73.0	73.1	73.2	73.3	73.4	73.5	73.6	73.7	73.8	73.9	74.0	74.1	74.2	74.3	74.4	74.5	74.6	74.7	74.8	74.9	75.0	75.1	75.2	75.3	75.4	75.5	75.6	75.7	75.8	75.9	76.0	76.1	76.2	76.3	76.4	76.5	76.6	76.7	76.8	76.9	77.0	77.1	77.2	77.3	77.4	77.5	77.6	77.7	77.8	77.9	78.0	78.1	78.2	78.3	78.4	78.5	78.6	78.7	78.8	78.9	79.0	79.1	79.2	79.3	79.4	79.5	79.6	79.7	79.8	79.9	80.0	80.1	80.2	80.3	80.4	80.5	80.6	80.7	80.8	80.9	81.0	81.1	81.2	81.3	81.4	81.5	81.6	81.7	81.8	81.9	82.0	82.1	82.2	82.3	82.4	82.5	82.6	82.7	82.8	82.9	83.0	83.1	83.2	83.3	83.4	83.5	83.6	83.7	83.8	83.9	84.0	84.1	84.2	84.3	84.4	84.5	84.6	84.7	84.8	84.9	85.0	85.1	85.2	85.3	85.4	85.5	85.6	85.7	85.8	85.9	86.0	86.1	86.2	86.3	86.4	86.5	86.6	86.7	86.8	86.9	87.0	87.1	87.2	87.3	87.4	87.5	87.6	87.7	87.8	87.9	88.0	88.1	88.2	88.3	88.4	88.5	88.6	88.7	88.8	88.9	89.0	89.1	89.2	89.3	89.4	89.5	89.6	89.7	89.8	89.9	90.0	90.1	90.2	90.3	90.4	90.5	90.6	90.7	90.8	90.9	91.0	91.1	91.2	91.3	91.4	91.5	91.6	91.7	91.8	91.9	92.0	92.1	92.2	92.3	92.4	92.5	92.6	92.7	92.8	92.9	93.0	93.1	93.2	93.3	93.4	93.5	93.6	93.7	93.8	93.9	94.0	94.1	94.2	94.3	94.4	94.5	94.6	94.7	94.8	94.9	95.0	95.1	95.2	95.3	95.4	95.5	95.6	95.7	95.8	95.9	96.0	96.1	96.2	96.3	96.4	96.5	96.6	96.7	96.8	96.9	97.0	97.1	97.2	97.3	97.4	97.5	97.6	97.7	97.8	97.9	98.0	98.1	98.2	98.3	98.4	98.5	98.6	98.7	98.8	98.9	99.0	99.1	99.2	99.3	99.4	99.5	99.6	99.7	99.8	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.2	100.3	100.4	100.5	100.6	100.7	100.8	100.9	101.0	101.1	101.2	101.3	101.4	101.5	101.6	101.7	101.8	101.9	102.0	102.1	102.2	102.3	102.4	102.5	102.6	102.7	102.8	102.9	103.0	103.1	103.2	103.3	103.4	103.5	103.6	103.7	103.8	103.9	104.0	104.1	104.2	104.3	104.4	104.5	104.6	104.7	104.8	104.9	105.0	105.1	105.2	105.3	105.4	105.5	105.6	105.7	105.8	105.9	106.0	106.1	106.2	106.3	106.4	106.5	106.6	106.7	106.8	106.9	107.0	107.1	107.2	107.3	107.4	107.5	107.6	107.7	107.8	107.9	108.0	108.1	108.2	108.3	108.4	108.5	108.6	108.7	108.8	108.9	109.0	109.1	109.2	109.3	109.4	109.5	109.6	109.7	109.8	109.9	110.0	110.1	110.2	110.3	110.4	110.5	110.6	110.7	110.8	110.9	111.0	111.1	111.2	111.3	111.4	111.5	111.6	111.7	111.8	111.9	112.0	112.1	112.2	112.3	112.4	112.5	112.6	112.7	112.8	112.9	113.0	113.1	113.2	113.3	113.4	113.5	113.6	113.7	113.8	113.9	114.0	114.1	114.2	114.3	114.4	114.5	114.6	114.7	114.8	114.9	115.0	115.1	115.2	115.3	115.4	115.5	115.6	115.7	115.8	115.9	116.0	116.1	116.2	116.3	116.4	116.5	116.6	116.7	116.8	116.9	117.0	117.1	117.2	117.3	117.4	117.5	117.6	117.7	117.8	117.9	118.0	118.1	118.2	118.3	118.4	118.5	118.6	118.7	118.8	118.9	119.0	119.1	119.2	119.3	119.4	119.5	119.6	119.7	119.8	119.9	120.0	120.1	120.2	120.3	120.4	120.5	120.6	120.7	120.8	120.9	121.0	121.1	121.2	121.3	121.4	121.5	121.6	121.7	121.8	121.9	122.0	122.1	122.2	122.3	122.4	122.5	122.6	122.7	122.8	122.9	123.0	123.1	123.2	123.3	123.4	123.5	123.6	123.7	123.8	123.9	124.0	124.1	124.2	124.3	124.4	124.5	124.6	124.7	124.8	124.9	125.0	125.1	125.2	125.3	125.4	125.5	125.6	125.7	125.8	125.9	126.0	126.1	126.2	126.3	126.4	126.5	126.6	126.7	126.8	126.9	127.0	127.1	127.2	127.3	127.4	127.5	127.6	127.7	127.8	127.9	128.0	128.1	128.2	128.3	128.4	128.5	128.6	128.7	128.8	128.9	129.0	129.1	129.2	129.3	129.4	129.5	129.6	129.7	129.8	129.9	130.0	130.1	130.2	130.3	130.4	130.5	130.6	130.7	130.8	130.9	131.0	131.1	131.2	131.3	131.4	131.5	131.6	131.7	131.8	131.9	132.0	132.1	132.2	132.3	132.4	132.5	132.6	132.7	132.8	132.9	133.0	133.1	133.2	133.3	133.4	133.5	133.6	133.7	133.8	133.9	134.0	134.1	134.2	134.3	134.4	134.5	134.6	134.7	134.8	134.9	135.0	135.1	135.2	135.3	135.4	135.5	135.6	135.7	135.8	135.9	136.0	136.1	136.2	136.3	136.4	136.5	136.6	136.7	136.8	136.9	137.0	137.1

Next day the regiment sailed again, and this time the wind favoured them, for in twenty-seven hours they disembarked at Cataraqui, where Montcalm, who was on the eve of his attack upon Oswego, awaited them. On the thirteenth of December, Malartic records that the envoys of the Five Nations "begged Ononthio to see that the store-houses at Frontenac, Toronto and Niagara should be supplied with goods so that they would not feel the loss of Chouéguen." In the beginning of 1759, the diary has a brief entry recording the fact that an artillery officer, travelling with two officers from Fort Duquesne, had lost his way between Toronto and Frontenac, and that there was no news of him; this was on the tenth. On the eighteenth, the diary records that the lost officer arrived at Frontenac on the eleventh day after his departure from Toronto; he had been obliged to return there to pick up his direction.

During the winter of 1756 and 1757, which was severe, all the posts suffered from a shortage of supplies. Hordes of savages came to Niagara to live on the bounty of the fort. The soldiers there were employed on the fortifications during the winter, and to amuse their leisure Pouchot permitted amateur theatricals. Montcalm remarks in the *Journal*: "The bad weather not allowing the soldiers at Niagara to work on the fortifications, M. Pouchot has allowed them to present a comedy. Someone has even composed a little piece called 'The Old Man Duped.'" One wonders if any of M. de Noyelle's garrison of ten men at Toronto were present on the occasion of this, the first dramatic presentation in the west.

In 1757 Montcalm held a great council with the Indians at Montreal. More than a thousand Indians had gathered from the lakes, from Wisconsin, from the Illinois and from the banks of the Des Moines. His success at Oswego had given him a great ascendancy over the tribes, and it appears from Pouchot's narrative¹ that a contingent of Missisauga Indians to the number of ninety had gathered at Toronto with the intention of proceeding to Montreal. Before doing so, however, they

¹ Vol. I, p. 82.

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conceived the idea of pillaging the fort as they passed, in spite of the fact that it belonged to friends whom they were about to assist. It is supposed that the supply of brandy stored in the fort proved too great a temptation for their loyalty. The following is Dr. Scadding's account of the incident as drawn from Pouchot's narrative:

The only persons within the fort at the time were M. Varren, the store-keeper, and ten men under M. de Noyelle.¹ The latter had been secretly apprised of the plot by a French domestic. A canoe with two men was instantly despatched, unobserved by the conspirators, to Fort Niagara across the lake. Capt. Pouchot, in command there, on hearing the story, lost no time in sending two officers, Capt. de la Ferté and M. de Pinsun, with sixty-one men in two *bateaux*, each armed with a swivel gun at the bow. They reached Toronto at four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day. They found the Mississaugas still encamped near the fort; and passing in front of them the boats saluted the wigwams with "artillery and musket balls," directed, however, into the air, as Capt. Pouchot had given orders. The Indians were immediately summoned to attend a council. They were greatly astonished at the adventure, Capt. Pouchot tells us, and confessed everything; they had false news delivered to them, they said, to the effect that the English had beaten the French. But the true reason of their action, Pouchot adds, was that they felt themselves in force, and could get plenty of brandy for nothing.²

It was in this year that the terms of the contract executed on October 26, 1756, at Quebec, between the Intendant Bigot and the contractors, Cadet³ and Martel, for supplying the posts

¹ *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm*, p. 82.

² "Les nouvelles du 4 (juin 1757) de Niagara parlent de la tranquillité du fort de Toronto; des Mississagués ivres d'eau-de-vie, avaient fait les insolents et menacèrent de détruire le fort. M. Pouchot, commandant de Niagara, qui a reçu un collier, y fit marcher M. de la Ferté, capitaine au régiment de la Saire, avec cinquante hommes. Tout étoit déjà assez tranquille. Les Poutéotamies nos alliés, qui avoient passé l'hiver à Montréal avoient calmé les esprits." *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm*, p. 213.

³ M.E.-Z. MASSICOTTE has sent me a copy of the engagement of the Sieur Bonnaventure Augé by the notorious Joseph Cadet, commissary-general, as head clerk at Fort Toronto; this document is dated 8th of June, 1757.

in the west with food and other necessaries, went into effect; in accordance with this contract, Cadet agreed to furnish rations and necessary supplies to Toronto from July 1, 1757, to June 30, 1766. Under this agreement neither the common soldier nor his officers were to fare too sumptuously, either in garrison or on the march. The daily ration of the soldier, regular or Canadian militia, and of the employed Indian, was two pounds of coarse bread, half a pound of pork and four ounces of peas. The officers received the same ration as the men, save that their bread was finer, and they were allowed a gill of brandy. One of the swindles which was early employed was that the soldiers' bread was made of a mixture of wheat and oats. More notorious was the favouritism in behalf of the officers, for whom the contractor sent into the Niagara wilderness, at the King's expense, many a cask of wine and other luxury not hinted at in the prescribed ration.¹ Cadet and his associates made all they could out of the contract for supplying the Ontario, Niagara and Ohio posts, but at the conclusion of the war he and the store-keepers who pillaged the King's treasury so greedily were impeached and committed to the Bastille. Douville, of Toronto, was among the number. Montcalm, in protesting against the carnival of greed and graft amid which the power of France in the west went down to destruction, remarks: "I forgot to say that this very day, in spite of the demands of dire peril, in place of making the convoys consist of articles requisite for the defence of the frontier, the great Company, more powerful than the governor-general, gives the preference in transmitting goods to Niagara and Toronto to the goods necessary for their commerce. Everyone sees this; everyone knows it; the outcry is general. What does it matter to these agents, who dispute authority. Separated from the throne by an interval of 1,500 leagues, assured for the present of impunity, because they had ventured to secure accomplices in the inner circle of supreme power, they

¹ SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, II, p. 404.

have accustomed trade, private persons, the people to see all, to suffer all, to be the instrument of their fortune."¹

But the downfall of the corrupt Bigot and his associates was at hand; it involved the downfall of Niagara and Toronto. The next year—in 1758—the English made a sudden descent upon Fort Frontenac and captured and destroyed the place. The Governor-General, de Vaudreuil, writes to inform the Minister, M. de Messiac, in Paris: "Should the English make their appearance at Toronto, I have given orders to burn it and to fall back on Niagara."² And in 1759, when the attack upon Niagara was apprehended, the governor states in his despatch that he has summoned troops from the Illinois and from Detroit, with instructions to rendezvous at Presqu'Île on Lake Erie, and adds: "As these forces will proceed to the relief of Niagara, should the enemy besiege it, I have in like manner sent orders to Toronto to collect the Mississagués and other natives, to forward them to Niagara."³

The threatened siege of Niagara did not last long; it began on the sixth of July, 1759, and the fort capitulated on the twenty-fifth. Early in the siege, Captain Douville from his post at Toronto sent a canoe across the lake to ascertain the progress of events; and again on the twentieth we catch a glimpse of the French schooner, *Iroquoise*, commanded by Captain La Force, one of three armed ships maintained by the French on the lake at this time, hovering at a safe distance off Fort Niagara and waiting for despatches. Two canoes from the beleaguered garrison brave the fire of the besiegers and reach the schooner,

1 *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm*, pp. 460-461, "M. de Montigny ne songeait qu'aux moyens de s'enrichir. Il avait des intérêts à Niagara. Ce fut le motif qui l'engagea le plus à se faire nommer pour commander le parti qui devait y aller. Il fit charger ses canots de vivres et de marchandises sans oublier les barils de vin et d'eau-de-vie, qu'il vendit fort bien en route à son détachement et aux sauvages, Il se rendit en douze jours à Niagara, quoiqu'il eût été obligé de passer par Toronto, de s'y arrêter pour ses affaires, et d'y prendre sous prétexte de rafraichissements pour sa troupe, des vivres et de l'eau-de-vie." *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec*, 1925, pp. 143-144. (The fall of Fort Frontenac was not known on M. de Montigny's arrival at Niagara.) *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec*, 1923-1924, p. 367.

2 *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. X, p. 824.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol X, p. 932.

which sails at once with messages for Toronto and Montreal. This is our last distant glimpse of the fort. Dr. Scadding remarks.¹

About this time watchers on the ramparts of Fort Niagara would see ascending from a point on the far horizon to the north-west across the lake, a dark column of smoke—sure indication that the orders of de Vaudreuil were being executed, and that in a few hours all that the English or any one else, on approaching Toronto, would discover of the once flourishing trading-post would be five heaps of charred timbers and planks, with a low chimney-stack of coarse brick and a shattered flooring at its foot, made of flag-stones from the adjoining beach, the whole surrounded on the inland side by three lines of cedar pickets more or less broken down and scathed by the fire.

Malartic records in his diary that the garrison made good their escape: "Le capitaine Douville réussit à conduire ses quinze soldats a Montreal." On October 30th de Vaudreuil wrote to the Minister, "M. Douville has burnt his fort at Toronto." This is the last reference to Toronto from a French source.²

Sir William Johnson, now in possession of Niagara, lost no time in despatching a party across the lake. He writes in his journal:³ "The evening of the 27th, I sent three whale-boats with a party of above thirty men to reconnoitre Fort Toronto, and on their return propose to send to destroy it." On the 30th, he writes: "At night Lieutenant Francis returned from Toronto, and reported that the enemy had burned and abandoned that post, and destroyed many things which they could not carry along, *viz.*, working utensils, arms, etc. A Chippeway chief came with Mr. Francis, in order to speak with me."

Of the four commandants at Toronto, Pierre Robineau, Chevalier de Portneuf; Thomas Robutel de la Noue; Charles Joseph de Noyelle, and Captain Alexandre Douville, the latter

¹ SCADDING, *History of Old French Fort and its Monuments*, p. 22; ROBERTSON, *Landmarks*, Vol. I, Chap. XXXI; Vol. II, Chap. CCXV.

² *Publications of the Canadian Archives*, 1899, p. 180

³ *Champlain Society Publications*, Vol. III, p. 189.

deserves a more extended notice on account of his long connection with Toronto. Thirty years before, one of the Douvilles in 1720 had built the first French post at Toronto. It is possible that the builder of the 1720 post and the commandant in 1759 who burned his fort and retired to Montreal are identical. Alexandre Dagneau Douville was born in 1698 and was the second son of the Sieur Michel Dagneau Douville and an elder brother of the Sieur Philippe Dagneau de la Saussaye, who obtained a lease of the post at Toronto in 1727. It was to Alexandre that Philippe delegated his authority at Toronto while employed as *garde-magasin* at Niagara. After 1730 we find Alexandre at Green Bay with his father-in-law, Coulon de Villiers. The elder de Villiers had married in 1705 or 1706 Angélique Jarret de Verchères, a sister of Madeleine de Verchères, so that the first wife of Captain Douville, the last defender of Fort Toronto, was a niece of that heroine of Canadian history. He was also a brother-in-law of that Jumonville whose death in 1754 at the hands of the party commanded by the young Washington is described as the immediate cause of the Seven Years War; he was also a brother-in-law of the de Villiers who avenged him. Alexandre Douville obtained his commission as ensign in 1735.¹ His name appears among the fifty-five persons accused of misconduct in Canada, twenty-two only of whom were actually under arrest.² Douville was fined twenty francs and banished from Paris for three years. It does not appear that he ever actually returned to France. He was living at Verchères in 1763,³ and died in Montreal about 1773.

NOTE. In the absence of indications on the maps of the period it is difficult to determine the direction of the trails to the French Fort, Toronto. There is a tradition that Indian Road was one of these. As it is in a line with the street known as Weston Road, which diverges from the Carrying-Place at Weston, it is probable that this was one of several routes followed by the tribes from the north when visiting the fort during its brief existence. There was also a well-known trail along the shore, and there are maps which at a later date show a path connected with Dundas St. Bouchette's map shows the site of the blacksmith shop erected after 1788 for the use of the Indians about half a mile to the west of the Fort.

1 *Publication of the Canadian Archives*, 1904, p. 212.

2 SEVERANCE, *An Old Frontier of France*, Vol. II, p. 412.

3 *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec*, 1924, p. 235.

VII

FROM THE FALL OF NIAGARA TO THE END OF THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC: 1759-1764

AS far back as 1729 the President of the Navy Board had written to M. Hocquart that the post at Toronto had been carried on for all time for the king as a dependency of Niagara; and now the fall of the strongest fort in the west had involved the fall of Toronto and of all the weaker posts in the interior. Sir William Johnson was for the moment the most powerful man in America. Disappointed in an early love affair, he had come to America at the age of nineteen, where he speedily consoled himself by an alliance with a Dutch maiden, and after her death by an alliance with Molly Brant, the sister of the great Mohawk chief. Johnson acquired large estates in New York, exercised a dominating influence over the Indians and was made a baronet by the British government. He continued to be a person of great importance long after the fall of Niagara, and as Superintendent of Indian Affairs he was the mediator between the British government and the Indian tribes, including the Indians of the west and north as well as the Iroquois of New York; his jurisdiction extended over all the northern colonies, and from the fall of Niagara till his death in 1774 this brilliant Irishman was the virtual ruler of a region which included the present Province of Ontario. On the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, distracted between his loyalty to the Crown and his reluctance to lead his Indian allies against his old friends in New York, Johnson fell ill, and in the midst of his agony of indecision he died, possibly by his own hand.

After the surrender of Fort Niagara, with characteristic French *esprit*, Pouchot entertained Johnson at dinner. It was a dramatic and historic occasion, for, with the fort, what is now Ontario passed from the French to the English, with all the memories of a century and a half. The interview between Sir

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William and the Missisauga chief from Toronto, which took place on August the 2nd, contained something of the same dramatic importance. Tequakareigh is given as the name of this sachem, and in his person the tribes north of the lake submitted to the British Crown. Sir William in his *Journal* describes the interview at some length:

With a string and two belts of wampum I bid him welcome, and shook him by the hand. By the second, which was a black belt, I took the hatchet out of the hands of his and all the surrounding nations; recommended hunting and trade to them, which would be more to their interest than quarrelling with the English, who have ever been their friends, and supplied them at the cheapest rates with the necessaries of life, and would do it again, both here (Niagara) and at Oswego, provided they quitted the French interest. This I desired he would acquaint all the surrounding nations with. A black belt, the third and last, was to invite his and all other nations living near them, to repair early next spring to this place and Oswego, where there should be a large assortment of all kinds of goods fit for their use; also recommended it to them to send some of their young men here to hunt and fish for the garrison, for which they would be paid, and kindly treated. Told them at the same time that I would send some of my interpreters, etc., with him on the lake to the next town of the Mississagas, with whom I desired he would use his best endeavours to convince them that it would be in their interest to live in friendship with the English, and that we had no ill intentions against them, if they did not oblige us to it. To which he (Tequakareigh) answered, and said it gave him great pleasure to hear our good words, and was certain it would be extremely agreeable to all the nations with whom he was acquainted, who, with his, were wheedled and led on to strike the English, which he now confessed he was sorry for, and assured they never would again; and that should the French, according to custom, ask them to do so any more, they would turn them out of the country. He, at the same time, begged earnestly, that a plenty of goods might be brought here and to Oswego; and there they, as well as all the other nations around, would come to trade; and their young men should hunt for their brothers, whom they now took fast hold of by the hand, and called upon the Six Nations, who were present, to bear witness to what he had promised. He also