

CULTURAL HERITAGE ASSESSMENT REPORT



2 Hatt Street, Dundas

City of Hamilton

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CULTURAL HERITAGE ASSESSMENT REPORT: A READER'S GUIDE

This cultural heritage assessment report is prepared as part of a standard process that assists in determining the cultural heritage value of properties and their prospective merit for protection, including designation and/or a heritage conservation easement agreement, under the *Ontario Heritage Act*.

This report is divided into five sections:

Section 1 comprises an introduction including a description of the property location.

Section 2, *Physiographic Context*, contains a description of the physiographic region in which the subject property is located.

Section 3, *Settlement Context*, contains a description of the broad historical development of the settlement in which the subject property is located as well as the development of the subject property itself. A range of secondary sources such as local histories and a variety of historical and topographical maps are used to determine settlement history.

Section 4, *Property Description*, describes the subject property's key heritage characteristics that provide the base information to be used in Section 5.

Section 5, *Cultural Heritage Assessment*, provides a summary of *Ontario Regulation 9/06*, the criteria for determining cultural heritage value or interest for designation under the *Ontario Heritage Act*, an evaluation of the which criteria the subject property satisfies and a recommendation as to whether or not the subject property should be protected under the *Ontario Heritage Act* through designation and/or a heritage conservation easement agreement, including a Statement of Cultural Heritage Value or Interest and Description of Heritage Attributes.

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1. Introduction

This cultural heritage assessment report examines the cultural heritage value or interest of the property located at 2 Hatt Street in Dundas, historically part of the New Dundas Mills industrial complex. The property is comprised of a one-storey stone commercial building constructed circa 1804 that has been modified over time.

The subject property was listed on the City's Municipal Heritage Register on August 15, 2017 (Planning Committee Report 17-013). On July 20, 2017, the Hamilton Municipal Heritage Committee requested that staff report on the potential for designation of 2 Hatt Street resulting in the preliminary evaluation of the property and the recommendation to add this property to the City's designation workplan. The staff report (PED17187) was carried by Planning Committee on October 31, 2017 and by City Council on November 8, 2017.

In 2020, the subject property was added to staff's designation workplan for further research and assessment of the property. As a result of the recent *Bill 23* changes to the *Ontario Heritage Act*, the former staff workplan for designation was rescinded and replaced with a new public list of Candidates for Designation under Part IV of the *Ontario Heritage Act* (see Report PED22211(a)), at which time 2 Hatt Street, Dundas was reprioritized for review for designation by January 1, 2025.

On May 25, 2023 staff held a consultation session with Andrew Hunter, the author of a book on Sophia Burthen Pooley. Following this meeting, staff identified a need to conduct further consultation with Hamilton's Black community. On June 3, 2024, staff circulated a draft Cultural Heritage Assessment Report to the Afro-Caribbean Canadian Association (ACCA) for feedback. On July 9, 2024, staff held a consultation meeting with ACCA for additional feedback on the evaluation of the property. Following this consultation, staff completed major revisions to the report, and recirculated a revised copy on November 21, 2024, followed by an additional consultation meeting with ACCA and the Hamilton Black History Council (HBHC) on December 2, 2024.

1.1 Potential Designation and Next Steps

Extensive research has been conducted to determine the cultural heritage value of the property, which is outlined in this document, and, having met designation criteria, the property is worthy of designation under Part IV of the *Ontario Heritage Act*.

1.2 Property Location

The 0.056-hectare subject property, comprised of a one-storey stone commercial building, is located in the historic downtown core of Dundas at the terminus of Hatt Street, near the northwest corner of Main Street and Governors Road, just south of Dundas Town Hall.

2. Physiographic Context

The subject property is located in the Westlands, a sub-region of the Great Lakes – St. Lawrence Lowlands physiographic region. Dundas lies within the Dundas Valley, the only major pre-glacial valley east of the Niagara Escarpment. The Valley was created by pre-glacial erosion, which cut deep into the Escarpment and then filled the Valley with 160 metres of silt loam, a type of topsoil considered to be ideal for agriculture.¹ The Escarpment walls are composed of 450 million-year-old shale and dolomitic limestone (also called dolostone), which served as the building material for many of Dundas' early structures and was also used in steel production.² The area's topography is largely defined by its proximity to major water bodies, including waterfalls and streams, such as Spencer Creek, which permitted the development of many of Dundas' early industries, including its historic mills, and Cootes Paradise, a wetland that connected Dundas to the western head of Lake Ontario.

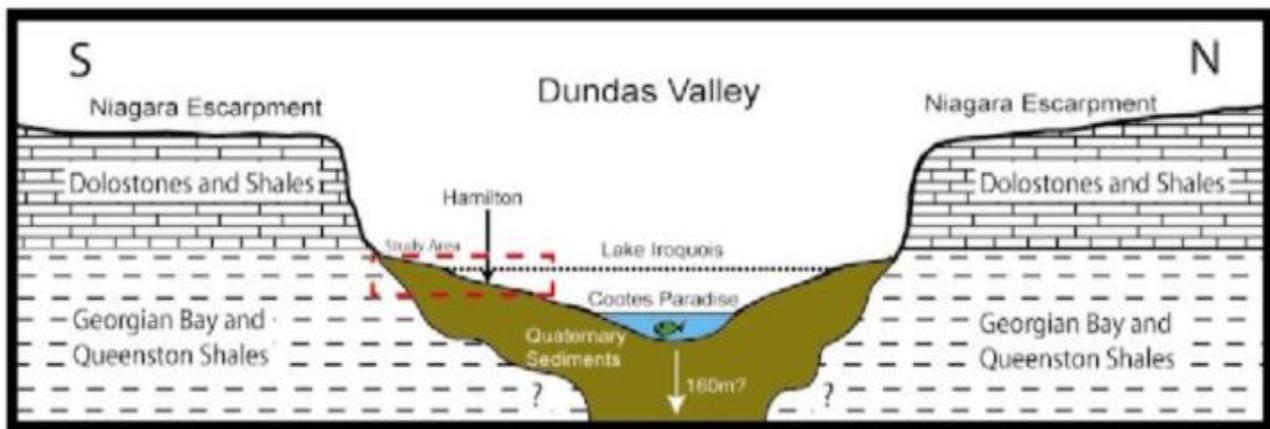


Figure 1: Schematic cross-section of Dundas Valley showing bedrock, sediment infill, and the prehistoric post-glacial Lake Iroquois and contemporary Cootes Paradise (Source: <https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Schematic-cross-section-of-Dundas-Valley-showing-bed>)

¹ Marilyn Miller & Joe Bucovetsky, "The Valley Town: Surveying the Urban Heritage in Dundas," in *Continuity with Change* ed. Mark Fram & John Weiler (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1984), 112

² *Ibid.*, 114

3. Settlement Context

3.1 Early Human Occupation to the Seventeenth Century

The area encompassing the former Town of Dundas has attracted human settlement since time immemorial, with archaeological evidence indicating Indigenous peoples had settled in the area at least 13,000 years ago.³ Historically, the Dundas Valley has been home to multiple overlapping First Nations as part of the traditional territories of the Neutral Nation (called Attawandaron by the Huron-Wendat meaning “peoples of a slightly different language”),⁴ as well as Anishinaabe, Huron-Wendat, and Haudenosaunee peoples. Indigenous oral traditions and histories tell us that, prior to the sixteenth century, the area was primarily occupied by the Neutral Nation, called Neutral

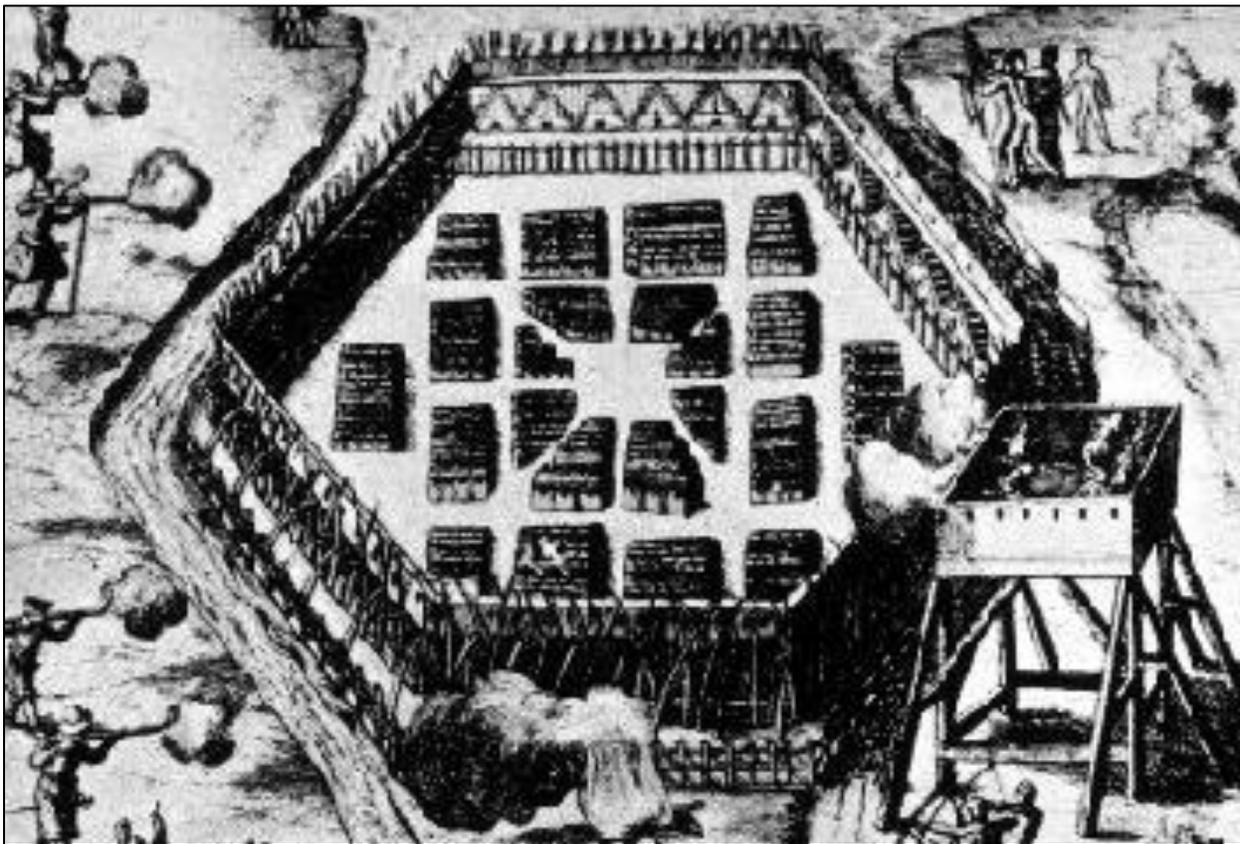


Figure 2: Drawing of a Haudenosaunee village circa 1632, by Samuel de Champlain. (Source: *Les voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale, dicte Canada, faits par le Sr de Champlain*, AGO.98836, Art Gallery of Ontario, <https://ago.ca/collection/object/ago.9>)

³ Ronald F. Williamson, Peter L. Storck, Danielle A. Macdonald, Cam Walker, John L. Fagan, Andrea Carnevale, Andrew Stewart, Peter H. von Bitter, & Robert I. MacDonald, “New insights into early paleoindian (Gainey) associations with proboscideans and canids in the Niagara Peninsula, Southern Ontario, Canada,” *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 47, (2023); Cara Nickerson & Aicha Smith-Belghaba, “Early Indigenous People Hunted Mammoth in Hamilton area, ‘unprecedented’ study suggests,” *CBC News*, (2022), <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/evidence-mammoth-butcher-in-ontario-1.6693736>.

⁴ William C. Noble, “The Neutral Confederacy,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, November 20, 2015.

by early French arrivals for their relatively neutral position in the wars between neighbouring Huron-Wendat Nations and Haudenosaunee Confederacies.⁵

The Neutral Nation's primary territory extended in the area between the Grand River and Lake Ontario. Their geo-political influence extended through far-ranging trade networks that spanned as far as Chesapeake Bay and the Carolinas.⁶ The trails and trade routes established by the Neutral Nation and other First Nations continued to play crucial roles in the movement of both Indigenous peoples and settler arrivals during the early colonial period, and still exist today in the form of highways and main roads, including Governor's Road, Highway 8, and Osler Drive.

The Neutral Nation were close relatives of the Huron-Wendat, whose primary territory was just north of their own.⁷ Like many of their contemporaries, the Nation consisted of a well-established and organized confederacy of horticultural longhouse communities, led by elected chiefs.⁸ While it is not clear when exactly conflict began in the area between Nations, First Nation oral traditions share that it had been a major disrupting force in the period prior to the sixteenth and seventeenth century when the earliest surviving written records related to the conflict were written. In reaction to this conflict, the Neutral Nation moved many of their established settlements towards the area between the Great Lakes, including the areas around what is now known as Dundas.⁹

3.2 Seventeenth Century to the 1763 Royal Proclamation

The seventeenth century was a period of major change and instability in the area, with pre-existing conflict between Nations intensifying because of European influence and incursion. At this early stage of European incursion into Indigenous territories, European powers were still a (rapidly growing) minority, in the early stages of establishing permanent settlements. The introduction of European diseases and commodities, however, had devastating consequences in an already unstable geo-political landscape, playing a major role in the success and proliferation of European settler colonies and the further destabilization of an area already experiencing conflict.

In addition to Europeans, the first People of African Descent arrived in North America at this time. In 1604, the very first recorded Black person to have passed through Canada was an African explorer and interpreter named Mathieu Da Costa.¹⁰ His story is a unique one, as the overwhelming majority of People of African Descent were brought to North America against their will as the property of wealthy European settlers through the

⁵ *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Company, 1896), 193, <https://digitalarchive.tpl.ca/objects/346028/the-jesuit-relations-and-allied-document#>.

⁶ William C. Noble, "Tsouharissen's Chiefdom: An Early Historic 17th Century Neutral Iroquoian Ranked Society," *Canadian Journal of Archeology* 9, no. 2 (1985): 139.

⁷ Alan McMillan & Eldon Yellowhorn, *First Peoples in Canada* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2004), 72-73.

⁸ *Ibid.*; Noble, William C. "The Neutral Confederacy."

⁹ McMillan & Yellowhorn, *First Peoples in Canada*, 86-88.

¹⁰ Dominique Millette, Maude-Emmanuelle Lambert, & Jessica Poulin, "Mathieu Da Costa," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Feb 7 2023, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/mathieu-da-costa>

transatlantic slave trade. In 1628, only 24 years after Da Costa arrived, the earliest known instance of chattel slavery to have taken place in Canada occurred when a child (taken from Guinea or Madagascar) was purchased and enslaved by a French priest and re-named Olivier LeJeune.¹¹ During this time, when European slavers establishing themselves in Africa were still beginning the cruel kidnapping, sale, and transport of Black people to North America, Indigenous peoples were also enslaved to meet the demands of both French and British colonisers. In the period from 1628 to 1700 the number of enslaved peoples in New France, which included the sparsely settled Ontario, included at least 4,092 people (2,692 Indigenous and 1,400 African people).¹²

At this time, the fur trade intensified as First Nations peoples increased their harvest of beaver furs to obtain European trade goods, and Europeans increased their beaver harvest activities as well.¹³ The result was decreased supply and increased demand for beaver furs, which spurred a series of conflicts, known as the Beaver Wars, between the Haudenosaunee and surrounding Nations. The Haudenosaunee's presence in Southern Ontario between Neutral Nation and Huron-Wendat territories (where the Haudenosaunee's traditional beaver hunting grounds were located), also increased pressures on a range of resources.¹⁴ By the mid-seventeenth century, these Beaver Wars, combined with the spread of European diseases and famine, had destabilized the once thriving Neutral Nation. Following the death of Tsouharissen, an important Neutral Nation leader, in 1646, the Nation became even more vulnerable. In 1651, the remaining members of the Neutral Nation were taken captive by the Seneca of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy or dispersed and reabsorbed into surrounding Nations.¹⁵

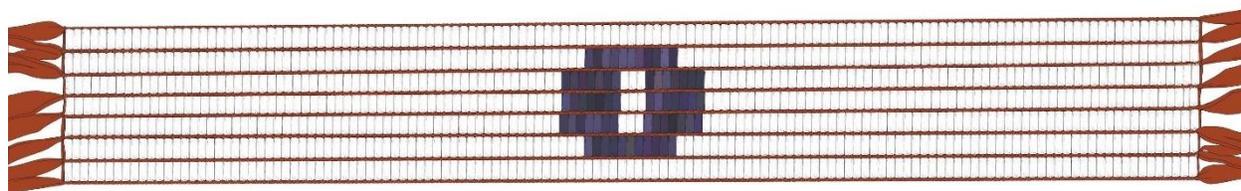


Figure 3: Representation of the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt. (Source: *The Dish with One Spoon, A Treaty Guide for Torontonians*, accessed September 30 2024, <https://talkingtreaties.ca/treaties-for-torontonians/dish-with-one-spoon/>)

Following the Beaver Wars, the Mississaugas, an Anishinaabe Nation who had inhabited the lands east of the Neutrals, moved into the area. In the late-seventeenth century, the Anishinaabe, Mississauga, and Haudenosaunee Nations established peace with the “Dish with One Spoon” Wampum promising that each Nation would share the

¹¹ Daniel G. Hill, *The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada*, (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited, 1992), 3.

¹² Adrienne Shadd, *The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010), 29; Hill, *The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada*, 9.

¹³ McMillan & Yellowhorn, *First Peoples in Canada*, 84-91.

¹⁴ Noble, William C. “The Neutral Confederacy”; Alan McMillan & Eldon Yellowhorn, *First Peoples in Canada*, 84-90.

¹⁵ McMillan & Yellowhorn, *First Peoples in Canada*, 88.

bounty of the land (the dish) together (using one spoon).¹⁶ This was confirmed again in 1701 during the Great Peace of Montreal, with over 1,300 First Nations delegates actively participating in discussions. In this same year the Seneca, Cayugas, and Onondagas of the then Five Nations of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy signed the Nanfan Treaty as a covenant chain agreement with the British Colonial Government, which the Haudenosaunee understood as an agreement to share and protect the Beaver Hunting Grounds territory (spanning from the Great Lakes to the Ohio River Valley) from incursion between Nations participating in the Treaty.¹⁷ The title of the Mississaugas to the land, however, was not considered in this British Deed despite this territory being occupied by the Mississauga.¹⁸

Following this period, which had established relative peace between the French and First Nations in the Great Lakes Region, the area began to experience a modest influx of French settlers (of which there were less than 100,000 across Canada) who established and/or re-established trade posts and fortifications in Southern Ontario and surrounding lands, like Detroit and Niagara.¹⁹ While often overlooked, the early infrastructure European settlers depended on required a substantial amount of labour often sourced from enslaved Indigenous, and later Black, people.²⁰ Records referencing the extent to which enslaved people were forced to build European landmarks, strongholds, and economic ventures are unfortunately sparse, but their impact can be seen in the discourse on labour or the lack of available labour upper and merchant-class settlers required and requested for their economic ventures.²¹ Under the expanding pre-industrial capitalist economic regime of the time, the direct relationship between economic prosperity and labour was solidifying, meaning that control and access to labour was an important means through which individual wealth was grown. As a result, while accurate records pertaining to the presence of enslaved people are sparse, we can see the impact and presence of enslaved people through the financial prosperity of wealthy slave-owning classes.²² At this same time, tensions and conflict grew between the Haudenosaunee and the British as British settlers continued to encroach on the Haudenosaunee's territories to the southeast of the Great Lakes, especially in the area known as the Mohawk Valley.

¹⁶ Victor P. Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon: The Shared Hunting Grounds Agreement in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Valley Region," *Papers of the 28th Algonquin Conference* 28 (1997): 211.

¹⁷ Susan Hill, *The Clay We Are Made Of: Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River*, (University of Manitoba Press, 2016); Jim Windle and Paul Williams, "What About that 1701 Nanfan Treaty?," *Two Row Times*, December 28 2016, <https://tworowtimes.com/historical/1701-nanfan-treaty/>.

¹⁸ *The Rouge River Valley Tract Unsurrendered Traditional Lands: Statement of Claim*, Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation, submitted to The Government of Canada, March 31, 2015, <https://mncfn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/SOC-MNC-RRV-March-31-2015-KAFBS.pdf>.
[SOC-MNC-RRV-March-31-2015-KAFBS.pdf \(mncfn.ca\)](https://mncfn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/SOC-MNC-RRV-March-31-2015-KAFBS.pdf).

¹⁹ Shadd, *The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway*; Afua Cooper, "The Enslavement of Africans in Canada," *The Canadian Historical Association: Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada Series* 39 (2022).

²⁰ Hill, *The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada*, 4.

²¹ Shadd, *The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway*, 34, 50-54.

²² Shadd, *The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway*, 50; "Enslaved Labour," Ontario Ministry of Public and Business Service Delivery, Accessed August 26, 2024, https://www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/explore/online/enslavedafricans/enslaved_labour.aspx.

3.3 1763 to 1800

1763 marked the end of most French claims to land in Canada, harkening the beginning of a new phase of British colonial incursion into Southern Ontario. It also marked the creation of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which, in an effort to reduce settler/Indigenous conflict, promised to protect the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains as Indigenous territory. The immediate impact of this was instability and conflict as colonial government officials, military figures, and British settlers in New England pressured the British Crown to permit expansion towards the Great Lakes, an action which would actively violate both existing Treaties and the Proclamation. In fact, many settlers at this time continued to encroach on Indigenous territories to the West despite the British Crown's efforts to control expansion and limit the potential for expensive conflicts like Pontiac's War, led by Odawa Chief Obwandiyag (known in English as Pontiac). Complicating matters, while few records speak to the presence of enslaved people or free Black people prior to the 1780s, slavery proliferated at this time, meaning that there were additional displaced and migrating populations of Black people as well.²³



Figure 4: Eighteenth-century depiction of two enslaved women working. (Source: "An Overseer doing His Duty", near Fredericksburg, Virginia, ca. 1798. Watercolour by Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Image ID 1960.108.1.3.21, Courtesy of The Maryland Historical Society)

²³ See Shadd, *The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway*, 30.

The American War of Independence (1775-1783) caused the Crown to refocus its colonial settlement efforts to its remaining colonies in Upper and Lower Canada, as tens of thousands of displaced people sought to leave the newly created United States.²⁴ It is at this time that European settlement in Southern Ontario began to supersede that of Indigenous peoples as Loyalists, Late-Loyalists, and British Immigrants, among others, overwhelmed the territory. This was exacerbated by a need to quickly and cheaply construct mass amounts of infrastructure across the territory to sustain the new population, and further intensified by settler desires to capitalise on the new industry opportunities the land presented.²⁵ While Upper Canada did not develop the same type of plantation economies which defined the use of slavery in the American south, the conditions for enslaved people were just as harsh.²⁶

During the American War of Independence, as part of a military strategy, the British Army offered enslaved persons emancipation in exchange for their military service, attracting the support of up to tens of thousands of Black people.²⁷ After the war, many of these people made use of the policy to become what are known as Black Loyalists, obtaining their freedom and triggering the first major wave of voluntary immigration of Black people into Canada. While free, these Black Loyalists had been enslaved under British law by people who were British settlers at the time – and who were still not substantially distinct in either culture or identity from British given that American identity had not yet solidified – complicating the relationships which Black Loyalists had with the British colonial government in Canada. It is also worth considering that those Loyalist and European migrants who arrived during this time were socio-economic beneficiaries of slavery even if they were not directly slave-owners, given that existing trade and economic networks – especially for the upper-class – obtained and invested in products, industries, and social norms which supported slavery. Black Loyalists who made their way to Upper Canada, even in the face of prejudice against them, organized and exercised their rights to land promised to them by the British government, establishing communities in Southern Ontario.²⁸ The continued prevalence of slavery at this time also posed substantial dangers to Black people, who were at risk of being kidnapped and re-enslaved in spite of abolitionist legislation which came to be enacted in the following decades.²⁹

Critically, the British Colonial government did not have pre-existing land agreements with First Nations for the majority of what is now Ontario, and lacked the necessary data, capacity, and presence to actively regulate and control the mass arrival of Loyalist and immigrant settlers, creating an atmosphere in which settler land prospectors and squatters were able to illegally encroach on untreated Indigenous lands. In addition, a

²⁴ Miller & Bucovetsky, “The Valley Town,” 115.

²⁵ Hill, *The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada*, 15; Shadd, *The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway*, 34, 52-53.

²⁶ Cooper, “The Enslavement of Africans in Canada,” 7.

²⁷ “Timeline: Black History,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed July 10, 2024, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/timeline/black-history>; see also Channon Oyeniran, “Black Loyalists in British North America,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, March 25, 2019, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/black-loyalists-in-british-north-america>.

²⁸ Shadd, *The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway*; Cooper, “The Enslavement of Africans in Canada.”

²⁹ Shadd, *The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway*, 27-29, 61.

large wave of Haudenosaunee peoples also migrated to Southern Ontario, having been promised rights to protected land in exchange for their support during the War, in part through the Nanfan Treaty. These Haudenosaunee people would eventually obtain a promise of unimpeded rights to what is known today as the Haldimand Tract, establishing the Six Nations of the Grand River. While both Mississauga of the Credit (Anishinaabe) and Haudenosaunee people have used and occupied land in Southern Ontario over time in history, the Mississauga became the primary Indigenous occupants of the Greater Golden Horseshoe area following the Neutral Nation in the eighteenth century. The Mississauga however, had a smaller population than the Haudenosaunee who were migrating to Southern Ontario as a result of two centuries of colonial dispossession, war, and conflict, limiting their abilities to push back the mass wave of settler migrants. As a result of this, the Mississauga signed a series of important and binding treaties during this time, including the Between the Lakes Treaty, first negotiated in 1784 but updated in 1792, which mediated the arrival of both settlers and Haudenosaunee people.³⁰ Ultimately, from 1783-1812, the Crown negotiated 15

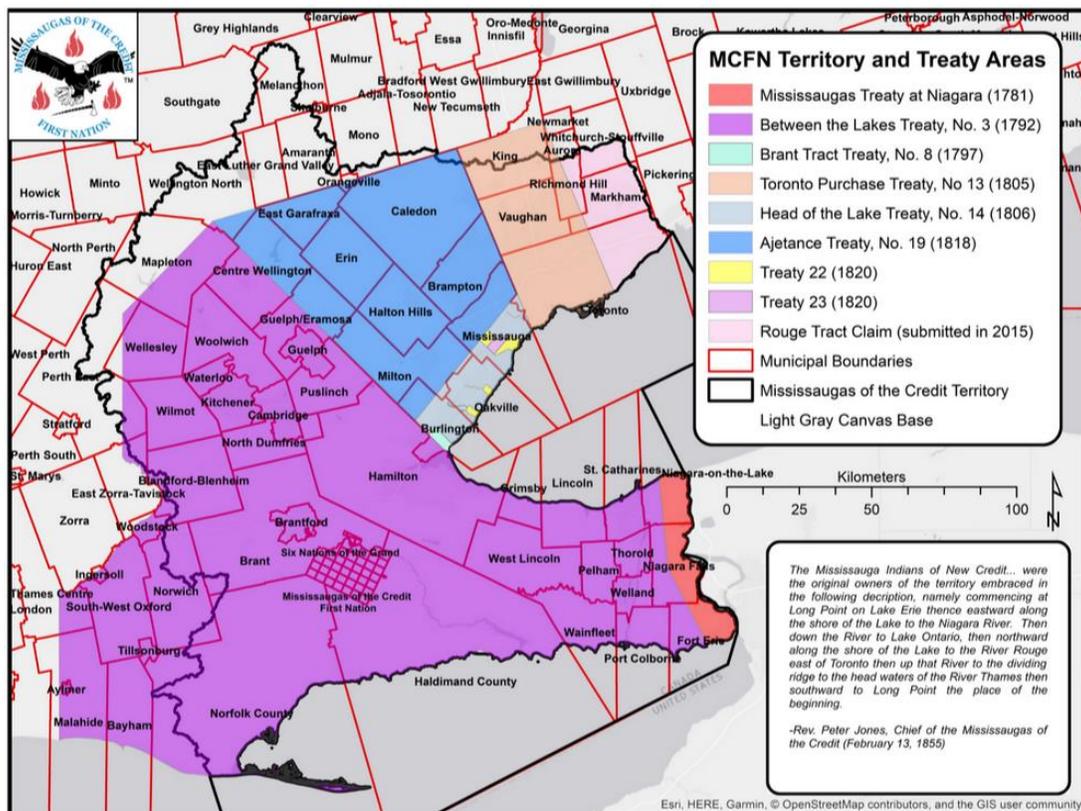


Figure 5: Map showing territories subject to treaties with the Mississaugas of the Credit, including the Between the Lakes Treaty, in purple. (Source: Municipalities within Mississaugas of the Credit First

³⁰ Between the Lakes Purchase and Collins Purchase, No. 3, 1792, *Government of Canada*, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1370372152585/1581293792285#ucls5>; Between the Lakes Treaty, No. 3 (1792), Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation, Accessed July 10, 2024, <https://mncfn.ca/between-the-lakes-treaty-no-3-1792/>; *The Rouge River Valley Tract Unsurrendered Traditional Lands: Statement of Claim*, Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation.

treaties with Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee peoples in Southern Ontario, which would eventually be broken by Upper Canadian government and settlers.³¹

3.4 The Founding of Dundas and the Nineteenth Century

Beginning in 1791, Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe (1752-1806) appointed Augustus Jones (1757-1836) as Provincial Land Surveyor, directing him to lay out Townships from the Niagara River.³² Jones' initial survey included the Township of Geneva, made up of four concessions along the broken front of Lake Geneva, now known as Hamilton Harbour. An additional ten concessions were surveyed to the north of Geneva and amalgamated with the Township and lands surrounding the Dundas area to form the Township of Flamborough in 1793.³³ At this time a highway, which would follow pre-existing and long-established First Nations route running through Dundas from York (now Toronto) to London, first known as Governors Road but eventually named Dundas Street,³⁴ was also opened. Dundas' location at the intersection of this road and others leading to important settlements, like Niagara, lent it strategic importance during this time. As a result, 60-acres were reserved for the development of a garrison town which was surveyed in 1803, although the town's centre would eventually materialise around budding industry along Spencer Creek.

The earliest documented Euro-Canadian settler in Dundas was Anne Morden (1743-1832), a Loyalist Quaker widow from Pennsylvania who travelled to Fort Niagara in 1786 with her nine children. Additional settlers soon followed with several more Loyalist families living in the area by 1787.³⁵ Early settlers in the Dundas area were concerned with building basic infrastructure, clearing and cultivating land, and selling grain to nearby mills in Grimsby or Ancaster. While records related to Black and enslaved people are sparse, there were Black enslaved people in the Dundas area at this time whose labour played a critical role in the construction of local infrastructure and contributing to the growth of Euro-Canadian Loyalist wealth. For example, Samuel Hatt, who is known to have enslaved Sophia Burthen Pooley (see **Section 3.5.2** below), and signed on the indenture of Eli Brakenbridge, a Black orphaned child, after it had been

³¹ "Map of Ontario Treaties and Reserves," Ontario, Webpage, 2018, <https://www.ontario.ca/page/map-ontario-treaties-and-reserves>.

³² Miller & Bucovetsky, "The Valley Town," 115.

³³ Miller & Bucovetsky, "The Valley Town," 115.

³⁴ In 2021, the City of Toronto Council voted to rename the section of Dundas Street that runs through Toronto, due to Henry Dundas' 1792 amendment to a motion to abolish the slave trade in Britain and its colonies. Instead of immediately abolishing the slave trade as initially proposed Dundas suggested the word 'gradually' be added, arguing the immediate abolition of slavery would force the trade underground or allow merchants from other countries to fill the gap. He later proposed a plan to gradual abolition by the end of 1799, though the motion eventually deferred and finally dropped from the House of Lords due to the French Revolutionary Wars. The slave trade was not outlawed in the British Empire until 1807, and slavery was not completely abolished until 1834. In 2020, former Dundas ward Councillor Arlene VanderBeek received three requests from two individuals in the community to rename Dundas, though nothing has come of these requests thus far.

³⁵ T. Roy Woodhouse, *The History of the Town of Dundas Volume 1* (Dundas: Dundas Historical Society, 1968), 7-8.

made illegal to enter into an indenture without consent in 1810.³⁶ Other early Dundas and Head-of-Lake families known to have enslaved Black people include the Beasleys, Mordens, Durands and Chryslers,³⁷ with the success of early settlers and the construction of many buildings and much infrastructure at this time being directly attributable to the labour of these enslaved people.

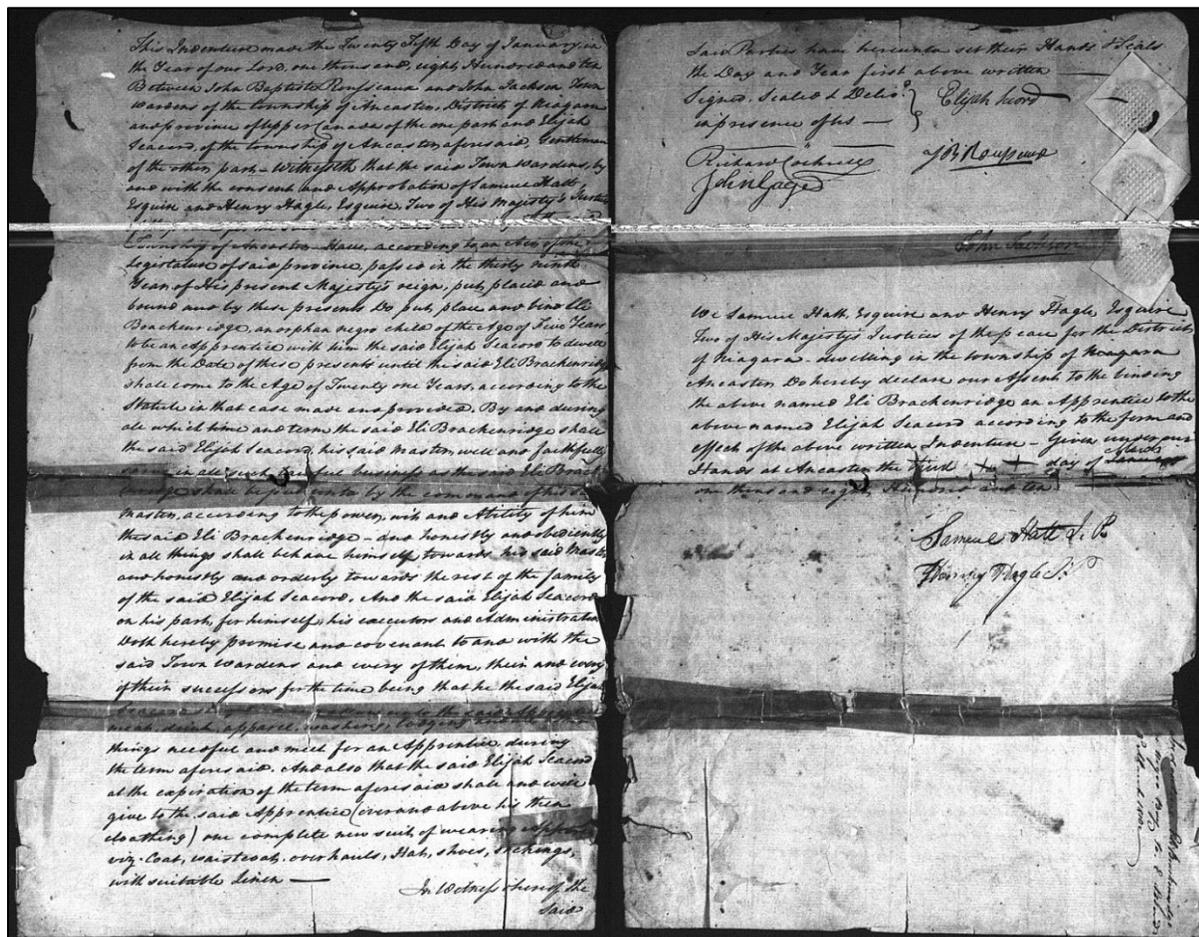


Figure 6: Indenture of Eli Brakenbridge, a Black boy, as an apprentice into the service of Elijah Secord, signed by Samuel Hatt. (Source: Indenture of Apprenticeship of Eli Brackenbridge, File F 493-1-0-102, Microfilm MS 7294, part of Jean Baptiste Rousseau Family Personal and Business Correspondence, Archives of Ontario)

3.4.1 The New Dundas Mills

While there were settlers in the area as early as the late 1780s, the founding of the Town of Dundas is often accredited to the opening of the New Dundas Mills in 1804 when Richard Hatt (1769-1819) and his brother Samuel Hatt (1776-1842) jointly purchased the mill with Manuel Overfield (1773-1839).³⁸ Richard Hatt immigrated to Upper Canada from England in 1792, and in 1794 was working as a mercantile clerk in

³⁶ Shadd, *The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway*, 50-52.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 33-38.

³⁸ Robert L. Fraser, "Richard Hatt," in *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, Volume 1*, ed. T. Melville Bailey (Canada: W.L. Griffin, 1981), 96.

Niagara-on-the-Lake. While there, Richard petitioned local government on behalf of his father for a substantial tract of land, stating in his petition that the family's wealth and English origins made them more desirable than unscrupulous American born people of European descent (American national identity had yet to solidify).³⁹ By 1796, Richard's family including his father, brother Samuel, and six indentured servants, had joined him in Upper Canada, and by 1798 the Hatts had settled in Ancaster and opened a gristmill, called the Red Mill. The Hatt brothers actively worked to influence the geography of the area, widening an Indigenous trail that ran northeast of the village to attract more business by providing increased access to the mill, today known as Old Dundas Road.

The Red Mill, however, was unsuccessful, as much of the area's business was monopolized by nearby Jean Baptist Rousseaux (1758-1812). Part of Rousseaux's success can be attributed to his far-reaching network, being fluent in the Kanien'kéha (Mohawk) language and having built a close relationship with influential persons like Thayendanagea (Tie-end-a-nay-guh), also known as Joseph Brant (1743-1807). Rousseaux's own mill had also been founded several years earlier, in 1791, in partnership with Richard Beasley (1761-1842).⁴⁰ Beasley is also known to have enslaved people, and while there is no clear evidence that this mill was built using the labour of enslaved Black people, the funds Beasley used to finance the construction of the mill had certainly been accrued in part as a result of the exploitation of Black labour.⁴¹ While often only included as a footnote in the history of the region, it is important to remember that the accomplishments of those early individuals, speculators, and founders of settlements in the Head-of-the-Lake region were not achieved in a vacuum. Wealthy upper-class men, for example, did not build mills and roads themselves – they used their financial and socio-political influence to obtain land, and had indentured workers, servants, or enslaved people build on the land for them. Their wealth itself in many cases was built partly on investments and engagements with Americans, where slavery defined the economy. The resulting products, infrastructure, and buildings then generated wealth for these individuals as they were operated by working people – with the sale of these properties and their outputs to Loyalists who may not have been directly involved in slavery still supporting and sustaining existing economic networks which depended on it.

In 1799, while the Hatts were struggling to find the financial success they had hoped for, Anne Morden's son Jonathan constructed a sawmill along Spencer Creek, to which a gristmill was later added by Edward Peer.⁴² The mill was known as the Dundas Mill for its proximity to Dundas Street.⁴³ In 1801 and 1802, brothers Richard and Samuel Hatt, petitioned the government for milling rights at the head of Coote's Paradise.⁴⁴ Once granted, they, along with Manuel Overfield, jointly purchased the Dundas Mill property

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ *Ancaster's Heritage*, ed. Paul Grimwood (Ancaster Township Historical Society, 1973), 13; Robert L. Fraser, "Richard Hatt," in *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, Volume 1*, ed. T. Melville Bailey (Canada: W.L. Griffin, 1981), 96.

⁴¹ Shadd, *The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway*, 36-37.

⁴² Edward Peer was a blacksmith who was known to be hostile to Indigenous peoples – having reportedly shot an Indigenous man for taking one of his blankets. See *Ancaster's Heritage*, ed. Grimwood, 18.

⁴³ T. Roy Woodhouse, *The History of the Town of Dundas Volume 1*, 14.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 17.

including water rights, the saw mill, and a dam, and had a new, larger mill, potashery, stills, pig sties, a general store (believed to be present day 2 Hatt Street) built on the property – calling it the New Dundas Mills. By 1807, this mill had become an industrial success, which in turn attracted new settlers and industry to the area. It is not known who the labourers were in the construction of the New Dundas Mill, but it likely included the labour of the six white indentured servants which the Hatts brought to North America, alongside that of enslaved Black people like Sophia Burthen Pooley, who is unlikely to be the only person to have been enslaved by the Hatt family.

Likely around the time that the New Dundas Mill was opened, the area became known as Anonhwarore'tsherakoyòn:ne in the Kanien'kéha language, meaning the place of the old hat – possibly in reference to Richard Hatt, who was the eldest of the Hatt brothers.⁴⁵ If this is the case, this term reflects the relationship the Hatts developed with



Figure 7: The New Dundas Mills circa 1900. (Source: Dundas Mill, P-2223, Photograph Collection, Dundas Museum and Archives)

⁴⁵ This word and translation for Anonhwarore'tsherakoyòn:ne was obtained from Brian Maracle during a session on Mohawk Language in July 2024 held by the Two Row on the Grand. While the term may reference the elder Hatt brother given that Kanien'kéha place names often reference the relationship between people and that place, the original story behind the naming of Anonhwarore'tsherakoyòn:ne (Dundas) is not recorded in any reference materials found to date.

Kanien'kéha speakers, including but not limited to Sophia Burthen Pooley, Joseph Brant, Teyoninhokarawen (John Norton, c. 1784-1825), and Rousseaux.⁴⁶ In English the town would not become known as Dundas until 1814, when the Crown opened the Dundas Post Office, so named for its proximity to Dundas Street.

In 1806, Samuel Hatt sold his share of the New Dundas Mill to Richard, having remained in Ancaster to operate the existing general store, maintaining a position of wealth and authority. During the War of 1812 Samuel served as a captain in the British forces, and by 1816 he was in Chambly, Quebec, where he became a powerful and wealthy (having purchased a mansion and land for 13,000 pounds) member of the Legislative Council.⁴⁷ By 1808, Manuel Overfield's share of the mill had also been purchased by Richard Hatt, turning him into the mill's sole proprietor.⁴⁸ Richard Hatt's reputation and influence in Upper Canada continued to grow during this time, as he was appointed a Justice of Peace in 1800, petitioned Dundas to become the administrative centre for the area in 1810, served as a Major in the War of 1812, and was elected to the House of Assembly in 1817.⁴⁹ Simultaneously, Richard Hatt strategically expanded his milling industry, attracting and employing new settlers, developing a concentrated core of settlement in what is now Dundas. Hatt improved water and road corridors, clearing and deepening Spencer Creek, and opened several businesses to support the mill's expansion, including a cooperage (which made barrels in which to ship the processed flour in), two storehouses, a blacksmith shop, and a farm.⁵⁰

After Richard Hatt's death in 1819, James Bell Ewart (1801-1853) began leasing the industrial complex, eventually purchasing the property in 1838, subleasing the buildings to other individuals. This included 2 Hatt Street, which had been converted into a blacksmith's shop circa 1818 and continued to operate as such for 125 years.⁵¹

3.4.2 Sophia Burthen Pooley and Enslaved People in Dundas

Sophia Burthen Pooley (circa 1775/78 – circa 1860) was an enslaved Black woman who arrived in Ontario during the Loyalist migration wave into Upper Canada. In 1856, Sophia was interviewed about her life by a Quaker abolitionist, who published the interview that provides a rare firsthand account from an enslaved person in Upper Canada in the eighteenth century.

⁴⁶ In collaboration with Bruce A. Parker, "HATT, RICHARD," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003. Accessed August 1, 2024, https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hatt_richard_5E.html.

⁴⁷ Collaboration with Parker, "HATT, RICHARD," https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hatt_richard_5E.html; Fraser, "Richard Hatt," 96; "Samuel Hatt," Assemblée Nationale du Québec, 2009, <https://www.assnat.qc.ca/fr/patrimoine/anciens-parlementaires/hatt-samuel-209.html>; Paul-Henri Hudon, "Un Personnage Historique de Chambly Mal Connu, Samuel Hatt," *Journal le Montérégien*, April 21, 2020, <https://journallemonteregien.com/un-personnage-historique-de-chambly-mal-connu-samuel-hatt/>.

⁴⁸ T. Roy Woodhouse, *The History of the Town of Dundas Volume 1*, 15-16.

⁴⁹ Collaboration with Parker, "HATT, RICHARD," https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hatt_richard_5E.html.

⁵⁰ Sophia Burthen Pooley in Benjamin Drew, *A Northside View of Slavery* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1856), <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/drew/drew.html>.

⁵¹ T. Roy Woodhouse, *The History of the Town of Dundas Volume 3* (Dundas: Dundas Historical Society, 1968), 16.

Sophia was born into slavery in Fishkill, New York, circa 1775-78. At this time, slavery of Black people by way of the Dutch slave trade was a defining feature of New England colonial settlement, and Fishkill was no exception with Black enslaved people making up a substantial portion of its population.⁵² While little is known about her early childhood, Sophia reported that she was violently stolen from her parents Dinah and Oliver when she was seven years old by her 'master's sons-in-law,' Daniel Outwaters (1755-1827) and Simon Knox (1732-1832).⁵³ Outwaters and Knox (also spelled Noakes, Naks, Naxon, and Noxon) took her up the Genessee River to Lake Ontario, before bringing her to Niagara where she was sold. While both men are listed in American registers during the War of Independence, they both also became Late-Loyalists by the early 1800s.⁵⁴ Knox is first recorded in Canada in 1799 before filing a Loyalist land petition in 1800 in Potton, Quebec. Outwaters similarly likely left Fishkill in 1800 after a warrant for his arrest was issued,⁵⁵ settling with his family in Canada in Adolphustown by 1803, eventually filing Loyalist land petition in 1810.⁵⁶ The immigration and involvement of these two men in the settlement of Ontario during this time speaks to the direct and complicit ties between the colonial development of early Ontario and slave economies – the money these men used to build their reputations and purchase land and goods came from the sale of humans and the labour of enslaved people in the slave-dependent industries which defined their hometowns. Sophia's likely first slaver was Joseph Harris (1727- circa 1785), Outwater's father-in-law by Joseph's first wife and Knox's father-in-law by his second wife, and a marked 'Tory' (Loyalist) during the American War of Independence.⁵⁷ These details highlight the direct involvement of people who would become Canadians in the cruel institutions of slavery in North America.

It is not precisely known when Sophia was brought to Niagara. Her account offers some information into approximate timelines, but these are only estimates rather than precise dates. Historic records show that this event may have taken place circa 1785, supported by the facts that Simon Knox did not become Joseph Harris's son-in-law until 1780 and that Joseph Harris died circa 1785. Upon her arrival in Niagara Sophia was purchased by Joseph Brant, who would have also been returning to Niagara from Cataraqui near the mouth of the Genessee River around the same time in early 1785.⁵⁸ Joseph Brant was an important Haudenosaunee military leader and wealthy political

⁵² Michael E. Groth, *Slavery and Freedom in the Mid-Hudson Valley*, (New York: SUNY Press, 2017), 6.

⁵³ Pooley in Drew, *A Northside View of Slavery*.

⁵⁴ Andrew Hunter, *It Was Dark There All the Time: Sophia Burthen and the Legacy of Slavery in Canada*, (New Brunswick: Goose Lane Editions, 2022); Patricia A. Wardell, "Outwater," *Early Bergen County Families, compiled by Pat Wardell*, Accessed July 10, 2024, <https://silo.tips/download/early-bergen-county-families-compiled-by-pat-wardell-130-crestview-drive-englewo>; "Simon Naxon," Reference RG 1 L3L, Microfilm Reel C-2493, Item Number 64637, Pages 708-711 (1800).

⁵⁵ Arrest Warrant for Daniel Outwater, Dutchess County, NY Ancient Documents, Document number 58515, (1800), <https://www.dutchessny.gov/Departments/County-Clerk/Ancient-Document-Search.html>

⁵⁶ Wardell, "Outwater," *Early Bergen County Families*.

⁵⁷ Kathlyne Knickerbacker Viele, *Viele Records 1613-1913*, (New York: Tobias A. Wright, 1913), 112; DeWitt, Mary, *Harris Family Group Sheets*, GSBC, (Ridgewood Public Library, Ridgewood, NJ.) Accessed July 10, 2024, <https://dutchgenie.net/GSBC-familyfiles/familyfiles/g0/p505.htm#i38175>.

⁵⁸ Isabel Thompson Kelsay, *Joseph Brant 1743-1807: Man of Two Worlds* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 364-367.

player who, unlike many of his contemporaries, spoke, read, and wrote English fluently. In 1780, Joseph Brant married his third wife Catherine Croghan/Adonwentishon (1759-1837), who was either the sister or niece to Johannes Tekarihoga, an appointed leader by the Mohawk hereditary council, furthering his political status.⁵⁹ While it is difficult to understand Catherine's role as a slaver herself, her mixed background as the daughter of a Kanien'kéha woman and a wealthy white British agent, major landowner, and slaver in New York can help inform an understanding of her complacency with slavery.⁶⁰

In her 1855 account, Sophia noted the rapidly changing demographics in the late 1700s, remarking that she thought she was "the first colored girl brought to Canada" and that "there were hardly any white people in Canada then - nothing here but Indians and wild beasts."⁶¹ She also remarked that she only knew of two other 'colored men' enslaved by Brant – Simon Ganseville and the 'father of John Patten' (Prince Von Patter).⁶² This contradicts some publications which indicate that Brant may have enslaved as many as 20 to 40 Black people over his life,⁶³ but the original source which quantifies this figure is presently unclear. The legal status of Black people was complex at this time, making it difficult to confirm precisely how many Black people there were in Upper Canada at all, and of them how many were enslaved.



Figure 8: Painting of what may be Coote's Paradise, circa 1860. (Source: John Herbert Caddy, *Three men fishing, possibly in Coote's Paradise, near Hamilton, C.W.*, Item 2838090, R9266, Library and Archives Canada)

⁵⁹ Ibid., 272-279.

⁶⁰ Nicholas B. Wainright, *George Croghan: Wilderness Diplomat*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959).

⁶¹ Pooley & Drew, *A Northside View of Slavery*.

⁶² Ibid; 'Prince Van Patter's Will,' National Archives of Canada, MG19, Vol. F19, # R2912-0-5-E, The Brown Collection.

⁶³ See Shadd, *The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway*; Hill, *The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada*; Kelsay, *Joseph Brant 1743-1807: Man of Two Worlds*; Hunter, *It Was Dark There All the Time*.

This is further complicated by assumptions both in law and in practice that to be Black was to be a slave and that terms like ‘servant’ were used as euphemisms for enslaved people.⁶⁴ Additionally, Brant held a number of prisoners and captives who were not free, and were neither enslaved, making it difficult to precisely differentiate and tally people held under Brant’s authority as either slaves, prisoners, or captives. Furthermore, free and enslaved Black people lived and worked together for the same slave-owners, complicating our understanding of the historical landscape and narrative of freedom.⁶⁵ In any case, while the precise number of Black people enslaved by Brant over his life is unknown, it is likely that number was higher than what Sophia recounted. Regardless, Sophia’s account reflecting an experience of isolation from other Black people and communities⁶⁶ brings complexity to our understanding of Brant’s status as a slaver and participation in slavery in the last decades of his life in Upper Canada.

Sophia described Brant as peacemaker and diplomat (possibly in reference to his position as an honorary Pine Tree Chief – a distinct title from *royaner*⁶⁷ - in the Haudenosaunee council), and she recalled sharing the latter part of her childhood with the children of Joseph and Catharine Brant (the eldest of which was born in 1784) around Dundas and Ancaster, meaning that she would have been present in Dundas prior to Samuel Hatt and may have known the Hatts before she was sold and enslaved by them. However, Sophia also remarked that she received cruel treatment by Brant’s third wife, Catherine, who would beat her for not understanding the Kanien’kéha language and permanently scarred her face on two separate occasions with a hatchet and a knife, respectively. When Brant learned what his wife had done, Sophia said that he “was very angry...and punished her as if she had been a child...[He said] you know I adopted her as one of the family, and now you’re trying to put all the work on her.”⁶⁸ While Sophia did not recount ill-will towards Brant, her experience suffering at the hands of his wife is an important reminder of the cruel realities of her legal position as *property* rather than as an adopted daughter. Further, the implications of Brant’s involvement on any scale in chattel slavery via the purchase and sale of human lives remains an important reality to acknowledge, with sources reliably indicating he did not oppose slavery.⁶⁹

In all, Sophia’s recounted story reflects the nuanced complexities of the lived experiences of People of African Descent who were enslaved, having built real relationships with Brant and his family members throughout her time with them but being harshly reminded of her status as chattel rather than a person in the eyes of her enslavers. Comparatively, in addition to enslaving Black people like Sophia, Brant held white prisoners captive like Margaret Cline (circa 1759 – 1823), a woman who had been

⁶⁴ Shadd, *The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway*, 42.

⁶⁵ Cooper, “The Enslavement of Africans in Canada,” 25-26; see also ‘Prince Van Patter’s Will.’

⁶⁶ Cooper, “The Enslavement of Africans in Canada.”

⁶⁷ Royaner is the Kanien’kéha position in Haudenosaunee governance often translated into English as either chief or hereditary chief. Rick Monture, *We Share our Matters: Two Centuries of Writing and Resistance at Six Nations of the Grand River*, (University of Manitoba Press, 2014), 32-34.

⁶⁸ Pooley & Drew, *A Northside View of Slavery*: Catherine was also reportedly remembered as an unpleasant woman by Margaret Cline, a white woman taken as a war prisoner by Joseph Brant. *Ancaster’s Heritage*, ed. Grimwood, 23.

⁶⁹ Kelsay, *Joseph Brant 1743-1807: Man of Two Worlds*, 533.

taken as a prisoner in her youth in New York's Mohawk Valley (not far from Dutchess County where Sophia was born).⁷⁰ While Margaret was a captive she was given freedoms which Sophia was not, marrying Jean Baptiste Rousseaux (another local figure who had been complicit in slavery) the miller in Ancaster in 1787 with Brant's blessing.⁷¹ While this context sets a precedent for Brant's political motives through the transfer of people in the area, the treatment of Margaret as an individual with agency and choice compared to that of Sophia, who was sold, reflects the clear difference in status and agency afforded to Sophia as a Black, enslaved person.

Sophia reported that she remained with Brant for 12 to 13 years, likely spending a substantial portion of that time around Ancaster and Dundas, before she was sold to Samuel Hatt for \$100.⁷² The date of this transaction is, again, unclear in the historic record, but it would have likely taken place circa 1798-1799, given that Samuel Hatt did not arrive in Upper Canada until 1796, and that the Hatt family did not settle in Ancaster until 1798. An important issue to note is that, unlike her first enslavers who would become Loyalists in Fishkill, the Hatts were recent immigrants, showing that settlers in Upper Canada at the time, regardless of their origins, were complicit in slavery.

While Samuel is the Hatt brother attributed to the purchase of Sophia, he is not the only person complicit in her captivity. At this time Richard and Samuel were still firmly in a business partnership and both had interests in building a relationship with Brant, meaning that Richard would have certainly known Sophia and would have likely been involved in the decision to purchase and, by extension, enslave her. What is certain is that Richard knew Sophia, did not prevent her enslavement, and would have directly benefited from her labour through his brother as a business partner. While Sophia did not discuss the reason for her sale to the Hatts in her 1855 account, it is possible that she may have been of particular interest to the Hatts as part of broader strategic business and political decisions. As recent immigrants, Samuel and Richard did not speak any Indigenous languages, which would have been a disadvantage in a time when First Nations were important players in the local landscape as customers, trading partners, and political allies.⁷³ No doubt a major reason for Jean Baptiste Rousseaux's success at his nearby mill was his bilingualism, speaking Kanien'kéha fluently and maintaining a positive relationship with Brant after they fought together in the American War of Independence.⁷⁴ We know that Sophia spoke Kanien'kéha fluently, was familiar with the local geography of Ancaster and Dundas and, through her time enslaved by Brant, had an understanding of Haudenosaunee lifeways and governance. Furthermore, seeing Brant's influence and affluence, the Hatts likely sought him as an important business connection. Given these circumstances, Sophia's sale may have been influenced by her skills and knowledge alongside the business and political circumstances and aspirations of both the Hatts and Brant.

⁷⁰ *Ancaster's Heritage*, ed. Grimwood, 22-23.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Pooley & Drew, *A Northside View of Slavery*.

⁷³ Axtell, *Natives and Newcomers*, 46-75.

⁷⁴ *Ancaster's Heritage*, ed. Grimwood, 22.



Figure 9: The New Dundas Mills circa 1890, 2 Hatt Street is highlighted. (Source: Kerr Milling Company, GN-0148, Glass Negative Collection, Dundas Museum and Archives)

Besides noting her sale and the name of the man who enslaved her, Sophia did not remark on her time with the Hatts in 1855, and as a result the circumstances of her captivity at this time are not known. It is known that the Hatts did have active interests in provincial and local politics, which required building business relationships with Haudenosaunee peoples. One such example of the Hatt's interests in political and business negotiations comes from 1808, when Richard and Samuel Hatt tried to negotiate the purchase of land along the Grand River from John Norton (1770-1827), a Haudenosaunee man who was born to a Scottish mother, for which Sophia's language skills, cultural knowledge, and familiarity with the Brant family may have been useful.⁷⁵ In addition, Sophia's sale can be partly attributed to her gender. During this time women played important roles in relationship building between Indigenous peoples and settlers. The marriage of Margaret Cline to Jean Baptiste Rousseaux is an example of this, an event which would have formalized Brant and Rousseaux's relationship.

While there are obvious differences between Margaret and Sophia, in that Sophia had no agency in decisions made around her future, her sale to Samuel Hatt parallels similar relationship building themes in Margaret's story⁷⁶. Further to this, Sophia and Samuel would have been of similar ages, and Samuel was not married until 1807 – likely around the same time or shortly after Sophia was freed. Without more information

⁷⁵ Collaboration with Parker, "HATT, RICHARD," https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hatt_richard_5E.html; see also Axtell, *Natives and Newcomers*, 42-44.

⁷⁶ It is worth noting that at this time it was usual for European men and Indigenous women to marry 'in the custom of the country' as a means of furthering their economic and political relationships. While Sophia's enslavement means that the role she played was forced upon her while Indigenous women who entered into these relationships often held considerable agency, the prevalence of marriages in the custom of the country as a means of formalizing business relations and as a means for European Settlers to acquire local knowledge and translations may have informed the motivations behind Sophia's sale by Brant and purchase by the Hatts. For more information on the roles of women as translators and economic players during this time see Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 28-29, 50, 54, 66-68, 89.

it is impossible to confirm the type of treatment Sophia received, but her gender and the known circumstances of her enslavement mean that it would be likely for Sophia to have experienced sexual violence.⁷⁷ The gendered particularities of Sophia's experience as an enslaved person can also be seen when comparing her with her male contemporaries. For example, the will of Prince Van Patter, one of the men Sophie identified as being enslaved by Brant, shows that he was granted title to land by the Brants.⁷⁸

In all, Sophia remained enslaved by Samuel Hatt for approximately seven years "until the white people said [she] was free, and put [her] up to running away," further elaborating that they "could not take the law into [their] own hands."⁷⁹ What exactly is meant by this is unclear, given that slavery would not be abolished until 1833 and that the earlier abolitionist acts from 1793 and 1807 did not free persons like Sophia who were enslaved prior to the passing of these Acts.⁸⁰ The exact time at which Sophia gained her freedom is, as a result, unclear, but it took place prior to the War of 1812, likely sometime between 1801-1807.

After her time in Dundas and Ancaster Sophia found her way to the Queen's Bush, a Black settlement near present-day Waterloo. Sophia's decision as a free person to move to a Black majority community is significant, as this would be the first time since she was stolen as a child from her parents that she would be living in a community of people like her. Sophia's choice to live among Black people in a Black community once she was freed speaks to her understanding of belonging and community as a person with agency and autonomy. While there, Sophia married a Black farmer named Robert Pooley, although this marriage was short lived when Robert left Sophia for a white woman. Little is known about Robert besides that he was recorded in censuses for Waterloo in the 1820s, but it is possible for him to have been a Black Loyalist or to have otherwise escaped slavery given that there are several Black Loyalists with the last name Pooley recorded in Nova Scotia's records.⁸¹ Following her separation from Robert, Sophia moved to the Queen's Bush, likely sometime in the 1830s,⁸² as a free woman for the rest of her life until her death circa 1860.

3.5 Site History

As part of the New Dundas Mill complex, the one-storey stone building was likely built in 1804 as a general store during its initial expansion. Circa 1818, the building was converted into a blacksmith shop, and it would continue to operate as such for the next 125 years, changing owners several times (see **Appendix E: Ownership History**) before being converted into a residential property in 1943.⁸³ It is worth noting that while

⁷⁷ Cooper, "The Enslavement of Africans in Canada"; Wilson, "Sexual Exploitation of Black Women from the Years 1619-2020," *Journal of Race, Gender, and Ethnicity* 10, (2021): 122-129.

⁷⁸ 'Prince Van Patter's Will,' National Archives of Canada.

⁷⁹ Pooley & Drew, *A Northside View of Slavery*.

⁸⁰ Cooper, "The Enslavement of Africans in Canada."

⁸¹ Book of N.

⁸² Linda Brown-Kubisch, *The Queen's Bush Settlement: Black Pioneers 1839-1865*, (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2004).

⁸³ T. Roy Woodhouse, *The History of the Town of Dundas Volume 3* (Dundas: Dundas Historical Society, 1968), 16.

the 1827 map of Dundas (*Figure 10*) shows a structure located on the property of 2 Hatt Street, a more detailed 1851 map by Marcus Smith (*Figure 11*) does not show a structure being located on the property. This is likely an error on Smith's part, as an engraving from 1853 shows a roofline similar to that of the property located at 2 Hatt Street in the same approximate location, and there is no record of the building being moved to or from a different location.

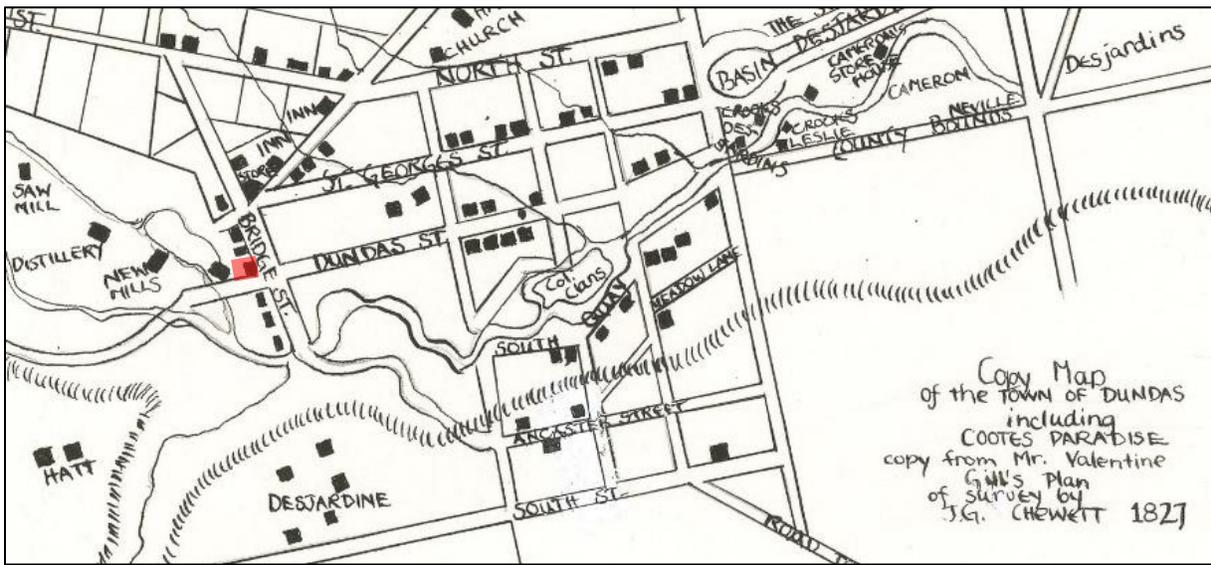


Figure 10: Copy Map of the Town of Dundas, including Cootes Paradise, 1827. Subject property highlighted in red (Source: Dundas Museum & Archives, <https://collections.dundasmuseum.ca/index.php/Detail/objects/27279>)



Figure 11: Map of the Town of Dundas, Marcus Smith, 1851. Closeup of 2 Hatt Street. Location of subject property highlighted in red. (Source: McMaster University, <http://digitalarchive.mcmaster.ca/islandora/object/macrepo%3A61445>)



Figure 12: 2 Hatt Street c. 1950s, prior to renovations (Source: Dundas Museum & Archives, "The Way We Were in the Nineteen Sixties" Slide Collection)



Figure 13: 2 Hatt Street, 1964, following renovations (Source: Dundas Museum & Archives, "The Way We Were in the Nineteen Sixties" Slide Collection)

In 1961, the property was sold to Robert Folkes of R. Folkes Ent. Ltd., who opened R. Folkes House of Lights and Shades.⁸⁴ It was during this time that a large portion of the east wall and approximately 9 feet of the north wall were demolished and converted into a display window (*Figure 13*). In the early 2000s, access to Main Street from Hatt Street was cut off and the terminus of Hatt Street was converted into a parking lot for Town Hall. In 2004, the property was sold again and converted into a private art gallery called Cairn Gorm Studio Artworks, which operated until 2013.⁸⁵ The building is currently vacant.

Recent initiatives, like signage installed on the building in 2021, has brought into question the relationship between the building at 2 Hatt Street, the success and growth of the Town of Dundas and the life and role of Sophia Burthen Pooley and other enslaved peoples in its development.

3.6 Contemporary Context

The subject property is located at the terminus of Hatt Street, near the northwest corner of Main Street and Governors Road. The areas immediately south and west feature variably sized commercial buildings that possess various setbacks, heights, and styles, constructed in the mid- to late-twentieth century, whereas the areas north and east are mostly residential buildings with the same varying details, save for Dundas Town Hall immediately northeast of the subject property. The streetscape is largely characterized by commercial driveways, parking lots, and businesses set back from the road with some tree cover and front-facing landscaping.

⁸⁴ Craig Campbell, "Dundas' 2 Hatt Street Approved for High Priority Heritage Assessment," *Dundas Star News*, October 20, 2017, <https://www.insideottawavalley.com/news-story/7664794-dundas-2-hatt-st-approved-for-high-priority-heritage-assessment/>.

⁸⁵ Craig Campbell, "Dundas' 2 Hatt St. will get Preliminary Heritage Screening this Year," *Dundas Star News*, August 25, 2017, <https://www.hamiltonnews.com/news-story/7521039-dundas-2-hatt-st-will-get-preliminary-heritage-screening-this-year/>.



Figure 14: Looking north from 2 Hatt Street, 2 Hatt Street seen at left and Dundas Town Hall at right (January 2023)



Figure 15: Twentieth century residential buildings south and east of 2 Hatt Street (at right), looking southeast from terminus of Hatt Street towards Main Street and Governors Road (January 2023)



Figure 16: Twentieth century commercial buildings and driveways west of 2 Hatt Street, looking west up Governors Road (January 2023)



Figure 17: Twentieth century commercial buildings south of 2 Hatt Street (January 2023)

4. Property Description

The 0.056-hectare subject property, comprised of a one-storey stone commercial building, is located in the historic downtown core of Dundas at the terminus of Hatt Street, north of the intersection of Governors Road and Main Street, and just south of Dundas Town Hall.

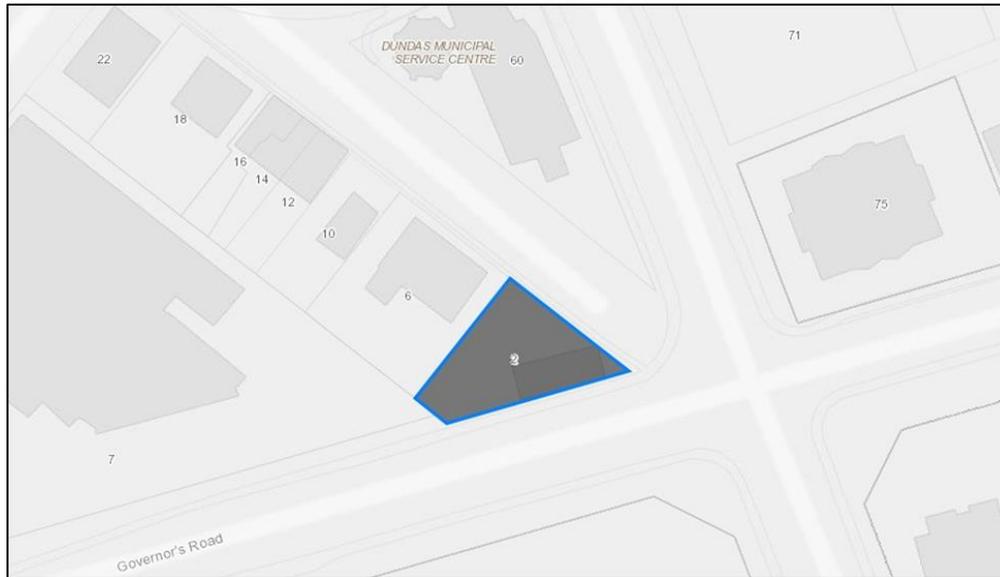


Figure 18: Map of subject property and surrounding area, City of Hamilton, GISNet

4.1 Evolution of the Buildings and Landscape

The one-storey building has undergone several alterations since it was first constructed circa 1804. The most notable alterations that have taken place to the stone building, and its surroundings, include:

- Conversion from general store to blacksmith shop (c.1818)
- Conversion from blacksmith shop to residence (c.1943)
- Conversion from residence to commercial storefront (1961), including:
 - The demolition of a large portion of east wall and approximately nine feet of the north wall to accommodate the addition of a display window
 - Relocation of chimney from the east gable to the southeast roofline to accommodate the addition of the display window
 - Patching of a crack in the mortar along the south wall with concrete

Note: Bowing of south wall evident at this time

- Addition of verandah to west end (c.1974-1994)
- Addition of bay window to north wall, (c.1974-1994)
- Sandblasting of exterior rubblestone façade (c.1982)
- Removal of door or opening (perhaps a service entrance) on the north wall that was filled in with rubble stone and replacement with smaller entrance (date unknown)

4.2 Building Description

The property is comprised of a one-storey, single-detached stone building, believed to have been constructed circa 1804 in a vernacular style. Its features include:

- Rectangular footprint;
- Coursed rubblestone facades with cut sandstone quoins;
- Side gable roof; and,
- Wood lintels.

5. Cultural Heritage Assessment

The following is an evaluation of the cultural heritage value or interest of the subject property, in accordance with *Ontario Regulation 9/06*:

5.1 Criteria for Determining Cultural Heritage Value or Interest

According to Subsection 1 (2) of *Ontario Regulation 9/06*, Criteria for Determining Cultural Heritage Value or Interest, a property may be designated under Section 29 of the *Ontario Heritage Act* if it meets two or more of the following criteria:

1. The property has design value or physical value because it is a rare, unique, representative or early example of a style, type, expression, material or construction method.
2. The property has design value or physical value because it displays a high degree of craftsmanship or artistic merit.
3. The property has design value or physical value because it demonstrates a high degree of technical or scientific achievement.
4. The property has historical value or associative value because it has direct associations with a theme, event, belief, person, activity, organization or institution that is significant to the community.
5. The property has historical value or associative value because it yields or has the potential to yield, information that contributes to the understanding of a community or culture.
6. The property has historical value or associative value because it demonstrates or reflects the work or ideas of an architect, artist, builder, designer or theorist who is significant to a community.
7. The property has contextual value because it is important in defining, maintaining or supporting the character of an area.
8. The property has contextual value because it is physically, functionally, visually or historically linked to its surroundings.
9. The property has contextual value because it is a landmark.

The following is a summary of the cultural heritage value of the subject property according to *Ontario Regulation 9/06*:

5.1.1 Design/Physical Value

1. The property has physical value as a rare, unique, and early example of pre-Confederation architecture in Upper Canada. 2 Hatt Street is one of the oldest buildings in Dundas, is the only extant structure from Richard Hatt's New Dundas Mill complex and is an early example of the use of dolostone from the nearby Niagara Escarpment in the construction of Dundas buildings. Features of the circa 1804 one-storey vernacular stone building representative of its value include its: one-storey massing; rectangular footprint; low side-gable roof; and

coursed rubblestone elevations, with local dolostone.

2. The property does not display a high degree of craftsmanship.
3. The property does not demonstrate a high degree of technical or scientific achievement.

5.1.2 Historical/Associative Value

4. The property has historical value for its association with significant Dundas figures, events, and institutions, including the Hatt family, the New Dundas Mills, the founding of the Town of Dundas and the history of slavery in Ontario. As the last remaining building of the New Dundas Mills, 2 Hatt Street is an important relic of the town's early colonial settlement and industrial history. The New Dundas Mills (so named for its proximity to Dundas Street) was a mill complex which first began as a sawmill in 1799 and was expanded upon in 1800, before being purchased by Samuel Hatt (1776-1842), Richard Hatt (1769-1819), and Manuel Overfield (1773-1839) in 1804. Together, these three men, likely using the labour of indentured servants and enslaved persons, had the mill complex further expanded, constructing additional buildings including 2 Hatt Street, which served as a store. The mill quickly became a commercial success, having an irrevocable impact on the built form of Dundas - attracting American and European settlers westwards towards Spencer Creek and away from the 1792 Coote's Paradise town plan closer to where the Desjardins Canal sits today. Building on the town's rapid growth, 2 Hatt Street served as its very first informal post office, where letters would be addressed to the New Dundas Mills. In 1814 this would influence the Crown's official opening of the town's first post office, called the Dundas Post Office, at which point the name of Dundas officially superseded that of Coote's Paradise.

Of the three men who expanded the mills in 1804, Richard Hatt has historically been credited as the primary owner and operator of the mill after having purchased Samuel and Manuel's shares by 1808 – but all three men are attributed to its founding. Having originally started their business in Ancaster, Samuel and Richard worked to find ways in which to expand their business and influence, including by having roadways constructed to support their economic networks and expansion. This continued after they had purchased the New Dundas Mills, where Richard platted⁸⁶ Dundas' early streets and established a town plot which would guide the growth of the town. Elsewhere, Richard expanded his political influence by serving as Justice of the Peace in 1800, establishing the *Upper Canada Phoenix* newspaper (the first newspaper west of York), entering the House of Assembly in 1817, and serving as a major during the War of 1812. Although Samuel stopped being co-owner of the mill by 1808, he remained closely involved in business with his brother, and was a key player in local political and economic networks similarly growing his influence and power

⁸⁶ Platting is the process of planning out or mapping an area, usually for the purpose of development.

before he eventually moved to Quebec following the War of 1812. While historic records rarely include details on the people whose labour helped produce the wealth, influence and power of early-nineteenth century industrialists like the Hatts, we know that both Hatt brothers were complicit in institutions of slavery and oppression. Of the two, historic evidence has shown that Samuel enslaved at least one Black woman, named Sophia Burthen Pooley (circa 1775/78- circa 1860), and was involved in the indenture (forced labour) of a Black orphaned child. While no evidence had been found to date showing Richard directly involving himself with slavery, he was responsible for the indenture of at least six individuals, and his continued business relationship with his brother, and other known slaveowners in the region, is evidence that he nonetheless profited from and supported these institutions.

5. The property has the potential to yield information that contributes to an understanding of the history of slavery in Upper Canada, Black communities and their history in Dundas, early Dundas settlement and industry, and the nuanced intersections between them.

Historic documentation is biased towards remembering wealthy, elite, literate classes of landowners like the Hatts, which makes it difficult to identify the histories of the people whose labour, constructing and operating mills and farms, supported the financial success of the Hatt estate. In the case of 2 Hatt Street, an 1856 interview with Sophia Burthen Pooley (circa 1775/78- circa 1860) - a Black woman enslaved by members of the Hatt family for approximately seven years in the Ancaster and Dundas areas – provided a rare and valuable glimpse of the overlooked lives of indentured and enslaved people whose labour built the wealth and power of Upper Canada’s elite in the early-nineteenth century. Little is known about Sophia’s life, other than that she was born into slavery in Fishkill, New York, circa 1775-1778, before her and her sister were kidnapped and brought to Niagara as small children. In Niagara Sophia was sold to, and enslaved by, the notable Mohawk figure Joseph Brant (1743-1807), with whom she reportedly lived for 12 years. While under Brant’s captivity, Sophia spent a large portion of her time in the Dundas area, and reported a childhood spent hunting with Brant’s own young children, as well as instances of cruelty and abuse from Brant’s wife Catherine (1759-1837) whose physical attacks left her with permanent scars. Sometime after Samuel and Richard Hatt arrived in Ancaster, they developed a business relationship with Joseph Brant which would culminate in Samuel Hatt purchasing Sophia from Brant for \$100, likely circa 1798-1799.

While there is no surviving historical documentation physically tying Sophia Burthen Pooley to the building at 2 Hatt Street, she was likely already enslaved by Samuel Hatt when he was involved in purchasing the New Dundas Mills. This means that it is likely that Sophia would have at the very least witnessed the construction of 2 Hatt Street while enslaved by the partial owner of the Mills. It is also reasonable to presume Richard Hatt was complicit in the enslavement of

Sophia, as the brother and close business partner of Samuel at the time of his purchase of Sophia from such an important political and business figure such as Joseph Brant. Sophia's exchange between Brant and the Hatts was representative of the ways in which economic networks at the time were built, in part, on the trade of people who were captive, whether through slavery or indenture. Further to this, the local political and economic conditions of the time mean that it would have been very likely that she would have interacted with the property at 2 Hatt Street, or else contributed to the wealth which allowed for its construction and commercial success. As an enslaved person, Sophia was part of the Hatt family's estate, and would have actively contributed to the growth of their wealth and power. Sophia's skills as a Kanien'kéha (Mohawk) speaker and her knowledge of Kanien'kéha culture would have had value to the Hatts, and it is likely that her contribution of these skills had positive impact on the growth of their businesses and wealth, which she would not have benefitted from.

The absence of direct documentary evidence tying Sophia to places where she lived and worked is a feature of the dispossession of enslaved people in Upper Canada. However, the existence of the industry building at 2 Hatt is attributable in part to the contributions of Sophia and the six unnamed indentured servants brought by the Hatts. In this context, 2 Hatt Street's significance is tied to its perseverance as the last remains of a property and industry whose success was tied to the labour of enslaved people like Sophia - the ambiguity of Sophia's relationship with the building also speaking to the deliberate erasure of Black histories from historic documentation.

6. The property does not demonstrate or reflect the work or ideas of an architect, artist, builder, designer or theorist who is significant in the community.

5.1.2 Contextual Value

7. The property is important in defining the historic character of the area as an early-nineteenth century single-detached building located prominently along an important and historic transportation corridor at the terminus of Hatt Street, near the northwest corner of Main Street and Governors Road. As the last remaining building of the New Dundas Mills complex, 2 Hatt Street is a relic of the area's historic industrial past which stands out in its immediate landscape, which is now primarily residential and commercial. The property's close proximity to major landmarks like the Dundas Town Hall at 60 Main Street helps define the area's continued use as an administrative center throughout the nineteenth century, which arguably began with 2 Hatt Street's service as an informal post office.
8. The property is visually and historically linked to its surroundings. The property's visual relationship and proximity to the Dundas Town Hall speaks to the immediate area's historic status as the governing and administrative center of Dundas. Its presence as the last remaining building of the New Dundas Mills complex also speaks to Dundas' early industrial roots. The property's location

along Hatt Street, and on a plot included in the earliest town plans for Dundas, also speak to its relationship with early local urban development and the historic economic networks across the Head-of-the-Lake region, which wealthy land prospectors and early industrialists like the Hatts depended on to assert and expand their influence. Roads and routes that connected places like Ancaster and York (Toronto) to the New Dundas Mills commemorate those networks of influence. 2 Hatt Street is representative of the historical relationships of power that both depended on the control, and even enslavement, of people to support the rapid early economic growth.

9. The property is considered to be a local landmark. Its location at the terminus of Hatt Street, proximity to Dundas Town Hall, the triangular shape of the plot, its squat rectangular shape, and its unique rubblestone dolostone exterior allow it to stand out in its now primarily residential immediate landscape.

9.1 Recommendation

The property located at 2 Hatt Street, Dundas satisfies the criteria established in *Ontario Regulation 9/06*. The subject property has design value because it is an early and unique example of an architectural style and use of material; it has historical value because it has direct associations with significant events, institutions and people to the community; and it has contextual value because it is important in defining the character of the area, is visually and historically linked to its surroundings, and is considered to be a local landmark. Therefore, the subject property warrants protection under the *Ontario Heritage Act* through designation and/or the negotiation of a heritage conservation easement agreement, in accordance with the following Description of Property, Statement of Cultural Heritage Value or Interest, and Description of Heritage Attributes:

Description of Property

The 0.056-hectare property at 2 Hatt Street is comprised of a one-storey single-detached stone commercial building, situated at the terminus of Hatt Street, near the northwest corner of Main Street and Governors Road, in the historic core of Dundas, in the former Town of Dundas within the City of Hamilton.

Statement of Cultural Heritage Value or Interest

The property located at 2 Hatt Street is comprised of a one-storey stone commercial building constructed circa 1804. As a rare, unique and early example of pre-Confederation architecture in Upper Canada, the property has physical value as one of the oldest buildings in Dundas, the only extant structure from the New Dundas Mills, and as an early example of the use of dolostone from the Niagara Escarpment in the construction of Dundas buildings.

The property has historical value for its associations with significant Dundas figures, events, and institutions, including the New Dundas Mills, the founding of the Town of Dundas and the Hatt family. The property's early history is primarily associated with Richard Hatt (1769-1819) a local businessman, judge, politician, militia officer and

recognized “founder” of the Town of Dundas. Richard, along with his brother Samuel Hatt (1776-1842) and their business partner Manuel Overfield (1773-1839), had 2 Hatt Street constructed circa 1804 after they had jointly purchased and expanded the New Dundas Mills. By 1808, Richard had become the sole proprietor of the complex, but he continued to maintain strong business relations with Samuel who operated a store nearby in Ancaster. The New Dundas Mills were critical to the growth of the town, leading to its prominence as a manufacturing and shipping centre in the nineteenth century.

The historical value of the property also lies in its potential to yield information that contributes to an understanding of the history of slavery in Upper Canada, Black communities and their history in Dundas, early Dundas settlement and industry, and the nuanced intersections between them. Sophia Burthen Pooley (circa 1775/78- circa 1860) is an important and early figure in Ontario’s Black History, with her life account being one of very few for which first-hand records of slavery as an enslaved person in Upper Canada (Ontario) in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries exist. Sophia was born into slavery in New York, and arrived in Upper Canada as a young child where she was sold and enslaved by the notable Mohawk leader Joseph Brant (1743-1807). During her time with Brant she lived in the Dundas area, and after approximately 12 years, likely circa 1798-99, she was sold to Samuel Hatt who would enslave her for 7 more years. While no direct documentation confirms her presence at 2 Hatt Street, Sophia was enslaved by Samuel while he was a co-owner of the New Dundas Mills, and her labour, local knowledge, and skills as a Kanien’kéha (Mohawk) speaker would have been invaluable to the success of the New Dundas Mills, having a positive impact on the growth of the Hatts’ businesses and wealth, which she would not have benefitted from. 2 Hatt Street’s significance is tied to its perseverance as the last remains of a property and industry whose success was dependent on the contributions of enslaved people like Sophia - the ambiguity of Sophia’s relationship with the building also speaking to the deliberate erasure of Black histories from historic documentation.

The property has contextual value as a defining feature of Hatt Street, Governors Road and the Town of Dundas’ historic character. Its location on its original plot along Hatt Street also speak to its relationship with historic urban development and economic networks across the Head-of-the-Lake region, which wealthy land prospectors and early industrialists like the Hatts depended on to assert and expand their influence. The property’s location near the northwest corner of Main Street and Governors Road and the Town of Dundas, and proximity to Dundas Town Hall, visually connect it to its surroundings and contribute to its status as a local landmark.

Description of Heritage Attributes

The key attributes that embody the cultural heritage value of the property as a rare and unique example of pre-Confederation architecture and its association with the former New Dundas Mills and its owner Richard Hatt, and potential to yield an understanding of the history of slavery in Upper Canada and its connections to early Dundas settlement and industry include:

- All four elevations and the roofline of the one-storey stone building, including its:
 - Rectangular footprint;

- Low side gable roof;
- Coursed rubblestone façade constructed from dolostone;
- Cut sandstone quoins;
- Wood lintels and sills;
- Rectangular door opening;
- Three 12-over-12 wood windows on the south façade;
- One 8-over-12 wood window on the north façade; and,
- Stone foundation

The key attribute that embodies the contextual value of the property as a defining feature of the historic character of Hatt Street, Governors Road, the community of Dundas, and Dundas' role in establishing economic networks across the Head-of-the-Lake region which land prospectors and industrialists, including slaveholders, depended on to assert and expand their influence, and as a local landmark include its:

- Location at the terminus of Hatt Street at the intersection of Governors Road and Main Street.

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Appendix A: Location Map

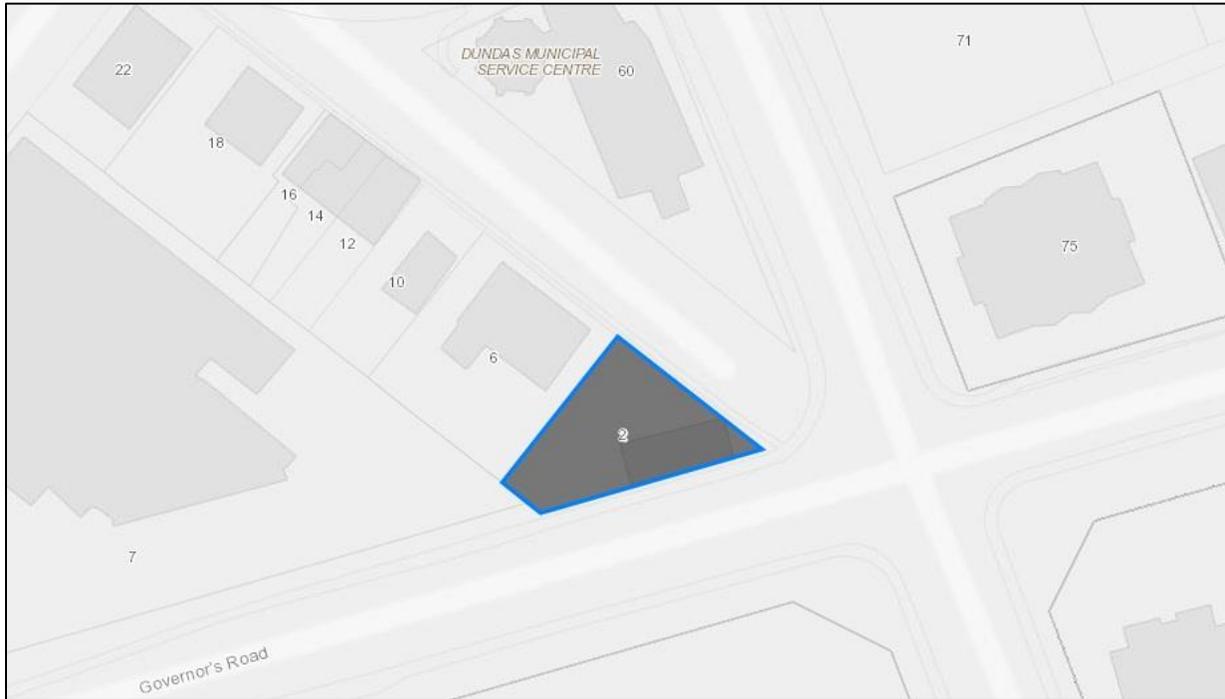


Image 1: Map of subject property and surrounding area, City of Hamilton, GISNet

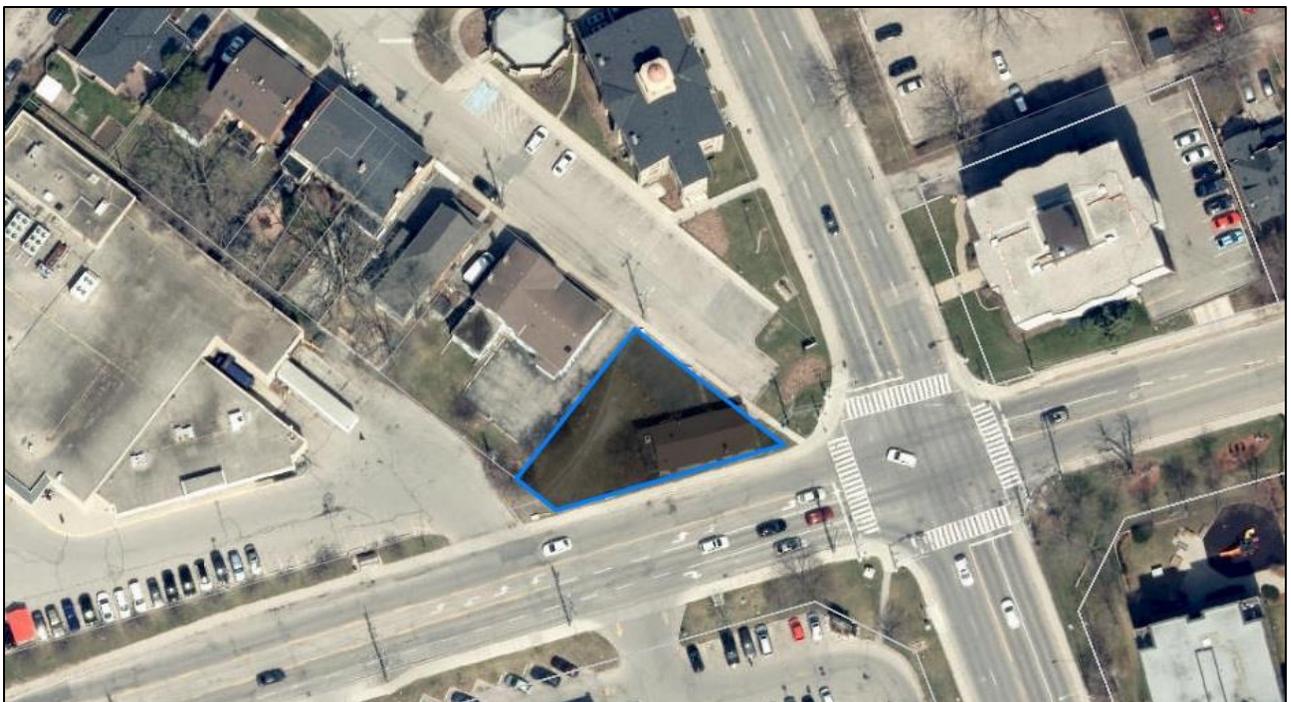


Image 2: Aerial view of subject property and immediate vicinity, City of Hamilton, GISNet

Appendix B: Photographs



Image 3: Northern Elevation (December 2022)



Image 4: Eastern Elevation (December 2022)



Image 5: Southern Elevation (December 2022)



Image 6: Western Elevation (December 2022)



Image 7: 2 Hatt Street looking west down Governors Road (December 2022)



Image 8: 2 Hatt Street looking north up Hatt Street. Town Hall seen at right (January 2023)



Image 9: 2 Hatt Street looking south to intersection of Governors Road and Main Street (January 2023)

Appendix C: Historical Photographs



*Image 10: 1853 view of Dundas from Osler Drive. Subject property circled in red.
(Source: Dundas Museum and Archives)*

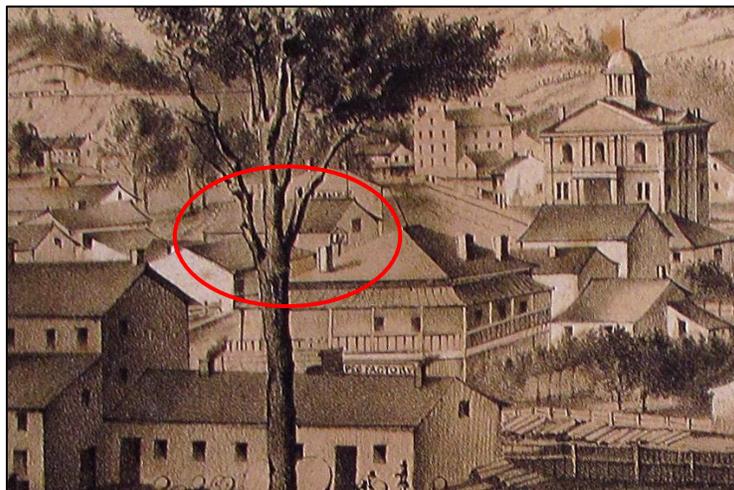


Image 11: Closeup of subject property, circled in red (Source: Dundas Museum and Archives)



Image 12: 2 Hatt Street, c. 1950s, prior to renovations (Source: Dundas Museum & Archives, "The Way We Were in the Nineteen Sixties" Slide Collection)



Image 13: 2 Hatt Street after renovations were complete, 1964 (Source: Dundas Museum & Archives, "The Way We Were in the Nineteen Sixties" Slide Collection)



Image 14: 2 Hatt Street, September 1974 (Source: Dundas Central Business District Photography Survey by the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Planning Department)

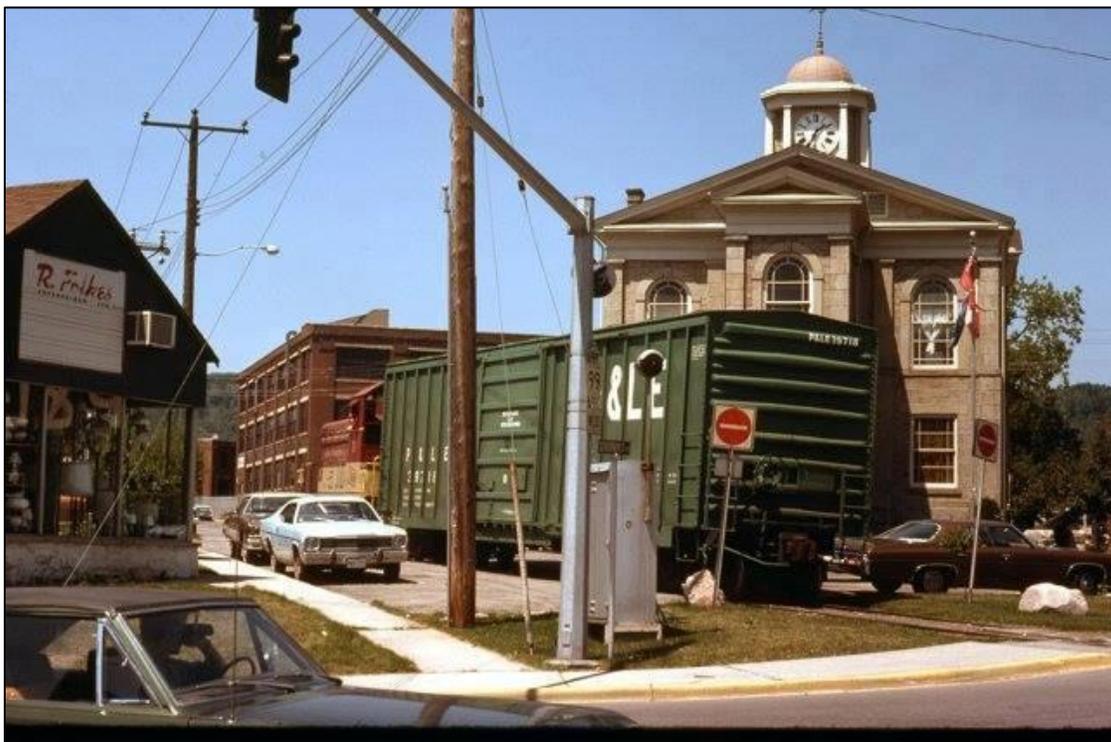


Image 15: 2 Hatt Street at left, c. 1970s, Dundas Town Hall at left, and a Toronto, Hamilton & Buffalo Railway Engine and Box Car at centre (Source: Vintage Hamilton, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1616060068412280&set=a.482033535148278>)



*Image 16: Governor's Road, looking left from Main Street, 2 Hatt Street at left, 1981
(Source: Dundas Museum & Archives,
<https://collections.dundasmuseum.ca/index.php/Detail/objects/19259>)*

Appendix D: Plans and Mapping

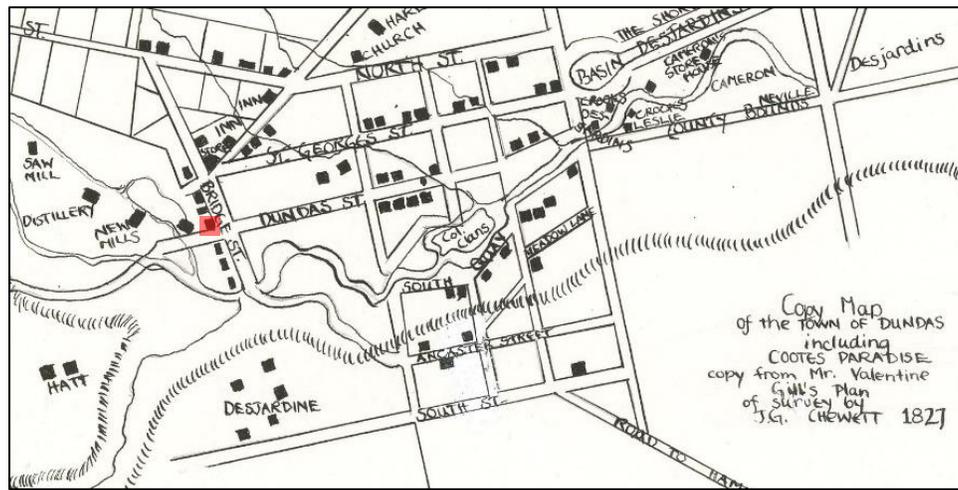


Image 17: Map of the Town of Dundas, 1827. 2 Hatt Street circled in red. (Source: Dundas Museum & Archives, <https://collections.dundasmuseum.ca/index.php/Detail/objects/27279>)

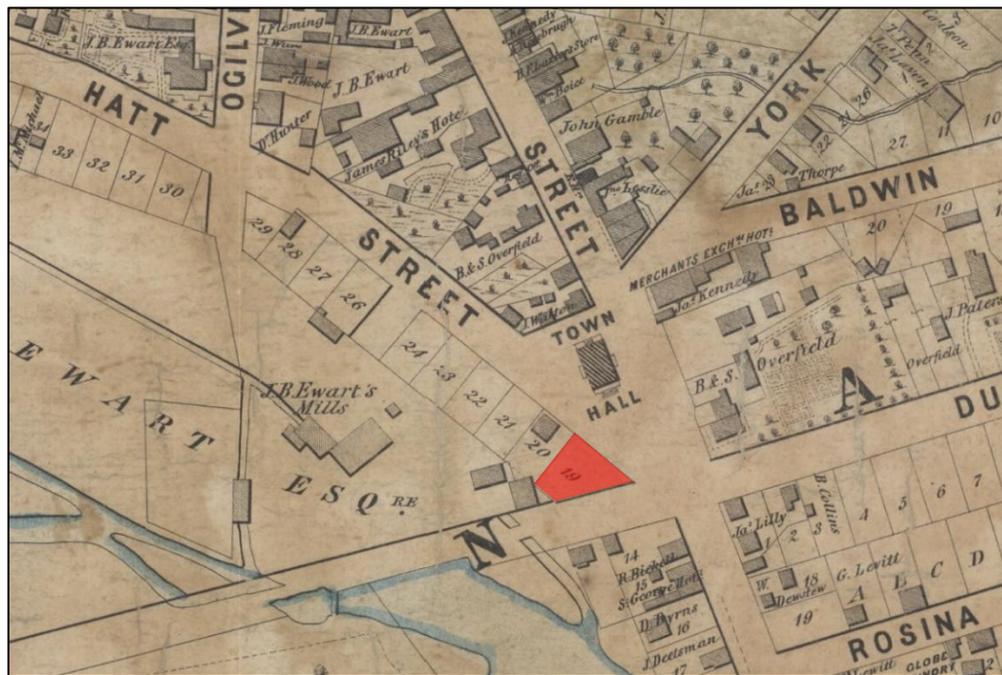


Image 18: Map of the Town of Dundas in the Counties of Wentworth and Halton, Canada West, Marcus Smith, 1851. NOTE: 2 Hatt Street should be located plot of land highlighted in red above. There is no explanation for this discrepancy (Source: McMaster University, <http://digitalarchive.mcmaster.ca/islandora/object/macrepo%3A61445>)

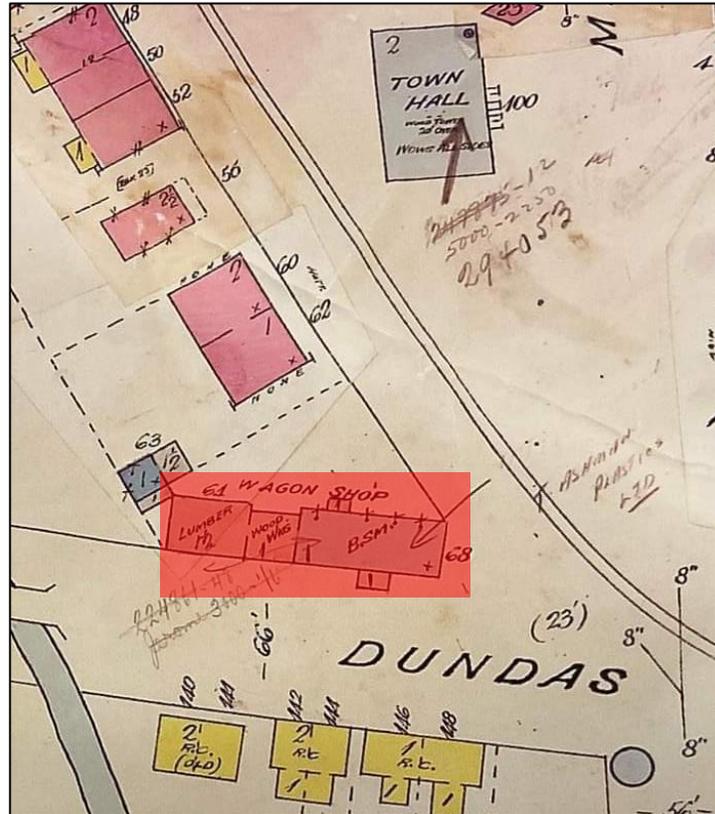


Image 19: 1914 Charles E. Goad Fire Insurance Plan for the Town of Dundas. Subject property highlighted in red.

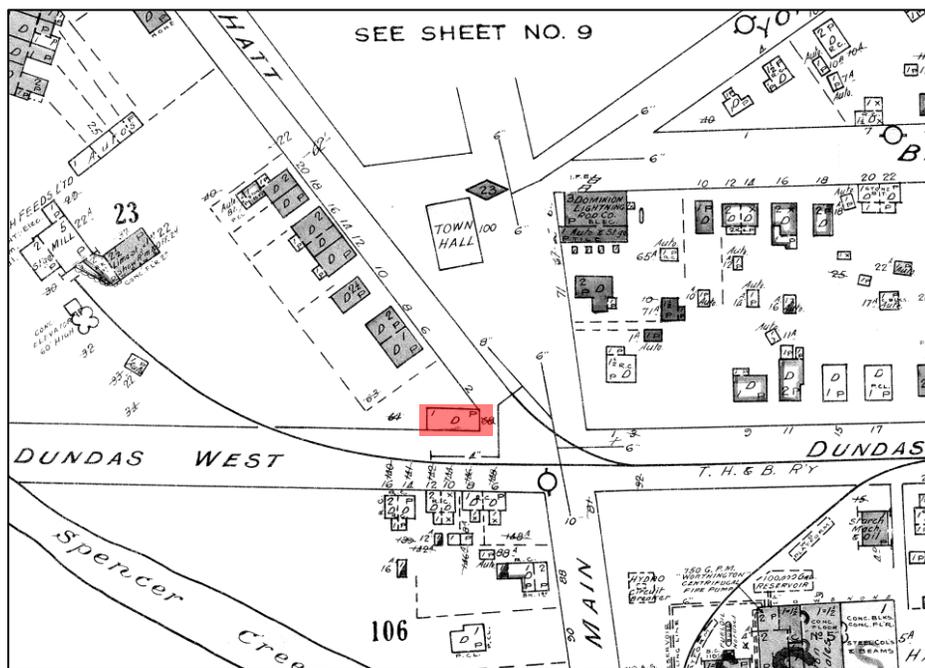


Image 20: 1951 Underwriters' Survey Bureau Fire Insurance Plan for the Town of Dundas, Sheet 10. Subject property highlighted in red.

Appendix E: Property Ownership History

Year	Name of Owner	Number of Hectares
1799	Jonathan Morden	
1800	Edward Peer	
1804	Richard Hatt, Samuel Hatt, Manuel Overfield	
1808	Richard Hatt	
1819	John Ogilvy Hatt	
1840	Robert Heslop	0.056
1850	George Leavitt	0.056
1850	Alfred Wilbur	0.056
1850	George Leavitt	0.056
1855	Robert Hatt	0.056
1858	John Ogilvy Hatt	0.056
1858	Edward Lyons	0.056
1861	Joseph Wright	0.056
1862	Shubael Eleazor Randall`	0.056
1863	Joseph Wright	0.056
1890	William Lawson	0.056
1945	Ferdinand & Matilda Lowe	0.056
1948	Joseph LeRuez	0.056
1955	William & Anne Knapp	0.056
1961	R. Folkes Enterprises Ltd.	0.056
2004	Andrew & Janet Galbreath	0.056