

# The Roots of the Toronto Horticultural Society

PLEASANCE CRAWFORD

The Toronto Horticultural Society, founded in 1834, was the first such society in Ontario. Among Canadian cities, only Montreal had organizations devoted to horticulture at an earlier date, and these were relatively short-lived.<sup>1</sup> The Toronto group, occasionally faltering but never failing, has endured for more than 160 years. Even after a merger in 1988 with the one-year-old Horticultural Society of Parkdale, to form the Horticultural Societies of Parkdale and Toronto, the membership as a whole remains proud of its roots and its continuing "tradition of public beautification in central Toronto."<sup>2</sup>

The founding of most early horticultural societies involved the combined efforts of professional horticulturists and enthusiastic amateurs. Both groups were interested in obtaining good seeds and plants for fruit, flower, and kitchen gardens, market gardens, and greenhouses, and in discovering, exhibiting, and promoting the very best cultivated varieties (cultivars) for local conditions. To many of those living in and around the Home District of Upper Canada in the early 1830s, local conditions were still foreign and a horticultural press based largely on experiences in Britain and the eastern United States offered unreliable advice and little comfort to gardeners in a new country. Then, even more than now, sharing thoughts and exchanging plants with neighbours or near-neighbours, whether they were professional or amateur growers, could open the gates to horticultural progress. And if no society of like-minded souls existed nearby, someone eventually decided to begin one.

Agricultural societies, on the other hand, had a somewhat earlier start in this province whose economy, as envisioned by Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe, was to be so largely based on field crops and animal husbandry. A provincial plaque in Niagara-on-the-Lake commemorates the founding there in 1792 of the Agricultural Society of Upper Canada: the first in old Ontario to be devoted to the advancement of agriculture. Simcoe himself was the sponsor.

## The Birth of the Toronto Horticultural Society

There is no record of official support for the initial effort to found Upper Canada's first horticultural society. In early May of 1832 the *Colonial Advocate* and the *Courier of Upper Canada*, both published in York, carried small notices that simply said:

A MEETING of the friends of Horticulture and Floriculture will be held at the house of Mr. John Mills, Hat Manufacturer, King Street, on Tuesday, May the 8th instant, at 7 o'clock P.M., for the purpose of choosing a Provisional Committee, to make and adopt a Constitution for a Society to be entitled "The York Floral and Horticultural Society." The friends of the above measure are hereby respectfully requested to attend.<sup>3</sup>

Whether friends did attend, and in what numbers, is uncertain, for the newspapers carried no follow-up reports. Yet from this tentative beginning, the Toronto Horticultural Society formally came into being two years later, on 1 May 1834, under the patronage of Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne. Its president was George Herkimer Markland, the inspector general, and its vice-presidents John Beverley Robinson (the chief justice), John Henry Dunn (the receiver general), and Colonel Joseph Wells (a member of the Executive Council, as were Markland, Robinson, and Dunn). The treasurer was Bernard Turquand, first clerk in the receiver general's office; and Turquand and Alexander Gordon were the secretaries. The selection of Gordon signalled the important place that professional horticulturists were to have in the society. He had arrived in the city the previous year from Rochester in New York, established a nursery on Spadina Avenue, and written a series of articles "On Gardening" that appeared in the Toronto newspaper *The Patriot*.<sup>4</sup>

The seventeen regulations and by-laws of the society made clear that this was to be a multi-tiered organization composed of honorary members at home and abroad, corresponding members, practical members such as Gordon, plus amateurs.<sup>5</sup> The roster that followed listed Markland, Robinson, Dunn, Wells, Turquand, and twenty-eight other Torontonians as honorary members who, having apparently contributed sufficiently already, were "not to be called upon for any entrance fee." These gentlemen and their ladies all belonged to the colonial elite; eight of their names had appeared on William Lyon Mackenzie's list of the Family Compact. However, the roster also included thirteen practical members, many of whom were nurserymen like Gordon, seedsmen, or gardeners employed by the honorary members. As well, it listed two amateur members, Messrs. Crafts and [Alexander] Milne, but added that some members of the gentry had joined too

late to be listed and expressed the hope that more would still join.

Membership in the practical and amateur groups did soon increase and thus help ensure the survival of the society. The by-laws stated that these new members had to be proposed by at least two subscribing members and approved at one of four general meetings to be held each year. Although practical members had to pay ten shillings to join plus five shillings per annum, and amateur members, fifteen and ten shillings respectively, payment could be made in quarterly instalments. The by-laws also provided for the open and equitable distribution among practical members of "any package of seeds, roots &c." received by the secretary, so that successful offshoots could later be exhibited and further divided.

In the hope that the society would be sent the latest information and the newest plant material, the founders created two additional categories of membership. They obviously knew the names of some prominent men in the horticultural world, fourteen of whom they listed as honorary members from abroad: four British, one French, one Belgian, and five American horticulturists, plus the presidents of the London, New York, and Philadelphia horticultural societies. They also named as corresponding members seventeen nurserymen, seedsmen, and horticulturists in Britain and the United States, plus "the Secretaries of all Horticultural Societies."

The oldest and most influential of these sister organizations was the London Horticultural Society, founded in 1804 by three professional and four amateur gardeners.<sup>6</sup> A May 1834 article in *The Patriot* singled out this society as "a most positive proof of what such institutions are capable of effecting: The amelioration of fruits – the origin of new varieties – the substitution almost of a new tribe of vegetables." "Shall this Province," the paper asked, "so favoured by nature, and under the salutary effect of British laws, hesitate to form an institution so beneficial in its effects, so fruitful in tending to ameliorate the wants of the humble, and contributing to the gratification of the exalted[?]"<sup>7</sup> Those in Toronto were apparently unaware that the New York group, founded in 1818, had failed in 1833, but Philadelphia's Pennsylvania Horticultural Society had been going strong since 1827, and societies also existed in Paris, Montreal, Boston, and Geneva and Albany in New York.<sup>8</sup>

Professional members appear to have been a driving force in Toronto. Aware of the need for more paying members, a committee of eighteen "mostly practical men" announced in *The Patriot* for 23 May that they would donate their time and efforts to the cause of the society and appeal to those who had not yet supported it financially.<sup>9</sup> One of these volunteers was George Leslie, whom William Allan (an honorary member) had recently hired as gardener at Moss Park, and who would later become a widely respected Toronto nurseryman. Other professional

horticulturists on the committee included Alexander Gordon, the nurseryman, and Charles Franks, a seedsman. Also involved were William Cooper, a retired businessman and wharf-owner; Alexander Milne, an uncle of David Gibson, the surveyor; and John Mills, the hat manufacturer at whose house the 1832 meeting had been called.

The new society succeeded through such efforts because the time was right. The Home District Agricultural Society, formed only four years earlier by some of the same gentlemen listed as honorary members of the horticultural group, was already sponsoring grain- and potato-growing competitions, stock shows, and ploughing matches designed to improve farming methods. The City of Toronto, emerging from the Town of York in 1834, was nearing a population of nine thousand. Anne Murray Powell, wife of the former chief justice William Dummer Powell, described Toronto's progress in a July 1834 letter:

[Toronto's] increasing prosperity exceeds the most sanguine expectations ... the reserve between Mr Crookshanks and the Garrison has been laid out in acre Lots and sold by the Govt; the Atty Gen<sup>l</sup> has purchased one at the rate of £550; many others at a price little inferior; several acres are reserved for a new Govt' House; we have now an exhibition of Paintings and Drawings, the collection consists of 300; a Horticultural Society is likewise formed, the first exhibition next Tuesday; a united service club exists in the City, and a Cricket Society gives the young men the means of exercise; thus you see we are following the steps of older communities; I hope we may be in a state of *real* improvement.<sup>10</sup>

### Horticultural Exhibitions

The Toronto Horticultural Society was "established for encouraging the introduction and cultivation of the most esteemed varieties of Fruits, Flowers, and Vegetables," and several of its by-laws covered the holding and judging of displays of such produce.<sup>11</sup> The first exhibition took place on 15 July 1834 in the courthouse, between the jail and the new St. James Church on King Street East and was, by all accounts, a great success.<sup>12</sup> *The Patriot* mentioned particularly the fine specimens of gooseberries, white, red, and black currants, white raspberries, white-heart cherries, and early York cabbages. The *Canadian Freeman* enthused: "The Samples of flowers, fruits, and vegetables, produced on the occasion show clearly that this is as fine a country for Horticulture as any in the world." *The Advocate* concluded: "We most sincerely wish this infant Society every success[,] conscious of the benefits it will confer on the inhabitants of this Province."<sup>13</sup>

The organizers also wished to engender an interest in horticulture in the

general public. Single tickets for that first exhibition were one shilling and three pence, while a season ticket admitting a lady and gentleman was five shillings (one dollar): the same prices charged for the art exhibition mentioned in Anne Powell's letter. Children under ten years of age got in half-price. And, since two more exhibitions were scheduled, in August and September, a family could purchase a season ticket for ten shillings.<sup>14</sup> Because of the epidemic of Asiatic cholera which devastated Toronto that summer, only one more exhibition actually took place – on 16 September, again in the courthouse. At this show an award that would be continued for several years was offered for the best display of native plants with botanical names attached.<sup>15</sup> Throughout the Victorian period, Canadians interested in horticulture were often astute observers of other natural sciences as well.

This September exhibition had an additional feature: a garden competition intended to stimulate all “gardeners to excel each other, and use their every effort for the advancement of the art and the benefit of their employers.” This event predated by more than half a century the home-garden competitions, often sponsored by horticultural societies, in Toronto, Hamilton, and other Ontario centres at the height of the City Beautiful movement. Four days before the exhibition a committee of practical members – Alexander Gordon, James Ellis, and William Burns – had visited and judged the gardens of the society's honorary members; and on the day itself they announced first- and second-prize winners in each of five categories. In printing the judges' assessments, *The Patriot* provided some intriguing glimpses of ten of the most impressive gardens in Toronto in 1834.<sup>16</sup>

First prize for a “kitchen garden, best arranged, most extensive, & scientifically cropped” was awarded to the garden of the former chief justice, although Powell had died six days before the judging and his wife, Anne, with a hired gardener, had tended it while her demented husband played gentleman farmer on his park lot. Second prize went to John Henry Dunn of Dunnstable. The committee commended both gardens for their straight lines, neatness, and order. First prize for the best collection of fruits went to George Crookshank, who had been growing “the choicest of fruits” at his home near the mouth of Garrison Creek, and who cannily permitted the visiting committee members to taste every variety in his extensive collection. The committee also praised the “unceasing efforts” of the second-prize winner, Colonel Wells.

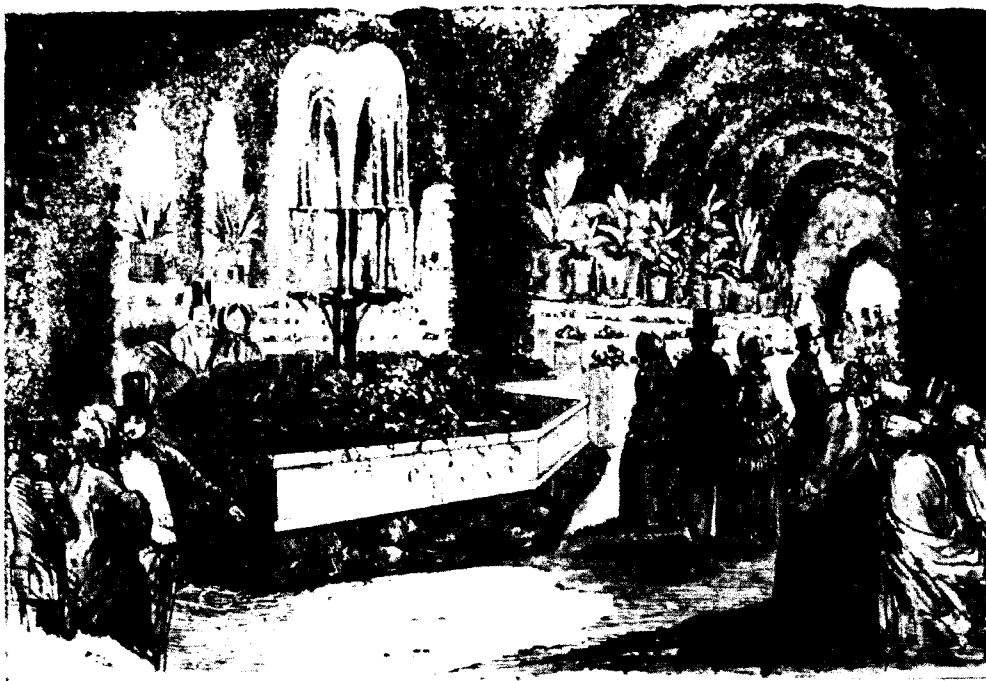
For flower gardens recognition went first to Dunn, who grew “a great variety of the newest introductions of Flora's beauties,” with second prize to George H. Markland for the “delightful” grounds around the house in which he had lived since 1820. Markland was also acknowledged for the best collection of exotic plants, with second prize going to Crookshank, although both had displayed “very

choice exotics, admirably grown.”

Finally, first prize for ornamental grounds went to William Allan, whose Moss Park the committee declared to be “admirably arranged, judiciously planted – [with] a collection of the choicest shrubs. You gradually receded from the parterre, the ornamented border, when a few yards introduces you into a labyrinth emblematical of a forest. The whole does the liberal proprietor & industrious gardener the greatest credit.” The grounds of Allan’s new mansion had been laid out, probably in 1829, by André Parmentier, a landscape gardener whose nursery in Brooklyn, New York, was the likely source for many of the plants, including a copper European beech that was quite possibly the first of its kind imported to Upper Canada.<sup>17</sup> Second prize for ornamental grounds went to John Beverley Robinson, whose gardens, befitting his position as chief justice, were “most judiciously arranged.” In the absence of Sir John Colborne’s gardener, the committee had felt it inappropriate to enter the gardens at Government House. From previous visits, however, the members could report that they knew these four acres to be “easily ... one of the most picturesque grounds in the City of Toronto.”<sup>18</sup>

The society’s second season was an even greater success. The exhibitions moved from the courthouse to the city hall, a band provided music, and *The Patriot* reported that “the attendance of rank and fashion was greatly beyond what has ever been witnessed on any former occasion.” Prizes were awarded for cucumbers and melons, various small fruits, cherries, brassicas, root crops, peas, French and Windsor beans, house plants, and flowers. The judges made extra awards to the very special lettuces shown by John Gray; to the *Nerium oleander*, geraniums, and other exotics belonging to George Markland; to the fine jasmine and the *Camelia japonica* of George Crookshank; and to Mr. T.F. Billing’s beautiful double dahlia. As before, the exhibitors included professional gardeners and amateurs.<sup>19</sup>

Toronto newspapers show that the exhibitions continued in this pattern of three per season for many years. The spring displays were primarily of greenhouse plants and hotbed produce; the summer and fall displays featured the open-air and orchard-house produce of the best fruit, flower, and kitchen gardens in the city and its environs. In the early years the competitions were open to all. By 1844, however, the competition was limited to the society’s members, with membership costing five shillings. “Cultivators” and “Amateurs” were exhibiting in separate classes, although with certain unavoidable overlaps. For example, William Henry Boulton of The Grange competed as an amateur and won prizes for his China roses, geraniums, pansies, and unspecified greenhouse plants. John Gray, gardener to both Boulton and Sheriff William Botsford Jarvis of Rosedale, competed as a cultivator and, with skill and diplomacy, won prizes for both



The 1852 Provincial Exhibition was held 21–24 September in Toronto. Frederick C. Lowe's wood engraving for the *Canadian Journal* of 1 October shows the Floral Hall as a series of cedar-covered arcades with a two-tiered fountain as a focal point.

Source: *Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room, T-12082.*

employers as well as for himself.

There was a further innovation that year: a sale of vegetables at the end of the day. The intent was not to raise funds for the society but rather, in keeping with its mission, "to give an opportunity of testing the great improvement made in this important branch of domestic economy."<sup>20</sup> Such an opportunity would have encouraged purchasers to try particularly early, productive, unusual, or delicious new varieties.

In describing the May exhibition of 1845 held in the old ballroom of Government House, the *British Colonist* mentioned a "well-grown Seville Orange Tree, in full fruit; a fine specimen of *Calceolaria meteor*, with some beautiful *Mimulus* seedlings, all from Mr. [James] Fleming's ... a splendid variety of Tea Roses, lately imported from England by Mr. Henry Turner, Gardener. Mr. Burns' collection of Pansies was probably the finest ever exhibited in Canada; and a handsome *Cactus flageoformis*, grafted on the *Cactus grandiflora*, and a plant of the *Ficus-elastica*, both the property of W. [William] Cayley, Esq., were, as well as the Ornamental Vase of Mr. George Allan, much admired ..."<sup>21</sup> *The Patriot*

exclaimed: "We have seldom seen a more beautiful profusion of exquisite flowers ... The display of new potatoes, rhubarb, asparagus, &c. &c. &c., and of vegetables generally, was very fine, and indicated a rapid improvement in the science of market gardening."<sup>22</sup>

With a ticket for the entire 1845 season, a family could also attend the summer and fall exhibitions, when outdoor produce was at its best.<sup>23</sup> At the fall event, prizes were awarded in the broadest range of categories: greenhouse plants in flower; balsams, cockscombs, and dahlias; China roses, German asters, and Russian ten-week stock; bouquets of cut flowers; apples, pears, and plums; grapes, peaches, nectarines, and apricots (probably grown in the lean-to orchard houses owned by several members); broccoli, cauliflower, and Savoy and winter cabbages; beets, carrots, parsnips, and turnips; celery, melons, mushrooms, tomatoes, and summer-planted peas.<sup>24</sup> As usual, most of the prize-winners were well-known Torontonians. They included amateurs such as Sheriff Jarvis and Robert Baldwin; and professionals such as John Gray (still gardener to W.H. Boulton but soon to become a nurseryman), George Leslie (by then already an independent nurseryman), James Fleming (the seedsman), Michael York (gardener to William Allan since 1837), John Grainger, Joseph Pape, and Henry Turner.

Toronto Horticultural Society exhibitions set a standard that the horticultural and floral halls or tents at the provincial exhibitions, begun in 1846, did not immediately surpass. Newspaper accounts of the displays of fruits, vegetables, and greenhouse plants at the first few of these annual fall fairs described them as being of high quality, but small. Not surprisingly, names of the society's members, both professional and amateur, appeared frequently on the lists of prize-winners: not only when the exhibitions took place in Toronto (1846, 1852, 1858, 1862, and 1866), but also when they were held elsewhere. For example, Sarah Anne Boulton, who lived at The Grange with her son W.H. Boulton and his wife, took first prizes at Niagara in 1850 and Hamilton in 1853 for hothouse grapes presumably grown in the lean-to orchard house attached to the west end of the house proper.<sup>25</sup>

In sponsoring exhibitions, other Ontario towns and cities followed the Toronto society's lead. At Woodstock a flower show was held in the 1840s and a short-lived horticultural society was formed in the 1850s.<sup>26</sup> The Hamilton Horticultural Society was formed in March 1850 and the very next year had 393 entries in its shows. By 1857, when it petitioned the Legislative Council for incorporation, it had nearly one hundred members, both professionals and amateurs, and 1,418 entries in its shows within two years.<sup>27</sup> By 1863 H.Y. Hind could report in *Eighty Years of Progress of British North America* that horticultural societies



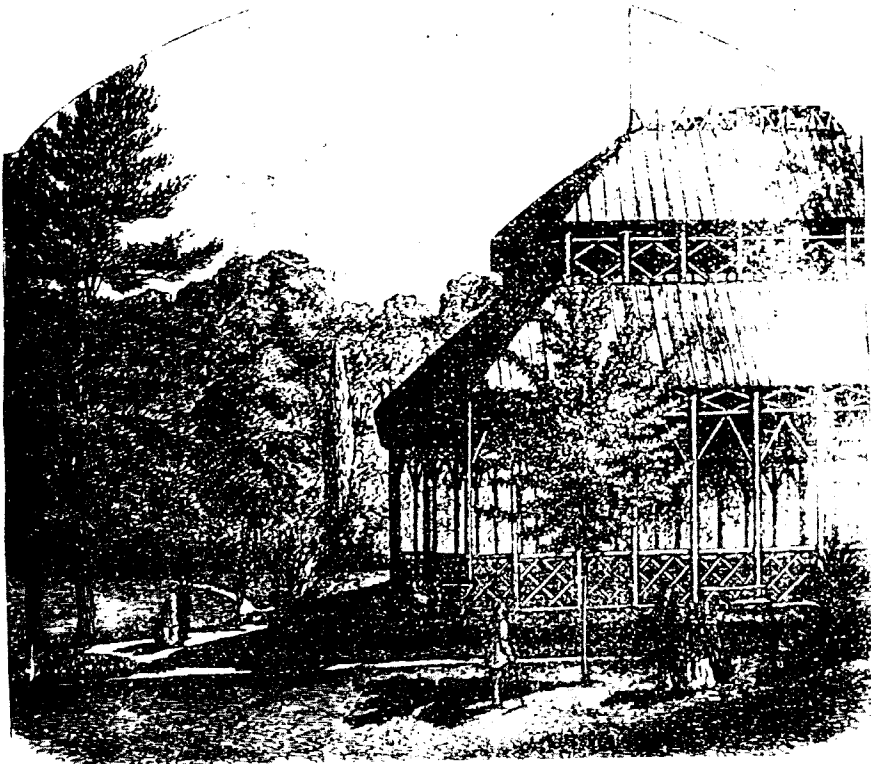
are established in most of the chief towns: Toronto, Hamilton, Kingston, Peterborough, St. Catharines, Niagara, Cobourg, and Paris ... The grounds of the [Toronto] horticultural society occupy five acres, in a most valuable part of the city, and are the gift of a zealous horticulturist and warm and generous supporter of whatever tends to improve and elevate his fellow-countrymen. Five acres adjoining have been purchased [*sic*] from the corporation, so that there is now in the midst, as it were, of the city of Toronto, a horticultural garden containing ten acres.

### Toronto's Horticultural Gardens

Hind was describing the society's Horticultural Gardens, opened in 1860. He was also referring to William Allan's son George who, in addition to being "a zealous horticulturist," was a president of the society, a mayor of Toronto, and a highly respected citizen. When the younger Allan inherited the Moss Park estate in 1853, the plantings on the ornamental grounds, as laid out by Parmentier about 1829 and awarded first prize in 1834, were maturing and filling in beautifully.<sup>28</sup> The Horticultural Gardens, established between today's Carlton and Gerrard streets, well north of the mansion near the northwest corner of Queen and Sherbourne streets, contained five acres given by George Allan to the society about 1856. They grew when he rented five more acres to the society which the city then purchased and leased back in 1864 on the condition that the entire grounds be open to the public free of charge.<sup>29</sup>

The Horticultural Gardens were laid out by Edwin Taylor, an English landscape gardener who apparently arrived in Toronto in January 1859, possibly at the invitation of Allan.<sup>30</sup> The society spent an initial \$2,800 "in draining, levelling, mounds, roads, &c," under Taylor's direction. Within the central five-acre oval of the grounds, Taylor retained existing trees, introduced new specimen trees and shrubs; laid out hose and foundation connections, gravelled walks, and ribbon-patterned carpet beds; and created a large central terrace intended for a tent-covered "floral amphitheatre," perhaps inspired by one Allan had seen in Regent's Park Gardens, London. Taylor also designed future sites for sculpture and a large conservatory. These improvements, exclusive of the conservatory, were estimated to cost an additional \$4,000.

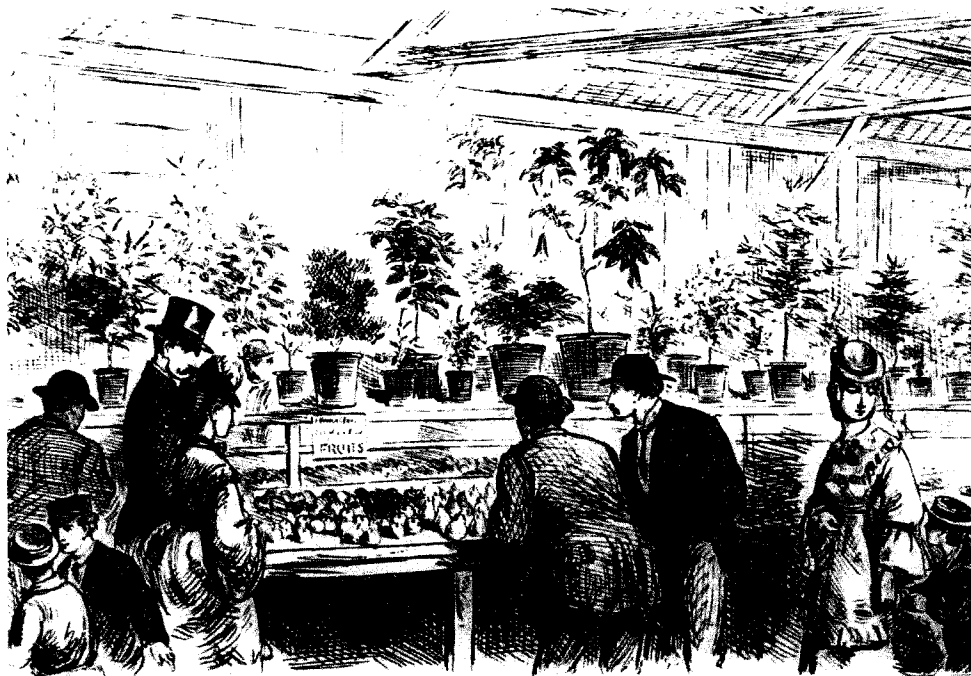
The Prince of Wales officially opened the Horticultural Gardens on 11 September 1860. On that day, the most prominent feature of the gardens was an "immense rustic pavilion" of rough cedar posts which had been erected on the central terrace. Measuring one hundred by sixty feet, it rose to two storeys with the upper being set back. The cedar supporting posts "were trimmed with evergreens, and gaily decorated with asters, branches of bright red berries,



The maple planted by the Prince of Wales on 11 September 1860 at the official opening of the Horticultural Gardens had maintained "a vigorous growth" and taken on a "particularly graceful habit," according to the story accompanying this illustration of the tree and the rustic pavilion, made by Henri Perré for the *Canada Farmer* of 1 August 1866. Source: Photograph by the author, from an Archives of Ontario microfilm printout.

dahlias, and the like." At the ceremonies Allan explained that the society had been inspired "by a desire to promote the interests of horticulture, and at the same time to prove a new source of healthful recreation and rational enjoyment for their fellow citizens."<sup>31</sup>

Under its agreement with the city, the society could charge admission to the grounds after sundown. This it did especially after 1879 when it incurred a \$35,000 debt through replacing the temporary cedar structure with a costly new wood, iron, and glass pavilion. A tiered fountain, twenty-five feet high on a stone basin forty-five feet in diameter, designed by the Toronto architectural firm of Langley & Burke, was added. Yet even with income from the rental of the new pavilion and grounds for all manner of concerts, balls, exhibitions, and fireworks displays, the society remained in such a precarious financial situation that it was forced first to mortgage the property and then to surrender it to the municipality



The 1872 Provincial Exhibition was in Hamilton, and the Hamilton Horticultural Society's displays of fruit and greenhouse plants were chosen to grace the *Canadian Illustrated News* of 5 October.

Source: National Archives, Picture Division, C-58819.

in 1888 when its debts were \$48,641.<sup>32</sup> In 1901 the city named its horticultural acquisition Allan Gardens.

### **New Beginnings**

Despite the financial burden the Horticultural Gardens had become, the society carried on with its modest program of seasonal exhibitions in the pavilion. Competitions were again open to all and a children's class was added in 1890. The society was reorganized in December 1895; in an apparent attempt to perpetuate its original mix of professional and amateur participants, it made members of the Toronto Gardeners and Florists Society automatic members. By 1900, nevertheless, most of these professional members, preferring their own more focused and specialized meetings, had withdrawn. Five years later the Toronto Horticultural Society had only 134 members – fewer than similar societies in ten smaller cities and towns in the province.<sup>33</sup> Yet the Toronto group rebounded

following enactment in 1906 of a new provincial act governing horticultural societies that resulted in increased grants to most of them.<sup>34</sup> In 1910 the society further improved its financial status by offering life memberships at ten dollars as well as regular annual memberships at one dollar.

By 1912 the society's yearbook had grown to sixty-four pages, and its membership to nearly eight hundred. The roster included Sir Henry M. Pellatt (the honorary president) and other affluent owners of large properties; many residents of neighbourhoods such as Rosedale, the Annex, and Parkdale; and various doctors, professors, and civil servants listing their office addresses. But it also included residents of streets with semi-detached houses on narrow lots; a few professional gardeners, such as Thomas McVittie, Pellatt's estate superintendent at Casa Loma; and several nurserymen, such as J. McPherson Ross, George Leslie's successor. The society's activities included exhibitions in May, June, July, and August; flower plantings at four publicly funded charitable institutions; home-garden competitions for adults in selected parts of the city, and for children at selected schools.<sup>35</sup>

### Conclusion

Allan Gardens still belongs to the people of Toronto, and the Horticultural Societies of Parkdale and Toronto still describe themselves, with considerable pride, as "the original donor of the land on which Allan Gardens now stands" and the heirs of "a tradition of public beautification in central Toronto." The direct antecedents of this tradition were the horticultural societies established in London, England, in 1804; in Montreal, in 1811; and in several other European and North American cities and towns soon afterwards. Each of these societies offered a meeting ground for well-to-do property-owners, keen amateurs from various classes, and professional horticulturists. Residents of Hamilton, Canada West, formed a horticultural society in 1850, and those of several other municipalities – including Guelph, Elora and Salem, Brantford, London, Brockville, Kingston, Cobourg, Fergus, and St. Catharines – followed within the decade. By the turn of the century, sixty-five horticultural societies were active across the province.<sup>36</sup> While the various societies' programs necessarily reflected local needs and members' immediate interests, most eventually included the same activities that characterized the Toronto group: the sharing of plants and expertise, the holding of exhibitions, the awarding of prizes, and the beautifying of some small part of the common landscape.

- 1 Stephen A. Otto kindly shared several notices in Montreal newspapers regarding that city's series of early horticultural societies, including: "Florist Society," *The Gazette*, 25 Feb. 1811, p. 2; *The Herald*, 18 Aug. 1817, p. 2; *Canadian Courant*, 24 Oct. 1829.
- 2 This article grew from a talk prepared for the 1994 annual meeting of District 15 of the Ontario Horticultural Association, hosted by the Horticultural Societies of Parkdale and Toronto. This group's letterhead points out the history of the organization as a whole.
- 3 Stephen A. Otto spotted this notice in 1990 in the Archives of Ontario's original of the *Courier of Upper Canada* for 5 May 1832. A search of other York newspapers (the *Canadian Freeman*, the *Colonial Advocate*, *The Patriot*, and the *Upper Canada Gazette*) turned up a similar notice in the *Colonial Advocate*, 3 May 1832, p. 2.
- 4 *Colonial Advocate*, advertisement, 17 Oct. 1833; Alexander Gordon, "On Gardening," *The Patriot*, 3, 14, and 24 Jan., 14, 21, and 28 Mar., and 11 Apr. 1834; *The Patriot*, advertisements, Mar. 1834 and 23 and 27 May 1834.
- 5 Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO), J.B. Robinson Papers, MS4, R4 (SS7/410), 1834, "Regulations & Bye Laws of The Toronto Horticultural Society. Instituted ... The first day of May, 1834." As well, this document is summarized in Fred Williams, "Our Horticultural Century," *Mail and Empire*, 1 May 1934, p. 6; and in Philip F. Dodds and H.E. Markle, *The Story of Ontario Horticultural Societies, 1854-1973* (Picton: The Picton Gazette Publishing Company Ltd. 1973), pp. 17-18.
- 6 Geoffrey Jellicoe and others, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Gardens* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press 1986), s.v. "Royal Horticultural Society," by Elspeth Napier.
- 7 *The Patriot*, 23 May 1834, "Horticultural Association," p. 2.
- 8 For information on early horticultural societies in the United States, see U.P. Hedrick, *A History of Horticulture in America to 1860* (New York: Oxford University Press 1950; reprinted, with addendum, Portland, Or: Timber Press 1988).
- 9 The list of subscribers appeared under "Horticultural Association," *The Patriot*, 23 May 1834, p. 2.
- 10 Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library (hereafter MTRL), Baldwin Room, Powell Papers, L16, A97, pp. 98-99, Anne Powell to George W. Murray, 12 July 1834.
- 11 This mission statement appeared in George Walton, *The City of Toronto and the Home District Commercial Directory and Register for 1837*, "City of Toronto Horticultural Society," p. 46.
- 12 A notice of this first exhibition ran in *The Advocate*, 17 July 1834, p. 1, and 24 July 1834, p. 1.
- 13 *The Patriot*, "Horticultural," 22 July 1834, p. 2; *Canadian Freeman*, "Horticultural Society," 17 July 1834, p. 2; and *The Advocate*, "Toronto Horticultural Society," 24 July 1834, p. 3.
- 14 *The Advocate*, 17 July 1834, p. 1, and 24 July 1834, p. 1.
- 15 *The Advocate*, 11 Sept. 1834, p. 3; *The Patriot*, 9 and 12 Sept. 1834, p. 3.
- 16 *The Patriot* for 19 Sept. 1834, p. 3, promised a full report in its next issue. That report finally appeared 30 Sept. 1834, under the heading "Toronto Horticultural Society," on p. 2, and is the source for the information and quotes about the prize-winning gardens that appear in these paragraphs.

- 17 Pleasance Crawford and Stephen A. Otto, "André Parmentier's "Two or Three Places in Upper Canada,"" *Journal of the New England Garden History Society* 5 (Sept. 1997), in press.
- 18 *The Patriot*, 30 Sept. 1834, p. 2. In its words about the government house, as in all its other remarks, the committee seems most eager to please its patron and honorary members. In contrast, Mary O'Brien, in her journal for 3 Feb. 1829, describes the government house tersely, as "square & white, in the midst of a shrubbery"; while both George Henry, in *The Emigrant's Guide* (1831), and Adam Fergusson, in *Practical notes made during a tour in Canada ... in 1831*, mention that the grounds have a shrubbery and a garden, but do not elaborate.
- 19 *The Patriot*, 12 and 16 June 1835, p. 3; 17 July 1835, p. 2; 21 July 1835, pp. 2 and 4; 24 July 1835, p. 2; and 28 July 1835, p. 2.
- 20 *British Colonist*: 19 Apr. 1844; May 1844 ("Notice" dated 9 May); 17 May, 19 July, 20 Aug., 13 and 17 Sept. 1844.
- 21 *British Colonist*, "First Show of the Toronto Horticultural Society, 1845," 13 May 1845.
- 22 *Toronto Patriot*, 9 May 1845, p. 3.
- 23 See, for example, MTRL, Baldwin Room, Broadside Collection, 1845, Horticultural, "Family Ticket for 1845 ... Hon<sup>l</sup> W.H. Draper and Family ..."
- 24 *Toronto Patriot*, 16 Sept. 1845, p. 3 c. 3. For descriptions of the orchard houses of W.H. Boulton and W.B. Jarvis, see John Gray, "On Grape Culture in Cold Vineries," *Transactions of the Agricultural Association and Board of Agriculture of Upper Canada* (1859), p. 28; and John Gray, "Orchard Houses and Their Management," *Transactions ...* (1860-63), p. 327.
- 25 Accounts of the Provincial Exhibitions, with prize lists, were published in various newspapers and journals. See, for example, *British American Cultivator* 2, no. 11 (Nov. 1846), p. 341, and 3, no. 11 (Nov. 1847), p. 339; *Agriculturist and Canadian Journal* 1, no. 14 (16 Oct. 1848), p. 160, and 1 (1855), pp. 27-28, 48, 71-72, 82, 134, 249-50, and 254; and *Canadian Agriculturist* 4, no. 10 (Oct. 1852), 306-7.
- 26 Dodds and Markle, *The Story of Ontario Horticultural Societies*, p. 242.
- 27 Hamilton Horticultural Society, *Centennial Year Book and Garden Guide, 1850-1950* (Hamilton: Hamilton Horticultural Society 1950), pp. 6-8; National Archives of Canada, RG14, C1, v. 60, "Petition ... for ... an act to incorporate the Hamilton Horticultural Society ... 6th May 1857"; and H.Y. Hind and others, *Eighty Years' Progress of British North America* (Toronto: L. Stebbins 1863), pp. 50-51.
- 28 Two plans of Moss Park by J.O. Browne, dated 1854, are in a private collection in Toronto. One shows the grounds in detail and identifies each of the trees. A photograph of the other, which has less detail, is at MTRL, Baldwin Room, 912.713541.
- 29 For a comprehensive article on the development of the Horticultural Gardens, see David Bain, "George Allan and the Horticultural Gardens," *Ontario History* 87, no. 3 (Sept. 1995), pp. 231-51. Additional information on the Toronto Horticultural Society during and after this period can be found in several places: Toronto city directories, for lists of officers; AO, Pamphlet Collection, 1881, no. 11, "Toronto Electoral District Society"; MTRL, Baldwin Room, Broadside Collection, three 1884 items relating to events held in the Horticultural Gardens; AO, Pamphlet

- Collection, 1887, no. 35, "Toronto Horticultural Society"; AO, Pamphlet Collection, Box 1, No. 13, "Toronto Electoral District and Toronto Horticultural Society, Annual Flower Show, Prize Lists, 1887-1892"; City of Toronto Archives (hereafter CTA), General Information Files, "Parks - Allan Gardens; and AO, MU4557, Toronto Horticultural Society, 1912-1963.
- 30 "Landscape Gardening ... Mr. Edwin Taylor," *Canadian Agriculturist* 11, no. 1 (Jan. 1859), p. 24, advertisement; and G.W. Allan, "Rough Notes on the Progress of Agriculture and Horticulture in Some Parts of England," *ibid.*, pp. 82-91.
- 31 For detailed accounts of the construction and opening of the Horticultural Gardens, see: "Progress of Horticulture in and about Toronto, during the Last Quarter of a Century," *Canadian Agriculturist* 12, no. 4 (15 Feb. 1860), p. 81; "Toronto Botanical Gardens," *Daily Globe*, 28 June 1860, p. 2; "The Prince's Visit," *ibid.*, 31 July 1860, p. 2; "The Prince in Toronto," *ibid.*, 12 Sept. 1860, p. 2; and "The Botanical Gardens," *ibid.*, 13 Sept. 1860, p. 2. Although it was a much grander scheme, New York's Central Park, then under development, had similarly expressed objectives.
- 32 CTA, "Parks - Allan Gardens."
- 33 An earlier reorganization, which placed the society under the direction of a committee of management, is mentioned in "Toronto Horticultural Society," *Canadian Agriculturist* 1, no. 6 (1 June 1849), p. 159, which reports on a 31 May event as "the first exhibition of this society, since its reorganization." A few of the committee's reports are available at MTRL, Baldwin Room, Toronto Horticultural Society, *Annual Report of the Managing Committee ...* 3 vols. (Toronto: Thompson & Co. 1856-1862). The second reorganization and subsequent history are partially documented in CTA, "Parks - Allan Gardens"; and AO, MU 4557, Toronto Horticultural Society, 1912-1963.
- 34 "The Provincial Grants to Horticultural Societies," *Canadian Horticulturist* 29, no. 10 (Oct. 1906), p. 261.
- 35 AO, MU4557, folder 9, "Toronto Historical Society yearbook for 1912," pp. 2-29.
- 36 "The Provincial Grants to Horticultural Societies," p. 261.