

CHAPTER 1

PREAMBLE

ON OCTOBER 26, 1924, Hamilton was getting ready for church. The mild autumn weather continued and most families would walk. The journey was rarely long, whether to one of the venerable stone churches downtown or to an even bigger brick church in the suburbs. The talk of the town — and the likely subject of many a sermon — was the provincial plebiscite held three days before, in which Hamiltonians voted to permit the sale of liquor under government supervision.

Among those getting ready for church was Herbert F. Gardiner, a retired journalist who lived in the Royal Apartments on James Street North. Gardiner's stroll to Centenary Church on Main Street would occupy a comfortable ten minutes. Along the way, he would nod to many a friend. Downtown Hamilton was a compact neighbourhood whose inhabitants were well known to one another.

The Royal Apartments were a recent incarnation of the Royal Hotel, a mammoth, dilapidated relic of Hamilton's railway age, which had never lived up to expectations. Strolling south on James Street, Gardiner would pass the Arcade department store and the handful of haberdashers who comprised Hamilton's fashion district. Near King Street was the baronial City Hall, only 34 years old, yet bursting its seams. Opposite City Hall was the lavish Grand Opera House, where the new moving pictures had replaced the vaudeville routines of old. The old queen held court at the head of Gore Park, a much-loved refuge with its fountain, demure landscape design, and mature trees. The monument to Queen Victoria was evocative and reassuring; not only was she

the grandmother of the present king, but in a more fanciful sense, grandmother to all.

South of King Street was the financial district, where the Bank of Commerce and Federal Life buildings conveyed echoes of Wall Street. The unrelenting industrial growth which began in the 1880s had made Hamilton the fifth-largest city in Canada, with a population of 114,000. The city struggled to fit into narrow and irregular streets. Horses still pulled their wagons, while radial railways snaked from the union terminal on King Street to suburbs and surrounding towns. Hamilton's businessmen had constructed light railways with abandon in the 1890s, including two which climbed straight up the side of the mountain, but their heyday had proven short. The railway to Dundas had shut down in 1923 and the others were struggling. When it came to getting around, the car was clearly winning the race. Most cars on the streets of Hamilton were Ford Model Ts, which, though usually black, had been turned out in many variations since production began in 1908. The Model T was by no means North America's first car, but it was the first to be manufactured in such numbers and sold cheaply enough to place it within the grasp of the ordinary working man.

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Outstanding among the posh habitations of Arkledun Avenue, and surviving against all odds, is Rock Castle, the home of Alexander Carpenter, partner with the Gurney brothers in the manufacture of stoves. (27-28) Carpenter was born in 1806. His grandfather sought refuge in Canada after the revolutionary war. His father (together with innumerable uncles and cousins) farmed in the township of Saltfleet, near the lakeshore between Stoney Creek and Winona. The history of Alexander's wife, Sarah Maria Henry, was more dramatic. Her grandfather, Captain James Henry, was among the first loyalists in Upper Canada. It is said that while travelling with his father through the Alleghanies at the age of fourteen, James was captured by Indians, who cut off his ears. He escaped while his captors were feasting at Niagara by crossing the river in a canoe. The first person Henry met was Colonel John Butler, whose rangers he joined. He was later granted land in the township of Clinton, a few miles east of Beamsville. Sarah was the second of nine children, born in 1810.

Alexander Carpenter's father died when he was seven, his only brother when he was twelve. Responsibility for a widowed mother and four older sisters must have fostered a spirit of ambition. He trained as a carver, moved to Hamilton, and opened a shop where he sold stoves and hardware. He also turned his mind to manufacturing. His training enabled him to create the molds required to cast the ornate stoves which were so popular at the time. He also patented several devices. An affinity for novelty was reflected in a small building with a cathedral-like façade which he constructed on John Street North.

Public-spirited and sometimes cantankerous, Carpenter was elected three times by his neighbours to the Board of Police. As captain of the Hook & Ladder Company, he was irked by the reluctance of his men to set an example by attending drill and accused them of volunteering only to gain exemption from military and jury duty. In 1848, Carpenter was chosen by the ten elected members of city council to become the Eleventh Councillor, forming the group which then selected the mayor. Like the Gurneys, Carpenter initially lived near his shop, occupying a stone house on the north side of King William Street. In 1851, he purchased two lots from Robert Hamilton at the east end of Arkledun Avenue, beside the Hamilton family cemetery. It was a magnificent site for a cliffside whimsy known as Rock Castle.

Strictly defined, a rock castle incorporates topographical features such as ledges and outcroppings. If Carpenter's castle did not actually emerge from the mountainside, it certainly conveyed that impression. The physical connectedness of the estate elements is one of the castle's most unusual features. House, carriage hall, stable, garden walls, and even a privy are all joined in one way or another. Perhaps this helped to anchor the residence and its entourage to the sloping site. The castle's symmetrical façade looked west at the head of a spacious walled garden, with gates opening from Arkledun Avenue into recessed grounds. The westward orientation provided the large principal rooms with magnificent views of the city and bay. The castle's south wall was enhanced with elaborate stone-carved ornamentation, much like that bestowed on Carpenter's John Street building, including a shield with three fleurs-de-lis.

A two-storey wing east of the main house accommodated kitchen and coal cellar on the ground floor and a carriage hall on the upper level, opening onto Arkledun. The carriage hall was linked to the stable beyond by a short wall. Through this wall, a door

opened to a steep flight of steps which led to the kitchen garden. At the lower end of the garden was a two-storey stone privy, its lower level accessible from the garden, the upper level connected to the servants' rooms in the castle by an open bridge. (29) The privy might have been a courtesy to Cecelia MacMonagle, the Carpenters' long-serving housekeeper. In any event, no housemaid in Hamilton enjoyed a finer view as she responded to nature's call. Two-storey privies are extremely rare. Less than half a dozen are known in Canada.

Rock Castle was designed by Albert Hills, whose modest local reputation rested on an ability to produce economical designs in many styles. Commenting on Hills' design for the United Presbyterian church on Jackson Street, the *Globe* paid the architect a backhanded compliment by noting that that he "cannot but feel proud that he has built the cheapest, if not the handsomest, building of its class in the country." Hills had also designed Carpenter's eye-catching showroom on John Street. He received few residential commissions, more often designing buildings for clients such as the city government, board of education, and religious congregations, which required him to satisfy the demands of a building committee whose highest priority was usually its budget. Hills' connection with Alexander Carpenter seems to have been a personal one, as his niece and nephew had been placed in the care of the Carpenter family after the death of Albert's brother, Horace. The Hills brothers had been builders in Hamilton.

Albert Hills was a competent architect at best, and despite the number of buildings credited to him, his name has been all but forgotten. Even his more endearing creations such as Rock Castle lacked the fine proportions and artistic sensitivity which marked the work of a Thomas or a Rastrick. His buildings might best be described as imaginatively constructed. Rock Castle is an enchanting yet ungainly building. The masonry is admirable,

particularly in the ornamentation of the south wall visible from Arkledun Avenue, yet none of the castle's façades are marked by much harmony or symmetry.

Melville & Herald were engaged as builders but the combination did not produce a happy workplace. The interference of both client and architect annoyed Melville's foreman, Robert McArthur, who allegedly threatened Hills. As the castle neared completion, the two men got into a scrape and McArthur abandoned the worksite, refusing to return. Melville & Herald sued Carpenter for £179 on account of unpaid carpentry and joinery. The case was heard at the fall assize in 1853, the jury awarding the builders £120.

Rock Castle was complete in time to host the wedding of Carpenter's eldest daughter, Antoinette, to Brantford merchant Albert Mott Titus in August of 1852. Remaining at home with their parents were daughters Margaret Ann, Minta, Kate, son Henry, and Charlotte Hills, niece of Rock Castle's architect. Margaret Ann and Sarah Araminta married brothers Hugh and Alexander McInnes. Charlotte married Thomas Beasley, grandson of one of Hamilton's earliest settlers, who became Hamilton's city clerk. Henry Carpenter was a deaf-mute. He did not marry and was accidentally killed in 1880 while walking on railway tracks near Crieff, a hamlet in Wellington County.

Artist Robert Whale was a guest at the castle in 1853 when he painted five portraits of the Carpenter family. It is said that Whale spent nine months at Rock Castle while completing his work. Perhaps Alexander Carpenter, with his own creative turn of mind, found Whale a valued companion in a household composed otherwise of ladies (apart from a son who could neither speak nor hear). The subjects of Whale's romantic portraits are every inch members of the gentry. (30-31) For Alexander and Sarah Carpenter, it had been a long journey from the farmsteads of Saltfleet to a castellated perch among the Hamilton elite. Whale's portraits of

the Carpenter family remained prized family possessions for four generations, finally returning to Hamilton as the gift of the last surviving family member, Barbara Carpenter Lamson of Boston, in 1978.

Alexander Carpenter died at his castle in 1866. The home passed to his daughter, Margaret Ann McInnes. Her brother-in-law, Donald McInnes, resided there for a time before purchasing Dundurn Castle in 1872. Hugh and Margaret Ann moved into Rock Castle afterward. Hugh died at home in 1874. Margaret and her children would long remember the December night in 1877 when masked men scaled the castle walls and burglarized their home while they slept. Mrs. McInnes and her family remained at the castle until about 1883, when it was sold to Thomas Robertson, MP for Hamilton and later a judge. Robertson called the castle Rannoch Lodge. He died there on September 6, 1905. As a private home, Rock Castle was last occupied by Frank Merrick, an engineer with Westinghouse who was sent to Hamilton in 1903 to supervise construction of a plant for the Canadian branch of the company, of which he eventually became president.

In the 1940s, the castle was carefully partitioned to create eight apartments. A series of mountain roads claimed most of the gardens and came perilously close to breaching the castle walls. The building survived a near brush with demolition in the early 1970s, when an apartment tower appropriated most of the formal garden. At a time when the city's Victorian buildings were disappearing at a stunning clip, the surrender of Rock Castle to the Fidelity Mortgage Company showed every sign of escaping notice. Fortunately, a college student named Jan Kamermans launched a battle to save the castle, which succeeded with the adoption of a resourceful compromise. Rock Castle, as noted earlier, occupied two lots in Robert Hamilton's survey. By combining the two lots, the developer would be able to build a higher building. The zoning from the lot on which Rock Castle

stood was transferred to the adjoining lot, which would not only preserve the castle, but restrict future development of the site. Rare is the medieval fortress which has withstood siege on every side more bravely than Rock Castle.¹

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West of Locke Street, Gardiner found Dundurn Castle, undoubtedly Hamilton's most famous building, designed by Wetherell for Allan MacNab. The commission permitted Wetherell to let his finely-honed architectural imagination take flight. Dundurn combined classical and romantic elements in a flamboyant style known as Regency. (235)

The castle is a brick building surfaced with stucco and strictly speaking, does not belong to Hamilton's stone age. Yet so vital have MacNab and his estate been to Hamilton that our story would seem incomplete without them. Much of Burlington Heights had belonged to Richard Beasley — merchant, trader, and possibly the first white settler at the head of the lake. Falling upon hard financial times, Beasley parted with his land on the Heights, which was acquired by Allan MacNab.

Dundurn took shape among breastworks and tunnels left over from the War of 1812. These were incorporated in Wetherell's design, which included an enchanting array of outbuildings and landscape features. There were extensive vegetable and

ornamental gardens and a large orchard. The castle itself was constructed around a large brick cottage built by Beasley on a promontory overlooking the bay. Inscribed on the dovecote was the date 1835. Battery Lodge, installed on an old military embankment at the head of York Street, was a gatekeeper's house (236) with an adjacent ornamental arch. A cockpit perched mysteriously at the edge of a bluff. (237) Although MacNab owned a great deal of land in west Hamilton, the Dundurn estate was originally bounded by York and Locke streets.

Allan MacNab was born at Toronto (then called York) in 1798. His father was a member of Governor Simcoe's staff. After serving with noted ardour in the War of 1812 and trying his hand at a variety of occupations, MacNab became a lawyer. The reason for his relocation to Hamilton in 1826 is not known. Perhaps he foresaw potential for a law practice specializing in real estate; perhaps he sought to distance himself from the creditors who would dog him throughout his life. In any event, MacNab made impressive sums through land speculation during his early years in Hamilton. He was elected to parliament in 1830. In 1838, he was knighted by Queen Victoria for his defence of Upper Canada during the rebellion, which occurred less than six months after the 18-year-old princess became queen.

MacNab and his wife, Mary Stuart, settled into Dundurn about 1835 with their little girls, Sophia and Minnie, and their older half-sister, Anne Jane, daughter of MacNab's first marriage. Anne Jane's brother Robert lost his life in a hunting accident while the castle was under construction. The second Mrs. MacNab died of tuberculosis in 1846. Her widowed sister, the grim and devout Mrs. David MacNab, thereafter acted as chatelaine, companion and chaperone to her brother-in-law.

In later life, Allan MacNab's legal work took second place to entrepreneurship, his most successful promotion being the Great Western Railway. MacNab served in parliament without

interruption for 27 years. In 1854, he achieved the office of Prime Minister of Canada, holding the position for eighteen months until ousted by an ambitious young schemer named John A. Macdonald. His declining years were occupied by attempts at a political comeback, interrupted by painful bouts of gout, which resulted in his death in 1862.

The tribulations of MacNab's life — personal, financial, and political — create an absorbing story. His self-importance and thirst for attention grated on peers, but his affability and egalitarian spirit endeared him to the community at large. In Chapter 3, we glimpsed him in the legislature, advocating for Hamilton's orphanage and admonishing George Brown for allowing extreme secularism to stand in the way of good people making honest efforts to improve their communities, whatever their spiritual hue. Hamilton's coloured community likewise favoured MacNab. In the campaign of 1854, black Hamiltonians refused the entreaties of Isaac Buchanan, suspecting (with some cause) that Buchanan's egalitarianism flowered mainly during the sunny days of an election campaign. Questioned at a public meeting in Chatham in 1861, MacNab condemned the notion of separate schools for coloured children as "manifestly unfair," and pledged to uphold the right of the fugitive slave Anderson to remain in Canada, whatever the Ontario courts had to say. In Hamilton, he gladly donned Highland garb and presided genially at the festivals of all who applied.

Dundurn was home to the MacNab family for some thirty years. While the castle of Dundurn helped to satisfy MacNab's craving for celebrity, it also served as a venue for business gatherings, and as an advertisement of wealth (if not a very truthful one), helping him to attract investors to his railway schemes and other ventures. MacNab lavished attention on the castle throughout his lifetime, most notably with the addition of the signature portico, designed by Rastrick, in 1855. In 1858, Sir Allan was awarded a baronetcy, a

title which, though not accompanied by a seat in the House of Lords, offered a goodly helping of hereditary prestige. Had young Robert MacNab not lost his life at the age of eleven, Dundurn might have become the ancestral hall of the MacNab baronets. In the event, it became an albatross around the neck of the benighted Mrs. David MacNab, who was promoted by her brother-in-law's death from companion to estate trustee.

Prior to his death, MacNab had attempted to sell part of the Dundurn lands to the province as the site of a school for deafmutes, collecting \$20,000. Pending completion of the sale, the school occupied the castle for a short time as a tenant of Mrs. David MacNab. Under the supervision of Dr. McGann, the "exhibitions and entertainments" of the pupils became popular with the citizens of Hamilton, while their vocational training included the renovation of the castle. So disordered were MacNab's affairs, however, that the conveyance to the government never took place, and the deafmutes vacated the castle when it was sold to another buyer in 1869. Although a subsequent inquiry confirmed that the old Province of Canada got nothing in return for its \$20,000, the matter faded from view and there is no record of any attempt to recover the money.

The new buyers were a trio of investors with plans for a grand summer hotel. In September of 1869, *The Spectator* reported that improvements were underway. The castle would be equipped with a 200-foot dining room and supplemented with a new hotel on the beach. The reputed lady of the hostelry was Mary Amanda May, who hailed from New Orleans and had lived in Hamilton for the past few years at Inglewood, the Kerr estate on James Street South. But the attempt to transform the mansion into a luxury hotel enjoyed no more success than the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb and in July of 1872, the syndicate sold Dundurn to wholesaler Donald McInnes.

McInnes was the son of a Beverly farmer who emigrated from

Argyllshire in 1840. He and his brothers, Hugh and Alexander, became successful businessmen. The latter married daughters of Alexander Carpenter of Rock Castle. Donald married Mary Amelia Robinson, daughter of Sir John Beverly Robinson, and had six children. He was appointed to the Senate by John A. Macdonald in 1881, after chairing an inquiry into the civil service and providing valuable assistance to Macdonald's successful campaign to reclaim the prime ministership in 1878. The earliest known interior photographs of the Dundurn Castle date from this time. Despite some embellishments to bring the house into conformity with the tastes of the 1870s, the massive rooms of the aging castle seem cavernous and sparse. (238)

McInnes first opened the castle grounds to the public in 1878. Throughout the summer, local fraternal associations held their festivals and picnics at Dundurn. McInnes also installed swings, seats, and lights. A roller-coaster appeared in 1885. For many years the grounds played host to a pioneering venture in professional baseball, which was rapidly displacing cricket as the sport of the masses. Thus enticed, the people of Hamilton gradually developed an attraction and perhaps a sense of proprietorship toward Dundurn. Not long after McInnes acquired the estate, discussions arose about a possible purchase by the city. Initially the talks were sabotaged by popular opposition to a transaction which promised to make a rich man even richer, during a period of widespread depression. (Alderman George Mills, who pushed the transaction, recalled that McInnes was "unpopular with the masses.") Those in the eastern city wondered why so much parkland should be allotted to those in the west. Some even charged that the park was unhealthy. This was ostensibly a reference to the ague associated with the Dundas marsh, but might also have reflected a widespread perception that respectable ladies and gentleman entered the West End at the risk of their lives. As the turn of the century approached, the

enormous growth of the city, together with the increasing popularity of the grounds and McInnes' musings about further subdivision, softened opposition to the acquisition of Dundurn and the people of Hamilton approved the purchase by plebiscite in 1899.

Dundurn fell under the jurisdiction of the Parks Board, where it remained for many decades. When elements of the estate became dilapidated, the customary response of the board was to dispense with them. The cockpit lost its upper storey. The Battery Lodge gate was dismantled and removed. A lodge near the eastern gate was also removed, and part of the gate itself dispatched to a municipal golf course. The gardener's cottage was sold to a private buyer in 1907. The MacNab burial ground was uprooted in 1909, although primary responsibility for this debacle seems to lie with one Mrs. French, a daughter of Minnie MacNab.

Soon after acquiring Dundurn, the city pulled down McInnes' fence and demolished his baseball diamond. A pavilion was constructed in 1906. It was decided to have a museum and a zoo. A motley collection of animals found their way to Dundurn. Buffalo roamed an enclosure near the cockpit. Among the caged creatures was an aggressive monkey named Jacko, who killed his simian roommate and with the assistance of a taxidermist, ended his days as an exhibit in the castle museum alongside Leo the Lion. Inspecting the zoo's feathered occupants in 1908, Mary McQuesten pronounced them "the most terrible set of mongrels you ever saw." To outfit the museum, Hamiltonians gladly emptied their attics. There was a hand-drawn fire pump, a five-foot clock from the Sanford estate, cannonballs, spinning wheels, snowshoes, and such technological wonders as an Edison talking machine, a noiseless typewriter and a rocking chair made out of buffalo horns.

Fortunately, more destructive proposals failed to materialize. These included a track for a proposed radial railway to Waterloo,

a turn-around for the Hamilton Street Railway, and the extension of the Chedoke Expressway through the park to Barton Street, to complete Hamilton's forgotten perimeter road. The threat to Battery Lodge posed by the widening of York Street was averted by moving the lodge and using it as a small military museum. At that time, the original gate was reconstructed. The museum was closed in 1964 to permit the restoration of the castle, narrowly chosen over sidewalk repair as Hamilton's Centennial project. The restored castle opened with fanfare on June 17, 1967.

The opulent furnishings and appointments of the recreated Dundurn call to mind an idealized version of the domestic life of the Victorian gentry; the country villa as a place of repose, where the chimes of an ancient grandfather clock marked the hours of a day allocated among gentle pastimes, formal dinners, and communal prayers. Yet the diary of young Sophia MacNab, kept over several months in 1846, suggests that life at Dundurn sometimes fell short of such lofty standards. The butler left the family dogs in Montreal, the cook went missing, the maid was hindered by rheumatism and could not understand how to wait at table, and the coachman routinely overturned the sleigh.

Visitors to the restored castle today are treated to lectures on the tribulations of servant life by youthful cicerones costumed as footmen and maids. The commentary continues without irony even as guests are conducted through spacious, gaslit work rooms stocked with the latest domestic widgets, cozy bedrooms, and a roomy servants hall with its own furnace, all reminders that employees at the castle of Dundurn enjoyed far greater comfort than the vast majority of Hamilton's nineteenth-century workers, and perhaps a few of her gentry. Sophia's diary also reminds us that Sir Allan was a lenient employer, to say the least.

Another hazard of such commentaries is that they will lead the visitor to infer that life above stairs was one of pointless indolence and leisure, and that nothing more than a commitment to equity is

required to make lairds of us all. In reality, the crosses borne by MacNab were not few, and mortgaged wealth may not have seemed much compensation. MacNab's many letters testify to the toll which his working life as lawyer, financier, and politician took on him, and an inclination to self-pity notwithstanding, his complaints were far from frivolous. Through the arched windows of his library at Dundurn, the railway baron gazed at a little plot called Inchbuie, where he had lain two wives and three children. Troubled by ailments physical and emotional, MacNab was an old man well before he took his place alongside them at the age of 64. The life and varied fortunes of Allan MacNab played out during a period which brought Upper Canada from a wilderness to the brink of nationhood. From an unyielding land and climate, were brought forth canals, railways, farms, factories, schools, asylums, colleges, councils, and parliaments. Gradually and peaceably, a colony became a nation. This too is the story of Dundurn.

Restoration of both the castle and park continues. The painstaking work involved has won widespread praise. Archeological investigation has played an important role, telling us more about MacNab and Beasley, as well as the activities of native peoples on Burlington Heights, and the combatants of 1812. The restoration of 1967 focused mainly on the castle interior. Since that time, other elements of the estate have been recreated with the greatest possible accuracy. These include the *faux* cut-stone surface of the castle's exterior walls; the kitchen garden and potting shed; the ornamental garden on the bay side of the castle; and lost components of the cockpit, dovecote, and stable yard. Indoors, additional rooms have been restored. Unfortunately, advancements in microscopy have revealed that the original restoration consultants, equipped with sandpaper and magnifying glass, were mistaken about the early paint colours of the principal rooms, and consequently misguided in their choice of carpets, drapery and upholstery. These errors are being corrected

gradually, producing some peculiar colour contrasts in the mean time.¹(239)

[Remaining text and pages omitted]

NOTES

In addition to individual sources cited below, tracing the history of the streets and buildings described in this book required virtually constant reference to Hamilton city directories and to maps of Hamilton, especially those published in 1876 by the Chicago Lithographing Company and in 1898 and 1911 by the Underwriters Survey Bureau.

Abbreviations

BDAC	<i>Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada</i>
Census	Census of Canada (decennial, 1841-1861)
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i>
DHB	<i>Dictionary of Hamilton Biography</i>
CAB	<i>Canadian Architect & Builder</i>
CCR	<i>Canadian Contract Record</i>
<i>Globe</i>	<i>The Globe</i> (Toronto)
<i>Herald</i>	<i>The Herald</i> (Hamilton)
HCD	<i>Hamilton City Directory</i>
HPL	Department of Local History and Archives, Hamilton Public Library
<i>Spectator</i>	<i>The Spectator</i> (Hamilton)
<i>Times</i>	<i>Hamilton Evening Times</i>
WMA	Whitehern Museum Archives
YP	Young Papers (Hamilton Public Library)

¹ Gardiner, 19; R. Janet Powell, *Annals of the Forty*, Grimsby (Ontario): Grimsby Historical Society, IV, 1965, 7-13 (Carpenter family), V, 1966, 41-42 (Henry family); Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975, 192 (ownership of land); “New Buildings in Hamilton, The United Presbyterian Church,” *Globe*, April 3, 1858 (“cheapest, if not the handsomest”); “Albert Hills,” DHB I, 103; *Spectator*, November 10, 1853, May 1, 1854 (litigation); David Beasley, *Richard Beasley: The Character of the Man and his Times*, Simcoe (Ontario): Davus, 2004, 1-2 (Charlotte Hills); *Spectator*, August 27, 1852 (Titus–Carpenter marriage), November 10, 1856 (Albert Mott Titus); *Globe*, November 18, 19, 1881 (Henry Carpenter), “Original By-law no. 17, N.S., passed 22nd November, 1869, to allow a company to construct a road into the city by Wellington Street,” Corporation of the City of Hamilton, *Revision and*

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Consolidation of the By-Laws of the City of Hamilton, Hamilton: Hamilton City Council, 1887, 52 (opening road “from the present residence of D. McInnes”); *Globe*, July 1, 1871 (Lord Dufferin visits Donald McInnes “at his pretty villa at the foot of the mountain”); *Globe*, May 30, 1874 (death of Hugh McInnes), December 10, 1877 (burglary); *Globe*, September 9, 1905 (death of Thomas Robertson); *Pittsburgh Press*, October 27, 1944 (F. A. Merrick); *Spectator*, March 11, 14, December 24, 1970 (demolition threat, development of site). Information about the Carpenter family and life at Rock Castle was provided to the author by Barbara Carpenter Lamson (1896–1978) of West Newton Massachusetts, great-granddaughter and last surviving descendant of Alexander Carpenter. The portraits of the Carpenter family by Robert Whale were donated to the City of Hamilton by Miss Lamson in 1977.

¹ Gardiner, 22; Melville Bailey, *The History of Dundurn Castle and Sir Allan MacNab*, Board of Park Management, Hamilton: 1943, 1971; Marion MacRae, *MacNab of Dundurn*, Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1971; Donald R. Beer, *Sir Allan Napier MacNab*, Dictionary of Hamilton Biography: Hamilton, 1984; Sophia MacNab, *The Diary of Sophia MacNab*, Second Edition, Hamilton, 1974; Jane Flatt, “An 18th Century Jewel in a 19th Century Wilderness: An Essay on Dundurn and its Tradition,” *Wentworth Bygones* VII (1967), 17-21; *Daily Ohio Statesman*, February 16, 1861 (Chatham meeting; Anderson); Ben Forster, “Donald McInnes,” DCB XII; “Dundurn to be opened,” *Spectator*, July 26, 1878; “Dundurn Park, Hamilton,” July 16, 1879 (features in park); *Spectator*, August 8, 1885 (roller coaster); *Globe*, October 24, 1877 (reference to public meeting “a few years ago”); George Mills, “Life Memories” (HPL), 21 (“unpopular with the masses”); *Globe*, October 13, 1877 (unhealthfulness); *Herald*, October 29, 1889 (subdivision); CCR, October 10, 1900, 3 (W. A. Edwards); *Times*, May 24, June 17, 1909 (burial ground); *Globe*, January 20, 1921 (two-headed calf); *Spectator*, March 12, 1924 (Jacko); WMA W4647, letter from Mary to Calvin McQuesten, September 17 1902 (“mongrels”); Bailey (1971) *supra*, 32-35 (exhibits); *Globe*, April 6, 1906 (Waterloo & Guelph railway); *Dundurn Chronicle, An Education Publication of Dundurn Castle National Historic Site*. I:7 (Spring, 1999), James Elliot, “Finding the birthplace of our city,” *Spectator*, October 6, 2000 (archeological findings).