Chapter 2

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Figure 1: Looking northwest at the corner of Berkeley and Gerrard Streets, 1972, City of Toronto Archives (right)



2. HISTORY & EVOLUTION

History and Evolution



Figure 2: Plan of the Town and Harbour of York Upper Canada, E.T. Ford, 1833

Lands and Early Settlement

Approximately 12,500 years ago, the last of the ice age glaciers began to retreat northward, leaving an ancient glacial lake in its stead. Known as 'Lake Iroquois', it was a meltwater lake whose water levels stood 40 metres higher than the current Lake Ontario. The lake bordered the escarpment along what is now Davenport Road; the study area was submerged south of the shores of this lake.

Around 10,000 years ago, the Laurentian (Laurentide) glacier at St. Lawrence River retreated sufficiently to the north and east allowing a passage for Lake Iroquois to retreat towards St. Lawrence River. As a result, the Lake dropped to sea level, creating a shoreline approximately 20 kilometers south of the current Lake Ontario, and the study area emerged. Early hunter-gatherer inhabitants moved in from the south, though little evidence of their life remains given many of their campsites are now submerged in Lake Ontario.

By 6000 BCE, the climate began changing and warming. With the climbing temperatures came rising water levels, temperate forests, and fauna, as well as wild game from the south. The water levels of the lake, which became Lake Ontario, began to rise and take shape to form its current shoreline. The early inhabitant population increased; hunting and fishing became important. The land began supporting crop production and farming. Inhabitants would create semi-permanent villages, providing them a base while hunting/gathering and for the farming of crops, such as corn, beans and squash. Evidence of Iroquoian villages, in the forms of longhouses, defensive stockades, cultivated farms and material artifacts, has been found in the greater Toronto region. (MacDonald 2008, 11-24). Toronto has been occupied by Indigenous peoples for centuries. The history of these peoples, both before and after contact with Europeans in the seventeenth century, is complex and dynamic. The lands along the north shore of Lake Ontario, like much of the Great Lakes region, were occupied shortly after the retreat of the glaciers approximately 10,000 years ago. Highly mobile communities of related families moved through very large territories on a seasonal basis, establishing small camps for only brief periods of time. As the millennia passed, and the natural environment evolved, communities increased in size and the territories that each moved through changed, but in general life still consisted of an annual cycle of movement based on the seasonal availability of plants, fish and game.

Around 500 CE, maize and squash were introduced into the lower Great Lakes area through trade. The appearance of these plants initiated a gradual transition to agriculture and village life, a process which was complete by around 1300 CE. Along the north shore of Lake Ontario, the people occupying these villages were the ancestors of the Wendat.

Most of the Lake Ontario north shore communities had moved northward by the late 1500s CE, joining with other groups in Simcoe County to form the Petun and Wendat confederacies, or westward to join other ancestral groups of the Neutral, who were situated around the west end of Lake Ontario and in the Niagara Peninsula. While this movement of communities took place over many generations, the final impetus was conflict with communities comprising the Five Nations Iroquois (also known as the "Haudenosaunee" or "Iroquois"), whose homelands were south of Lake Ontario in present-day New York State. Intertribal warfare with Five Nations Iroquois communities during the first half of the seventeenth century, exacerbated by the intrusion of Europeans, ultimately resulted in the collapse, and dispersal of the three Ontario confederacies - the Wendat, the Petun, and the Neutral.

Significant trails, known as the Toronto Carrying Place or Toronto Passage, developed in the area. These footpaths formed a network of transit and trade routes, linking settlements and allowing for trade access from the Lower Great Lakes to the Upper Great Lakes and beyond.

1600s-1700s

In the second half of the seventeenth century, communities from the Five Nations Iroquois established a series of settlements at strategic locations along the routes inland from the north shore of Lake Ontario. The main reason for these Five Nations Iroquois expansions was to gain access to inland fur-hunting grounds (Robinson 1933, 16; Konrad 1981, 134).

Due in part to increased military pressure from the French upon their homelands south of Lake Ontario, the Five Nations Iroquois abandoned their north shore frontier settlements by the late 1680s, although they did not relinquish their interest in the resources of the area, as they continued to claim the north shore as part of their traditional hunting territory (Lytwyn, 1997).

In the later seventeenth-century, Anishinaubeg communities (a cultural term referring to several communities such as the Mississauga, Ojibwa and Odawa) had begun to expand their territory southwards and eastwards from their homelands in the upper Great Lakes country. Communities such as the Mississauga settled at various locations, including some of the former Five Nations Iroquois north shore settlements. (ASI 2016, 8).

By the 18th century the European presence had increased, with both the French and the British vying for dominance of northeastern North America and trade waterways. During these conflicts, the Great Lakes region was claimed by the French and an outpost, known as Fort Rouille, was constructed in 1750 at the west end of present-day Exhibition Place. By 1760, the French were defeated by the British around the Great Lakes region and forced to retreat northwards to Montreal, ceding the region over to British rule. The American Revolution (1775-83) prompted a large migration northwards of loyalists who settled in the region in order to remain in British territory.

The British looked for a suitable place to establish a settlement and a site that could support military operations around the Great Lakes. They negotiated with the Mississauga and acquired the lands north of Lake Ontario in 1787. The area was chosen for both its access to the Toronto Carrying Place and its protected harbour to defend against potential invasions by the Americans. The land was cleared for farming, and settlers moved into the area. In 1793, Lieutenant General John Graves Simcoe constructed Fort York at the mouth of the harbour; in tandem, a town site, named York, was surveyed to the east of the Fort.

Natural Landscape

The land sits on a shale and limestone formation, with a sandy soil composition. Prior to European settlement and land clearance, it was forested with elms, oaks, maples and pine trees. The pine trees were a valuable resource, used for construction within the new town. Wildlife, such as bears, rabbits, deer and birds, lived in the area.

The original 10-block Town of York was situated on a flat topography. To its east was the Don River, which meandered towards the mouth of the harbour. The river and lake supported salmon fishing. Adjacent to the river were extensive marshlands.

The study area, just to the northeast of the town site, was adjacent to a number of smaller watercourses, including Crookshank Creek¹. This creek arose from what is now Carlton and Jarvis Streets and charted a course southeastwards crossing just northwest of Sherbourne and Shuter Streets. A small unnamed tributary of approximately 400 metres appears to have run around Dundas and Seaton Streets within the study area, and met Crookshank Creek at Ontario and Shuter Streets. Just to the east of the study area was Sumac Creek, which also flowed southeastwards. Both Crookshank Creek and Sumac Creek converged around the mouth of the Don River. There are currently no traces of either creeks or tributaries; they appeared to have been long buried.²

Park Lot Grants and Property Subdivision (1793 – c.1850)

Park Lots 3 & 4 – 1790s to 1830s

In addition to the town site, Simcoe had a portion of the land north of the town surveyed. These prime 100 acre Park Lots were located within the First Concession from the Bay and were 660 feet wide by 6600 feet deep, running north from Lot Street (now Queen Street) to what is now Bloor Street. Land ownership and lot grants were used to reward the gentry for aiding in the governance of the town, and to compensate for their poor salary and relocation costs. The grantees were either military or government officials who were often also granted town lots within the city's original ten blocks. (Figure 3)

Once granted with a lot, the grantees would need to complete specific settlement duties, which included clearing the land, constructing a house on the site, as well as maintaining common roadways. Once completed, the lot would be patented, thus granting title to the land. These procedures were not always consistently applied prior to the granting of a patent. The study area spans the southern half of Park Lots 3 and 4. Park Lots 3 and 4 belonged to two government officials, John Small and John White, who formed part of Simcoe's new Upper Canada government. These two neighbours are best known for fighting a duel on the grounds of the Parliament Buildings in which John Small mortally wounded John White.

Park Lot 3 was granted to John Small in 1796 and patented in 1801. Born in 1746 in England, he was given the post of Clerk of the Executive Council of Upper Canada due to his connections. He was sworn in at Newark (now Niagara-onthe-Lake) in 1793. He was later appointed Justice of Peace of York (1796), Lieutenant Colonel of the York Militia (1798) and Clerk of the Crown and Pleas (1806-1825); he held his posts until his death in 1831.

In addition to Park Lot 3, Small was given a town lot located at what is now Berkeley Street and King Street East. He built a home there called Berkeley House where he resided with his wife Eliza. He also purchased land throughout Upper Canada and established a 400 acre farm known as Berkeley, east of the Don River in Township Lots 6 and 7 in the present-day Coxwell and Woodbine Avenues area. Berkeley House was demolished 1925. (Smith "Park Lot 3")

Park Lot 4 was granted to John White in 1796, and patented in 1797. Born in 1761 in England, White followed his father into law. He was called to the bar in 1785; however, he had limited success in his profession at home. In 1791, his brother-in-law recommended him to the post of Attorney General of Upper Canada to assist William Osgoode who was Chief Justice. White was appointed to the post in 1791, and arrived in Kingston in 1792, moving later to Newark. In 1797, he relocated to York along with the rest of the government. His wife Marianne and his three children joined him in York in 1797 though she left in 1799 with their daughter to return to England.

Marianne White's brief period in York is notable for having instigated the infamous duel between John White and John Small. Eliza Small publically snubbed Marianne White in the tight-knit social gatherings of Upper Canada, and, in retaliation, John White insulted Eliza's character, accusing her of marital infidelity. Small, wanting to defend Eliza's honour, challenged White to a duel, fought on January 3, 1800. White was mortally wounded in the duel, and died the next day. Small was later acquitted in a trial, and White's two sons were sent back to England. Charles, his eldest son, received Park Lot 4 as part of his inheritance, and sold it to Charles Ridout in 1818. (Smith "Park Lot 4")



Figure 3: Plan of York, George Philpotts, 1818 survey, drawn in 1823; study area outlined in red

During this period, the study area remained generally undeveloped. No estate homes were constructed on either of the park lots. The closest development, built in 1796, was Simcoe's cottage 'Castle Frank' at what is now Bloor Street and the Don River. In the 1818 Philpott *Plan of York* (Figure 3), the southern portion of the study area appears to have been cleared, and a road built along what is now Parliament Street. This pathway, heading northwards

through the pine forest, was cut by the soldiers of the Garrison, and likely provided a turn-off access to 'Castle Frank'. The area likely remained undeveloped due in part to its proximity to the Government Reserve lands and to the swampy marshes around the Don River, which bred mosquitos and was considered an unhealthy environment to live. The general growth of the town at the time was westward.

Early Development - 1830s to 1850s

Planning the layout of the study area began in the 1830s. This was spurred by ownership changes within and adjacent to the study area. Park Lot 4 was purchased by Charles Ridout in 1818, and he soon subdivided his property. He sold the eastern third of his property to Edward McMahon and the western third of his property to Andrew Mercer in 1820. Mercer subsequently sold the property to Thomas Gibbs Ridout (Charles Ridout's brother) in 1824. Charles Ridout kept the middle third, which he transferred to his son Samuel George Ridout in 1838. After John Small's death in 1831, Park Lot 3 went to his sons James Edward Small and Charles Coxwell Small. (Smith "Park Lot 3"; Smith "Park Lot 4")

To the east of the study area, the government reserve known as 'The Park' occupied an area spanning south of Carlton Street between Parliament Street and the Don River under Park Lots 1 and 2 down to the shoreline. For several decades, only the Parliament Buildings and the adjacent Blockhouse were constructed within it. In 1818, the government reserve lands were opened for subdivision, encouraging development of the area.

To the west of the study area was Park Lot 5 which spanned from Sherbourne to George Streets. It was originally granted to William Osgoode, transferred to Deputy Surveyor General D. W. Smith and later sold to William Allan in 1819. Allan constructed a brick house on the southern portion of his estate in 1829 and named it Moss Park; a small lane on the eastern side of his property led to his estate. (Smith "Park Lot 5")

The 1842 Cane Topographical Plan of the City and Liberties of Toronto (Figure 4) shows the laneway to Moss Park, and to its east Park Lot 4 divided into the three parcels. It also includes the extension of Berkeley Street northwards into Park Lot 3 and the beginnings of land subdivision, although no buildings are shown within the study area. There are, however, two houses constructed on the middle third and eastern third of the parcels facing Lot Street (now Queen Street) just south of the study area. This is corroborated with the earlier 1833 City Directory, noting a Samuel Ridout, Esq and an Edward McMahon Esq, Chief Clerk in the Government Office, residing on Lot Street to the east of William Allan's property. To the east of these parcels, the 1833 City Directory only noted a John Dempsey, gardener, along Lot Street, which may or may not have been within the Smalls' property.

In 1845, an agreement was made between Thomas Gibbs Ridout and William Allan to widen Allan's lane between their two properties. Allan gave up a twenty foot width, and Ridout gave up a thirty foot width; the new street was named Sherborne Street, after Ridout's home town of Sherborne, England. The spelling of the street eventually morphed to its modern Sherbourne. The new street prompted further lot subdivisions. John Howard, the city surveyor, was brought in to subdivide the land between Sherbourne and Parliament Streets into a grid pattern. (Lundell 1997, 60) The lots, ranging from 100 to 150 feet wide, were then sold individually. These lots in turn were subdivided further by land speculators. An early home along this stretch was Allendale, now 241 Sherbourne Street, constructed in 1856 by Enoch Turner; it backs onto the study area. These subdivisions spurred development in the study area.



Figure 4: Topographical Plan of the City and Liberties of Toronto In the Province of Canada, James Cane, 1842; study area outlined in red

Development and Intensification (c.1856 – 1919)

Development in the Study Area - 1850s to 1900s

The subdivision of the study area coincided with increased immigration in Toronto, as well as the establishment of the railways and industries on the waterfront. With the early town expansion occurring to the west of the original 10 blocks, the east side developed later following the parcelling out of the government reserve lands and the first industries moving into the area in the 1830s. A confluence of factors made this area of the City attractive for industry: access to the Don River, and the harbour and wharves provided both transportation and power for the new factories. A large labour force was required and provided by the large number of immigrants arriving in Toronto, particularly from England, Scotland and Ireland. The Irish Potato Famine of 1847-48 resulted in high emigration, and a number of immigrants found work in the developing local industries. They settled close to their work in the lands just north of the industrial area, which were generally considered less attractive to the middle class due to their proximity to the river and marshes. (Kelly 1984, 3-4)

The largely working class area to the west of the Don River was generally known as Cabbagetown. The name 'Cabbagetown' was originally derogatory and possibly referred to the cabbages the Irish settlers planted in their front gardens, which would give off a strong odour. It should be noted that the boundaries of the Cabbagetown neighbourhood were never precise or fully established. The larger Cabbagetown neighbourhood is bordered on its north by St. James Cemetery, on its east by the Don River, and on its west by Sherbourne Street, but its southern boundary has historically been fluid due to changes over time, particularly through demolition and urban renewal schemes in the mid to late 20th century. The study area forms the southwest part of this larger area of immigrant settlement, and as seen in its growth patterns and development, shares many of the development patterns and community/social changes of the larger Cabbagetown area to the north and east.



gure 5: Topographical Plan of the City of Toronto, Sandford Fleming, 1851, from a survey by J.Stoughton Dennis; study area outlined in red

An 1851 map, Fleming's Topographical Plan of the City of *Toronto* (Figure 5), shows that the main streets bordering the study area were established. Sherbourne and Parliament Streets (roughly the east and west boundaries) were extended northwards: Sherbourne to the Second Concession (Bloor Street), and Parliament to Howard Street. Carlton Street (roughly the northern boundary of the study area) ended at Parliament, and North Park Street (the southern boundary, later Sydenham Street and now Shuter Street) was extended into Park Lot 3. The north-south interior streets of Seaton and McMahon (now Ontario Street) and a truncated Berkeley Street followed property ownership boundaries. Laneways demarcated the two Ridout properties. Seaton Street divided the properties of Samuel Ridout and Edward McMahon, and McMahon Street separated McMahon's property from the adjacent Park Lot 4 belonging to the Small family. Berkeley Street extended northwards from the Small family's town house, and cut through the middle of their park lot. A scattering of cottages and small homes were built within the subdivisions.

The 1857 WS Boulton Atlas of the City of Toronto and *Vicinity* (Figure 6) shows further development and construction. The north-south streets of Seaton and McMahon (now Ontario Street) were extended past Carlton Street, and the north-south street of Berkeley Street reached the east-west street of Beech Street (later Wilton Avenue and now Dundas Street), which connected the adjacent park lots. Gerrard Street now also provided an east-west access-way through the study area. North Park Street, (later Sydenham Street and now Shuter Street) ending at McMahon Street, remained a through-street, but only within the original Small family property. Extensive subdivision and construction occurred on the south end of the study area; some subdivision and construction occurred on the northwest corner, while the northeast corner remained undeveloped. Of note on this map is the house of Samuel George Ridout, located in the middle third parcel south of Carlton Street. He still appeared to own the original portion of land that he inherited from his father.

The 1861 City Directory lists the study area residents as labourers, tailors, seamstresses, blacksmiths, millers, bakers, and carpenters among many others, with most living south of Beech (Dundas) Street. The residents could be categorized as working class.



Figure 6: Atlas of Toronto, William S. and Henry C. Boulton, 1858; study area outlined in red



Figure 7: Map of the City of Toronto, Wadsworth and Unwin, 1872; study area outlined in red

The 1872 Wadsworth & Unwin Map of the City of Toronto - Tax Exemptions (Figure 7) indicates that the study area was fully laid out by this time, and that the majority of the streets and laneways were laid out. During this period, the study area was predominately residential. Homes were particularly concentrated in the area south of Dundas, with the exception of Seaton Street, which appeared to be generally built up on both sides until Carlton. Samuel G. Ridout retained his property along Seaton Street, between Gerrard Street and Carlton Street. Ontario Street was built up until Dundas Street on the east side, but fully to Carlton Street on its west. Berkeley Street does not appear to be built up past Dundas Street. A number of vacant lots remained along Dundas and Gerrard Streets. The few institutional buildings included the Girls' Home (1867), located on the south side of Gerrard between Seaton and Ontario Streets; and the Dufferin Public School (1876) located on the east side of Berkeley Street between Dundas and Gerrard Streets.



By 1884, as recorded in Goad's *Fire Insurance Map of Toronto* (Figure 8), the study area was generally fully builtup, with few vacant lots remaining. The population of the larger Cabbagetown area was growing, drawing a diverse immigrant population, such as the Italians, Jewish, and Russians who arrived in the 1870s and 1880s. (Kelly 1984, 5)

Generally, as recorded in the city directories of the late 1800s, the study area consisted of a mix of working class and middle class residents. Berkeley, Ontario, and Seaton Streets residents were generally working class, with occupations such as dressmakers, carpenters, machinists, gasfitters, and plumbers with some white collar workers, such as book-keepers, salesmen, clerks and policemen. There were a few professionals who lived on these streets, with occupations such as engineering or law. The wealthier merchants, businessmen and professionals resided either along Sherbourne Street or north on Carlton Street. Parliament, Dundas and Gerrard Streets had more commercial occupations, such as grocers and butchers. The residents of Milan and Poulett Streets seemed to be mostly labourers.

The rapid growth in the latter half of the 1800s consolidated the development patterns and general streetscapes of the study area. The development predominately consisted of housing along the inner streets with rear access along laneways and a mixture of residential and commercial buildings along the main thoroughfares of Gerrard Street and Wilton Ave (now Dundas Street). A small number of institutional buildings were also located either within or just outside the study area.

Prevailing Development Patterns - 1850-1900

Housing development

Generally, the grander houses were constructed on the wider streets, such as Sherbourne, Parliament and Carlton Streets that border the study area. These streets were more affluent, with larger, brick houses for wealthier merchants, and provided an alternative to the Jarvis Street corridor. The houses in the study area, however, consisted of smaller row housing, generally for the working and middle class.

The majority of the houses were constructed by professional builders, who would develop a group of up to twenty frame houses on a series of lots as small as ten feet wide, and either sell or rent them. Others were occasionally developed by the end user, who would purchase a plot of land and construct a house with three to four rooms, and later construct additions to the front or back (Rust-D'Eye 1984, 35)

The houses were generally narrow attached or semidetached buildings sharing common walls with their neighbours. They were built close to the street, with a small front garden and a larger one at the rear. Often, two or more multi-generational families lived in the same house. (Kelly 1984, 7)



Figure 9: Bird's eye view of Toronto, Canadian Railway News, 1889; study area outlined in red



Figure 10: 271-273 Gerrard Street, 1951, Toronto Archives (273 was demolished for the realignment of Gerrard Street at Parliament Street)

The houses were typically 2 or 3 storeys high, with a balloon-frame construction with either brick or stucco facades. The buildings were often modified after their initial construction with the addition of brick cladding and decorative detailing to their facades. The interior walls were finished with plaster on wood lath, and the average house typically consisted of 3-4 rooms. The ground floor had a kitchen and family room; the upstairs included one or two bedrooms and a washroom. For houses without a washroom, either an outhouse or a water closet in the basement would have been constructed. Baths would take place in the kitchen washtub, and for those without tubs, at public bath houses. (Kelly 1984, 7)



Figure 11: 255-257 Ontario Street, 1939, Toronto Archives; typical front elevations



Figure 13: 331-333 Seaton Street, 1941, Toronto Archives; Ontario cottages



Figure 12: 154-156 Berkeley Street, 1939, Toronto Archives; typical rear elevations. (These houses along Berkeley Street were subsequently demolished to make way for Moss Park development)



Figure 14: 249-251 Ontario Street, 1939, Toronto Archives; rear elevations and gardens

The rows of houses and their different development produced the existing streetscapes of narrow gabled housing, with each house differing subtly from its neighbour in decoration and materials while sharing the same materiality and general massing. The houses themselves were generally uninsulated; heating was generated by wood or coal. Sourcing heating fuel was an ongoing issue due to an inconsistent supply, which varied from gathering coke from the ashes of the Consumers' Gas Station at the foot of Parliament Street, to collecting discarded wood crates from the St. Lawrence Market, and to salvaging cedar blocks during city road replacements as they moved towards asphalt paving. Wealthier residents had the option of having fuel delivered to their house. (Kelly 1984, 8)

A subsection of the houses were likely constructed in the area by industrialists for their workers. These types of houses consisted of attached groupings of cottages, about 5-6 in total, with small front yards and a communal laneway in the rear. They were small, uninsulated and often overcrowded; unfortunately, they deteriorated quickly due to lack of maintenance. (Kelly 1984, 7) A few potential examples remain at 224-234 Ontario Street, 263-265 Seaton Street, and 251-257 Berkeley Street.

Existing Cultural Heritage Resources

The majority of the cultural heritage resources currently on the municipal heritage register within the study area were houses constructed before the 20th century.

The designated buildings include 77 Seaton Street, 231 Seaton Street, and a row of houses 358-370 Dundas Street. 77 Seaton Street, also known as the William Hall house, is a representative example of a Georgian Style brick detached brick house, constructed by William Hall, a well-known local builder, in 1856. 231 Seaton Street was designated as an early example of the Gothic Revival Style in the neighbourhood, constructed by builder William Dudley, in 1869. The houses at 358-362 on Dundas Street East were designated for their Georgian Style design and craftsmanship; the houses at 364-366 and 368-370 for their Victorian style and decorative woodwork. The majority of listed buildings are constructed in the Victorian era and reflect the predominant styles of that period.

Laneway Development

There are three major interior north-south streets within the study area, bisected by the major thoroughfares of Dundas and Gerrard Streets. Within the early subdivision of lots, the majority of the parcels along all these streets included laneway access from the rear. The 1858 Boulton map shows the study area with laneways; the laneways were developed in concert with the streets.

Generally, the laneways provided rear access to the properties and sheds and for stables for horses. Two laneways in particular, Reid's Lane (now Milan Street) and Sydenham Lane (now Poulett Street) had residential development fronting on them. In the 1890 Goad's Map, beginnings of housing development along Sydenham Lane can be noted. A total of 15 residences were accounted for in the 1890 City Directory on Sydenham Lane, among stables, sheds and rear entrances. As well, an 1890 directory entry for 298 Seaton Street noted a father and his son as the separate occupants of a rear livery building, though it did not have its own address. It is likely that there were additional laneway residences associated with other street addresses that were not accounted for in the City Directory.



Figure 15: 3 Milan Street, 1939, Toronto Archives. Located just south of the study area and was demolished for development.



Figure 16: 6 Ramsay Lane, 1939, Toronto Archives. Located just south of the study area and was demolished for development.



Figure 17: 237 Gerrard Street, 1929, Toronto Archives



For of Toronto Archives, Genes 372, 6072, e30038-10279 Figure 18: 168 Ontario Street, 1951, Toronto Archives. (This building was demolished for the alignment of Shuter Street)



Figure 19: 296 Gerrard at Parliament Street, c1947, Toronto Archives

Commercial and Industrial Development

Commercial development was concentrated along the major thoroughfares of Dundas Street East (formerly Beech Street and Wilton Ave) and Gerrard Street East. Local small stores and grocers were typically located at the corners of the streets. The ground floor would often be the commercial space with the family living on the upper floor. Retail development and offices were more prominently located along Dundas and Gerrard Streets. Within the 1890 City Directory the stretch of Gerrard Street within the study area included a diverse range of occupations such as grocers, druggists, shoemakers, dressmakers, butchers, plumbers, bankers, doctors, and dentists, as well as private residences.

In addition, a limited number of light industrial developments, such as workshops, were interspersed within the residential area. First established in 1879 and in operations for over 30 years, a lumber yard and planing mill was located on the east side of Ontario Street just north of what is now Shuter Street.

Institutional Developments

A number of institutional buildings were established early within the study area, initiating a long history of community and educational services in the neighbourhood that continues to the present day. They included the Girls' School, c1867, one of the first institutional buildings constructed within the study area at the southwest corner of Gerrard and Ontario Street. The Dufferin School was constructed in 1876 on the east side of Berkeley Street, for the occupancy of 600 students. The Haven, a Toronto charity for women, was constructed in 1884 mid-block on the west side of Seaton Street, between Gerrard and Carlton Streets.

In addition, a number of institutions just outside of the study area served the neighbourhood. There were two churches in the area: Parliament Street Baptist along Parliament Street north of what is now Shuter Street, and All Saint's Church at Sherbourne Street and what is now Dundas Street. The Toronto General Hospital and the Trinity College Medical School were located to the northeast of the study area, the House of Providence, an asylum, was located to the southeast, and Allan Horticultural Gardens was established in William Allan's former property, to the northwest of the study area.



Figure 20: Dufferin School, 1900, Toronto Public Library Archives



Figure 21: Girl's Home Playground, 1914, City of Toronto Archives

Increase of Industry and Residential Decline (1920 – c.1945)

Early 20th Century Transportation and Industrial Development – 1900s to 1940s

By the 1900s, the built form and streetscapes within the study area had generally been established. A number of external city initiatives triggered some modifications to the study area. One of them was improving the city's roads. The study area's existing cedar block roads and brick roads were changed to paved ones. Sewer upgrades, gas and then electricity services came to the neighbourhood, albeit later than they did to the rest of the city. Streetcars, first as horse-drawn trams and later electric, serviced the neighbourhood beginning in the late 1800s. A horse car line, established in 1874, ran from Union Station up Sherbourne Street across Carlton Street and then down Parliament Street back to Union. It was electrified in 1894. Also, beginning in 1886, a streetcar service along Carlton



igure 23: Looking east on Wilton Crescent (Dundas Street) west of Sherbourne Street, 1911, City of Toronto Archives



Transformer Actives. Series 372 e0072 scools 12634 Figure 22: Looking west on Gerrard Street at Berkeley Street, 1956, Toronto Archives

Street ran east-west, jogged down Parliament Street and continued eastwards on Gerrard Street, around the periphery of the study area. (Rust-D'Eye 1984, 91-95)

Smaller industrial developments began to move into the study area at the turn of the century, locating near the arterial cross streets. They would often require the consolidation of a stretch of small lots and the demolition of the existing buildings.

One of the larger manufacturers who moved into the study area was the Acme Dairy Ice Cream Plant (originally known as Moores Model Dairy Ltd.). Acme Dairy was located at 254 Berkeley Street; its first warehouse on the site was constructed in 1921. In 1928, the dairy expanded southwards, with a large addition. Acme Dairy also constructed auxiliary three-storey buildings to its rear along Milan Street. This dairy was the subsidiary of a much larger corporation, and remained in operation for a number of years. The building was empty in the early 1990s, demolished, and replaced by a series of townhouses.



Figure 24: Ontario Street from Wellesley Street, c1890, Toronto Archives; although north of the study area, it shows the cedar block paving of the roads in the neighbourhood



Figure 25: Corner of Berkeley and Dundas, looking Southwest showing the old Ontario Laundry Ltd. Factory, 1972, Toronto Archives



Figure 26: Corner of Seaton and Dundas, looking Southeast at the Imperial Optical Company factory, 1972, Toronto Archives

Just north of Acme Dairy was Ontario Laundry Co, which was also constructed in 1921. This business expanded northwards with the demolition of residences along Dundas Street East to construct a larger industrial building in 1942. From a 1972 photo, it appears that the business was renamed Davis Cleaners. (Figure 25)

264 Seaton Street was the Evening Telegram Garage. Two semi-detached houses were demolished c1932 to make way for the two storey brick building on the west side of Seaton Street. The long rectangular building spanned the entire depth of the lot to the rear lane. The garage was later used as warehouses for other businesses, and has since been converted into a condominium building.

Imperial Optical Company was another business that moved into the neighbourhood. The company demolished residences on the south side of Dundas Street between Seaton and Ontario Streets, and constructed a two-storey factory at 365 Dundas Street (Figure 26). They owned many other buildings throughout the city, including their headquarters, located at 21 Dundas Square, designated under Part IV of the Ontario Heritage Act. In addition to the main factory, an auxiliary building at 270 Ontario was constructed to house a storage facility, garage, janitor's residence, and a restaurant for the employees. ("Building for Imperial Optical Co. at 270 Ontario Street" Ontario Jewish Archives)

Just outside of the study area is the former Huyler's Candy Co. warehouse, constructed in 1918 at the northeast corner of Shuter and Poulett Streets. It replaced two residences. The warehouse later served a number of commercial and industrial businesses. (Walkowski 2012)

The introduction of manufacturing into the neighbourhood also coincided with changes to housing and demographics of the neighbourhood triggered by the Depression of the 1930s. The wealthier residents began to move outward into



Figure 27: 7-11 Milan Street before upgrades, July 3, 1939, Toronto Archives



Figure 28: 7-11 Milan Street after upgrades, August 21, 1939, Toronto Archives



Figure 29: 1929 Advisory City Planning Commission Plan of Proposed Arras Road

the suburbs, and the area became increasingly poor. Some homeowners were also unable to maintain or upgrade their houses. (Kelly 1984, 7) Overcrowding in the neighbourhood became common, with an increased number of transient tenants and boarders sleeping in the same room. (Harris 1992, 348-9)

The deterioration of houses in Cabbagetown drew the attention of City officials during the inter-war period. A 1934 Report, known as the Bruce Report after Ontario's Lieutenant Governor Herbert Bruce, proposed drastic changes that affected the periphery of the study area. The report outlined the replacement of substandard housing with government-initiated apartment complexes. The 1938 National Housing Act also created the impetus for direct government intervention in housing. Subsequent versions of the Act included provisions for loans to help develop low-income rental housing and even grants for 'slum clearance' to create sites for new housing. (Bruce 1934) This eventually led to the creation of Regent Park and Moss Park, two housing initiatives just outside the study area.



Figure 30: Looking west from Ontario Street to the Sydenham Street extension, 1953, Toronto Archives

Urban Renewal, Social Change, and Activism (c.1945 – present)

Mid-Century Changes - 1940s to 1970s

The study area saw localized infill during this time in the form of small commercial development. An example is the rear outbuilding of 306 Seaton Street, now known as 17 Central Hospital Lane. It began as a building for the owner of a painting and decorating business. It was later expanded, and by the 1960s, the building was let out as an office for equipment repairs, and subsequently as a workshop for refinishing furniture. It is now used as a recording studio.

275 Berkeley is another property that began as a rear outbuilding of 413-417 Dundas Street. By 1949, it was a live/work studio for an upholsterer, before becoming wholly commercial as the premises of a heating company and woodworking shop.

The mid-century saw a number of road network changes and extensions, both planned and completed, within the study area. In 1929 the Advisory City Planning Commission issued a plan for reshaping the road systems across Toronto, responding to the lack of major thoroughfares and increase in car ownership. Within the report, a new arterial diagonal street identified as 'Arras Street' connecting Richmond to Dundas in a northeastwards direction was proposed, which would have cut through the lower half of the study area. (Wilson, Norman D., 40-45) (Figure 29) While Arras Street was not constructed, Shuter Street (to the west of study area) was connected to Sydenham Street c1953, which resulted in the demolition of a swath of housing. It was also during this period that the Gerrard Street jog was replaced with a curved connection at the southwest corner to align Gerrard Street with itself at Parliament Street. During this construction a stretch of residential and commercial buildings along Parliament and Gerrard Streets were demolished. Gerrard Street was also widened around this time, resulting in the loss of the treed road verge and a decrease of the front yard setbacks of properties fronting the street.

While the study area did not experience large-scale redevelopment akin to what was happening in Regent Park and Moss Park, there were a few properties that saw smaller-scale redevelopment. Seaton House was torn down in 1958, and an apartment building constructed in its place. With the extension of Shuter, a number of new row houses were constructed.

Milan and Poulett Streets also saw a number of changes. As noted earlier, there were a small number of residences located along both of the streets at the turn of the century; however, by c1941, all residential uses were gone. It appears that during this period, the streets were generally used for rear access only. Poulett Street provided rear access for an auto repair shop and a junk yard; both businesses had Berkeley Street addresses. Residential development returned in the mid-1970s with the construction of townhouses first along Milan Street, and then along Poulett Street.

While the mid-century changes within the study area were primarily discreet and localized, this was not the case for the adjacent areas. Large-scale developments resulted in new apartment tower and block housing and urban design patterns that challenged the prevailing low-rise Victorianera patterns of housing.

Regent Park, just to the east of the study area, was constructed in 1948-49, and required the demolition of a multi-block neighbourhood bounded by Gerrard, Parliament, Dundas and River Streets. By the mid-century housing conditions within this working class community were very poor, with the area being colloquially referred to as "the worst Anglo Saxon slum in North America" by historian Hugh Garner. A new development consisting of row-housing and mid-rise apartment complexes in a garden-city style was constructed instead. Regent Park was then extended southwards, with high-rise public housing forms creating large residential super-blocks. (White 2016, 167-70) These projects drastically changed the built and street form of what were initially Victorian-era row housing and narrow north-south blocks.



Figure 31: Sydenham Street looking east from opposite 12, 1952, Toronto Archives



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Figure 33: Gerrard Street looking east from Berkeley Street, 1972, Toronto Archives



igure 34: Looking northeast to Regent Park along Parliament, 1972, Toronto Archives



Figure 35: Map of Moss Park prior to development, c1970, Toronto Archives

To the south the high-rise development of Moss Park was constructed in the 1960s, disconnected from the study area by the creation of the Shuter through-street. It resulted in the demolition of four blocks of Victorian row-housing south of Shuter Street in the area bounded by Sherbourne and Parliament Streets and Queen Street East on its south. Three tall public-housing apartment towers were constructed in a large open setting.

Concurrent with the development of Moss Park was the completion in 1956 of the City's Urban Renewal Study. By 1963, the City began implementing its recommendations, and in particular, targeted three pocket areas for improvement: Napier Place (later renamed Don Mount), Don Vale, and Trefann Court. Napier Place was located in Riverdale, Don Vale and Trefann Court both in the Don District. Don Vale was located in the larger Cabbagetown neighbourhood, northeast of the study area. With funding from the federal government, the City's objective was to purchase the existing dilapidated housing, to demolish them, and to replace them with new public housing, including a mix of row housing and apartment blocks, with reconfigured street patterns. Approximately half of the housing in Napier Place and Don Vale and over 90% in Trefann Court was to be demolished. (White 2016, 203-7)



Figure 36: Map of Moss Park after development, c1970, Toronto Archives



Figure 37: Looking south on Milan Street, c1974, Toronto Archives

Planning, Social and Community Changes from 1970s onwards

The intensive government-initiated development, as well as large-scale projects by private developers, triggered pushback from residents and neighbourhoods. No consultations had been carried out with the affected residents. The City's Urban Renewal improvements sparked a resistance and reform movement that would drastically change the compass of planning policies in the decade to follow. (White 2016, 281-3)

Napier Place, located east of the Don River and south of Dundas Street, was the first and only project to be implemented, having been approved by Council in 1965. Though residents contested it, the project was not halted. By 1968, all properties slated to be expropriated were cleared away, and in 1969, a new public housing project called Don Mount Court was completed, with a mix of low and midrise buildings. (White 2016, 277)

The proposed Don Vale development unfolded differently. This project consisted of two discreet urban renewal blocks, located within the Cabbagetown neighbourhood east of Parliament and south of Carlton. The chosen areas were characterized by their insular location surrounded by more affluent residents, and within proximity to cemeteries, a public zoo, and a small factory. Unlike Napier Place and Trefann Court, Don Vale was experiencing gentrification with young professionals moving into the neighbourhood. Local opposition to the project was fierce. In 1967, a residents association was formed, led in large part by the middle-class locals. In 1968, a Working Committee was formed, allowing City planners and officials to work with the residents to prepare a compromise redevelopment plan. Although it never reached City Council, the resulting plan outlined significant changes including an overarching goal of retaining the character of the neighbourhood, attributing public funds to help maintain the housing (rather than demolish and rebuild), and inviting private development. (White 2016, 204-7, 277-8, 284-6)

Trefann Court, located southeast of the study area, was the third neighbourhood targeted for redevelopment. Unlike Don Vale, Trefann Court was not experiencing an influx of middle class residents; however, increased concern over the negative repercussions of urban renewal attracted outside attention. Led in large part by reform-minded activists including John Sewell (later mayor of Toronto) protests against the project became publicized, assisting the residents to oppose the expropriation of the lands. Both Don Vale and Trefann Court forced the provincial and federal government to include community consultations in the overall process, and galvanized a populist push in Toronto citizens to oppose such large-scaled development. By 1970, the Federal Government pulled their funding, and the City of Toronto cancelled the urban renewal program. Elections shortly thereafter ushered in a new mayor and a number of new reform councillors who searched for a more nuanced approach to urban rehabilitation. (White 2016, 279-84)

The new City Council enacted new planning policies and developed a Central Area Plan, which was approved by council in 1976 and enacted in 1978. In contrast to previous policies, the new plan introduced planning initiatives aimed at addressing growth, streetscape design, and historic preservation. The plan placed limits on the wholesale demolition of blocks, emphasized transit in conjunction with the road network and growth, preserved and allowed for mixed-use zoning, and protected the low-rise urban fabric neighbourhoods outside the financial core. (White 2016, 311-8)

The strong and vocal local advocacy, which pushed for the changes in planning policies, may have allowed the larger Cabbagetown neighbourhood, and potentially the study area, to remain intact and retain much of its low-rise built form. A strong sense of community arose within the study area during the 1970s and 80s, and a number of resident and business groups were subsequently formed. The Cabbagetown Business Improvement Area was established in 1982 within the study area. Its present-day boundaries include the commercial developments along Carlton and Gerrard Streets, in addition to Parliament Street. The Cabbagetown Preservation Association was formed in 1989 to advocate for the preservation of the heritage character of the larger Cabbagetown neighbourhood. Their mandate has now expanded to include educating the public on the history of the area. The Cabbagetown HCD Advisory Committee was spun-off from the Cabbagetown Preservation Association, to provide dedicated support to homeowners with heritage homes as well as to advocate for Cabbagetown neighbourhoods becoming heritage conservation districts. The Cabbagetown South Residents Association was established in 2002 to represent residents within the study area. It is an amalgamation of previous residents' associations, the Seaton Ontario Berkeley Residents Association and the Central Cabbagetown Residents Association.

Change in Social Demographic and Gentrification

The 1960s and 70s were periods of socio-economic change within downtown Toronto's residential neighbourhoods; young urban professionals were 're-discovering' areas like the Annex and Cabbagetown, which had been saved from the large-scale urban renewal and transportation schemes of the 50s and 60s, and were making significant financial investments in the historic houses. Although Cabbagetown Southwest did experience gentrification during this period, it remained comparatively more affordable than the neighbourhood to the east of Parliament.

Cabbagetown Southwest is within close proximity to Toronto's gay village (commonly known as Church and Wellesley or "The Village"). Although the presence of the gay community within a defined geographic neighbourhood in Toronto wasn't recognized until the later 1960s, many gay people had begun to settle in the Church and Wellesley area in the late 1950s. (Bouthilette 1994, 68)

Cabbagetown's close proximity to The Village, as well as a number of cultural institutions such as the CBC, coupled with its relative affordability attracted members of the LGBTQ+ community who in the beginning in the 1960s and 70s began to rent and purchase houses in the area. (Bouthilette 1994, 75) One of the first people to capitalize on the affordable residential prices was the notable Cabbagetown real estate developer, Darrell Kent. Kent had realized a significant profit following the renovation of a 13 roomed house in the Don Vale area, and began selling real estate in Cabbagetown. His influence and profile in the gay community prompted many of his friends who were attracted to the area's location and character to buy in the neighbourhood. ("Darrell Kent 1942-1989." Cabbagetown People) Anne-Marie Bouthillette, in *Gentrification by gay* male communities: A case study of Toronto's Cabbagetown, quoted a real estate agent from 1992 in saying "Darrell Kent's promotion of Cabbagetown let gay singles and couples know there was an affordable place to go that was neither homogenous nor suburban." (Bouthillette 1994, 74) Similarly, Bouthillette writes that Bill Joyce, another prominent real estate agent of the area, noted that about 30% of the properties he sold were to single or partnered gay people. (Bouthillette 1994, 74)

In addition to attracting members of the LGBTQ+ community looking for affordable and attractive housing within proximity to The Village, Cabbagetown also began to attract gay rights activists looking for safe spaces to operate out of. This included Jearld Moldenhauer, founding member of The Body Politic (TBP) and the Glad Day Bookshop. The TBP was a gay liberation newspaper that served as a platform and record of activism, culture, and challenges faced by the LGBTQ+ community, and the Glad Day Bookshop is celebrated today as the world's oldest surviving LGBTQ+ bookstore ("History." Glad Day



Figure 38: Looking northeast toward the Royal Oak Tavern at the intersection of Ontario and Dundas Streets, 1972, Toronto Archives

Bookshop) (Figure 39). In 1973, Moldenhauer and some of his friends purchased a home at 139 Seaton Street, after a controversial article about intergenerational gay relationships generated a backlash in the media that led to the evictions of TBP and its patrons from its previous home in Kensington Market. Moldenhaur recalls that life on Seaton Street was a unique experience: "it was run as a gay male commune, a meeting space, office and layout area for The Body Politic and the next incarnation of Glad Day Bookshop. Display shelves were built in the long narrow hallways on the main floor and customers rang the doorbell to get in. In the basement, we built a work room for the newspaper. It was here we also began collecting the seed materials that gradually evolved into the Canadian and Lesbian Gay Archives." (Moldenhauer, 2016) In 1974, TBP, along with Glad Day Bookshop and the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives (CLGA), moved to 193 Carlton Street, just outside of the study area. (Bébout 2000) The TBP later moved again to Queen and Duncan Streets where in 1977 it was raided by the police, who confiscated manuscripts and subscription lists, leading to a lengthy legal battle over privacy rights. (Jackson 2017) Although the history of the Glad Day Bookshop, TBP, and CLGA was relatively short lived within the study area, advocacy for the rights of LGBTQ+ people in the community has continued to the present day through the work of Egale Youth Outreach and Canada Human Rights Trust, and the Toronto People with AIDS Foundation, located on the periphery of the study area.

Cabbagetown also benefited from being located within close proximity to a number of creative and cultural institution, including the National Ballet School of Canada (111 Maitland Street), the CBC Toronto Production Headquarters (Jarvis Street north of Carlton) and CBC radio studio (509 Parliament Street). (Bouthillette 1994, 74) The gentrification of the broader Cabbagetown neighbourhood has been a contentious issue among residents since the late 1960s. The influx of money and the renovation of the area's housing stock from rooming houses and duplexes to single family homes corresponded with and reflected a shift from the area's diverse demographics to a primarily white collar population. (Fumia 2010, 258-60)

Hugh Garner, a former Cabbagetown resident, commented on the history and changes to the neighbourhood's social dynamics through his novel *Cabbagetown* (1950), which presented insight to the slum conditions of the neighbourhood during the Great Depression. He subsequently followed-up with *The Intruders* (1976), which touched on the anger towards newcomers in the neighbourhood and the growing unaffordability of homes. Garner's opinions were echoed by journalists, including a number of Globe and Mail opinion articles that shared harsh opinions on the newcomers. (Beddoes 1977) Viewpoints from both sides were expressed. In a 1975 Globe and Mail Article titled "No room for winos: Cabbagetown is eager for a facelift", Michael Moore provides an outline and support for the neighbourhood's MPP, Margaret Scrivener, and the Business Associations' plans to create legislation to help with the revitalization of main streets, expansion of the Gerrard/Parliament Street parkette, and to get rid of the 'winos' who loiter in the area. In discussing the community meeting where this plan was presented, Moore recounts how architect Sheldon Rosen illustrated the renovation potential for the derelict buildings and noted that the only people that were not represented at the meeting were the 'winos' who were kept away. These articles serve to illustrate the conflicting notions of community ownership and safety that were shaping public discourse during this transformative period in Cabbagetown, and that in some ways continue to be reflected today.



Figure 39: Various covers of The Body Politic: Gay Liberation Journal, 1973-78, From 40 Years of Pink Triangle Press

Adaptive Re-use of Industrial Buildings

Gentrification, adaptive reuse, and change are part of the history of Cabbagetown Southwest. Industrial buildings replaced houses in the 1930s and 40s, and as industries began to move out of the neighbourhood, these buildings were themselves either repurposed or demolished in turn.

The Acme Dairy Buildings at 254 Berkeley provide one such example. The main building was demolished in 1997, and its site was redeveloped into 20 townhouses. The rear auxiliary building, on the other hand, was redeveloped in 2005 as a live-in residence for mental health patients for St. Jude's Community Homes, which was expanding from the adjacent 431 Dundas Street East, a converted warehouse that they had moved into in 1991. Both the Evening Telegram Building at 264 Seaton Street (c2001) and the Imperial Optical Lens Factory at 270 Ontario Street (c2000) were converted into residential lofts. Others, such as the Huyler's Candy Co. building at 290 Shuter Street, were repurposed into multi-use commercial buildings.



Figure 40: 365 Dundas Street. The former Imperial Optical Factory



Figure 42: 264 Seaton Street. The former Evening Telegram building



igure 41: 270 Ontario Street. The former auxiliary building for the Imperial Optical Factory



Figure 43: 275 Ontario Street. The former auxiliary building for the Acme Works Diary Factory

Evolution of Institutions and Social Services within the Neighbourhood

As noted earlier, institutions have been part of the neighbourhood since its initial growth period in the late 1800s. Over the course of the area's history, these institutions expanded, evolved, took on new mandates, and have relocated with new institutions moving into the neighbourhood taking their place. Overall, the institutional changes have reflected the demographic, economic, and social changes of the community they served. The following survey provides an overview of the institutional changes within the study area.

The Girls' Home (c1867) was first established as a nursery school, with a mandate to care for young girls. It later expanded to accept older children, teaching them housework as a skillset. It was subsequently renamed the Protestant Girls' Home. It remained on its premises at Gerrard and Ontario Streets until 1931. The building was subsequently used for the Toronto Men's Hostel³, and then as the Kingsley Hall Rooming House (for men), before being demolished c1962. A commercial building is now located on the site. (Toronto Public Library 2010)

The Lee School (southeast of the Girl's Home) was constructed in 1909 after the Girl's School's properties on Ontario Street were transferred to the Toronto Board of Education. The City directories indicate the school was used until approximately 1930, after which the site was left vacant for a number of years. Throughout the late 1930s to the latter half of the 20th century, the building was used as a variety of community halls. Currently the building is a legal non-conforming property that is used as a commercial building within a residential zoned area.

The Dufferin School (1876) was a large three-storey Victorian building. Designed by Langley & Burke Architects, it served over 600 students. The school expanded in 1883, with the addition a fourth-storey integrated in a mansard roof; cresting and vanes were also added. Subsequent additions and alteration occured throughout the 20th century. In 2002, the present day school was built, with a retained portion of the former school conserved on-site untill it was removed for safety reasons. This school is still in use as an elementary school (JK to grade 8) serving the children of the neighbourhood. (Rust-D'Eye 1984, 75; Toronto District School Board 2018)

A charity for women, The Haven, was established in 1878 and relocated to Seaton Street in 1884. Its original mandate was to provide aid to released women inmates, but it expanded to provide services for sex workers, unwed expectant mothers, the sick, and those suffering from alcoholism and mental illness⁴. A new wing was constructed in 1893. It remained at this location for over 40 years until 1931, when it became Seaton House, a men's hostel opened by the City of Toronto Department of Public Welfare, serving unemployed men. Seaton House relocated nearby to George Street, and the original building was torn down in 1958 when the current apartment building, now owned by Toronto Community Housing, was constructed. (Graham 1992)

In the 20th century, new institutions located to the neighbourhood. Some, such as St. Jude's Community Homes, adapted older industrial buildings for new uses. Others, such as Central Neighbourhood House, established themselves in purpose-built buildings. Founded in 1911, Central Neighbourhood House is the second oldest settlement house in Toronto. Its original mandate was to improve conditions for recent arrivals to Toronto: it still retains this mandate, providing social services and programmes. Originally located at 84 Gerrard Street East and then 349 Sherbourne Street among other locations, the organization moved into the study area, to 349 Ontario Street, in 1970. The Yonge Street Mission, a Christian organization founded in 1896 on Yonge Street and specialized in providing support and services for the poor, moved into the study area in 1968, and established a youth centre at 270 Gerrard Street East. In addition, the Parliament Street Toronto Public Library branch opened at Gerrard and Parliament Streets in 1955. It integrated the adjacent heritage building, the Edwin Snider House, in 1968. It is now known as the 'Library House'.

Just outside of the study area, the All Saints Church and the Salvation Army both have a long history in providing food, shelter and other services in the neighbourhood. Toronto Community Housing, also, operates a number of sites, both within and just outside the study area.

Community Advocacy

The continued presence of community organizations within this neighbourhood is an integral part of its history. Due to a rise in the late 1980s of homelessness, drugs, and poverty around the study area, a number of services and community groups together with residents' associations mobilized to help address these issues. Residents' association programs over the years have included neighbourhood night patrols, lobbying for street light installations on laneways, addressing broken fences, and working closely with police to address neighbourhood safety.

The activism and work of the community since the 1970s has helped the study area maintain a good proportion of its Victorian housing stock and early 20th century industrial development infills intact. Newer infill housing developments have generally respected the low-scale residential character of the neighbourhood.

Historic Timeline

Date	Event
c11000 BCE	The study area was submerged in glacial Lake Iroquois
3000-1000 BCE	Early hunter-gatherers settled in the Toronto area
с1300 - 1600	The Wendat nation settled in the Toronto area
1600-1700	The Wendat were conquered by the Iroquois; the Iroquois were displaced by the Mississaugas
1787	The North shores of Lake Ontario were purchased from the Mississauga; and the land was surveyed
1793	The Town of York was founded
1796	Park Lot 3 was granted to John Small; Park Lot 4 to John White
1800	John White died in duel fought against John Small; his property went to his son
1818	John White's son Charles White sold Park Lot 4 to Charles Ridout; Ridout soon subdivided his property
1820	Charles Ridout sold eastern third of Park Lot 4 to Edward McMahon and sold western third to Andrew Mercer; Charles Ridout kept the middle third
1824	Andrew Mercer sold his western third to Thomas Gibbs Ridout (Charles Ridout's brother)
1829	William Allen of Park Lot 5 (to the west of study area) constructed Moss Park, a brick house, and a small lane between his property and Thomas Gibbs Ridout's property
c1830	The first industries moved to the east end of town, developing to the south of the study area
1831	John Small died; his Park Lot 3 was inherited by his sons James Edward Small and Charles Coxwell Small.
1838	Charles Ridout transferred his middle third of Park Lot 4 to his son Samuel George Ridout
c1842	The residential subdivision of the Smalls' property began, but no housing construction started. The land subdivision attracted workers of the neighbouring industries
1845	An agreement was made between Thomas Gibbs Ridout and William Allan to widen Allan's lane; the new street was named Sherborne (later known as Sherbourne Street)
c1850	With the expansion of Sherbourne Street, John Howard, surveyor for the City of Toronto, was brought in to subdivide the land between Sherbourne and Parliament Streets into a grid pattern; lots ranged from 100 to 150 feet wide. These in turn were further subdivided by small-time land speculators
c1858	Further subdivisions were completed with a number of houses already constructed at the south end of the study area; area residents were generally immigrants from the British Isles and working for the industries to the south and east
c1872	The roads and laneways within the study area were fully established and laid out; area was predominately residential in nature with commercial buildings along the main thoroughfares and stables/workshops along the laneways
c1884	The study area was rapidly growing and becoming built-up, with few vacant lots remaining. The development patterns and general streetscapes were consolidated. The study area began to draw diverse settlers, including immigrants such as Italians, Jewish and Russians and started to become middle class
c1890s	Upgrades to the study area included improving roads and replacing the cedar block sidewalks and brick with paved surfaces, upgrading the sewers, electrifying the houses, and providing street-car service to the neighbourhood
c1890s	A total of 15 residences were noted along Sydenham Lane (now Poulett Street)
c.1920s	Industries moved into the area and began demolishing smaller residential buildings to construct larger, industrial buildings
c1930s	The Great Depression brought high unemployment and poverty; houses deteriorated due to lack of funding for maintenance and overcrowding of boarders and transient tenants became common

HISTORY & EVOLUTION

Date	Event
1934	The Bruce Report outlined the poor condition of existing Victorian housing and advocated replacing it with new government-initiated apartment complexes, providing the impetus to create large-scaled apartment housing development around the study area
c.1941	All residences along Milan and Poulett Streets were now vacant or demolished
1948-49	Regent Park (to the east of the study area) was developed, resulting in the demolition of multiple city blocks of 19th century housing
1953	Shuter Street was connected to Sydenham Street, which necessitated the demolition of a swathe of housing to accommodate this new road; Gerrard Street was connected at Parliament Street
c1960	Moss Park (to the south of the study area) was developed, from the lands cut off by Shuter Street; a large amount of housing was demolished
c1965	The 1965 Official Plan permitted the development of high-rise structures, spurring development around the study area; row housing along new stretch of Shuter Street was constructed
1967-1968	Residents' association formed which resulted in one of the City's first working committees to ensure city planners and officials heard the opinions of residents
c1970	The new City Council, comprised of reformers who opposed wholesale demolition and construction of high rise towers that displaced local residents, was elected which renewed interest in retaining and conserving existing Victorian neighbourhoods, including the study area
c.1970s	The LGBTQ+ community, including Derrall Kent, moved into the neighbourhood and became part of the gentrification process
с.1973	Jearld Moldenhauer, founding member of The Body Politic (TBP) and the Glad Day Bookshop, moved into the study area. He and other members began the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives (CLGA) in the basement of 139 Seaton Street.
1974	The Central Area Plan, pioneered by the reform council, included ideas about growth, streetscape design, and historical preservation
с1975	New townhouse infill development along Milan Street was constructed
c1978	New townhouse infill development along Poulett Street was constructed
2002	Seaton Ontario Berkeley Residents' Association (SOBRA) and the Central Cabbagetown Residents' Association in the Cabbagetown South Residents' Association were amalgamated

Periods of Significance

The City's *Heritage Conservation Districts in Toronto: Procedures, Policies and Terms of Reference* describes a period (or periods) of significance as a range of time in history that reflects the district or reflects when the district became significant. `

Four periods of significance have been identified from the study area's history and evolution:

- 1. Park Lot Grants and Property Subdivision (1793 c.1850)
- 2. Development and Intensification (c.1856 1919)
- 3. Increase of Industry and Residential Decline (1920 c.1945)
- 4. Urban Renewal, Social Change, and Activism (c.1945 present)

Endnotes

1. Crookshank Creek was likely named for its proximity to John McGill's property, who by 1799 had owned the southern portions of Park Lots 7 & 8 (bordered by Bloor Street to the north, Mutual Street to the east, Queen Street to the south, and Yonge Street to the west), adjacent to where the creek originates. Crookshank was the maiden name of McGill's wife Catherine; Dundas Street was formerly known as Crookshank Street where it crossed these original park lots.

2. The western portion of the study area is part of the Lake Ontario Waterfront watershed, a 72km waterfront along Lake Ontario, and the eastern portion of the study area is part of the Don River Watershed, a 38km long watershed originating from the Oak Ridges Moraine.

3. This time period corresponds to the depression era, and the changes in neighbourhood demographics with a poorer population and high unemployment rates for men.

4. Due to the lack of government-provided welfare services, it was common in the 1800's to jail women for short periods of time, for offenses such as prostitution, drunkenness, mental illness, and poverty. The Third Home District Gaol was located just south of Cabbagetown, at Front and Parliament streets.

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