#### XII

#### JEAN BAPTISTE ROUSSEAU

T was, as we have seen, from the house of Jean Baptiste Rousseau, at the foot of the Toronto Carrying-Place on the east bank of the Humber, that Simcoe and his party set out on the morning of September 25, 1793, on an exploring trip to Matchedash Bay. Rousseau has a rather important place in any account of the early history of Toronto; he was the last of those adventurous coureurs-de-bois and fur-traders, who for a century and a half bartered for peltries at the mouth of the Toronto River; he was the last citizen of the old French Toronto and the first of the new English York. At the time of the founding of York the Rousseaus had been established, at one time or another, for nearly twenty-five years at the mouth of the Toronto River, and had fallen heirs to the trade which Sir William Johnson had valued so highly in 1767. The Toronto River had even taken their name and was known as "St. John's River." The Rousseau house on the Humber must have entertained many interesting visitors during these years, and could never have been a dull or lonely place in summer with so much coming and going between the lower and upper lakes; how many of the French pioneers of Wisconsin passed this way we cannot now say, but Langlade and Réaume, La Force

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1 Ancestry of J. B. Rousseau (Tanguay and other sources):

Jean Rousseau—Marie Rigaut de Jarenec
diocèse de Xaintes, Saintonge

Rousseau dit St. Jean—Marie Catherine Compain
b. 1704: soldat de
la compagnie de M. La Corne

Jean Bonaventure Rousseau—Marie Reine Brunet
b. 1727 (22 April)

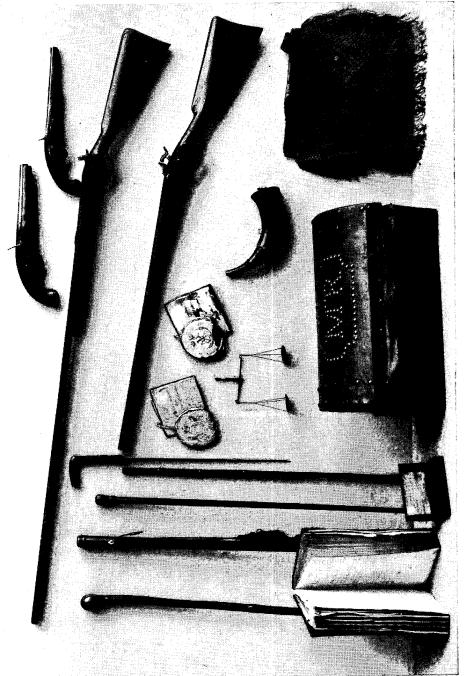
Jean Baptiste Rousseau—1 Marie Martineau
b. 1758 d. 1812
2 Margaret Clyne
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and Bouchette, Frobisher and the North-West fur-traders, the great Chief Brant and the early surveyors knew the place well; it served as an inn for wanderers in that wide wilderness. And it was Jean Baptiste Rousseau who had the honour on the official occasion of the founding of York of piloting the *Mississaga* with Governor Simcoe and his party on board into the harbour. St. John's Road in the city of Toronto commemorates the "laird" or "chief factor" of the Humber.

On September 13, 1770, at Quebec, under the hand and seal of the Honourable Hector Cramahé, President of His Majesty's Council, a license was issued to St. Jean Rousseau, with permission for one year "to pass unmolested with one canoe and six men from Montreal to Toronto, with liberty to dispose of his goods and effects as he should occasionally find a market in his passage." The merchandise itemized in this document included: eighty gallons of rum and brandy, sixteen gallons of wine, four fusils, three hundred pounds of gunpowder, sixteen hundredweight of shot and balls, in all amounting to three hundred pounds of lawful money of the same Province or thereabouts. Rousseau was required to take the Oath of Allegiance and to promise not to stir up strife or mischief among the Indians, "but as far as in me lies to promote Peace and Union among His Majesty's Old and New Subjects and the Savage Nations." His bond declared that he, "St. Jean Rousseau, of the city of Montreal, Merchant, was bound in the full sum of six hundred pounds for his license to trade with the Indian Nations living under His Majesty's Protection at Toronto, and from thence to any markets or parts which he should find advantageous for the sale of his merchandise."1

It is a fair assumption that the St. John Rousseau to whom this license was issued in 1770 was the father of Jean Baptiste Rousseau, who served as Simcoe's pilot on the historic occasion

<sup>1</sup> M. GUSTAVE LANCTOT, of the Dominion Archives, has sent me a photostat of Rousseau's license. Rousseau had with him on his trip to Toronto the following voyageurs: Augustin Lefevre, Châteauguay; Jean Batiste Etien, Terrebonne; Fabian Coté, François Coté, Rivière Criane; Joseph Leberge, Châteauguay, and Joseph Sampson.



RELICS OF COLONEL J. B. ROUSSEAU, THE LAST OF THE FRENCH TRADERS AT TORONTO
Including powder-horn presented to him by Joseph Brant, scales for weighing coins of various denominations, military commissions, account-book and trunk
belonging to his wife, Margaret Clyne. These relics are in the possession of Miss Muriel Rousseau, Hamilton.

of the founding of York in 1793. It is known that the latter was born in 1758 and that he was the son of Jean Bonaventure Rousseau (dit St. Jean), born 1727, who in turn was the son of a St. Jean Rousseau born in 1704 and a soldier in the company of La Corne. And we may also assume that the St. John Rousseau trading at the Humber in 1770 is the same person as the interpreter spoken of in 1772 as attached to the Indian Department. In August of that year Colonel Daniel Claus mentions that he had despatched the interpreter, Rousseau, with a message to the Indians above Carillon but that Rousseau had been unexpectedly seized with an attack of measles: "Last Monday," writes Claus to Governor Haldimand, "finding him able to go with said message, I despatched him accordingly."

It is quite possible, though it would be a point difficult to establish, that the St. Jean mentioned in Montcalm's diary as attached to La Corne's Indian brigade as interpreter to the Ottawas in 1758 was the Toronto trader of 1770; this interpreter may also have been the grandfather, born in 1707. There is a tradition in the Rousseau family of an ancestor who was present at the siege of Quebec.

The Rousseau of Simcoe's time, according to his own statement, did not begin his connection with the Indian Department till the year 1775, when he would have been still only seventeen years old.<sup>2</sup> The evidence, however, in the Rousseau family points in the direction of long connection with the fur trade and the Indians, and it is probable that knowledge of the Indian language passed from father to son through several generations; it appears certain that two and possibly three of them served as official interpreters under the French and English régimes.

At the age of seventeen we find Jean Baptiste Rousseau serving as an interpreter, and since he continued in this capacity during the Revolutionary War, it is probable that he served

<sup>1</sup> M. E-Z. MASSICOTTE informs me that over fifty families in Quebec adopted the name St. John.

<sup>2</sup> For Simcoe's opinion of Rousseau, whom he regarded as indispensable, see The Simcoe Papers, Vol. I, p. 396.

under La Corne in the inglorious campaign which led to the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga; he may also have been present with the Missisaugas from the north of Lake Ontario, who made a faint-hearted attempt to save St. John from the Americans, and with Brant and the Mohawks in the Wyoming tragedy.

On July 14, 1780, Jean Baptiste Rousseau was united in marriage to Marie Martineau, of the parish of St. Michel, now a part of Montreal. The terms of the marriage contract add something to our information. This quaint document begins:

Jean Baptiste Rousseau, merchant, living near this town, son of Jean Bonaventure Rousseau and of Marie Reine Brunet, living at her said son's, stipulating for and in his name, of the one part, and Marie Martineau, daughter of deceased Mathurin Martineau and of Marie Josette David living at St. Michel, stipulating also for her and in her name, and of the other part: Which parties met together with the advice of their parents and friends, KNOW, on the part of the said Jean Baptiste Rousseau, Marie Reine Brunet, his mother, François and Louis Brunet, his uncles, Louis Tuiller, his step-father, Marie and Margaret Rousseau, his sisters, St. Denis La Ronde and Francis Billard, his friends—and on the other part of the said Marie Martineau, Jean Baptiste David, her uncle, François and Jean Martineau, her brothers, Marie Angrave, her aunt, Louis David. first cousin, all relatives and friends of the parties who have agreed together and made the agreements and marriage contracts which follow—that the said Jean Baptiste Rousseau and the said Marie Martineau, have promised and do promise to take for husband and wife (by name and law of marriage)—to be celebrated before the Apostolic and Roman Church—and as soon as it will be advised and celebrated between them.

Unfortunately, in spite of this formidable document, of which only a small portion is quoted above, the marriage did not prove a happy one. Domestic infelicities were notorious in the families of the *coureurs-de-bois*, where husband and wife were often long separated from one another, and the union of Marie Martineau and Jean Baptiste Rousseau proved no exception. About 1783 they seem to have settled in Cataraqui,

for we find Rousseau's name among the inhabitants of that place in 1785. Rousseau no doubt passed his summers trading at Toronto and elsewhere and serving as interpreter and returned to his wife during the winter. On June 23, 1786, an agreement of separation was drawn at Cataraqui and signed by Marie Martineau; it is a rather pathetic document:

To whom it may concern, know that I Marie Martineau, having had frequent difficulties with my husband, Jean Baptiste Rousseau, and seeing that we can no longer live together in harmony, have agreed by these presents to mutual and reciprocal separation and to no longer depend one upon the other, and by the said presents have agreed and promised never to trouble or injure my husband Rousseau in any manner whatsoever and in consequence declare him entirely free and independent of me, and by these presents promise to pay to Jean Baptiste Rousseau the sum of 500 L. money of the Province of Quebec if I should fail in the same condition.

In presence of (Signed)
J. Symington and MARIE MARTINEAU.
J. Ferguson.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after this, Rousseau made a will which throws some light upon this unhappy transaction. In this document, which is undated, he makes the usual formal statements and declares himself a member of the Holy Catholic and Roman Church. In later life Rousseau became a mason and a member of Masonic Lodge No. 10 in the township of Barton, known to-day as Barton Lodge No. 6, Hamilton.<sup>3</sup> The land for St. John's Anglican Church, Ancaster, was the gift of the Rousseau family to that community, and the tradition still maintained among his descendants is that Rousseau was a French Protestant; possibly the Rousseau family were a remnant of the earlier Huguenot traders. However that may be, Rousseau's statement in his will is explicit. He proceeds to

<sup>1</sup> Ontario Public Archives, 1905, p. 472; Parish Register, St. George's, Kingston, edited by Prof. A. H. Young, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Married to a daughter of Sir William Johnson and Mollie Brant.
3 The "Bro. Saint John" whose name appears in the minutes of Barton-Lodge, Hamilton, January 31, 1796, was undoubtedly Brother Saint John Baptiste Rousseau. History of Barton Lodge, p. 183.

censure his wife for marrying again, and the fourth paragraph of this strange document reads as follows:

Although I ignore even the existence of my wife, I yet regard her as my wife, I recommend her to my universal legatee if she survives me. I beg him to do his utmost to lead her back to virtue and to make her during her life from my wealth an annual pension income for life as a proof that I forgive her, and again as I on my side, have need of being pardoned for the wrongs I have done her.

In those somewhat primitive times marriage and divorce were largely a matter of agreement; in the absence of clergymen and magistrates it was not always possible to obtain legal sanction. The wording of Rousseau's will is an indication that he had suffered deeply; but, alas, how often is a tragedy of the emotions a prelude to a sentimental consolation! Rousseau married again. Rousseau's second wife, Margaret Clyne, was the ward or adopted daughter of the great Brant; it is possible that Brant performed the ceremony, which must have taken place some time in 1787. However that may be, after one shipwreck on the matrimonial sea, Rousseau made assurance doubly and triply sure; his marriage to Margaret Clyne was more formally celebrated on the Mohawk reserve at the Grand River on October 15, 1795, by the Rev. Robert Addison of Niagara, and again, after the death of Marie Martineau, Rousseau and Margaret Clyne were married a third time by the same Rev. Robert Addison on June 30, 1807, at Niagara; in the certificate of this marriage, issued by the Rev. Robert Addison, Rousseau is described as a widower, and his wife, Margaret Clyne, as a spinster!

Margaret Clyne, the second wife of Jean Baptiste Rousseau, had had a romantic history. Somewhere in the State of New York¹ or Pennsylvania the Indians had attacked her father's house and had beaten him to death with the ramrods of their muskets and had dashed an older brother's brains out against a tree; her mother, overcome by horror, had expired on the

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Clyne died in 1823 and was said to be in her 64th year.

spot. Fortunately, a squaw had taken a fancy to the helpless infant, still in the arms of an older sister; the lives of the two children were spared, and shortly after, Brant discovered them with the Indians and adopted them himself. At the conclusion of the War of Independence, the Mohawks migrated to the Grand River in Upper Canada, and Margaret Clyne and her sister accompanied them. The daughters of Molly Brant, the Indian wife of Sir William Johnson, were at this time married and living in Cataraqui, which had sprung to life again with the coming of the Loyalists. Mollie Brant had a house at Carleton Island. It is said, too, that Margaret Clyne had had news of relatives of her own, now resident in Cataraqui. Brant's wife possessed a somewhat difficult disposition, and Margaret sought and obtained permission to go to Cataraqui. The Indians accompanied her to the end of the lake, where the city of Hamilton now stands, placed her in her own canoe, and Margaret, as expert in managing a canoe as any Indian woman, paddled the length of Lake Ontario by herself, sleeping at night alone on shore in her blanket. Soon after this she must have met and married Rousseau; their eldest child was baptized by the Rev. Dr. Stewart in Cataraqui on July 29, 1788 (there were apparently no children by the first marriage); their second child was named Joseph Brant, in honour of the great Mohawk chief. Margaret Clyne survived her husband and administered his estate. The little case in which she kept her marriage lines is treasured by her descendants.

An agreement, drawn in Montreal and still extant, reveals the fact that, in 1787, Rousseau was associated with another trader, named McLean, and that they were engaged in the trade "in the Bay of Quinté and the regions thereabout." This would, no doubt, include the Toronto district. Probably Rousseau made the mouth of the Toronto River his head-quarters during the summer and retired to less lonely Cataraqui during the winter; he describes himself as late as 1803 as a resident of Cataraqui. But when the first surveyors began in 1791 to survey the north shore of the lake, they found him

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at Toronto, and Mr. St. John of St. John's Creek became the host of all the early surveying parties.

Here, with his wife and young family, including a week-old infant, Jean Baptiste Rousseau was to be found on that eventful midsummer morning in 1793 when the *Mississaga*, with the Governor and his lady on board, waited to be piloted into the bay where the new capital was to be founded. The last Frenchman of Toronto was to welcome a governor who proceeded at once to wipe out all the traditions of the French régime.

Rousseau remained at York for some years, comfortably established in his house on the Humber among the cherry trees which are said to have supplied cuttings for numerous pioneer orchards.1 A surveyor's map of the year 1798, of the Humber from the Old Mill to the mouth of the river, makes it possible to identify with precision the site of this house. Immediately to the north of the dance-hall known as the "Silver Slipper," there is a sheltered garden sloping down to the river; fruit trees, perhaps the descendants of Rousseau's own orchard, still flourish there; on the margin of the stream is a building much too modern to merit attention, but erected on the very spot where travellers drew up their canoes for centuries before Rousseau came to the Toronto River; there is no other spot on the east bank of the river where a landing could be made; the bank immediately to the north becomes high and precipitous, and the maps indicate that it was at this point that the Toronto Carrying-Place began. Here, too, or on the eminence occupied by the "Silver Slipper," may have stood the magazine erected by the French about the year 1720; and if Denonville in 1688 carried out his intention of a fortification at Toronto, this is a possible spot.

Rousseau was not successful in obtaining land in the immediate neighbourhood of Toronto. The Council, however, recommended that a part of lot 34 be granted him, and the map of the lots distributed at this time seems to indicate that this property was on the Humber; it was found to be very far to the

<sup>1</sup> There were gardens and orchards at Niagara and Oswego.

east of the house on the river bank, and Rousseau does not seem to have converted that into a freehold. In 1794 we find him applying for two thousand acres on the ground that he had served as interpreter between the years 1775 and 1786; he states that he has only received five hundred acres; the petition was dismissed.<sup>1</sup>

In 1795 Rousseau established himself in Ancaster, where he built the first grist and sawmill on the site of the present village. He opened a general store and continued to trade with the Indians on the Grand River. Old account books show that Brant was one of his chief customers. In 1803 he obtained a grant of three hundred acres in Ancaster2 and four hundred in the township of Oxford. We find him also in association with Richard Beasley and Willison, involved in a purchase of lands from the Six Nations<sup>3</sup> and giving security in the form of a mortgage for £8,887. It is clear from these transactions that Rousseau was a wealthy man; he owned, in fact, at the time of his death, a piece of property which would have made his descendants many times millionaires had it remained in their possession, being that part of the city of Hamilton which extends from the west side of Brant Street to the east side of Lock Street.

Rousseau's knowledge of the Indian languages and his familiarity with the country made him a valuable officer in the militia. A commission as Ensign in the militia forces of the county of Lincoln is dated June 24, 1797. A commission as Captain in the West Riding militia forces of York is dated July 15, 1799, and signed by T. Ridout. A commission as Lieutenant-Colonel in the 2nd Regiment of York Militia is dated May 16, 1811, and signed by Governor Gore. This was on the eve of the outbreak of the War of 1812, when everything was being done to prepare the Province for the struggle forced upon her. Unfortunately, Col. Rousseau died of pleurisy on

<sup>1</sup> See also Ontario Public Archives, 1931, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> SMITH, Canada, Past Present and Future, Vol. I, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 229.

November 16, 1812, while on a visit to Niagara. A letter from W. Johnson Chew to Mrs. Margaret Rousseau, notifying her of his decease, is preserved by her descendants; the letter concludes, "I have lost my best friend." Rousseau was buried in the churchyard of St. Marks at Niagara.

A tradition in the Rousseau family narrates that Jean Baptiste Rousseau's daughter, Margaret, happened to be visiting relatives in Niagara on the eve of the Battle of Queenston Heights, and that General Brock, who was quartered in the same house, took a ring from his finger on the morning of the battle with the remark, "Here, Peggy, here is my ring, and if I

do not come back you may keep it."

As has been already stated, the original purchase of land, which includes the site of the city of Toronto, from the Missisauga Indians, was made at Quinte in 1787 and was found to be imperfect and had to be rectified at a council at the Credit River in 1805. On this occasion, when Toronto finally acquired its title from the aborigines, Jean Baptiste Rousseau acted as interpreter, and his name is attached to the deed. Among the Rousseau papers is a receipt which evidently refers to this transaction: "River Credit, 3rd August, 1805. Col. Claus to Thomas Ingerston Dr. for Expences for himself and gentlemen attending a Council with the Indians for my account Hlfx Cy. £6,5,0. Received payment in full. Thos. Ingersoll." Rousseau's name appears also on the treaties negotiated with the Indians for the purchase of the lands west of Toronto to the head of the lake, and for the region of which Hamilton is the centre. He seems to have possessed much influence with the Indians; he also attended important councils on the American side of the frontier. His connection by marriage with Brant, and the long connection of his family with the Indian trade, must have made him a valued ally at a time when the Indians were still powerful. A magnificent powder-horn, the gift of Brant to Rousseau, remains in the possession of his descendants. Our regional history has now been extended far beyond the fall of New France and has reached the limit imposed by events. With the burning of Fort Toronto in 1758 the flag of France disappeared from Ontario, but it was not till that midsummer morning, when Rousseau piloted Governor Simcoe and the Mississaga into the Baye de Toronto, crystal clear, haunted by wild fowl and edged by the forest, that French influence and the French régime in the Toronto region came to an end. The flag of England was raised, the band of the Queen's Rangers played, the drums rolled, cannon from Oswegatchie or Carleton Island were fired, and all that was French began to fade from the landscape.

From Brûlé to Péré and Joliet, to Hennepin and La Salle and Tonti of the Iron Hand, to Denonville and the Senecas and the Missisaugas, to the Sieur Douville and the Sieur de la Saussaye and the magasin royal, to Fort Toronto and Baby and Rogers, Aitkin and Butler and Rousseau, the record is scarcely broken, and runs back three centuries to the arrival of the white man in Canada. But so completely has Simcoe's ideal of a new England in Upper Canada been realized that Toronto, the citadel of British sentiment in America, and Ontario, the most British of all the Provinces, retain in place-name or recording tablet scarcely a vestige of all that happened before the coming of that most loyal of all loyal governors.

Now that British traditions are immovably established in a Province possessing such variety of lovely landscape and such wealth of material prosperity, the lack of historic background is often regretted. With the passing of the years, as we strike our roots deeper and deeper into the soil from which we spring, this lack will be made good. Meantime only the most stubborn and insular patriotism would reject the rich legacy of romance bequeathed by the pioneers of New France. Hills stand more majestic, streams murmur more melodiously, the splendours of the setting sun are more magnificent, starry skies more mysterious, where human associations enrich the scene.

We began with the Riverside Drive and the Humber and

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their historic memories. Our narrative has carried us far afield; to Michilimackinac, to the valley of the Ohio, even to the banks of the Mississippi, but chiefly to Fort Frontenac, to Oswego, to Niagara and the shores of that great inland sea of which the Humber is only a humble tributary.

Lake Ontario remains, as it seemed to the Chevalier de Courcelles, une pleine mer sans aucunes limites. Its angry waves can still toss with a roar like the sea, as Malartic describes them. Could Frontenac or Denonville or Vaudreuil return to its borders the "beautiful lake" of the Iroquois would lie before them with the same charm as before. And Lake Ontario still has lonely beaches and desolate shores where when ripples lisp in the moonlight or waves thunder in the storm, romantic youth or meditative age may recall in imagination those formidable Iroquois, the most formidable of all savages, and those French soldiers and voyageurs, the most picturesque of all adventurers.

### APPENDIX I

# THE ETYMOLOGY OF "TORONTO"

The word Toronto1 as a place-name occurs for the first time in any The word Toronto¹ as a place-name occurs for the first time in any document or map on a large manuscript map somewhat more than four feet long and about two and a half wide which is preserved in the Library of the Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Paris. This map is No. 43 in the volume B 4044 (Amerique Septentrionale, Canada); it bears no signature and no date, but has been assigned by Parkman to the year 1673, and cannot in any case be later than 1674, as it bears no evidence of the discoveries of Marquette and Joliet. De la Roncière, in the Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, Bibliothèque de la Marine, Paris, 1907, p. 237, ascribes this map to Joliet. It seems more likely, however, that this map was prepared under the supervision of La Salle, since it contains exactly the information which La Salle alone could have possessed at that exactly the information which La Salle alone could have possessed at that time; it differs also in important particulars from the Joliet maps of this period. The apparent purpose of the map is to justify the establishment of Fort Frontenac, and Frontenac himself in his letter to Colbert, bearing the date November 13, 1673, seems to make reference to the legends on this map and mentions a map of Lake Ontario which had been sent to him by La Salle. The cession of New Holland to the English impelled the French to make good their claims to Lake Ontario, if they were not to be confined to the country east of the Ottawa.

This important map is far in advance of the Galinée map of 1670 in the accurate knowledge displayed of the lake district. On it the name Toronto under the form Taronto is attached to Lake Simcoe, which is called Lac de Taronto. There is good reason to suppose that this was the original spelling of the word, and that Margry in making La Salle in 1680 speak of Lac Toronto, of the word, and that Margry in making La Salle in 1680 speak of Lac Toronto, giving the word its familiar spelling, may have been in error in transcribing his document. For a hundred years after La Salle the makers of maps continued to attach the name to the lake and generally with the spelling, "Taronto." This is the first map to show the correct position of Teiaiagon and to indicate Toronto Island. Since it gives the eastern arm of the Carrying-Place and not the western, it is a fair inference that the latter began to be used by the Iroquois after the establishment of Fort Frontenac, and that they began to follow the route along the south shore to Teiaiagon when they found their passage to Ganatsekwyagon barred. Toronto thus became at this time "a place of meeting" between Iroquois traders and the Ottawas from the north.

north.

Other facts must be considered before proceeding to a study of the etymology of the word. Lahontan, who gained his first knowledge of the lakes when serving with Denonville in 1687 in the raid on the Senecas, speaks of the Georgian Bay as the Baye de Toronto, and places the Torontogueronons on the north shore of Lake Simcoe; he also describes the Severn River as the Toronto River. The Humber, as early as 1725, is spoken of as the Toronto Toronto River. The Humber, as early as 1725, is spoken of as the Toronto River. In 1746 the name *Taronto* is found attached to a river flowing from Rice Lake into the Severn, and in 1755, on the Danville map of that date,

<sup>1</sup> CANNIFF in his Historical Atlas of York County gives the following variants of Toronto: Tormaonto, Toronton, Taranton, Torintog, Tarento, Taronthe, Atouronton, Otoronto. To which may be added Garoqua, quoted in SEVERANCE, An Old Frontier of France, Vol. 11, p. 294.

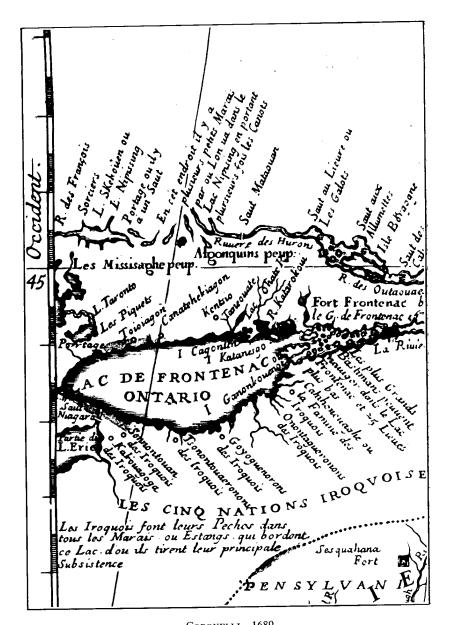
Rice Lake is called L. Taronto. Smith's Gazetteer is authority for the statement that the waterway from Lake Simcoe to the Bay of Quinte was also known as the Toronto River. This, I believe, is an error due to the Danville map. Whether the name is Huron or Iroquois, whether it originated in the Georgian Bay and gradually worked its way south, or began at the south and was afterwards applied to all parts of the passage de Toronto, historical testimony and the evidence of the majority of the maps favours the theory that the name originated as an appellation of Lake Simcoe. It is important to bear these facts in mind in considering the various theories as to its etymology

Dr. Scadding, writing in 1891, remarks: "There has been a long continued tradition in these parts of two interpretations of the Indian word *Toronto*: how or when these interpretations began to circulate among us I cannot recall. I certainly heard of them from the earliest moment of my residence here. They were generally understood to be meanings given by Indian interpreters of a former period, and certain reasons were usually assigned for the explanation of the word in the two several meanings given to it. 'Place of Meeting' was supposed to refer to certain gatherings of the Indian bands or tribes at this spot periodically for purposes of traffic, or for hunting expeditions, or it may be for hostile excursions. 'Trees in the water,' on the other hand, was imagined with considerable plausibility to be a reference to certain trees which aforetime used to appear here and there along the whole length of our island or peninsula, as it then really was, which trees must have been notable landmarks for canoes, or other small craft then coasting about the edges of our lakes. Indians, we know, everywhere make use of landmarks of this sort from a kind of necessity.

Dr. Scadding then proceeds to present the arguments in support of the meaning "Place of Meeting," and derives the word Toronto from the Huron word otoronton or toronton, which is to be found in Sagard's Huron lectionary with the meaning beaucoup, much or many. Sagard gives several examples of the use of this word, and remarks in one passage that toronton means not only "much" but "place where there are many people." Dr. Scadding does not seem to have observed this last passage, which adds considerable weight to his contention. For the Huron country, and especially the district surrounding the outlet of Lake Simcoe, was very populous when the French first visited the country; it is here that Lahonton places his Torontogueronons, a term which he seems to have invented himself to describe the Hurons who lived in the vicinity of Lake Toronto (the word is not found elsewhere). The neighbourhood of Orillia was the region where the Hurons came in contact with the Algonquin tribes of the north and traded with them. It is a plausible conjecture that the term *Toronto*, in the sense "place of meeting" as Dr. Scadding suggests, may have been applied to this region either by the Hurons themselves or by the French. This theory is based upon the discovery of the word otoronton in the lectionaries of Sagard and Lahontan; the latter gives a list of only forty-nine Huron words, and the word atoronton in the sense "very much" is included.

Additional information about the use of this apparently common word may be obtained from Potier's Radices Huronicae.<sup>2</sup> The word atonronion may be used either of things or of persons, either "there are a great many" alluding to things, or "there are a great many," alluding to persons; e.g.

<sup>1</sup> MRS. H. A. BRANT, of Deseronto, herself a descendant of the great chief, informs me that the Mohawks on that reserve give the word the meaning "trees in the water." 2 P. 40.



Otonronton atiaondi means "in truth there are a lot of them"; Onouatonronton, "there are a lot of us"; skouatonronton, "you are a large company"; hondatonronton, "there are a lot of men"; ondatonronton, "there are a lot of women"; aotonronton, "there are a lot of them"; sonouatonronton, "we are scarcely any"; conouatonronton, "we shall be a good many," etc.; (Note: although the future affirmative is paradigm S., still eouatonronton is used impersonally in paradigm C. to indicate "that will increase, there will be a lot of them," the same as eiouannha.); kouatonronton, onk, on, onde, C. personally "to take a lot of trouble with something," "to tire out," "to do as much as a lot of people"; akadonronton atiaondi ahehetsaron, "I have taken a lot of trouble to accomplish it," "I have done all I can," "I have put all I have into it," "I have employed every means."

W. E. Connelly, in the Ontario Archaeological Report for 1900.

W. E. Connelly, in the Ontario Archaeological Report for 1899, states that the Wyandots, or their progenitors, the Tionnontates, once had a settlement at Toronto from which they were forced to flee by the Senecas, and that the Wyandots called their settlement at Toronto Toh-roohn-lohnk, which means in the Wyandot language, "plenty," and that they employed this term because they had found food in abundance at Toronto, it was a land of plenty. This legend which Connelly claims to have obtained from the Wyandots, may be regarded as an argument in favour of Dr. Scadding's theory or it may be an outgrouth of the shoutie similarity of Toronto. theory, or it may be an outgrowth of the phonetic similarity of Toronto

and otoronton. If, on the other hand, the explanation that Toronto means "tree in the water" be accepted, then it may be that the term was employed by Indians crossing the lake, who saw the trees on the north shore miraged in the water and gave the name Toronto to the shore opposite Niagara. Or, again, the name may have been first employed to indicate the trees or branches fixed in the water at the Narrows near Orillia; Champlain describes these fish weirs, and some at the Narrows near Orillia; Champlain describes these hish weirs, and some of the stakes were still to be seen under the water within recent years in the neighbourhood of the railway bridge. The French name for Lake Simcoe, Lac aux Claies, "fish-weir lake," might then be regarded as a translation of "trees in the water." The French name certainly refers to these fish-weirs, and on the Coronelli map of 1688, underneath the name L. Taronto is written Les Piquets, "the stakes," an obvious allusion to the fish-weirs. The Ojibways still speak of the Narrows as Michekun, which means "fence" or "the place fenced or staked off."

fenced or staked off."

The explanation "trees in the water" is quite as old as Dr. Scadding's "place of meeting"; it is given in Lossing's Field Book of the War of 1812 on the authority of a Mohawk interpreter; it has the support of the Jesuit missionary, Father Jacques Bruyas, and of Father J. A. Cuoq in his Lexique de la langue Iroquoise. Potier, in his Radices Huronicae, gives garonto,—une arbre dans l'eau qui sert de pont pour passer un rivière,—un pont. Professor Louis Allen, of the University of Toronto, informs me that the change from g to t at the beginning of the word is due to the prefixing of a prefix expressing at the beginning of the word is due to the prefixing of a prefix expressing distance, the word Toronto meaning "tree in the water there"; he also informs me that *tgarondo* is the name which the Mohawks to-day apply to Toronto and that they give it this explanation.

<sup>1</sup> See Transactions and Papers of the Ontario Historical Society, Vol. VIII, p. 35.

<sup>1</sup> See Iransactions and Papers of the Onioning Historical Society, vol. VIII, p. 53.

2 In a manuscript dictionary of the Oniondaga language of about 1700 in the Mazarin Library, Paris, Gaya-ouenta-ha is given as the equivalent of the French word claye. Gaha-yeh is given by Rev. Asher Wright as "fence" in Seneca. Gaya-ouenta-ha would, then, mean literally "fish fence"; cp. Huron ahouenta, "a small fish."

<sup>3</sup> P. 241.

Before Dr. Scadding had decided in favour of the meaning "place of meeting," and of the derivation from otoronton, he had suggested that possibly the word Toronto might be the remnant of the word Oentaron which appears in Sanson's map of 1656 as the name of Lake Simcoe. Du Creux (1660), who prints all the names on his map with Latin terminations, writes Lacus Ouentaronius. Down to 1746 Lake Simcoe often appears on the maps as lake Taronto or Toronto; the name Oentaronk then appears in Danville's map of that date and continued to appear till Delamarche's map of 1785, where it is spelled Oentaronck. The name Oentaronk looks very like the last part of the appellation Attiouendaronk, one of the many names given to the Hurons and the Neutrals. On Du Creux's map, Lake Cayuga appears as Lacus Oiogoenronius, and it is tempting to explain the termination -ronius in his Lacus Ouentaronius as the equivalent of the Huron termination -ronnon, meaning "people," on the analogy of Oigoenronius and other names on the map ending in -ronius which are obviously tribal names which would end in -ronnon in the Huron language. If this is possible, the first part of the word would be the familiar ouendat or ouentat, which was the Hurons' own name for themselves, and hence lacus ouentaronius would mean "lake of the Wentats or Hurons." Some support is lent to this theory by the fact that small lakes in the State of New York still bear the tribal names, e.g. Seneca Lake, Oneida Lake, Cayuga Lake. Father Jones, however, in his Huronia, derives the name Oentaron from ahouenta, a small fish, and aroni, to pierce, so that the meaning would be "fish-spearing lake." In regard to the form Oentaronk, introduced by Danville in his map of 1746, it is worth noting that this is only one of a number of interesting facts about his map; he is the first to lay down with accuracy the position of Fort Ste. Marie; the mission region and the southern Georgian Bay are delineated with more than usual precision, while the north shore of Lake Ontario is even more than usually inaccurate. Possibly Danville may have had before him the map which Lalemant made in 1639, which has never been found, and the form oentaronk may be the correct and original form of the name. Toronto may be, as Dr. Scadding at first suggested, the remnant of this Huron appellation. Another theory of the etymology of the word Toronto must now be considered. General John S. Clark, of Auburn, New York, in the Onlario Archaeological Report for 1899, suggests that the origin of the word is the same as that of Irondequoit Bay, the entrance to the Seneca country on the south side of the lake.

"It is an interesting fact that wherever the name Toronto has appeared as combined with other words, or in its evidently contracted form, it has always from the beginning been on an important thoroughfare of communica-The fact that it has appeared in several positions with several hundred miles intervening, is proof conclusive that the name is not based on any fact incident to any locality.—There is no question whatever in my opinion as to a common origin of Caniederi Guaruntie as applied to Lake Champlain, the Gania Toronto Gouat of De Lamberville as the name of Irondequoit Bay, and of Toronto as the name of Toronto Bay and Lake Simcoe. Each in its place

was a gateway of the country.

General Clark explains that the Mohawk term for Lake Champlain meant "lake opening or door," i.e. that Lake Champlain was the door (like the door of one of the Mohawk long houses) leading into their country; that the Senecas, in the same way, applied a similar term to the lake entrance into their country, and that Toronto really means the gate or entry to the Huron country, which, of course, it really was. He quotes from a letter from Jean

<sup>1</sup> JONES, Huronia, p. 202.

de Lamberville to M. de la Barre, October, 1684: "Had I the honour to confer with you somewhat longer than your leisure allowed me I should have convinced you that you could not have advanced to Kania-Toronto-Gouat without being utterly defeated in the then state of your army, which was rather a hospital than a camp." He gives also the following instances of similar spelling of the word: Gannia-Tareonto-Quat and Gannia-Toronto-Gouat, the Franquelin map of 1684; Andia-Taronta-Ouat, the Jesuit map of 1665; Gannia-Taronta-Gouat, Denonville's account of his expedition in 1687; and the statement by Spefford in 1813 that Taronta was the proper name of 1665; Gannia-Taronta-Gouat, Denonville's account of his expedition in 1687; and the statement by Spafford in 1813 that Teoronto was the proper name of Irondequoit Bay, meaning, in Onondaga, "almost a lake," to which may be added Teeorondoquo, in Wraxall, New York Indian Records, Trirontoquot, in Jefferys' map of 1761, and Cannonarontagouat of de Fonuille's map of 1699. Clark on the authority of Dr. O'Callaghan derives the word Irondequoit from Kaniatare—a lake, and Hotontogouan—to open, the first losing its final "e" in composition and the second its first syllable, the result being Kaniatarantagouan or Caniatarantagouan. Apparently it was the central part Kaniatarontogouan or Ganiatarontagouan. Apparently it was the central part of this word which survived in Teeorondoguo, and a toronto would be the entrance to a country. This explanation, of course, fits Toronto Bay quite as well as Irondequoit Bay, and further support is given to the theory by the fact that Teiaiagon and Ganatsekwyagon were Seneca villages and that the Senecas when they came across the lake to Toronto would come from Irondequoit Bay. It is known that the Senecas established themselves at the dequoit Bay. It is known that the Senecas established themselves at the mouth of the Humber after the expulsion of the Hurons, and that from the Humber they pushed up to Lake Simcoe, which Tonti describes as "right in the Iroquois country"; the word Toronto would then go north with them; it is certain at any rate that it is about this time that the word appears for the first time on the maps.

Admitting that it is impossible to dogmatize about the etymology of the word "Toronto" and that all of these theories may be equally valid and that the name may have originated in several ways, and that the final word will not be said until new matter comes to light, one more theory may be suggested which seems plausible enough. The name Lac aux Claies came, as we have seen, from the fish weirs at the Narrows. Now the Huron name for a strait or pass such as there was at Detroit or between the Christian Island and the mainland was Karontaen<sup>4</sup> or Tarontaen; if the Hurons knew the Narrows at Orillia as Tarontaen, the step to Lac Taronto is a short one. Jones suggests that there was another word, karontaen, derived from garonta, a tree, hence the explanation, "trees in the water," would arise from a wrong interpretation of the original name, which might in the same way be confused with obronton. As Lahontan places his Torontogueronons at the Narrows, additional weight seems given to the theory that the name originated at that place. Philadegiata seems given to the theory that the name originated at that place. Philologists will be struck by the similarity between Karontaen, (Detroit) Toncharontio

(Lake Erie), Karontagouat (Irondequoit Bay-Galinée) and Taronto.

<sup>1</sup> New York Colonial Documents, Vol. IX, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Wraxall, New York Indian Records, McIlwain, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> See Potier, Elementa Grammaticae Huronicae, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Khahroniha, modern Mohawk kharonie, kharonien, means "an opening, a door or gateway" (Cuoq. 24). Kahroniha, meaning to "make an opening" (Cuoq. 93), comes very near to the Lac Tarontha of the Raffeix map of 1688. Consult also Potier, Radices Huronicae, pp. 259 and 349; and note that Detroit at the entrance of Lake St. Clair was called Karonian by the Hurons. Potier, pp. 155 and 156; Jones' Huronia, pp. 52 and 53. Is Toronto a remant of Carantoua, the great town of the Hurons?

<sup>5</sup> Huronia, p. 54.

CARTOGRAPHY OF THE TORONTO REGION FROM 1600-1816

Date	Мар	Teiaiagon	Ganatsekwyagon	Lake Toronto (Lake Simcoe)	Remarks
1600	Anonymous map in Hak-				Lake Ontario is "The Lake of Tadenac the bounds whereof are unknown."
1612	Champlain—Paris				Lake Ontario is "Lac Contenant 15 journées des canaux des sauvages." Three villages are choun slong the north shore of I ake Ontario.
1613	Champlain-Paris				Lake Ontario appears for the first time as Lac St. Louis.
1632	Champlain-Paris				Gives the Humber. Shows Brûlé's trail to the Andastes beginning south of Lake Erie.
1636 1650	Jansson—Amsterdam Sanson—Paris				Hills shown north of Toronto. Shows the Quinte and Toronto routes.
1656 1660	Sanson—Paris Du Creux—Paris			Oentaron Lacus Ouentaronius	Gives the Humber and the Credit rivers. Gives the Holland and Humber rivers. Pagus Ondothing north of Toronto.
1680	Visscher				Repeats, with additions, Champlain's map of
1670 1673?	Dollier-Galinée Anonymous Mss. map	Teyoyagon	Ganatsekiagouns Ganatchekiagon	Lac de Taronto	Trail to Matchedash Bay. Mentions Péré. Trail from Ganatchekiagon to Lac de Laronto.
	Paris.				Taronto, and the first to show Toronto
16737	Archives, Ottawa. 4044 B. No. 44, similar				Island.  Does not show Toronto Island.
1674	to above.  Joliet Mss. map, copy in				Shows trail from Telaiagon to Lake Simcoe.
1674	Public Archives. Joliet Mss. map in the Tohn Carter Brown				Public Archives. Joliet Mass. map in the Shows the Toronto Carrying-Place.
1678				į	Repeats Sanson's indication of the Quinte route.
1683	Hennepin—Paris				and Lake Simcoe. Places the Missisaugas where Lahontan places the Torontogueronous.
1684	William Hack—British Centarona Museum. Copy in Public Archives.			Oentarona	

# CARTOGRAPHY OF THE TORONTO REGION 227

	XI'	ke.	<b>J</b> 1	and the outhern ed Bay	e. The	nto, Les	-	portage er.	are end.	are end.	laresque-	orth-east	is called is Baye mistake;	to Fron- 13, 1673.	vince de engraver			
	•	unnamed la		ows the Humber and the Holland and the portage. Places the Missisaugas at southern end of Georgian Bay which is called Bay	the distanc	Under L. Taronto, Les		the easterning.	with a squ	with a squi	portage, and also Gundaresque-	gueronons no	of Lake Simcoe. Matchedash bay is called Baye de Toronto. The Humber Bay is Baye de Toroouse. This is a very obvious mistake;	the Baye de landouate is the bay or Xuniver as will be apparent by a reference to Frontanac's letter to Colbert, November 13, 1673.	Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec pour 1926 et 1927, p. 37. The engraver of the man misread his manuscript.	Teiaiagon.		
		Teioiagon to		imber and taces the Mirgian Bay v	ortages and show the Do	s given. Un		ortages, with olland Land	is depicted	rould thus be is depicted rould thus be	portage, an	ed. Toronto	mcoe. Mat ronto. The te. This is a	s Tanaouate apparent by er to Colbert	Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Pr Quebec pour 1926 et 1927, p. 37. The of the man misread his manuscript.	(?) on site of		
		ortage from		Shows the Humber and the Holland and the portage. Places the Missisaugas at southern end of Georgian Bay which is called Bay	Sakinam.  Gives both portages and the distance. first map to show the Don. Dortage to the west branch of the Holland.	The portage is given.	Portage shown.	Shows both portages, with the eastern portage ending at Holland Landing.  DA.M. none attached to the Moose River.	Lake Ontario is depicted with a square end.	Telalagon Would thus be aw Jonu on too.  Lake Ontario is depicted with a square end.  Telalagon would thus be "au fond du lac."	Shows the	Portage marked. Torontogueronons north-east	of Lake Si Baye de To de Tansous	the Baye days as will be tensor's lett	Rapport de Ouebec pour	Konaevatona(?) on site of Teiaiagon.		
	ntaronc	Portage from Teioiagon to unnamed lake.			Lac Taronthe	L. Taronto	L. Toronto	Lac Taronto	2	L. Taronto								L. Taronto (misplaced)
	- Ore			Lac s ites.	Lac	7	<u></u>	Lac			ž.							<u>ن</u>
Franquelin Mss. 4040 B. Teiaiagon (At the Ganatchestiagon No. 11. T. 150. Paris. Copy in Public Arch-	Ouentaronc	Copy in Teioiagon (At the ves.	Franquelin Mss. 4044 B. Teiaiagon (At end of Ganatchinagon No. 40. Copy in Public the lake)	Ganaschetiagon Lac Taronto (Far to the east of proper sites.)	Ganistiquiagon	Ganatchekiagon	(100 lar to the east.) Toloiagon. (Too far Ganathe-Kiagon	Gandaistiagon	(At the	end of the lake.) Telaiagon. (At the Gandastiagon	Lac Taronto						Gandastiagon	
ake.)		At the	end of	(Far to		Ę	(100 Too far	~	(At the	lake.) (At the	(At end							
Teiaiagon (/ end of the l		Teioiagon (A	Teiaiagon (At the lake)	Toiaiagon	Teyagon	Teiaiagon Toioiagon	Toioiagon. (	to the east.) Teiaiagon	Tejajagon.	end of the lake.) Telaiagon. (At t	Teiaiagon. (At en	(c) remote					Teiaiagon	
Mss. 4040 B. T. 150. Paris. Public Arch-	B. No. 2. py in Public	i. Copy in rchives.	Mss. 4044 B. Copy in Public	-Paris	Public		-Venice	de Fonuille Mss. 4040 B. No. 9. Paris. Copy in	Archives.	aris	Carte de la Nouvelle Teiaiagon.	S. I. t. t wonc	angeu-			Nicolae de Fer-Paris	nopuo	Mortier—Amsterdam
ranquelin No. 11. Copy in	Mss. 404 Paris. (	Archives. Franquelin. Cop Public Archives.	Franquelir No. 40.	Archives Coronelli—Paris	Raffeix. C. Archives.	Franquelin—Paris. Coronelli.	Coronelli-Venice	de Fonuil No. 9.	Public Archi	Delisle—Paris	Carte de	Archives.	Lanontan			Nicolae d	Senex—London	Mortier-
1681	1681	1684	~	1688		1688 1689			1,00	1703	After	3 5	50/1			106	1710	1710

# APPENDIX

Date	Мар	Teiaiagon	Ganatsekwyagon	Lake Toronto (Lake Simcoe)	Remarks
Before 1711	S. H. Portfeuille. Don. I. No. 2. P.	124. Tiaiagon ublic	Gandastiagon		Humber with its two branches shown at the end of the lake.
1718 1719	Tome . 82,	Telalagon Telalagon. (At the end of the lake)	Gandatsekiagon		Two branches of the Holland clearly shown.
1720	Public Archives. Covens and Mortier— Amsterdam	Teiaiagon. of lake.)	(At end		Georgian Bay marked Bay de Toronto. On La- hontan's map the Legend Bay de Toronto runs
1720	Atlas Historique, Tome				between Christian Island and the mainland. This map, a variant of Lahontan's map of
1720	Public Archives. Moll—London		Toronto	Lake of Toronto	1703, has the fort suppose on the site of Ste. Marie II.
1733	Henry Popple-London Telaion	Tejajon			Congram Day is 1010mic Day; mumber Day is
1744	Charlevoix-Bellin-Paris				Devigian pay is 10fonto bay; rumber bay is Bay of Tanaouate. Lake Ontario much distorted.
	In History and General Description of New				Shows the fullmost and the two branches of the Holland. Sites of Telalagon and Gandat- sekiagon given.
1744	Charlevole. Bellin—Paris. Tejajagon	Tejajagon	Gandat Siagon	Lac Taronto	Has the two trails and the two branches of
1745	Bellin—Paris Danville—Paris	Teiaiagon	Gandatsiagon	Lac Taronto	the Holland clearly marked. Issued as a separate.
			(Too far east.)		Inc. may make a naving restored the name Oentaronek finds a place for lac Taronto and the Taronto river further east. This man is the
					origin of the mistaken statement that the Trent Valley system was known as the
1753 P 1755	1753? Vaugondy—Paris 1755 Vaugondy—Paris	Tejajagon Tejajagon	Gandes Siagon Gandas Siagon	Lac Toronto Lac Toronto	l oronto Kiver. Shows both trails. Places Fort Toronto west of Tejajagon at the
1755	Universal Magarine, F.				western end of the lake. Places Fort Toronto at the end of the lake and
1755	49, Fublic Archives. Bellin—Paris				shows a post on Toronto Lake. Shows Toronto Bay well but still makes the end
1755	Huske-London	Gandatskiagon	Gandatskiagon	Oentaronck L.	of the lake square. Places L. Taranto east of Oentaronck and show
1755	1755 Palairet—London	Tegaogen			a French fort inland between L. Taranto and Gandatskiagon. Places Toronto Fort near the end of the lake

1756   Homann-Danville—	12 12 8 2	Ste. Marie des Hurons correctly.  Ste. Marie des Hurons correctly.  Follows the Danville map of 1755. Ganadoke given at the end of the lake.  Gives Toronto, R. de Toronto and presqu'tle de Toronto.  With inset map of Fort de Toronto and presqu'tle de Toronto.  With inset map of Fort de Toronto. R. de Toronto and Presgu'tle de Toronto.  Teyagon placed ener the mouth of Onoront Tiver. L. Taronto placed east of Centaronk.  Taronto R. As in the Danville map of 1746.  Gives Fort Toronto at mouth of Credit River Gives Ganadoke.  Gives Ganadoke.  F. Toronto.  Shows the Missisaugas and Toronto.  Follows Danville of 1746. Gives Ganadoke.
., Mss ed Tries		ollows the Danville map of 1755. Ganadoke given at the end of the lake.  Toronto. R. de Toronto and presgu'lle de Toronto.  Toronto.  The linest map of Fort de Toronto, R. de Toronto and Presgu'lle de Toronto.  Taronto near the mouth of Onoront tiver. L. Taronto placed east of Centaronk.  Toronto. R. As in the Danville map of 1746. Gives Ganadoke.  Toronto.  Toronto.  Illows Danville of 1746. Gives Ganadoke.
d, N.D 1 Public		sives Toronto, R. de Toronto and presqu'ile de Toronto.  Toronto.  The sea of the fact of
d, N.D T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T	Oentaronk Centaronck L. Lac Taronto. Centaronck L.	ith inset map of Fort de Toronto, R. de Toronto and Presgu'lle de Toronto.  yagon placed near the mouth of Onoront river. L. Taronto placed east of Contaronk. Intonto R. As in the Danville map of 1146. Gives Ganadoke.  Gives Ganadoke.  Toronto.  Toronto.  Illows Danville of 1746. Gives Ganadoke.
Teyagor ed. Mss. ed	Oentaronk L. Lac Taronto. Oentaronck L.	river. L. Taronto placed east of Onoront river. L. Taronto placed east of Oentaronk. Inver. R. As in the Danville map of 1746. Gives Fort Toronto at mouth of Credit River Garadoke. Toronto. Toronto. Toronto. Owes the Missisaugas and Toronto.
ed. Mss	Oentaronck L. Lac Taronto. Oentaronck L.	river. I. Taronto placed east of Centeronk.  rooto R. As in the Danville map of 1746. Gives Fort Toronto at mouth of Credit River Gives Ganadoke.  vives the Quinté route.  Toronto.  ows the Missisaugas and Toronto.  ollows Danville of 1746. Gives Ganadoke.
ed. Mss. ed. en. ed. es. es. es. es. es. es. es. es. es. es	Lac Taronto. Oentaronck L.	Gives Ganadoke.  Ves the Quinté route.  Toronto.  Journal of 1746. Gives Ganadoke.  Toronto at end of lake.
ed	Oentaronck L.	ADOLOUS, LOUDING, LISSISAUGAS AND TOTONTO.  MINOWS DANVILLE Of 1746. Gives Ganadoke.  Pronto at end of lake.
mberg lis Tegoage Teyagon	Oentaronck L.	llows Danville of 1746. Gives Ganadoke. pronto at end of lake.
mberg is Tegoage Teyagon		
. S. S.		For Toronto.
is Tegoagen Teyagon		Tolonio, for at end of lake and loronto See, two lakes in the Peterborough region. Shows the Quinte route.
Teyagon	Oentaronck	Fort Toronto.
Teyagon	Lake Toronto	Toronto Presquisle (sic). Shows the Quinte
-	L. Taronto This	route. his plate, prepared in 1773, continued in use
	TIE T	till the beginning of the nineteenth century It is of interest as showing that the village of Telaiagon continued to be shown on the maps
Arrowsmith—London	Clie Lake Give	more than a hundred years after it had disappeared.
w York		York. Marks Nottawasaga Bay, Iroquoise Bay.
		l'otonto given as Otranto.

(a) A Plan of the District of Nassau in the Province of Quebec, Compiled in the Surveyor-General's Office Pursuant to an Order in Council of the 22nd day of February, 1790, and dated Quebec this 1st day of October, 1790, and signed by Samuel Holland, Surveyor-General, and John Collins, Deputy Surveyor-General. Of this important map there seem to be three slightly varying copies in existence; one in the Ontario Archives reproduced on page c. of the 1905 Report; one in the Dominion Archives entitled "A Map of Part of Canada for the use of His Majesty's Secretary of State"; and a third in the Surveys Department, tagged Pigeonhole 379. Since the map in the Surveys Department contains details and manuscript notes omitted in the other two, it would seem to be the original manuscript. This map indicates minutely the course of the Toronto Carrying-Place, showing the streams and hills which it crossed. In the same way the carrying-places between the Bay of Quinte and Lake Simcoe are carefully charted in detail as well as the portage from the mouth of the Ganaraska River (Port Hope) to Rice Lake, and from Orillia to Matchedash Bay (the Coldwater Road). This map embodies the information which Collins was instructed by Hamilton to obtain in 1785 (Ontario Archives Report, p. 371.) relative to the value of the communication between the Bay of Quinte and Lake Huron by Lac aux Claies, and proves that careful surveys were made of the carrying-places along that route as well as between Toronto and Lake Simcoe, the object being to determine the most convenient communication with the North-West territories. The result of these surveys was a decision in favour of the Toronto Carrying-Place, and little more is heard of the Trent Valley route till the construction of the Trent Valley Canal as a waterway between the Georgian Bay and Lake Ontario; a costly project which has not proved its utility. Champlain and his Huron allies in following this route in 1615 made the communication known at a very early date, but there is no evidence that it was at any time the usual route between the lakes except where war parties wished to avoid observation.

(b) Map showing the cessions from the Indians in 1784, 1787 and 1788, oduced on p. cxviii of the Ontario Archives Report for 1905. This map reproduced on p. cxviii of the Ontario Archives Report for 1905. This map shows the Toronto Carrying-Place, marking it with the words, "Old Indian Path." A general conference took place with the Indians, both Iroquois and Missisauga, at Carleton Island in 1784, when the lands along the north shore of Lake Ontario were ceded to the Crown; these cessions were confirmed by special treaties in 1787 and 1788. It has been suggested that the first Toronto Purchase confirmed at the Bay of Quinte in 1787 proved defective owing to the amount of liquor consumed; the bargain had to be ratified again in 1805

at the River Credit.

(c) Map reproduced opposite p. 43 of Miss K. M. Lizars' The Valley of the Humber with the caption "From a Plan of the New Settlements, 1789." This map shows the trail from the Humber mouth with the legend, "Carrying-Place from Toronto.

(d) Map reproduced opposite p. 38 of Miss K. M. Lizars' The Valley of the Humber. This map is by General Gother Mann and bears the date 1791.

(e) Lieutenant Pilkington's map of Governor Simcoe's trip over the Carrying-Place in 1793. A copy in the Ontario Archives. This map gives few details.

(f) A Chewett map of 1793 shows the trail from the Humber mouth to

the Holland.

(g) A very rough unsigned map made between the years 1784 and 1790 and reproduced on p. 101 of Miss K. M. Lizars' The Valley of the Humber, gives the trail with an Indian village at the mouth of the Humber marked "Toronto formerly an Indian village now abandoned."

(h) A D. W. Smyth (Faden) map of 1800, reproduced opposite p. 104 of the same book, shows a proposed canal between the East Branch of the Holland and the Nen or Rouge River.

(i) Plan of Tarento (sic) Harbour with the proposed Town and Settlement. Gother Mann, Quebec, December 6, 1788. This map shows the location of

the buildings in the French Fort.

(j) Descriptive plan of the Toronto Purchase made September 23, 1787, and completed August 1, 1805, by W. Chewett, Senior Surveyor and Draughtsman. This map was published by the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, on October 27, 1890. It bears the totems and signatures of the chiefs and officials who completed the negotiations. There is a map of the Toronto Purchase in the Surveys Department Toronto, which differs in some slight. Purchase in the Surveys Department, Toronto, which differs in some slight

(k) Map No. Q. 36, Indian Drawer No. 2, Toronto Purchase, 1817. This map is in the Surveys Department in the Ontario Parliament Buildings; it is on the scale of 80 chains to the inch, and gives the survey of the northern boundary of the Toronto Purchase. The survey of the boundaries of the Purchase were made by Augustus Jones in 1817. This is the map which determined the northern terminus of the trail.

(I) Large map by La Force and Kotte of Lake Ontario, 1783 and 1789. Shows the ruins of Fort Toronto, but does not mark the Carrying-Place. Copy in Toronto Public Library. This is the earliest map to show the ruins of the French Fort Toronto.

(m) Three manuscript maps originally in the possession of Governor Simcoe and now in the possession of W. P. Cole, Esq., 116 Highfield Lane, Southampton, England. Copies of these maps are in the Public Archives,

Ottawa.

No. 6. Plan of Toronto as surveyed by A. Aitkin in 1788. This map shows the work done in the summer of 1788 as described in the recently discovered letter published in this volume. The Carrying-Place is shown as a straight line running back from the mouth of the Toronto River and is marked, "Carrying place to Lake le Clay about 30 miles." The town plot is shown as laid off by Aitkin, commencing 90 chains west of the Nichingguakokonik River (the Don) and extending to the Garrison Creek. The word "York" has been added by a later hand. This map confirms Aitkin's letter and establishes the fact that Toronto was first laid out in 1788 under that

name in accordance with instructions of Lord Dorchester.

No. 7. This map is the survey of Toronto Harbour drawn by Joseph Bouchette, November 15, 1792 (1793?). The map shows Mr. St. John's house (Rousseau) at the mouth of the Toronto River. There is a picture of a house (Rousseau) at the mouth of the Toronto River. There is a picture of a two-masted ship riding at anchor which is, no doubt, Bouchette's vessel. The following directions are given for entering the harbour: "Toronto harbour is very safe for the shipping that can enter into it the least water at Entrance being two Fathom and a half. It is sheltered from every wind except the S.W. which blows directly into the Harbour, but it does not occasion much sea the said Harbour being perfectly shut up by the Bar.

"Directions to Enter into the Harbour: 1st. When the Blacksmith's House¹ Bears NW by N and the middle of the Sandy Point Bears E.N.E. you will find 8 Fathom of water, Sandy Bottom. 2nd. When the said House Bears W. by N ½ N you will find three Fathoms of Water. The end of the Sandy Shoal Bearing from the Vessel NE ½ E and then from thence

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Father, I forgot to tell you that a blacksmith was promised us when we sold the Toronto land who was to be at the Humber; but you have removed him to York and he is no use to us." Miss K. M. Lizars, The Valley of the Humber, p. 108.

a N.E course coming gradually round to NE by E&ENE after being clear of the shoal will bring a vessel safe into Toronto Harbour."

No. 8. This map is similar to No. 6. It indicates the place for a fort at the creek later known as Garrison Creek. The Nichingquakokonik is said to be navigable for two or three miles.

No. 9. Map No. C.2668 T.39. Map of York by George Williams, November 7, 1813. In the Public Archives, Ottawa. This is the best map in existence of the ruins of the French Fort Toronto.

No. 10. Map entitled "Communication between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron via Lake La Clie in Governor Hamilton's Correspondence, 1785."—Simcoe Papers, Vol. I, p. 8.

#### III

### PHILIPPE FRANÇOIS DE RASTEL DE ROCHEBLAVE

By the Honourable Mr. Justice E. Fabre Surveyer, F.R.S.C.

Among the fifty citizens elected by the people for the first time to represent them at Quebec in 1792, no one, not excepting those who had borne arms either in 1759 or in 1775, or those who had engaged in the fur trade in the far west, had had a more stirring and adventurous career than the representative who came from the quiet village of Varennes to sit in the Assembly, in which he seems to have been the senior member, Philippe François de Rastel de Rocheblave.1

M. de Rocheblave was of noble birth, as is attested by the following

document:

"1747, April 14th. We Louis Pierre D'Hozier, King-at-Arms for France, Knight and Sub-Dean of the Order of the King, Councillor in His Councils, Master-in-Ordinary of the Department of Accounts, Paris, Genealogist of the House, Bed-Chamber and Stables of His Majesty, of the Queen and of the Dauphiness

hereby certify that Philippe François de Rastel de Rocheblave, one of the children of Jean-Joseph de Rastel, Seigneur de Rocheblave & de Savournon, and of Dame Diane Françoise Elizabeth de Dillon, his wife, has submitted to us the proofs of his ancient military extraction, and that his filiations to us the proofs of his ancient military extraction, and that his fillations have been carefully traced to his ancestor in the tenth degree, the Sieur Raimond du Rastel, Chevalier, Seigneur of the said land of Rocheblave, for which he took the oath of fealty the 30th of August in the year one thousand two hundred and seventy-four; and that accordingly his lineage may be classed among those for which the most distinguished and the most ancient proofs are demanded. Wherefore we have delivered these presents at Paris, and Faidage the fourteenth day of April in the year on thousand seven hundred. on Friday, the fourteenth day of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty seven.

There is also his baptismal certificate preserved in the Archives of the Département des Hautes Alpes:—"In the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, the fourth of March, I, the undersigned parish priest of Savour-non, have solemnly performed the christening of Philippe François de Rastel, nobleman, natural and legitimate son of Jean Joseph de Rastel de Rocheblave, nodieman, natural and legitimate son of Jean Joseph de Rastel de Rocheblave, Segnor of Savournon, of Le Bersac and of other places, and of Dame Françoise Elizabeth de Dillon, his wife, born yesterday. The child's godfather was Alexandre de Rastel Chevalier de Rocheblave, gentleman, and his godmother Elizabeth de Gillier his grandmother, lady; in testimony whereof they have affixed their signatures. Signed, Gillier Dillon, Rocheblave, le Chevalier de Rocheblave, Carltrand, Parish Priest."

D'Hozier also records that the father of M. de Rocheblave had been a captain in the Dauphine Regiment, that he resided at Savournon near the city of Gap, that he was lord also of Bersac and Mourmoirière, that he married in 1720 Mademoiselle Françoise Elizabeth Diane de Dillon, a daughter of James de Dillon, captain of the grenadiers of the Régiment de Dillon and a

<sup>1</sup> The County of Surrey, which de Rocheblave represented, corresponds to the present county of Verchères.

scion of the Lords Viscounts de Dillon of Ireland; that of this marriage twenty On his mother's side children were born, of whom twelve were then living. M. de Rocheblave was thus of Irish descent and must have been connected with that spirited Madame de la Tour du Pin, herself also a Dillon, who has left so sprightly a record of the sufferings of her family during the Revolution. As the oldest surviving son, M. de Rocheblave, on the death of his father, would have had the right to assume the title of marquis.

Philippe de Rocheblave appears at first to have been destined to the Church; but his parents realizing that he had no religious vocation, selected a military career. In the announcement which appeared in the Quebec Gazette October 7, 1840, of the death of his son, Pierre, mention is made of the fact that Philippe de Rocheblave had been an officer in the French army and had taken part in the battle of Fontenoy, May 11, 1745, when he was only eighteen years of age. He was, it seems, put on half-pay in 1748, and went off to the French Antilles under the command of François Raynaud, count de Villeverd, at that time Lieutenant-Governor-General of the French Islands Raynaud was the maternal uncle of Marianne de Rivole, wife of of America. Gabriel de Rastel de Rocheblave, and even before the marriage of the latter with his niece, was closely connected with the families of de Rivole and de Rocheblave.

Of his career up to 1755 we can give no further account, nor is it known when he came to America. He must have acquired experience, however, in encounters with the Indians, for he was one of the officers who in 1755 served under Charles de Langlade when the latter led his bands of savages from Lake

Michigan to Fort Duquesne on the banks of the Ohio.

At the battle of Monongahela, July 9, 1755, de Rocheblave distinguished himself and won the praise of his chief. But after the remnant of Braddock's army had been put to flight, the French and Indians began rifling the bodies of the dead along the banks of the Monongahela. La Choisie, a young soldier of great promise, discovered the body of a richly-dressed English officer. Almost at the same instant de Rocheblave claimed that he had found it. La Choisie seized the dead officer's well-filled purse; de Rocheblave demanded a share of it; his companion refused and they parted in no friendly manner. following morning La Choisie was found assassinated, and the purse of gold was There was no direct evidence of de Rocheblave's guilt, but suspicion was fastened on him. At least so de Langlade and Augustin Grignon maintained, but their testimony is highly questionable. De Rocheblave appears to have continued to serve under de Langlade.

In August, 1756, Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, writing to one of the French ministers, relates that Sieur de Rocheblave, along with another cadet, a corporal and twenty Indians, captured a small fort situated beyond Fort Cumberland, killed four Englishmen, wounded three others and took three prisoners. The Fort Cumberland in question is not Fort Beausejour, but a prisoners. fort situated in Maryland. That year de Rocheblave seems also to have been

at Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg), where we find him again the following year.

In 1758 he is sent by M. de Ligneris on a scouting expedition in the neighbourhood of Loyal Hannon (later Fort Ligonier), in the county of Westmoreland in Pennsylvania. The reports he brought back were not favourable. A few months later, M. de Ligneris evacuated Fort Duquesne, which was renamed Fort Pitt on November 25, 1758.

<sup>1</sup> Wisconsin Historical Society's Collections, VII, p. 132; Tassé, Les Canadiens de l'Ouest, I, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Wisconsin Historical Society's Collections, XVIII, p. 214.

In 1759 de Rocheblave was under the command of de Laperrière Marin, who, like de Langlade, played such an important rôle in the history of old Wisconsin. In June, 1759, Marin, with the assistance of Lieutenant de Rocheblave and three Canadians, left Fort Niagara at the head of three hundred Delaware and Shawnee Indians "to insult Fort Pitt," as they said. This fort was in poor condition and might have been captured if a larger number of Franchuse had taken part in the expedition the Indiana bains. number of Frenchmen had taken part in the expedition, the Indians being of very little use. But there was not time to get reinforcements. The Commandant of Fort Niagara suddenly recalled his troops to face General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson, who were marching against Fort Niagara. Marin was on the way to join the reinforcements en route and was made prisoner of war under the very walls of Fort Niagara. prisoner of war under the very walls of Fort Niagara. De Rocheblave had prisoner of war under the very walls of Fort Niagara. De Rocheblave had been left with fifty men to guard the canoes on an island above the Niagara portage, where they were joined by the French fugitives and the whole party sought refuge at Detroit. On May 22, 1763, Major Pierre Neyon de Villiers, commanding in the Illinois, ordered de Rocheblave, then "lieutenant in a company of detached marine troops in that colony," to go from Fort Chartres to Fort Massiac to replace Sieur de Clouet. The following are among the recommendations made to him: recommendations made to him:

We will simply content ourselves with suggesting that, drink being the one thing that can disturb the tranquillity and unity so necessary in that post, we find ourselves unavoidably obliged to order him to keep his hands upon all that may be shipped of every kind except that which the King is accustomed to send for the relief of the sick and wounded that may be in the

garrison.

we know too well the sentiments of le Sieur de Rocheblave to think it necessary to recommend to him prayers offered evening and morning and to put a check upon the blasphemy and oaths to which soldiers are only too much addicted."

From this time on, until 1763, we lose sight of de Rocheblave completely.

The de Rocheblave who was in Louisiana in the ampley of the Franch recommend.

The de Rocheblave who was in Louisiana in the employ of the French government in 1762, after whom a street in New Orleans was named, was a brother,

Paul de Rocheblave. He, too, had a somewhat checkered career.
In 1763, at the conquest, Philippe de Rocheblave retired from the army, was placed on the half-pay of a lieutenant, and went to Kaskaskia as a trader. Kaskaskia was founded in 1700 on the banks of the Mississippi, and prospered until 1844, when floods destroyed its trade, which never again revived. Fresh inundations occurred in 1851, and again in 1857; and on January 1, 1902, the name of Kaskaskia was permanently removed from the post office list. It was in the old parish church in Kaskaskia that, on April 11, 1763, de Rocheblave, with the permission of Major Neyon de Villiers, officer in command, married Marie Michel Dufresne, daughter of Jacques Michel Dufresne, an

officer in the militia in that parish. When the Illinois country surrendered to the Revolutionary troops in 1765, de Rocheblave abandoned his property and, preferring Spanish rule to British, took the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain.<sup>2</sup> On May 16, 1766, he was in command at Fort Sainte-Geneviève on the banks of the Mississippi and remained in charge when Sainte-Geneviève came into the possession of the King of Spain, November 22, 1769. De Rocheblave zealously protected the rights of Spain, and in 1767, when Father Meurin presented himself at Sainte-Geneviève with letters from the Bishop of Quebec, de Rocheblave

<sup>1</sup> Brother-in-law of Captain Alexandre Douville.

<sup>2</sup> Petition to Carleton, April 10, 1777. Canadian Archives.

declared: "I know no English bishop here in a post which I command; I wish no ecclesiastical jurisdiction other than that of the Archbishop of Saint Domingo." He ordered the proscription of Father Meurin and his arrest as a state criminal for having recognized a jurisdiction not admitted by Spain. A friend warned Father Meurin of his danger and the latter crossed the Mississippi into English territory.1

This zeal for Spain did not last long. Irregularities were found in the accounts of the Governor of Sainte-Geneviève. De Rocheblave was prosecuted, turned out of office by the Spanish Governor, O'Reilly, and fell into disgrace.<sup>2</sup> De Rocheblave was responsible for the introduction of courts of justice and administration at Sainte-Geneviève; he registered marriages and

transacted forced sales of land.

Let me here quote Edward Mason, President of the Historical Society of

Chicago:
"By what process this foe of Great Britain, who as a Frenchman had fought against her troops, and as a Spaniard had quarrelled with her officials, who are the Third is a mystery. Nor is it was transformed into a subject of George the Third is a mystery. Nor is it known when the marvellous change took place. It was alleged against him that he never took the oath of allegiance and supremacy required of those who held office under the British crown. However this may have been, de Rocheblave returned to Kaskaskia some time between 1770 and 17763 and posed as a British subject.

'Captain Hugh Lord was then in command of the Illinois, and in the spring of 1776 he rejoined the English forces after the disasters to royalists when the colonial troops invaded Canada. In the spring of 1776, Captain Lord and his men departed from Kaskaskia to join the British forces by way of Detroit and the lakes. He had received orders to hand over the administration to such a person as he judged proper. He chose de Rocheblave as his successor, and as proof of his confidence, Lord left his family in de Rocheblave's

"Carleton, commander-in-chief in Canada, included under his jurisdiction the country of the Illinois. He wrote to Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor at Detroit, that the troops had been withdrawn from the Illinois, and that a salary of 200 pounds a year had been granted de Rocheblave to watch over the interests of the King in that country, and to advise the government of whatever might be going on there against them, and that his appointment was deemed to have commenced May 1, 1776.

De Rocheblave naturally magnified his office, and considered that Captain Lord had appointed him judge and commandant of a vast country, and he lost no time in impressing this upon the people of the Illinois country. The French inhabitants were speedily taught to address him as commandant of all the British part of the Illinois, and with the most humble respect and

<sup>1</sup> J. G. SHEA, Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll, p. 120. More recently, Bishop J. H. Schlarman, Ph.D., in From Quebec to New Orleans, pages 442 and 443, enlarges upon that statement. On the other hand Father Lawrence J. Kenny, S. J., professor of history at St. Louis University, points out, in a private letter, that Shea merely draws his information from a letter of Father Simplicius Bocquet to Bishop Briand of May 17, 1762. He points out that de Rocheblave was godfather in the old Kaskaskia church on not less than fourteen occasions, which does not indicate an anticlerical bias, and considers that, on the whole, de Rocheblave has been much maligned by American historians, a statement which his subsequent conduct in Canada would seem to bear out.

<sup>2</sup> O. W. COLLET, secretary of the Historical Society of Missouri, postcard to L. C. Draper of Wisconsin, October 8, 1885; Chicago Historical Collections, IV, p. 364.

<sup>3</sup> According to other historians this would be in 1773: Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, XVIII, p. 214.

submission. The British inhabitants were less docile and complained, by petition to Carleton, that de Rocheblave trampled upon their liberties, despised Englishmen and English laws, acted both as counsel and judge, traded with the savages against his own edicts, and was partial to the French."

De Rocheblave, nevertheless, seems to have been loyal to the government and, in spite of his previous changes of allegiance, he served the British Crown

with zeal and persistence during his stay in the Illinois.

Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Canada, who, in the beginning, had carefully limited de Rocheblave's powers, paid no attention to the complaints against him and gave him authority to call out the militia, which was practically appointing him Commandant. The British government made no objection to his assuming the title, and Haldimand, who succeeded Carleton as Governor of Canada, always treated de Rocheblave as former Commandant of Illinois, after the capture of Fort Gage by Clark, and paid him his salary as such and his expenses in that office until 1783.

De Rocheblave was untiring in his efforts to obtain information concerning the schemes of the Spaniards and the Americans. He was really in charge of a vast province; without troops, without money, without resources, he accomplished a great deal with very limited means. Particularly valuable were his services in connection with the Indians, among whom he had a good deal of influence because of his military experience and his long association with them, and for a long time it was through his efforts solely that the neighbouring

tribes were kept quiet and the routes along the Ohio and the Mississippi open.

He was anxious that some troops should be sent to protect the Illinois country, the importance of which he seemed to understand far better than any one else in the British service. He used to insist that if the Illinois were better known, that country would constitute one of the richest colonies of Britain. But Carleton wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton that it was impossible to send troops to de Rocheblave; his requests for soldiers were unheeded; his accounts for more or less legitimate expenses were disallowed and his drafts on the representatives of the Government at Detroit and in Canada were protested. Hamilton continually urged him to be patient while allowing him to hope for the post of Governor of New Orleans.

A letter written on September 22, 1778, at Detroit, by a Frenchman,

M. Montforton, to M. Arès at Kaskaskia, indicates that at this time M. de Rocheblave was exposed to persecution which the former considered most

unmerited.

On July 4, 1778, the very day when de Rocheblave had signed a long report to Governor Haldimand<sup>3</sup> and had made a draft of £1,262 on the Treasury of the Province of Quebec, Colonel George Rogers Clark, with fifty-three followers, seized Fort Gage, an old house in Kaskaskia formerly occupied by the Jesuits and confiscated in 1764. De Rocheblave was taken in his bed, made prisoner of war, and sent under escort to Governor Patrick Henry at Williamsburg, capital of Virginia and there released on parole. He was accompanied by a certain Mr. Schifflin, first lieutenant of the volunteers in Detroit. Both of them received a hundred guineas from Sir Henry Clinton to enable them to return to Canada. De Rocheblave afterward claimed it was proposed to him that he should return to Illinois in the name

<sup>1</sup> Canadian Archives, Haldimand Papers, Series B, Vol. 185, p. 2. Illinois Historical Collections, II, pp. xxvi, xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Michigan Historical Collections, X, p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> Canadian Archives, Haldimand Papers, Series B, Vol. 122, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> Clark's Campaign in the Illinois, p. 37.

of the Congress as Governor, superintendent of the Indians, and colonel, with the promise that all his losses would be made good. According to his own account, de Rocheblave resisted all temptations and escaped to New York in July, 1780.¹ A certain Chevalier de Saint-Joseph wrote to Major de Peyster that Commandant Willing had put de Rocheblave and a man named Crie in chains for refusing to swear allegiance to the King of Spain, to the King of France and to Congress.² In October, de Rocheblave wrote to Haldimand stating his desire to form a regiment of volunteers in order to chase the rebels from the regions of the Mississippi and the Ohio.³ October 7, 1781, we find him at Quebec, addressing a memoir to Haldimand setting forth the advantages of occupying the country of the Illinois.⁴ In February, 1782, he applied for a passport to Detroit and obtained from the Government a warrant for the reimbursement of the expenses incurred by him as Commandant of Illinois.

In March, 1782, he suggests securing the Illinois with the aid of Germans and Acadians from Virginia and Maryland, and failing this he demands a passport and a circular letter to the commandants of posts where he might wish to trade in furs; lastly he demands reimbursement of all his losses. Haldimand permits him to engage in trade, but before setting out on his expedition, de Rocheblave forwards from Quebec, in 1782, a fresh petition for the payment of his salary and the expenses incurred by him during his captivity. The salary of Commandant of Illinois is granted to him.<sup>5</sup> He then sets out, but as soon as he arrives at Mackinac, he draws a draft on the

Government which the Government refuses to pay.6

In the winter of 1782-1783 de Rocheblave revisited his old home in Kaskaskia. In March, 1783, he was back in Quebec and a new warrant for the payment of his salary as Governor of Illinois was signed. In the fall of 1783, having learned that Parliament had voted a law for indemnifying the Loyalists, de Rocheblave made fresh demands, asking for immediate settlement, because, he said, he was going to find his wife at "Chikagou." He appears to have remained in Quebec, however, for in January, 1784, he was asking for a situation in the Government. In March he applied for a passport, a circular letter to the Commandants of posts, advances of powder and clothing, and a grant of lands on the shore of the Rideau River.

On March 26, 1784, Haldimand sent him a letter of recommendation permitting him to send merchandise up-country, but de Rocheblave still asked for assistance, and his wife supported his petition with a touching letter. Haldimand succumbed and ordered that a thousand acres of land be set aside for him on Grande Ile, near Cataraqui. This concession, however, does not

appear to have been consummated.

appear to have been consummated.

In 1785 he is still at Quebec, whence he writes to Haldimand in London on January 21st, that he has not, like all the Loyalist refugees, been indemnified for his losses, that he has even been deprived of rations and that this treatment is having a bad effect on the Canadians. About this time, Haldimand, who

<sup>1</sup> American writers accuse him of breaking his parole: Burk's Virginia, IV, p. 425; Jefferson's Writings, I, p. 258; Mr. Carleton's Papers, pp. 184, 185.

<sup>2</sup> Michigan Historical Collections, IX, p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> Canadian Archives, Haldimand Papers, Series B, Vol. 73, p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. B, 122, p. 545; B, 123, p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. B, 75-1, pp. 14 et seq.; 81, et seq.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. B, 219, p. 80, "Haldimand to de Rocheblave, 2nd November, 1787."

<sup>7</sup> Illinois Historical Collections, V. p. 353.

<sup>8</sup> Canadian Archives, Haldimand Papers, Series B, 219, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. B. 75-2, p. 45; B, 75-1, pp. 14-25; 81-83

was in London, received reports from Canada reflecting upon the loyalty of de Rocheblave. Haldimand's secretary, Captain Mathews, made an investigation into the conduct—past and recent—of de Rocheblave, and wrote to Haldimand in London describing what he called the odious character of de Rocheblave.1

June 12, 1786, de Rocheblave obtained a permit to engage in trade at

Michilimackinac.

On January 16, 1787, de Rocheblave, renewing a petition that he had addressed to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton in 1785, asked Lord Dorchester to change the route to the Upper Country and to give him the preference for the Toronto portage with a tract of land sufficient for the purpose. May 25, 1787, he returned to the attack and begged the Governor to give him a grant of land of a thousand acres by the Bay of Toronto "beginning at the River which empties into Lake Ontario above the bluffs east by north-east of the said Toronto and extending to the old Settlement at the said Toronto." He further requested "a small island situated between the aforesaid old Settlement and the aforesaid River in the same Bay, in order that he may keep some animals there" and for his wife, his three male children and his daughter he demanded lands in the neighbourhood, of the usual amount. His various requests were referred to a committee of the Council on June 25, 1787. The matter seems to have gone no farther. October 7, 1787, de Rocheblave again writes to Governor Haldimand suggesting an expedition into the Illinois. He concludes by saying: "The English of the Mississippi, in spite of their apparent resignation, would be glad to shake off the Spanish yoke, and would not fail to ioin us. New Orleans attacked from above could not hold out." not fail to join us; New Orleans attacked from above could not hold out.

After this we lose sight of M. de Rocheblave until February 22, 1790 when we find him in Montreal where, along with six other citizens, he signed a document nominating Jean Guillaume Delisle, Notary, as master of "The Brothers of Canada" (Frères du Canada), a Masonic lodge founded in 1785.2

When the first elections to parliament under the Canada Act of 1791 were to be held, M. de Rocheblave published the following statement in the Montreal Gazette of May 22, 1792:

"To The Free Voters: Should the contingency arise when those persons best fitted to serve their compatriots in the next Assembly by reason of their talent and their means, find that their private affairs prevent them from exercising so sacred a duty, you will find me at such a time ready and waiting to serve the province with all possible zeal."

At this period, he was living at Varennes; we do not know how long he had been living there. Once elected, M. de Rocheblave, in 1792, vigorously opposed the nomination of an Englishman as President of the Assembly. "Why then," said he, "do our British brethren ever cry out against the decision we have come to of retaining our customs, laws and mother tongue, the only means left us with which to protect our property? Is it possible that the barren pride in seeing their language prevail makes them so blind as to rob of force and energy the very laws, usages and customs which form the secure foundation of their own prosperity? Being the uncontested masters of the trade of the country which delivers our produce into their hands entirely,

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. B, 64, p. 452; B, 76, pp. 198-223. All this part of the biography since 1755 is due chiefly to the patient researches of M. Émile Audet, formerly notary in Montreal and now professor in Chicago, to whom we express our thanks.

<sup>2</sup> Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Vol. XII, p. 219. (Article by M. E.-Z. Massicotte.) See la chanson de l'ordre, Ibid. XXVI, p. 152.

would they not be the greatest losers if the Colony were upset by the convulsions which their injustice, if continued, will inevitably provoke? And are we not rendering the greatest of services to them as well as to ourselves by opposing them in this matter?"

At the same session, M. de Rocheblave further demanded that the Jesuit estates be used for the education of the young in conformity with the intention of the King of France, who had granted the property for this purpose. the session of 1795 he also opposed the abolition of seigniorial tenure, on the ground that the advocates of this measure were not acting from motives of true and sane reform.

One of the first acts of M. de Rocheblave as deputy was to bring before the House on March 2, 1793, a petition from two hundred residents, urban and

rural, of the county of Quebec, concluding as follows:

"The petitioners conclude by calling attention to the fact that since the abolition of the Jesuit Order, the members of that order resident in Canada have generously offered to turn over to this Province all the property of this College for the benefit of the public to whom it belongs, and they ask for nothing more than food and clothing for themselves. This transfer has been retarded and impeded by numberless difficulties. That the nature of the titles and the foundation of this College had been disguised in Europe and that by this means this Province has been deprived of public education since the conquest, although everywhere else in the British Empire public education is encouraged

That this misfortune is due solely to the efforts of some persons prior to the sanctioning of the New Constitution, who have urgently solicited from His Majesty, under various pretexts, the gift or the concession of these properties, but fortunately without effect. The petitioners are assured that His Most Gracious Majesty, in his royal edicts and instructions, has always endeavoured to be well informed and to reserve from all this property sufficient for the purpose of public instruction in this country, without infringing in any

manner upon the objects and aims of this foundation.

To this end the petitioners, in the hope and confidence that this Honourable Chamber will consider that this property has been acquired only through the labour, the courage and the sweat of the inhabitants of this country in the hope of securing an education for their children, and that this property although adequate does not exceed in revenue the minimum required for public education on a liberal basis for which purpose this property has been granted, request and claim these revenues as their just right with all the respect due to this Chamber, and your petitioners will ever pray.

The stand which de Rocheblave took on this question won him the congratulations of the Constitutional Club, in terms similar to those which

the club used on this very occasion to congratulate Papineau.

M. de Rocheblave was re-elected in 1796 and in 1800. A speech made by Judge de Bonne indicates that he had succeeded in having his constituents

pay his election expenses.

He was appointed registrar of the Land-Deeds, but he soon realized that there was no registry office, and asked the Governor to open one. His request was referred to the executive. On May 13, 1801, M. de Rocheblave and his colleagues, Messrs. Joseph Planté and Felix Tétu, were commissioned to organize a Land Registry. On July 16, 1801, they signed a report-quite a non-committal document—raising the question as to whether or not the King's franchise holders paid their declarations to the court-rolls.

April 27, 1798, M. de Rocheblave asked permission to take the oath of

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loyalty and service for the Fief of Saint-Michel (Varennes). This request does not seem to have been granted.

M. de Rocheblave died on April 3, 1802, at Quebec, during the session of M. de Rocheblave died on April 5, 1802, at Quebec, during the session of Parliament. He was buried on April 5 in the smallpox cemetery (on Couillard Street), in the presence of Messrs. Robert Lester, A. J. Raby, Louis Marchand, François Levesque and the officiating clergyman, Abbé Desjardins.

The Quebec Gasette prints the following eulogium in its supplement of April 22, 1802:

"Died in this city, Saturday evening, the 3rd instant, Philip de Rocheblave, Gentleman, Member of the Provincial Parliament, representing the

blave, Gentleman, Member of the Provincial Parliament, representing the county of Surrey, and Registrar of the C1-wm. M. de Rocheblave was during his lifetime a loyal subject of the King whom he has served with honour and devotion on many occasions. He takes with him the regrets of his friends, especially of those who knew his particitie and scale qualities."

especially of those who knew his patriotic and social qualities."

This is what M. Sulte says of him: "A good orator, a scholar, of pleasing manner, a tried patriot, he died in the midst of the session of 1802, deeply regretted by the Canadians."

The words "loyal subject of the King," "scholar," "tried patriot," set

one musing.

In one of his many petitions M. de Rocheblave stated that he had six children. On May 25, 1787, he stated that he had three sons and or daughter living. His daughter Rosalie died in Montreal, February 19, 1844, ag. d 71. As for his sons, one of them, Pierre, traded in furs with the North-West Company. for his sons, one of them, Pierre, traded in furs with the North-West Company. In 1817, he sold his interests in the trade of the West and the North-West to the American Fur Company, of which John Jacob Astor was the head. He was a member of the Special Council and of the Executive Council. He was elected to the Legislature on January 9, 1832. On February 9, 1819, he married Anne Elmire Bouthillier, daughter of Jean Bouthillier, justice of the peace and lieutenant-colonel, and of the late Madame Louis Perthuis. He died October 5, 1840, at Côte Saint Louis after a long and cruel illness. The Quebec Gazette of October 7, 1840, and the Montreal Transcript of October 10, 1840, pay him a high tribute. He was survived by his widow. They had 1840, pay him a high tribute. He was survived by his widow. They had several children, among them Madame Willoughby, of whom we shall hear later, and another daughter, Elmire, who died a nonagenarian at the beginning of the present century.2

Another son, Noel, was representative for the county of Surrey from August 6, 1804, to December 10, 1805, the date of his death. M. de Rocheblave had left Detroit accompanied by a Mr. Gillespie and was going to Philadelphia there to confer with the American authorities on the question of trade on the Missouri. A storm arose on Lake Champlain, the boat upset and M. de Rocheblave was seriously injured. The two travellers returned to Montreal; they arrived on December 6th. Gangrene in the wound received in

the wreck caused the death of M. de Rocheblave

There appears to have been a third son, Philippe, who is believed to have lived at Kaskaskia, where he seems to have executed a document on July 28 1801,3 at a time when his father was in Canada. In a report from the land commissioners of the District of Kaskaskia dated December 31, 1809, they reject a claim from one Philip de Rocheblave (seven and a half years after the death of our deputy). Mr. Collet, secretary of the Historical Society of

<sup>1</sup> History of French-Canadians, VIII, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Vol. IV, p. 357. (Article by the Hon. Degire Girouard.)

<sup>3</sup> Chicago Historical Society's Autograph Letters, Vol. 61, p. 399.

Missouri, claims that there were several Philip de Rocheblaves, which leads

one to believe that there was a son by this name.

How could our historians—usually so clever in tracing kinship—how could they have thought Pierre and Noel de Rocheblave merely nephews of the first deputy of Surrey? No doubt the reason for this error is that a younger brother of Philippe de Rocheblave, Pierre Louis, born at Savournon, France,

in 1729, and officer of the marines, was married at Montreal on September 30, 1760, to Marie Joseph Duplessis. He became Governor of Goree in Africa.

We know nothing of Madame de Rocheblave except that she wrote several letters to Haldimand which have been preserved, and that in 1778 Patrick Henry gave express instructions to John Todd and to Clark that she be well treated and that her property be restored to her, which is ground for the supposition that she was at Kaskaskia at the time. To what extent could she have shared the expeditions of her husband? We have no information. M. de Rocheblave seems to have stayed in Varennes very little during the last ten years of his life. It was there that Madame de Rocheblave died on February 21, 1813, at the age of seventy-six. She was buried there two days later, in the presence of a large number of parishioners, among whom no relative is noticed.

W. F. Poole, librarian of the Public Library of Chicago, wrote in 1886 à propos of de Rocheblave: "He was an able man and a very interesting character. . . . He ought to be written up." Mr. Mason of Chicago has told the story of the first part of his life. Unfortunately, all the family documents have been sent to France in the interest of a descendant named Willoughby, to be produced in connection with a lawsuit, and they have not Copies of some of these documents appear to be available at been returned. the presbytery of Notre Dame, Montreal, and a copy of the judgment is in my possession. Part of the land in dispute was awarded to the Canadian branch of the de Rocheblave family. The Louisiana branch does not seem to have heard of the litigation. Descendants of Paul de Rocheblave, Philippe's brother, still exist; one of them, a captain Benito de Rocheblave, of Pensacola,

Florida, was still living in October, 1928.2

1 Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, XXIII. (Article by M. P.-G. Roy.)
2 I cannot conclude these notes without calling attention to the kindness of Monsieur Charles Bouthillier, of the manor of Sainte-Thérèse de Blainville, nephew of Mademoiselle de Rocheblave, who has furnished me not only with the documents which he had copied, but also with some private notes. Some weeks before his death Monsieur Bouthillier placed several interesting papers at my disposal, including a list of de Rocheblave's children. They were the following: Marie Adelaide, born January 7th, 1764; Philippe François; Noel, born in 1765; Pierre; Rosalie, born in 1773, died at Montreal in February, 1844, and Marie Thérèse, born May 26th, 1777, at Kaskaskia.
Willoughby just mentioned was Captain William L. P. de Lemos Willoughby, of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers. On May 20th, 1845, he married Louise Hermine de Rastel de Rocheblave, Pierre's younger daughter. She died of child-birth in Montreal on May 1st, 1846, age 23. Her child, Louise, survived her 23 days. As heir, Willoughby claimed the diamonds bequeathed to his wife by her grand-aunt when she married Antoine d'Albert, marquis de Saint Hippolyte, as well as a share in the real estate in France.

I am indebted to Mr. John N. d'Arcy, of Montreal, for the translation of this article, and to Mr. Percy J. Robinson for the revision thereof.

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, XXIII. (Article by M. P.-G. Roy.)

# IV

# IROQUOIS PLACE-NAMES ON THE NORTH SHORE OF LAKE ONTARIO

By J. N. B. HEWITT Smithsonian Institute, Washington

Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, has furnished me, in answer to inquiry, with the following explanations of

Indian place-names along the north shore of Lake Ontario:

"The probable meaning of the name *Teiaiagon* (for Teyoya' hia" gon') is 'It crosses the stream.' The antecedent of the pronoun 'it' is understood from the context or situation, so it could have been 'path,' 'log,' or 'bridge,' but it does not mean 'place where trails meet.

"The other term submitted for explanation, Gandatsekiagon (for Ganatse'1 kwyăgoñ') has nothing in common with Teyoya' hia' gon'. Ganatse' kwyăgoñ' signifies 'Among the birches,' i.e. 'Among birch trees.'
"The name Toronto, probable Tiyoroñ'to', is a name which is applicable to an indefinite number of places. It is a neuter plural form, meaning 'There, yonder, are trees under water,' referring, it is said, to trees growing so near the water's edge that they appear to be in the water's edge that they appear to be in the water's edge that they appear to be in the water's edge that they appear to be in the water, that is reflected in the the water's edge that they appear to be in the water; that is, reflected in the

water where the water is clear.

"The name Lac Oentaronck, appearing on Du Creux's and other early French maps as the name of Lake Simcoe, appears to be merely a form of the well-known mutual name of Attiwendaronk, employed by the Hurons and the Neutrals as designations for each other, so that Lac Attiwendaronk was probably

meant

"Father Jones gave Ondechiatiri1 as the Huron name of Toronto, but I

"Father Jones gave Ondechiatiri¹ as the Huron name of Toronto, but I do not know his authority for the statement. The term means 'the supported or solid earth or ground.' The final verb '-tiri,' could be used to mean 'firm,' as a firm snowbank, i.e. one that could support great weight.

"Without available historical data indicating reasons for the use of the Iroquois village names along the northern coast of Lake Ontario, the following suggested meanings are, of course, based on inferences from poorly-written originals, important parts of which do not appear in these records.

"Ganaraske probably means 'at the spawning-place,' as this locality was reputed to 'abound' in salmon. Kenté signifies a prairie or meadow. Kentsio (Rice Lake) probably means 'abounding in fish'; and Ganneious is evidently a misprint for the French Gannejout(s), meaning Oneida, referring probably to a village of these people."

Mr. Hewitt's reply to my inquiries was received after I had written my chapter on the meaning of the word "Toronto." Mr. Hewitt is the most eminent living authority on the Iroquois language.

eminent living authority on the Iroquois language.

1 JONES, Huronia, p. 265.

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# APPENDIX TO SECOND EDITION

# THE TORONTO PURCHASE

[From the Evening Telegram, Toronto, August 27 1938]

Driving up from Kingston the other day, Lake Ontario, seen in glimpses as the car slid over the hills, was a lovely sight; lovely indeed but lonely, remote and desolate; none of the white gleaming sails of long ago, and, as it happened, no trailing smoke of laboring freighters; just a deep azure expanse hung with faint rosy fragments of cloud. Old, old as time, this banded blue and green and purple looked young as yesterday. From such a waste of water, history is washed out over night. And yet for two centuries the story of exploration and settlement is the story of the great lakes and rivers of the continent.

On August 1, 1788, a century and a half ago, a strange looking craft might have been seen entering the land-locked bay at Toronto, whose shores were still clad in unbroken forest. His Majesty's ship "Seneca" was a square-sailed vessel of one hundred and thirty tons, of a rig now obsolete, and one of the larger vessels in the small but efficient navy protecting the British flag on the lake at that time. The "Seneca" carried a crew of thirty-five men and mounted eighteen guns. In her hold, packed in 149 barrels, was a cargo of presents and provisions for the Mississauga Indians about to assemble at Toronto. A surveyor and his party of assistants were the passengers. A few days later another vessel arrived from Niagara bringing Lord Dorchester, Governor-General of Canada; Sir John Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs; and Colonel Butler, veteran commander of Butler's Rangers.

Dorchester intended to go as far as Detroit, but on his arrival at Fort Erie there was no ship available and he had to abandon his intention of visiting that outpost.

On the 24th October, 1788, R. Matthews, who had accompanied Lord Dorchester, wrote: "I am but a short time returned from attending Lord Dorchester on a tour of the Upper Posts

and new settlements. He went as far as Fort Erie, but no vessel being there, and the season too far advanced to wait he was obliged to abandon Detroit, visitted Toronto and Oswego, and every part of the Bay of Kinte. The progress of the new settlements would astonish and delight you from Lake St. Francis to the Bay 50 miles above Cateraqui, and from 20 miles on the Toronto side of Niagara to 30 miles above Fort Erie is thickly settled, finely cleared, and many excellent houses built some of the farmers have sold 500 bushels of wheat this season, tho the Crop was indifferent. The settlement I began last year at Detroit has extended 30 miles from the mouth of the River, and will in very few years meet that from Niagara." (Original spelling and punctuation.)

Hitherto historians have known nothing about this visit of Dorchester. Toronto has been strangely indifferent about its past.

The occasion of this gathering of important persons was the completion of the Toronto Purchase; the Mississaugas were to be paid for the five hundred square miles of territory surrendered to the Crown three years before at Quinte; a new purchase was to be arranged extending eastward to the Ganaraske River (Port Hope); a survey was to be made at Toronto and a town and township laid off for settlement.

Of these distant events Toronto remembers little; growing cities forget their past. Yet there is romance and inspiration in the first contact of an old race and a new land; the vigor of such an origin is far from exhausted. The story of what happened in August, 1788, now for the first time published, has only recently been pieced together from the fragmentary records which survive.

Though there were as yet no permanent settlers the region, Toronto, was not entirely uninhabited. About the ruins of the French Fort there were some three hundred acres of cleared ground abandoned since the evacuation of the post in 1759. On the banks of the Humber J. B. Rousseau (afterwards Colonel J. B. Rousseau of Ancaster) had been established for some years

engaged in trade with the Indians. Richard Beasley, U.E.L. trader at the head of the lake, also had a house at Toronto and was present at the gathering.

News of the arrival of the "Seneca" spread rapidly and the shore soon assumed the appearance of an encampment. The Mississaugas from the Thames and the Credit on the west, and from Lake Scugog and Rice Lake on the east set up their wigwams. The Indians from Lake Simcoe (Lac aux Claies) and Matchedash, came late and failed to secure their share of the presents. Gatherings of this kind always attracted Indian traders and it is probable that many of these enterprising persons were present anxious to barter their wares for the new wealth of the savages.

We can best follow the course of events from the report submitted by Alexander Aitkin the surveyor. The records of the new purchase to the east of Toronto and of the conference of Lord Dorchester and Sir John Johnson with the Indians are extremely fragmentary.

It was on July 7, 1788, that Deputy Surveyor-General John Collins had written from Quebec instructing Aitkin to proceed with the survey. Communication was difficult in those days and Aitkin did not receive the letter in Kingston till the twenty-fifth. Collecting his party he embarked without delay on the "Seneca" taking with him Nathaniel Lines as interpreter; the latter had been present the year before at the Bay of Quinte. A memorandum dated Montreal, July 9, 1788, supplies us with accurate information as to the supplies which accompanied the expedition. The memorandum reads: "Calculation of Provisions that will be required for the approaching meeting of the Messesagey Indians on the north side of Lake Ontario and the transport necessary for the provisions and the present of Indian stores to be given to them as a compensation for the Cession of Lands made to the Crown.

"1,000 Rations in all species for the Surveyors & the Party who will attend them.

"10,000 Wt. Flour; 24 Barrels Pork, For the Indians.

"The Present for the Indians is supposed to be about 67 Barrels Bulk; The Provisions & Present making together 149 Barrels Bulk allowing 200 Wt. to each Barrel Flour."

Another memorandum which has recently come to light gives accurate information as to the amount of Indian stores paid to the Mississaugas at Toronto in 1788 as the price of the Toronto Purchase. (Previous descriptions of this transaction are inaccurate and have been confused with the bargain made at the Credit in 1805. It is necessary to rewrite the account published in Robertson's Landmarks, Vol. V, p. 150.) The memorandum reads as follows: "Return of Indian Stores given to the Missesagey Nation of Indians as a payment for the Lands at Toronto & the Communication to Lake Huron . . .; 72 Pieces Strouds (coarse blankets); 55 do . . . Molton (Linen cloth) 131 do . . . Linen; 10 do . . . Embossed Serge; 30 do . . . Ribbon; 10 do . . . Callicoe; 154½ Grose Gartering; 64 yards scarlet Cloth; 287 Blankets of 3 points;  $331 \text{ do} \dots$ ;  $2\frac{1}{2} \text{ do} \dots$ ;  $200 \text{ do} \dots$ ;  $2 \text{ do} \dots$ ; 200 do . . .; 1½ do . . .; 50 lbs. White Thread; 10 Dozen looking glasses; 80 lbs. Vermilion; 3 grose Knives; 3 grose Fishocks; 2 grose lines; 100 Bunches Beads; 500 lbs. Gun powder; 1,500 lbs. Shott & Ball; 24 Silver Gorgets; 24 Medals; 36 pair Arm Bands; 1,000 Broaches; 1,000 pair Earbobs; 500 lbs. Tobacco; 200 Half Axes . . . 300 Hoes; 100 Fish Spears; 5 dozen plain Hatts . . . 2 Doz. Laced Hatts; 3,000 Gunflints . . . 150 Guns."

This document is endorsed: "Return of Indian stores given to the Missesagey Nation of Indians as a payment for the Lands at Toronto & the communication to Lake Huron relinquished by them to the Crown. This calculation is made for a Double Equipment of cloathing for that Nation consisting of 287 Men, 331 Women, 399 Children. (Signed) P. Langan."

Nathaniel Lines' invoice of these goods as delivered to Colonel Butler differs in some particulars. No mention of the medals and jewelry is made and an item of 96 gallons of rum is appended. There is no reason to suppose that there was any actual discrepancy. Lines' invoice reads: "Memorandum of Bales and Boxes brought from Cataraque by Mr. Lines to Toronto

and delivered to Col. Butler—6 Bales Strouds 5 pieces each 30 Pieces; 4 Bales Moltons Each 10 pieces 40 Pieces; 4 Kegs hoes 49 each 196; 8 Half Barrels Powder; 5 Boxes Guns; 3 Cases Shott; 24 Brass Kettles; 10 Kegs of Ball; 200 lbs. Tobacco 47 Carrots; 1 Cask containing 3 Gro. Knives; 10 Doz. Looking Glasses; 4 Trunks of Linen; 1 Hogshead containing 18 pieces Gartering; 24 Laced Hats; 30 Pieces Ribbon; 3 Gro. Fish Hooks; 2,000 Gun Flints; 1 Box 60 Hats; 1 Bale flowered Flannel 10 pieces; 5 Bales 3 point Blankets 16 pair each; 1 Bale Broad Cloth 4 pieces; 5 pieces embossed Serge; 1 Case Barley Corn Beads; 96 Gallons of Rum."

There remains to be added in calculating the price paid for the Toronto Purchase the value of the distribution of arms, ammunition and tobacco made to the Mississaugas assembled at the Bay of Quinte, at Toronto and at the River French (Thames) in September, 1787, when the preliminary negotiations were completed. This amounted to: "9½ half barrels of gunpowder and 241 lbs.; 8½ cases of shot and 361 lbs.; 25½ kegs of ball and 361 lbs.; 171 guns; 69 carrots of tobacco." The total number of Indians, men, women and children who had an interest in the transaction is given as 1,017.

Just where the "Seneca" came to anchor at Toronto on August 1, 1788, and landed her passengers and stores is a matter of conjecture. It would seem likely that the conference with the Indians took place in the neighborhood of the ruins of the French fort where trails converged and there was cleared land. This is by no means certain, however, as the best anchorage was at the eastern end of the bay where there was an easy shore and a landing place much frequented later on by the Indians when they came to Little York.

Aitkin's first duty was to erect a store-house to shelter the 149 barrels of provisions and presents against the weather. This task occupied two or three days. The weather was of the finest and he was anxious to proceed at once with his survey. He was hindered, however, by the Indians, and especially by their chief, Wabukanyne, who exercised a kind of sway over the whole

nation. The Indians maintained that they had sold to the Crown only that land which lay between the Nechenquakekong (Don) River and the Toronto (Humber) River. It was not till the 11th of August when other chiefs had assembled that Interpreter Lines was able to secure permission for Aitkin to begin his survey at the western end of the High Lands (Scarborough Bluffs). Running his line westward to the mouth of the Humber, Aitkin again encountered opposition. Fortunately by this time Colonel Butler, who was well known to the Indians, had arrived and Aitkin was permitted to advance to the River "Tobicoak." Beyond this point he was unable to advance nor did he venture to run the western boundary of the tract in a northerly direction further than 23/4 miles. He was now alone and had no one to support him in the event of a struggle with the Indians who wished the Etobicoke to remain as the boundary; a surveyor's line they maintained would become obliterated in time.

Aitkin's map shows the town plot. The plan which had been prepared in Quebec did not reach him till he was on his way back to Kingston. The town plot was to be a block of land a mile square fronting on the bay and surrounded on three sides by a tract half a mile wide; the southwest corner of the whole enclosure rested on the mouth of what was afterwards known as Garrison Creek. Five years later Aitkin's plan and the more elaborate plan shown in Gother Mann's map of 1788 were both rejected when Simcoe placed his town of York at the mouth of the Don.

When the presents had been distributed, Lord Dorchester and Sir John Johnson took their departure. The Indians then prepared to disperse. Colonel Butler as Indian Agent had been instructed to arrange for the purchase of additional territory to the east, and since the Indians from the Lake aux Claies (Lake Simcoe) and from Pawastink (Port Hope) had not yet arrived Butler induced the chiefs to send their young braves home with the women and children and to remain on the ground till the arrival of late comers. After two or three meetings the desired transfer was arranged. The sum of twenty-five guineas induced

Wabukanyne and Pakquan to permit the western boundary of the 1787 purchase to be run back 15 or 16 miles as that was supposed to be the width of the land purchased. Butler then returned to Niagara leaving Aitkin alone to complete his survey. Further opposition from the Indians, however, prevented him from completing the western boundary and since the land eastward from Toronto now belonged to the Crown he did not consider it necessary to survey the eastern limit of the original purchase.

On August 28, those Indians who had returned to Pometashcooting Landing (Port Hope), sent a rather pathetic letter through Lines the interpreter to Sir John Johnson:

"Shawanecupaway with two other chiefs of the Rice Lake in Council assembled says that they have not forgot what was told them at Toronto, but have been thinking of it ever since and now they are all met at the great Fire. Mr. Lines was so good as to make for that purpose to nourish them with a little of their Great Father's Milk; they have considered amongst themselves and have agreed to let their Great Father have the Lands according to his own proposals, which they understand is from the purchase made by Captain Crawford, 1784, to the east bank of the Ganaraske, to that made by their Great Father at Toronto. They likewise understand that the lands are not to run further back from the shore of Lake Ontario than ten miles. They say they have taken the liberty of pointing out two stakes, which they have put up, a small piece of land for their great Friend the Trader at Pemetashcootiang, who has always been very good to them, they hope, therefore, their Father will take it into consideration and let him keep that small present which they have given him for his kindness to them. But if their great Father should not approve of the liberty they have taken they leave it to himself to use his pleasure, they say now they have given their lands, which their Great Father requested, they hope he will take pity on them as they are very poor and assist them a little in sending them a few kettles, tomahawks, spears, etc., etc., and as it is coming on cold winter, they hope their Father

will try and press his breasts sufficiently to give his children a

good suck."

A year later at Quinte, the Rice Lake Indians received the price of the additional lands surrendered by them at Toronto in 1788. The price was paid in Indian stores and a considerable quantity of rum. A payment in money was not made in any of

the earlier purchases.

A month later on the 23rd of September, Butler again wrote to Sir John Johnson: "Mr. Beasly has wrote to me from Toronto that about a hundred Indians have arrived there who say they have not been clothed and were not there when the goods were distributed for the lands. I have sent word to them to go to Cataraque and will write to the Mr. Lines to cloathe those that he knows have not received any before."

From other documentary sources it would seem that these were the Indians from Matchedash, who afterwards made the claim that they had not been paid for their part of the Toronto transfer; men, women and children, they amounted to about four hundred.

The council of 1788 at Toronto was not the last of similar gatherings, but it was in ways the most important. It marks in a very real sense the beginning of the city of Toronto and the County of York.

# THE NAME TORONTO

[From Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1944, Section II]

I should like now to add some fresh information in regard to the antiquity of the name Toronto. Further study of the various passages cited in *Toronto during the French Régime* has convinced me that wherever the name Toronto is found in documents of the seventeenth century the reference is to the Huron country on the Georgian Bay from which the Hurons were expelled in 1650 by the Iroquois.

Perrot (1620-97), who was acquainted with the lake region immediately after this expulsion, applies the name Toronto to what was formerly the Huron country.1 In one of the Margry documents bearing the date 1703, the Huron chief Mitchipitchi when addressing his countrymen at Mackinac and urging them to remove with him to the newly founded Detroit, alludes to the country from which the Hurons were expelled in 1650 as Toronto.2 In the Relatio du Detroit which has been conjecturally ascribed to Cadillac, the writer explains that the new post at Detroit is conveniently situated with reference to the Mississippi, Mackinac, and Toronto. Toronto he defines as the region lying between the foot of Lake Huron (i.e., Georgian Bay) and the foot of Lake Ontario.3 In the second Galinée map, a copy of which came to light shortly before the present war. Lake Simcoe appears for the first time (1670) as Lac de Tar8nteau. Finally Frontenac himself gives the name of the Onondaga chief with whom he conferred at Cataraqui in 1673 as TARONTISHATY, which means, "he struck Toronto," a name no doubt assumed in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Nicolas Perrot, Mémoire sur les moeurs, coustumes et religion des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale (1864), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Pierre Margry, Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans

le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale (Paris, 1879-88), vol. V, p. 292.

This document is in the Library of Congress; there is a photostat in the

honour of the expulsion.<sup>4</sup> In the light of this new matter which has not previously been studied, and of passages already familiar in the writings of La Salle, Dennonville, Lahontan, and others of the seventeenth century it may be considered as established by documentary evidence of unimpeachable authority that the Huron country after their expulsion was known as Toronto. The assumption is natural that the name was also employed by the Hurons themselves prior to 1650.

There is one passage in Sagard's Histoire du Canada<sup>5</sup> which seems to support this assumption. Sagard publishes "a copy or summary" of a letter written in 1627 by Father Daillon from the Huron country to a friend in France describing a recent visit to the Neutrals to the north of Lake Erie. In this letter Daillon mentions the excellent oil made by the Neutrals and after the word "huile" he adds "qu'ils appellent à Touronton"; these words are unintelligible and bear an asterisk in the Tross edition. The same passage occurs verbatim in the original edition but without the asterisk. It would seem that the copyist from whom Sagard received the manuscript omitted a word. Inserting the Huron word for oil "gayé" which is to be found in Sagard's dictionary the passage would read "qu'ils appellent 'gayé' à Touronton." This would make sense and carries the name Toronto back to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

<sup>4</sup>Roy, Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1926-27, pp. 38 and 40. <sup>5</sup>Gabriel Sagard, Histoire du Canada (Paris, 1636), vol. III, p. 806.

# MORE ABOUT TORONTO

[From Ontario History, vol. XLV, 1953, no. 3]

In 1873 Dr. Henry Scadding in his *Toronto of Old* expressed the opinion that the name Toronto was a Huron word and "the name of the headquarters or rendezvous of the Wyandots or Hurons." "It was in short the place of meeting, the place of concourse, the populous region indicated by the Huron term Toronto. In the form *Toronton* the word Toronto is given by Gabriel Sagard in his *Dictionnaire de La Langue Huronne*, published in Paris in 1636 [1632 actually]" [*Toronto of Old*, p. 74].

In Sagard the meaning of the word Toronton is *Il y en a beaucoup* (p. 99), and several examples of its use are given. There is nothing at all about "place of meeting, rendezvous, or populous region."

In formulating this theory Scadding relied upon tradition and conjecture; he was indeed compelled to do so for material now readily available was then unknown. With the aid of maps, despatches and other documents it is now possible to restate the problem.

The word Toronto does not occur anywhere in maps or documents during the first half of the seventeenth century—the period of the Recollet and Jesuit missions which ended in 1650 in tragedy.

In the second half of the seventeenth century the name Toronto occurs frequently within a given area as the name of the Georgian Bay, the former Huron country between Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron, the Severn River, Lake Simcoe, the trail from Orillia to Matchedash, but nowhere as the name of any town.

In the eighteenth century the name Toronto appeared south of Lake Simcoe as the name of the Humber and of various posts and forts on Lake Ontario.

The promiscuous use of the name is proof that whatever its

original meaning it was no longer a descriptive name as were all Indian names, applicable to one spot and not transferable. The word was passed on from north to south by French explorers and coureurs de bois.

That the name Toronto was originally employed to indicate the Huron country after its evacuation is a matter of fact, and the assertion of Carver that the Missisaugas had a large town called Toronto is not correct. Having no "r" in their language they could not even pronounce the word. In the eighteenth century Algonquins occupied the area between Matchedash and Lake Ontario. The name Toronto was preserved by the French.

The word "Huron" was a French word meaning "a rough fellow." The Hurons called themselves *Houandate*—"Islanders," either because their country was virtually an island, being almost entirely surrounded by water, or because at their front-door lay the Thirty Thousand Islands of the Georgian Bay. The name *Houandate* persisted in the form "Wyandots" after their exiled wanderings.

The old Huron country, as Champlain found it, was populous and fertile, and the name Toronto, if it is a form of Sagard's Toronton ("much or many") is an appropriate name both for the many islands through which every Frenchman had to pass on his way to or from Huronia in the early years, and for the populous land with its abundant and varied supply of food, corn, fish, game, and wild fruits.

I now intend to discuss certain new uses of the word "Toronto" which seem to throw considerable light upon the use and meaning of the word.

In Dollier de Casson's account of the building of Fort Frontenac in 1673 there is mention of a certain Onondaga chief called "Torontishati," to whom Frontenac felt impelled to pay considerable attention. This man is described as follows: "Torontishati, one of their orators, and the cleverest and most intelligent and most respected among them, who had been dour and thoughtful before, now assumed an air of unusual gaiety. Torontishati had always been hostile to the French and very much in the

interest of the Dutch. This obliged Frontenac to pay him special attention: he invited him to dine with him." (See Margry.)

The cause of Torontishati's cheerfulness was that Frontenac had held out some hope of assistance against the Andastes, old allies of the Hurons and inveterate enemies of the Iroquois, in the time of Champlain.

Frontenac himself in his letter of November 11, 1673, mentions this man and adds some additional comments. He was evidently a man of over sixty and had the rank of "sachem," but no longer went to war.

It has occurred to me that Torontishati may have been a leader in the raid against the Hurons in 1649 and that his name which seems to mean "he struck Toronto" may have been assumed in honour of that exploit.

If I am right in translating the name thus, here is another proof of the theory that the name "Toronto" was applied to the Huron country at an early date.

Torontishati is a compound of the name Toronto and the radical *isati* which means according to Potier: (1) *heurter*, to strike; (2) *être enfossé*, to be broken into. Torontishati means then either "he struck Toronto," or "Toronto in ruins."

In Dollier de Casson's account, Torontishati is represented as deeply interested in an attack on the Andastes. Frontenac in his letter of the 16th of February 1674 remarks, "Tout ce que j'ai sceu par les lettres des Pères Jesuits qui sont dans les missions Iroquoises, c'est que les Hollandais font tous leurs efforts pour obliger les Iroquois à rompre avec nous, mais maintenant jusques icy parce qu'ils leur ont toujours repondus qu'ils no vouloient non plus se mesler de leur guerre avec les Européans, qu'ils se mesloient de celle qu'ils ont avec les Andostoquez et autres Nations Sauvages qu'ils avoient lieu de se louer de moy, que j'estois leur Père est qu'ils éstoient mes enfants."

There is a sinister note in these lines. Somewhat later La Hontan remarks on the fact that the Iroquois had destroyed both the Torontogueronons and the Andastogueronons, i.e., the Hurons and the Andastes, allies since the days of Champlain. (See

Quebec Archives, Rapport, 1926-27, p. 52.) Evidently the wily Torontishati won a diplomatic success at Cataraqui.

We are concerned, however, only with the fact that the name Torontishati carries back the place name Toronto at least

to 1649 and possibly even earlier.

The Baron de La Hontan arrived in Canada in 1683, ten years after the building of Fort Frontenac, and in the next fourteen years he was active in the lake region, explored Wisconsin, made the acquaintance of the exiled Hurons at Michilimackinac, studied their language and customs, and gathered materials for the book which he was to publish in 1703 at the Hague. This book was enormously popular, passed through fourteen editions in the next fifty years, and was translated into English, German, Danish, and Dutch. La Hontan's map (Plate VIII Karpinsky) is to be found in the 1703 editions, with variants in later volumes. This map, though crude and eccentric, is of great interest, and is unique in locating the Torontogueronons in the homeland of the Hurons. Though bearing the date 1703, it must be dated approximately 1685. Having put La Hontan's map in its proper chronological sequence in the later seventeenth century, I need not further evaluate the information which it contains. La Hontan is the sole authority for the name Torontogueronons. The form of the word is in accord with the laws laid down by Potier.

In the Library of Congress, Washington, in the Division of Manuscripts, there is a document entitled "Relatio du Detroit, extraits d'une lettre écrite a M. de P." This manuscript is in the hand of a copyist, and appears to be a contemporary extract of a larger document. It came to the Library of Congress in 1867, in the collection of books, manuscripts and transcripts assembled by Mr. Peter Force and purchased by the Library. Mr. Quaife is of the opinion that this communication is to be ascribed to Cadillac. It was printed in translation in the *Collections* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, vol. XVI, pp. 127–30, and ascribed there to Du Luth, *circa* 1686, addressed to Ponchartrain. It is a fair inference that the writer was Enjelran,

who in Margry's opinion was the deviser of the plan to construct a chain of posts for the protection of the country.

A sentence in this document explains the original application of the name Toronto, and gives strong support to the opinion that Toronto was the name given to the Huron country after the expulsion of the Hurons in 1649–50, and perhaps before. After making it plain that the proposed post at Detroit would have the great advantage of being closer to the Mississippi and closer to Toronto, as the two roads north to Hudson Bay and the fur trade and south to the Gulf of Mexico, the writer states that "Toronto is the mainland between the southern end of Lake Huron [i.e. the Georgian Bay] and the west end of Lake Ontario."

This explains and justifies La Hontan's giving the name Toronto-gueronons to the inhabitants of the country.

A further confirmation of this use of the name comes from the report of a council held with the miserable remnant of the wandering Hurons at Mackinac, when an effort was being made in 1703 to induce them to settle at the new post at Detroit. This runs as follows (Margry, vol. V, p. 292, Archives du Ministère de la Marine):

Quarante-se Sols, autrement Micipichi parle....

Par un collier J'envite Sastaretsy à quitter son feu à Missilimakinak et à le porter au Detroit, afin que toute notre nation soit réunie ensemble—Onontio le désire ainsi—Il a les yeux bons; il a vu que la terre de Missilimackinak est une mechante terre. Autrefois, il est vray, nous avons été tués à Taronto, mais la raison en est qu'il n'y avoit point de François avec nous. Il y en a au Detroit, un grand village. Çela nous a mis en securité. Celuy qui y commande a de l'esprit; il veille venit et joint, il prend gard à tout....

Conseil tenu par les Hurons dans lequel se trouvoient les Outeonans —12 juin 1703.

This may be translated thus:

The speaker is the Huron chief known as Quarante-Sols or Michipichy

I invite Sastaretsy [another Huron chief] to leave his camp-fire at Michilimackinac and to carry it to Detroit so that all our nation may be united together. Onontio too wishes this—he has good eyes, he has seen

that the land of Michilimackinac is a bad land. In other days, it is true, we were killed at Toronto, but the reason was that there were no Frenchmen there. There are French at Detroit which is a large village. That will make us safe. He who commands there has spirit; he watches night and day; he oversees everything.

Council of the Hurons in which Ottawas participated, 12th June 1703.

In 1787-1788, when Lord Dorchester arranged the Toronto Purchase with the Missisaugas, he used the old Huron name in the sense in which it was employed in the "Relatio du Detroit"—he bought the land between Matchedash and Lake Ontario, the northern part of which was the Huron home land. He intended the name Toronto to continue, and visited the site of the city in 1788.

Five years later in 1793 Toronto became York. The original map, on which the name Toronto was erased and the name York substituted, is still extant. The name Toronto disappeared for forty years, and all interest in the problem of origin and meaning expired. In 1873 Dr. Scadding wrote his book.

No one seems to have interrogated the Wyandots at Detroit who still spoke the Huron language. They emigrated to Oklahoma and were forgotten. The Huron language is dead both at Oklahoma and at Lorette.

Mr. W. E. Connelly, however, in the Ontario Archaeological Report for 1899 states that the Wyandots of Oklahoma once had a settlement at Toronto, from which they had been forced to flee, that they called this settlement Tahroontahuk, which meant in their language "plenty," and that they used this word because food was to be found there in abundance: Toronto was a land of plenty. This information Mr. Connelly professed to have obtained from the Wyandots themselves.

# LATER NOTES TO THE ORIGINAL TEXT

[Asterisked in Second Edition]

Page 34, line 13. The "original owner" was John Lawrence. See the Annual Report of the York Pioneer and Historical Society 1949, p. 9.

Page 76, opposite. The caption for the Danville map had been marked by the author for revision. The reader is referred to Mr. Robinson's note in the Canadian Historical Review, September, 1939, p. 293.

Page 165. The author left a marginal note: "For the correct account of the Toronto Purchase as recorded in documents discovered later, see my article in the Toronto Evening Telegram." This article is reprinted in the present edition. The reader should also consult Mr. Robinson's article in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1937, Section II, "The Chevalier de Rocheblave and the Toronto Purchase."

Page 166. In line 10, read Louis Kotte.

Page 186, footnote. For Dummer Powell read Osgoode.

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