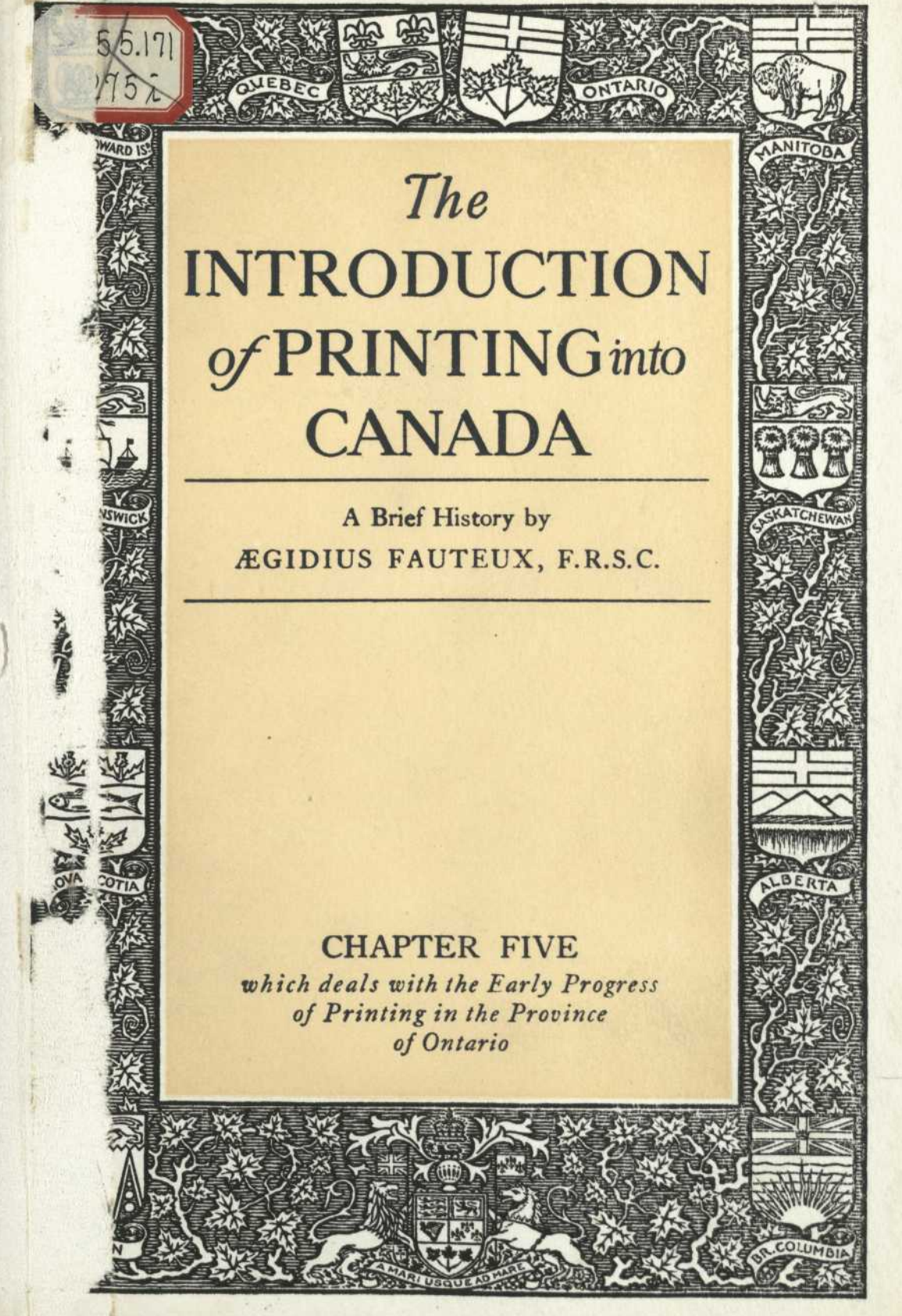


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The
INTRODUCTION
of PRINTING *into*
CANADA

A Brief History by
ÆGIDIUS FAUTEUX, F.R.S.C.

CHAPTER FIVE
*which deals with the Early Progress
of Printing in the Province
of Ontario*

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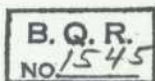
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God be thanked for Books. They are the voices of the distant and the dead, and make us the heirs of the spiritual life of past ages. Books are the true levellers. They give to all, who will faithfully use them, the society, the spiritual presence of the best and greatest of our race.

(William Ellery Channing: Self Culture)

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
JUN 11 1929

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Early Progress of Printing in the Province of Ontario



WHEN Sir John Graves Simcoe was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province of Upper Canada, which had been established by the Constitutional Act of 1791, one of his first concerns was to take out with him a printing press. This enlightened administrator recognized in the art of printing not only a means for spreading civilization, but also an instrument of government. The persistence with which he reverted to the subject in his official correspondence during the early days of his office indicated the importance with which he regarded it.

About the 12th August, 1791, whilst still in England, before taking up his official duties, he wrote to the Minister Dundas as follows: "I have a proper person who has offered himself to go as printer provided he has a salary. The office of Printer seems to be of the utmost importance. It has been suggested to me that by annexing the office of Postmaster to that of

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Printer, a sufficient salary may be annexed to induce some person to expatriate. I submit this, Sir, to your consideration. But a Printer is indispensably necessary, and tho' many may be found to rush into crowded cities, I see no likelihood that any person will venture into a wilderness, and yet in the infancy of this establishment he will be found of the utmost utility."

Doubtless because he could not succeed in convincing the metropolitan authority, who was both parsimonious and close-fisted, Simcoe did not take out from England with him this *rara avis* which he flattered himself he would be able to entice from its nest. Nevertheless he continued the struggle, and never for an instant abandoned his project. He remained in Quebec a long time, from November, 1791, to June, 1792, before going to assume office, and whilst there, must have had plenty of opportunity to discuss his scheme with Samuel Neilson, the master-printer. It was, indeed, in Neilson's printing-shop, and most probably with Neilson's assistance, that Simcoe finally came across the printer of courage and experience whom he required in order to give substance to his dream. This enterprising pioneer, to whom belongs the honour of having been the first printer in Upper Canada, was Louis Roy. A French-Canadian by birth, he came from a respectable working family and two of his brothers have stamped their names with his on the annals of Canadian printing, Joseph-Marie and Charles-François, the latter, who published

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the newspaper "*Le Canadien*," being especially notable.

It is not possible to fix the exact date at which Louis Roy set up his establishment in the new capital of Upper Canada, Newark, which to-day is Niagara. It must have been towards the end of the year 1792; but he was compelled to make all his arrangements under particularly trying circumstances, and even to await the arrival of equipment that was expressly imported from England. There is no evidence to indicate that the first Ontario printing press was ready to function before April of the year following.

The question has been raised many times as to whether the *Upper Canada Gazette or American Oracle* was in reality the first piece of printing which came from the presses of Louis Roy, when it appeared on April 18th, 1793, as it is generally believed to be. Mr. W. S. Wallace has opened up the question again quite recently, in the *Canadian Historical Review* of December, 1929. He claims priority for an eight-page pamphlet, previously unknown, of which a single copy has been discovered in the library of Toronto University. The following inscription appears at the foot of the title-page: *Upper Canada, Printed by Louis Roy, 1793*. The *Upper Canada Gazette*, which first appeared in April, 1793, makes no allusion whatever to the pamphlet in question, in which are included two discourses of Sir John G. Simcoe, one delivered at the opening of the first session of the

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first Parliament, on September 17th, and the other at the close of the same session, on October 15th, 1792. From this fact Mr. Wallace draws the conclusion that the double document had been printed at a still earlier date, and should therefore be considered as the earliest product of an Ontario printing press, at least until further evidence is traced.

Is there any reason why we should not, in our turn, make a similar claim to priority, based on almost identical grounds, in favour of yet another publication the existence of which could not have been known to Mr. Wallace? We refer to an eight-page quarto pamphlet, entitled, *The Acts of the Legislature of Upper Canada . . . passed in the first session*, which, like the *Speech of Sir John Simcoe*, was printed in 1793, and of which there would appear to be but one copy in existence. This copy is preserved in the Library of Saint-Sulpice in Montreal. The *Upper Canada Gazette* makes no reference whatever to the publication of these first Acts of the Parliament.

To this last-named eight-page pamphlet, which comprised the 8 Acts passed by the first session of the Parliament of Upper Canada, there is annexed, or rather stitched, another pamphlet of 46 pages, equally rare and which contains the Acts of the second session of the same Parliament. Now the Acts of the second session bear the same imprint as does the *Speech of Sir John G. Simcoe: Upper Canada, Printed by Louis Roy, 1793*; but the Acts

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of the first session bear a different imprint: *Newark, Printed by Louis Roy, 1793*. This single variation is sufficient to establish the fact that we have before us two distinct pieces of printing, and it is evident that the one that came first was the Acts of the first session.

It might be safe to conclude from this evidence that at least the first of these two documents, which is in the Library of Saint-Sulpice, is of earlier date than the *Speech of Sir John G. Simcoe*; but we are not justified in deciding that either of these, or the pamphlet recently discovered in Toronto, actually preceded the printing of the *Upper Canada Gazette*.

It must be remembered that when Louis Roy arrived at Newark, towards the end of 1792, to make preparations for opening his printery, he had no equipment whatever with him. It might well be that Samuel Neilson, of Quebec, would be able to lend one of his skilled workmen to the sister Province, but at the date he had not himself progressed sufficiently to be in a position to spare from his own equipment the tools necessary to furnish another printing shop. At about the time when he was already employing Roy, in the latter part of the year 1792, Simcoe was obliged to get Fleury Mesplet to print in Montreal his proclamation dividing Upper Canada into counties and townships.

It appears from a document now in the Archives at Ottawa, that it was only in November, 1792, that the Government of Upper

Acts of the Legislature
OF HIS MAJESTY'S PROVINCE OF
Upper Canada,
Passed in the First Session,
and in the Thirty Second Year of the Reign of
OUR SOVEREIGN LORD
GEORGE THE THIRD.

C A P. I.

AN ACT to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the Fourteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled an Act for making more effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North America; and to introduce the English Law, as the Rule of Decision in all Matters of Controversy relative to Property and Civil Rights.

WHEREAS by an Act passed in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of his present Majesty, entitled an Act for making more effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North America, it was among other things provided, "That in all Matters of Controversy relative to Property and Civil Rights, resort should be had to the Laws of Canada as the Rule for the Decision of the same;" such Provision being manifestly and avowedly intended for the accomodation of His Majesty's Canadian Subjects: And whereas since the passing of the Act aforesaid, that part of the late Province of Quebec, now comprehended within the Province of Upper Canada, having become inhabited principally by British Subjects, born and educated in Countries where the English Laws were established, and who are unaccustomed to the Laws of Canada, it is inexpedient that the Provision aforesaid contained in the said Act of the Fourteenth Year of his present Majesty, should be continued in this Province; Be it enacted by the Kings Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Upper Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the Authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, intituled an Act to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the Fourteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled an Act for making more effectual Provisions for the Government of the Province of Quebec, in North America, and to make further Provision for the Government of the said Province, and by the Authority of the same, that from and after the passing of this Act, the said Provision contained in the said Act of the Fourteenth Year of his present Majesty, be and the same is hereby repealed, and the Authority of the said Laws of Canada, and every part thereof, as forming a Rule of Decision in all matters of Controversy relative to Property and Civil Rights, shall be annulled, made void, and abolished throughout this Province; and that the said Laws, nor any part thereof, as such, shall be of any force or authority within the said Province, nor binding on any of the Inhabitants thereof.

A

II.

Front page of an eight-page pamphlet printed in 1793 by Louis Roy, who first held the office of King's Printer in Upper Canada.

Acts of the Legislature of Upper Canada.

XIV. Provided always, that no Licence shall be granted for retailing any Spirituous Liquors, within any of the said Gaols or Prisons, and if any Gaoler, Keeper or Officer of any Gaol or Prison shall sell, use, lend, or give away, or knowingly permit, or suffer any Spirituous Liquors or Strong Water, to be sold, used, lent, or given away in such Gaol or Prison, or brought into the same, other than except such Spirituous Liquors or Strong Waters, as shall be prescribed or given by the prescription and direction of a regular Physician, Surgeon or Apothecary; every such Gaoler, Keeper or other Officer, shall for every such offence forfeit and lose the sum of Twenty-Pounds Current Money of this Province, one moiety thereof to his Majesty his Heirs and Successors for the Public uses of the said Province, and the support of the Government thereof, and the other moiety of the said sum with full costs of suit to the person or persons as will sue for the same in any of his Majesty's Courts of Record in this Province by action of debt, bill, plaint or information, and in case any such Gaoler or other Officer being convicted thereof as aforesaid, shall again offend in like manner, and be thereof a second time lawfully convicted, such second offence shall be deemed a forfeiture of his Office.

XV. Provided also, that it shall and may be lawful for the said Justices at their Quarter Sessions assembled as aforesaid or the greater part of them, to frame and draw up such Rules and Regulations to be observed and obeyed within the said Gaol, respectively as to them shall seem most proper and convenient, which having received the approbation and signature of one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, shall be binding on the Gaoler and Prisoners.

XVI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for the said Justices within the respective limits of their Commissions, assembled as aforesaid, or the greater part of them, and they are hereby Authorized and empowered, to ascertain and appoint a reasonable Yearly Salary according to their discretion to be paid to the Gaoler, and that the said Salary shall be in place of all Fees, perquisites or impositions of any sort or kind whatever, and that it shall not be lawful for the said Gaoler or Officer belonging to the said Gaol, to demand or receive any fee, perquisite or other payment from any Prisoner who may be confined within any of the said Gaols or Prisons.

F I N I S .



NEWARK: Printed by Louis Roy, 1793

Last page of the eight-page pamphlet as shown on opposite page,
showing the Imprint of Louis Roy as Newark, 1793.

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Canada placed an order in London for even the type required by its new printer. In addition to a supply of paper and a varied assortment of type suitable for headings and title-pages, the Government purchased a series of type faces, both in Roman and Italic, comprising Brevier, Long Primer, Small Pica, Pica, Great Primer, and Double Pica. This relatively large order is an indication of their intention to provide the necessary materials for the publication of Newspapers, Pamphlets, etc., as all these fonts would be suitable for that purpose.

It is to be noted that November, 1792, was the date when the last ships left for England, and it would not be possible for the printer to receive the type and the paper for which he was waiting until the following spring, on the re-opening of navigation. It is, therefore, improbable that Louis Roy would have been in a position to print anything of importance before the month of April, 1793, that is to say, before the appearance of the first number of the *Upper Canada Gazette*. It is, moreover, quite clear from Sir John Simcoe's correspondence, that one of his first objects was the publication of a newspaper. The printer would therefore devote all his energies to this end. Another point to bear in mind is that there was no special need to print immediately the speeches of Simcoe. The official correspondence proves that a manuscript copy had been sent to the Secretariat in London in November, 1792; and when the time came to issue his opening

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address of the second session, delivered on May 31st, 1793, the Lieutenant-Governor contented himself with sending the text, on June 17th following, which had just been published by the *Upper Canada Gazette*. Thus there is every reason for believing that Louis Roy printed the Acts of the Legislature and the Speech of Sir John Simcoe only in the latter months of 1793, after he had got his printing-shop into full operation, and after he had himself devoted his attention first of all to the *Gazette*, his most important production.

Obviously, this is but conjecture, yet with the information at present at our disposal it is hardly possible to be more positive. There are, indeed, few historical events whose beginnings are wrapped in greater obscurity than is the case with the first Ontario printing. As recently as 1886, in his *Canadian Archaeology*, which is one of our first and one of our most remarkable bibliographical essays, Mr. William Kingsford admitted that, in spite of his careful research, he had been able to discover, aside from newspapers or statutory publications, only a single piece of printing in Upper Canada of earlier date than the *History of the War of 1812*, produced at Kingston, in 1832, by David Thompson. It was not long, however, before Mr. Kingsford obtained additional information, thanks to the fact that his first book had the merit of arousing the attention of other bibliographers. About 1892, only six years after his first publication, he was able to

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include in a second book, *The Early Bibliography of Ontario*, more than thirty-three works printed at an earlier date than David Thompson's *History*. Nevertheless, he was unable to carry back further than 1814, and although the progress to which he had contributed was thus considerable, he was still a long way from his goal. It is only by stages that we usually arrive at full knowledge, and this has proved true of the beginnings of Ontario printing. Each day we raise a little higher the veil behind which it is hidden; and there is ground for believing that as old family papers are searched, and with the assistance of such fortunate discoveries as that recently made by Mr. W. S. Wallace, we are drawing ever closer to the time when the shadows in which it is still concealed may gradually be wholly dissipated.

The only works produced by Louis Roy, the first printer of Upper Canada, of which we have knowledge, are the ones already mentioned: the *Upper Canada Gazette*, the *Speech of Sir John G. Simcoe*, and the *Acts of the Legislature*. It is known that he remained but a short time at Newark. By the end of 1794 he had already resigned his office as printer to the Government of Upper Canada. It is quite probable that he was discouraged by the difficulties of the task which he had assumed; but also it is not impossible that Roy had failed to come up to the expectations of those who had engaged his services. This, at least, seems to be suggested in the following passage in Lady Simcoe's

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Journal, written at the period when the first number of the *Upper Canada Gazette* appeared, on April 18th, 1793: "A newspaper is published here . . . The only printer to be met with was a Frenchman named Louis Roy, and he cannot write good English."

We have noted already that Louis Roy removed from Newark to Montreal to establish there, in 1795, the *Gazette de Montréal* concurrently with another newspaper, bearing the same title, which Mesplet had founded and which was still being published. Again, however, he failed to attain success in his undertaking, was obliged to leave Montreal, and, after long and varied wanderings, he finally came to New York, where he carried on his trade as printer until the time of his death in that city.

Roy was succeeded at Newark by Gideon Tiffany, who continued to publish the *Gazette*, after a brief interval. The new printer appears to have cherished ambitious dreams at one stage in his career. At the beginning of the year 1796, he presented to the Governor a project to publish a Monthly Magazine; in a letter dated February 25th of the same year, however, Sir John Simcoe's military secretary, Major Littlehales, curtly informed him that so much was not expected of him, and that if the *Gazette* were not sufficient to occupy his entire attention, the printing of the laws would be better appreciated than would the production of a magazine. That Tiffany, despite his zeal,

T H E
S T A T U T E S
O F H I S M A J E S T Y ' S P R O V I N C E O F
U P P E R - C A N A D A .

Enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the said Province, Constituted and Assembled by virtue of and under the Authority of an Act of the Parliament of GREAT BRITAIN, passed in the Thirty-First Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord GEORGE THE THIRD, intituled, "An Act to Repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the Fourteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled, An Act for making more Effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of QUEBEC, in NORTH-AMERICA; and to make further Provision for the Government of the said Province."



Y O R K :

PRINTED UNDER THE AUTHORITY AND BY COMMAND OF HIS EXCELLENCY PETER HUNTER ESQUIRE, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA, AND LIEUTENANT GENERAL COMMANDING HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES IN UPPER AND LOWER CANADA.—BY JOHN BENNETT, PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

—1802.—

The title of *The Statutes of Upper Canada*, printed by John Bennett in 1802, and containing 223 pages.

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was not quite the man of whom Simcoe had dreamed seems to be suggested by the following passage in a letter addressed to London by the Lieutenant-Governor, on February 16, 1795: "I regret that my original request for a loyal and respectable printer has not been complied with." It is impossible for us to say at this date whether Tiffany of his own free will gave up his position or whether it was the Government that decided that his services were no longer valuable. All we know is that about the month of September, 1797, he was superseded, not as Printer to the Government, for that title had not yet been created, but as printer of the *Gazette*. During the intervening period he had printed, in addition to certain proclamations, the *Acts* and also the *Journal* of the 5th session of the first Parliament. Tiffany reappears later at Niagara, where for some time he continued to exercise his art as a printer, either alone or in connection with his brother Sylvester.

Titus Geer Simons succeeded Gideon Tiffany as the third printer of the *Upper Canada Gazette*. He worked for a short time only at West Niagara, as Newark was already beginning to be called. In October, 1798, about one year after assuming office, he seems to have removed to York, the Toronto of later days, which had just been definitely selected as the capital of the Province. Two months earlier, he had entered into partnership with William Waters, and it was under their joint control

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that the publication of the *Gazette* was carried on at York until about 1801. At first, however, the only title officially bestowed upon Waters and Simons was that of printers of the *Upper Canada Gazette*, in which manner their predecessors had also been designated. It appears to have been about the middle of the year 1799, that they were at last raised to the dignity of Printers to His Majesty. Indeed, we find in the Journal of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada of June 28th, 1799, that Sylvester Tiffany had petitioned to be employed to print the Journals of the Chamber and the Provincial Statutes, and had been informed by the Executive that other parties had already been entrusted with the work of producing the public documents. The parties referred to were evidently William Waters and Titus G. Simons, who figure for the first time, at the end of a proclamation dated September 24th, 1799, as "Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty."

Unfortunately, it is but a short distance from the Capitol to the Tarpeian Rock, a fact which the partners thus newly promoted were soon painfully to realize. In the Proceedings of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, we learn that on April 22nd, 1801, a deputy, Mr. Allan, complained of an article in the *Gazette* which, he said, was calculated to injure him; the Department recommended that the printers should be discharged and that another should be appointed Printer to the King. It was in

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vain that Waters and Simons a few days later admitted their fault and sued for pardon. They were irrevocably condemned. A new printer appeared upon the scene in the person of John Bennett.

Louis Roy, who first held the office of King's Printer, was succeeded by John Bennett, both having worked for a long time in the employment of the master-printer of Quebec, Neilson. Before setting up at York, Bennett left the Quebec printing-shop for a few months in 1797, when he went to Montreal to launch, in partnership with Joseph-Marie Roy, a commercial venture, which, however, did not prove successful. At York he demonstrated his patience and perseverance, for he worked there for nearly seven years. On July 18th, 1801, he took up the reins of management of the *Upper Canada Gazette*, with an address to the public which evinced his strong determination to push forward actively. It is indeed obvious that John Bennett not only proved himself superior to those who had gone before him, but he displayed a spirit of efficiency truly noteworthy for the period in which he worked. About 1802 he was able to publish a collection of the Statutes of Upper Canada from the first Parliament, a work of 223 quarto pages, the most important that had yet been attempted in the new Province. He carried his enterprising energy to the extent of printing in two successive years, 1803 and 1804, an almanack of Upper Canada, which compared not unfavour-

ably with the one that his master, Neilson, had already produced in Quebec. In addition to the Journals of the Chamber and to the Laws passed each session, which he appears to have printed annually right up to 1806, he also produced, in 1805, the first piece of religious literature with which we are acquainted in Ontario: *A Sermon on the nature of Justification by the Rev. Robert McDowall.*

We must leave John Bennett at York, where he appeared to be thoroughly established, and retrace our steps for a while to Niagara. Although robbed of its prestige as the capital city in 1798, the proud little town did not readily consent to dethronement, and for a time it continued to struggle desperately to keep pace with its growing rival. Thus it was that the Tiffany brothers, as much from local pride as from personal interest, battled on for nearly three years to maintain the art of printing in the city which had witnessed its birth. After working single-handed for some time, Gideon entered into a partnership with his brother Sylvester, and the two believed that they might fill the void created by the removal of the *Gazette*, by launching, in July, 1799, a new newspaper, *The Constellation*. Evidently they did not receive the support for which they had hoped, for only six months later, in the first weeks of January, 1800, they suspended publication. A year later, with a tenacity worthy of a better cause, they returned to the charge and printed the *Niagara Herald*, which in its

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turn unhappily lasted but a few months, and had ceased to appear by August 28th, 1802. Meanwhile, about 1801, Gideon Tiffany, probably disheartened by the failure of his efforts, had abandoned printing in favour of agriculture and had gone to set up on a farm in the Township of Midland. Sylvester struggled on for a while longer. He even printed in 1802, before John Bennett, what is believed to be the first almanack published in Upper Canada, the one advertised by his brother Gideon in 1796 having failed to appear. At length, however, with the suspension of the *Herald*, in August, 1802, Sylvester Tiffany found himself compelled to go and try his fortune elsewhere, and for the first time since the beginning of printing in Upper Canada, Niagara was left without a printer.

Amongst those who devoted their efforts to filling the void created by the departure of Sylvester Tiffany, we find the name of Andrew Heron, an enterprising merchant of Niagara, whose honoured bones still rest in the old cemetery beside those of his four wives. In this connection, some interest attaches to the following unpublished letter which is in our possession and which Heron wrote to John Neilson, of Quebec, on October 10th, 1803:—

“When I had the pleasure of seeing you in Quebec, I mentioned to you that I thought this would be a good place for a printer to print a paper and also keep a bookstore . . . You hinted that you knew of a young man that

THE
UPPER CANADA
ALMANAC,

FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD

1803;

BEING THE SEVENTH AFTER BESEXILE OR
LEAP YEAR;

Calculated for the Meridian of YORK,

Lat. 43° 35' North. Long. 78° 30' West.

Containing Epochs and Common Notes, Chronological Cycles, Moveable Feasts, Rising and Setting of the Sun, Civil List of the Province of Upper Canada, &c. &c. with a variety of useful and entertaining matter.



YORK, UPPER CANADA:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOHN BENNETT, AT THE
PRINTING OFFICE, KING STREET.

The Upper Canada Almanac, printed by John Bennett in 1803, and which compared favorably with the work of his master, Neilson, at Quebec.

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might answer, but you understood that Mr. Tiffany, our former printer, was only going over the river to print within the United States. He is now removed to Canandaigua, a county town in the state of New York, about 150 miles from here, so that what he does there can never interfere with a printer here. I still think that a young man here might do well and be of service to you . . .”

Unfortunately, this appeal was unsuccessful, and it was not until a dozen years had rolled by that Andrew Heron made up his mind himself to take up the printer's trade by producing the *Niagara Gleaner*.

In 1803, as a result of the defection of Niagara, John Bennett, the official printer, was the sole representative of the printing trade in Upper Canada. There is no evidence to suggest that Waters and Simons continued to exercise the art for any length of time after their downfall. John Bennett remained in possession of the entire field for about three years, but during the course of the year 1806 he encountered a misfortune which compelled his retirement not long afterwards. He was in course of printing the Laws and the Journals of the Assembly Chamber, for which an amount of £300 had been voted by the Legislature, when the Chief Justice Alcock summoned Bennett to appear before him, and having enquired of him what money he had received for the printing of the Laws and the Journals, declared that it was sheer robbery and that he was deter-

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mined to put a stop to it. The Governor himself took up the matter and enquired of Bennett by what authority he had been paid £300 for printing. Bennett's reply was to the effect that it was on orders signed by His Excellency himself, whereupon the Governor declared that the money had been voted for him and for no one else, and he commanded the printer to produce his accounts immediately for examination by the Inspector-General of Public Accounts. As a result of this examination, Bennett soon afterwards received an order to return to the Treasury the sum of £375. In a petition which he subsequently presented to Parliament, Bennett complained bitterly of this decision, by which he was absolutely ruined, and which placed him in a worse condition than he was in when he first arrived. He stated that all he had received from the Government was an annual salary of £100, of which £91 5s. od. went to an assistant, and that as he had employed the sums regularly voted to him by Parliament in the purchase of material, he was unable to meet this totally unexpected demand for reimbursement. We have been unable to trace, either in the Journals of the Chamber, or in the Reports on Public Accounts, the manner in which this difference between the Executive and the Printer to the Government was finally concluded, but there is good reason for believing that it was Bennett who came off worst. It was probably as a result of this financial reverse that he handed in his resignation or was

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dismissed from his office as printer about the month of March, 1807. John Cameron was nominated to take his place as Printer to the King.

John Cameron's first act was to change the name of the *Upper Canada Gazette*, which now became the *York Gazette*, and as such appears to have existed until about 1815. Within a month of assuming office, in May, 1808, and doubtless because he was not himself a qualified printer, Cameron decided that he would do well to form a connection with John Bennett, whose place he had just taken. The partnership, however, lasted little more than a year. John Bennett, whose name disappears from the *York Gazette* in September, 1808, evidently left Upper Canada about that date and probably made his way once more to Quebec to re-enter the service of his former patron, John Neilson. The only information concerning him that we have been able to find is the fact that he died at Quebec, on January 25th, 1824, at the age of fifty-eight.

At about the same time as John Cameron began production of his *York Gazette*, which was the semi-official organ of the Government, the turmoil of political feeling which raged at the time gave rise to the first Opposition newspaper that had as yet appeared in Upper Canada. This was the *Upper Canada Guardian* or *Freeman's Journal*, established in 1807, to support the interests of Judge Thorpe's party, and it was prudently established at

Niagara, on the very edge of the frontier. It was directed by Joseph Willcocks, who later died from a bullet at Fort Erie in 1814, when fighting in the American ranks against his native province; but he was not a printer, and he was obliged to engage a craftsman from New York, probably the man Cheetham whose name is vaguely mentioned in the despatches of that date. If credence may be given to statements of Lieutenant-Governor Gore, Judge Thorpe had first endeavoured to secure for himself the services of the Province's official printer, in return for a promise on his own part to safeguard the future of the latter. John Cameron, however, resisted this attack on his allegiance, if it was ever really made, for he remained in office as King's Printer until his retirement in 1815, only a few months before his death. Amongst a number of important works which stand to his credit we will mention here only the *Revised Statutes of Upper Canada*, printed in 1811.

Meanwhile, the Province was steadily growing. In the numerous villages which had sprung up on all sides in the various districts, and which rapidly developed into towns, there were populations, restless as well as industrious, who were just as anxious as the citizens of York to find some means, either through a newspaper or in pamphlets, of airing their opinions, and still more of expressing their feelings. Thus it followed that the art of printing soon spread outside the narrow limits

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within which it had been so long confined.

After Niagara and York, the first two cities to mother the printing art in the Province of Ontario, Kingston was next to enter the field in 1810; this she owed to the initiative of a young Vermontese, M. Stephen Miles, who became a Methodist pastor, after a long career as a printer, and died at an exceedingly advanced age. About 1807 Miles had followed Nahum Mower to Montreal, for it was in Mower's workshop at Windsor that he had started his apprenticeship, after which he decided to set up at Kingston. Bringing with him equipment supplied to him by his Montreal patron, he arrived in Kingston on September 13th, 1810, and on the 25th of the same month he produced the first number of the *Kingston Gazette*. He was not yet of age, however, and was therefore obliged at first to carry on his business under the name of Mower & Kendall, Mower being his backer and Kendall his journeyman. For a time he left his newspaper in the hands of a body of townsmen, but towards the end of 1811 he took up the direction again and carried it until he sold his interest to Messrs. Pringle and Macaulay, in 1819. As an example of Miles' enterprising spirit, we may mention that in 1816 he set himself to organise a proper transportation service, which was the equivalent at that date of a "news train," in order to facilitate the rapid distribution of his newspaper throughout the district.

Niagara, for its part, after a period of inac-

A
CATALOGUE
OF
B O O K S
IN THE
LIBRARY
OF THE
LEGISLATURE
OF
Upper-Canada.
PURCHASED
IN 1816.

YORK, UPPER-CANADA :
Printed by R. C. Horne,
Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
.....
1817.

Cover Page of a *Catalogue of Books* printed in 1817 by R. C. Horne,
who succeeded John Cameron as King's Printer.

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tivity that lasted from 1802 to 1807, became once again a fertile soil in which printing flourished. After his *Canadian Freeman*, Joseph Willcocks produced there the *Telegraph*, which ran for some months in 1812, and in the same year James Durand launched another newspaper which he called *The Niagara Bee*. In 1817, indeed, Niagara had actually two periodicals appearing at the same time, the *Spectator*, which perished almost immediately at the hands of Bartemas Ferguson, who published a virulent article by Robert Gourlay, the "Stormy Petrel" of Upper Canada, and the *Gleaner*, of Andrew Heron, which carried on until 1834.

From this time onwards newspapers began to spring up on all sides, and there were other printing-shops which, disappearing and re-appearing, gradually carried the art of printing along the road to almost complete development. It would take too long to enumerate even the printers who, between the years 1815 and 1835, helped, each in his turn, to extend the influence of the printing press throughout Upper Canada.

Toronto naturally retained the leadership, with such men as R. C. Horne, who succeeded John Cameron in 1817 as King's Printer and who continued, in spite of many vicissitudes, to publish the *Upper Canada Gazette*; Chas. F. Fothergill, who was also King's Printer until 1827, and who produced, in 1825, the first volume of verse printed in Upper Canada: *The*

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Wonders of the West or A Day at the Falls of Niagara; Francis Collins, printer of the *Canadian Freeman*, who died of cholera not long after his release from prison, where he had been incarcerated by the autocracy in power at the moment, and of whom it is stated that he himself composed his editorials from memory, without the assistance of a single copy; William Lyon Mackenzie, who had started publication at Queenstown, in 1824, of his famous *Colonial Advocate*, before transferring it almost immediately to Toronto; and finally Robert Stanton, who was the last to hold office as King's Printer before the Union, and whose name appears on so large a number of publications, official and otherwise.

At Kingston we find, about 1819, Hugh C. Thomson, Stanton's brother-in-law, who printed the *Upper Canada Gazette* there, and who had the honour of producing, in 1824, the first Canadian novel, *St. Ursula's Convent*, by Julia Beckwith.

By 1817 St. Catharines had already its printer, who produced the *Spectator*; and under date of 1818, we find a product of a printing-press in Sandwich, *A Letter to Lord Selkirk*, by Daniel M'Kenzie. Brockville, in its turn, was provided with a printing-shop in 1822 by Wm. Buell, who established there the *Recorder*; and a few years later Hamilton followed suit by according a welcome to Bartemas Ferguson, of whose misdeeds at Niagara we have already made mention.

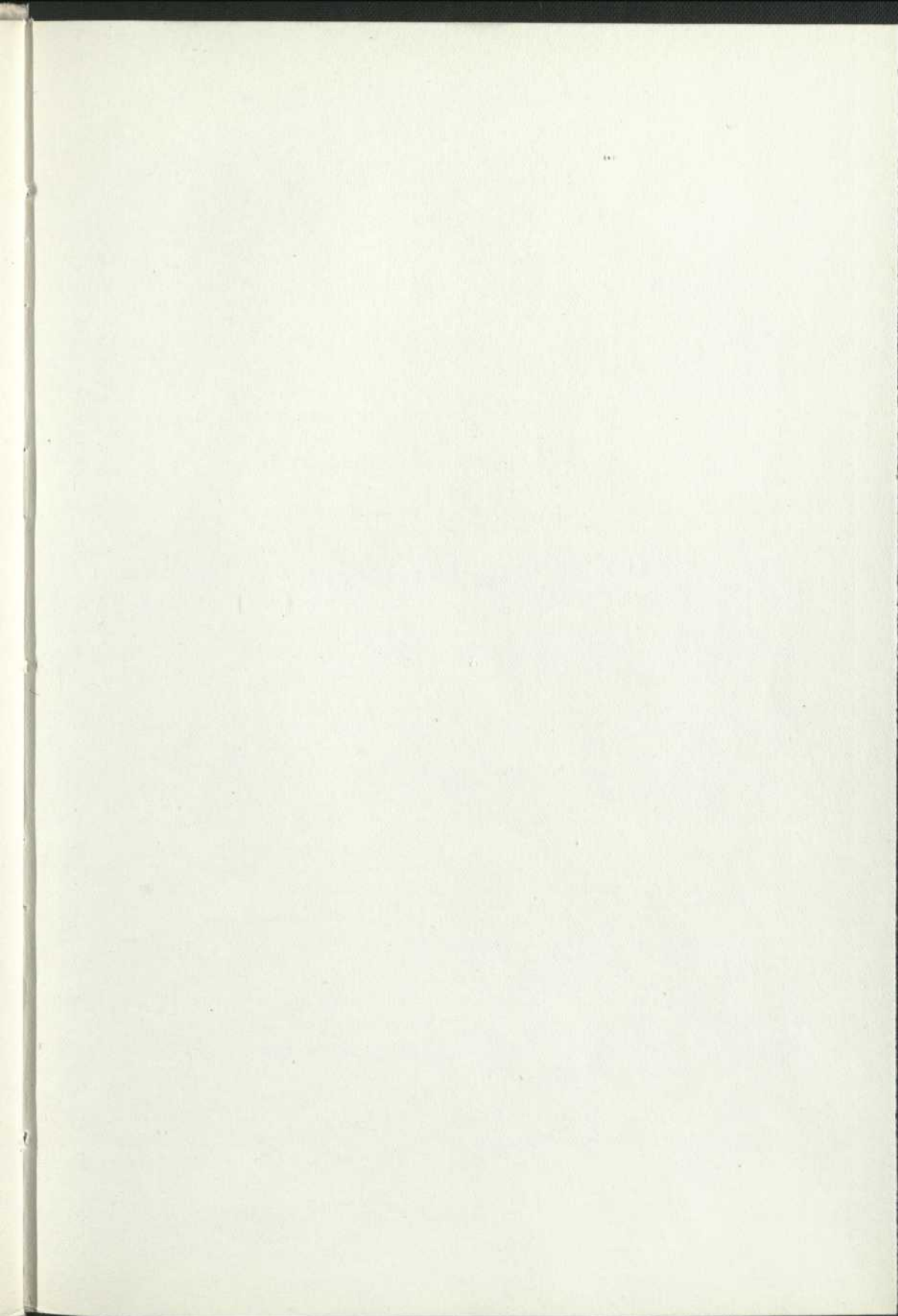
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It would hardly be fair not to mention also, amongst those who assisted in laying so firmly the foundations of printing in Ontario, the names of Thomas Dalton, W. J. Coates, J. Reynolds, and George P. Bull, of Toronto; W. B. Peters and Samuel Heron, of Niagara; James Macfarlane and Thomas Bentley, of Kingston; G. H. Hackerstaff, of Dundas; Hiram Leavenworth, of St. Catharines; James Cowan, of Sandwich; and W. Wyman, of Cornwall; all of whom carried on their noble art, with more or less brilliancy, before 1835. The list, although incomplete, is already too long, and the exigencies of space force us to omit further names.

This wealth of printers proves that in 1835, and even in 1830, the art of Printing in Ontario had already emerged from the stage of infancy. Born thirty years later than its elder sister in Lower Canada, Ontario printing had doubled its rate of progress in order to overtake its senior, and thanks to the enterprising spirit and tenacity of purpose which so happily characterise the Anglo-Saxon race, it had attained its objective with amazing rapidity. It may be said that, about 1835 or 1840, the sap was throbbing in every vein, and that the first shoots were already pushing forth which were destined to produce the marvellous harvest which we of to-day are privileged to witness.

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