

# RESEARCH BULLETIN

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Furnishing Bellevue in 1848

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This report is part of an on-going support for the restoration of the basement, and rooms three (reception room) and thirteen (bedroom) at Bellevue National Historic Park. These areas currently house modern displays and services which will be removed when the Visitor Reception and Administration building on site is completed. The first stage of the research was a report submitted for the Manuscript Report Series, entitled "Allocation and Functions of Domestic Offices at Bellevue National Historic Park."

The second stage is to provide support for the curatorial furnishings plans for the three areas. As a preliminary to research into the furnishing of each individual room, this report will examine the factors relating to Macdonald and his family which would have had a bearing on the manner in which he furnished Bellevue.

One major factor examined is Macdonald's financial status; how and to what extent that status may have affected his style of living. Also considered are his aspirations as a lawyer, businessman and politician, his family situation and personal tastes. Since the relevant material is sketchy and indirectly related, conclusions drawn depend on an interpretation of the factors. This report concludes that Macdonald would have furnished his home with moderately priced but fashionable furniture, which was readily available in Kingston.

Before examining the effect Macdonald's financial and personal situation may have had on the furnishing of his home, one question must be cleared up. Can we assume Macdonald himself furnished Bellevue?

There has been an assumption since the original research done for Bellevue that the Macdonalds rented the house partially furnished. This assumption probably stemmed from an 1845 advertisement in the Kingston Herald for an auction



sale of the household furniture belonging to Charles Hales to take place on May 1, 1845. Research at the time implied that since the advertisement only appeared once, the auction sale did not take place, and Hales rented Bellevue furnished to his new tenant, and to succeeding tenants, including Macdonald. The original premise, however, is questionable. Advertisements for auction sales to take place on a certain date did not usually run in the newspapers for several weeks. Besides, further research indicates that the advertisement appeared in two issues of the Kingston Whig, on April 22 and 29. It is quite reasonable that Hales put the advertisement in the newspaper a week in advance of the sale, the auction took place on May 1, and the furniture was sold.<sup>1</sup>

It is possible that the furniture sold was not from Bellevue at all. Hales had put an advertisement in the newspaper a year before the auction offering for rent a "stone cottage, occupied by S. Keefer," which probably was Bellevue.<sup>2</sup> If so, Hales was not living there in 1844 and probably not during 1845. The auction sale of household furniture advertised to take place at "Hales Residence" may have had nothing to do with Bellevue.

None of the advertisements for the rental of Bellevue mention furnishings. It cannot be assumed that all advertisements for house rentals implied that the furniture was also included, as some advertisements specifically mention that furniture was an added part of the transaction.<sup>3</sup> There is no clear indication that Bellevue was rented furnished, and we must continue with a new assumption that Macdonald himself furnished Bellevue.

One of the factors that probably influenced Macdonald's domestic lifestyle at Bellevue was his financial position. At the time, he had large personal expenses and debts, and his law partnership was crumbling.

The seeds of this predicament began in 1846, when his private life took a difficult turn. Macdonald's wife Isabella, whom he had married only two years before, developed an acute illness, and her doctor recommended that she be sent to the warmth of the southern climate in hope of recuperation.<sup>4</sup> In July of 1845, Macdonald departed with his wife for Savannah, Georgia. The following year, Isabella was taken to New York, and placed in the care of a specialist in the treatment of her affliction -- neuralgia. She also received an innovative treatment in New York for pain during the delivery of their first child.<sup>5</sup> All the medical fees, as well as the travel and accommodation costs were extensive and the beginning of Macdonald's financial problems.

Macdonald spent about six months of 1845 in the United States with his wife. He attended Parliament in Montreal for much of the rest of the year. This absence had considerable effect on his law practice and partnership. Macdonald's partner since 1848 was Alexander Campbell, a hardworking young man who had first been Macdonald's articling student.

Campbell was willing to cover for Macdonald's absence but only with due compensation. When their partnership came up for renewal in 1846, a new agreement was made with compensation to Campbell written in. Firstly, Campbell was to receive the usual one-third of the profits, but this time including revenue from the firm's most lucrative client, the Commercial Bank of the Midland District. Secondly, Campbell was to be recompensed £500 for Macdonald's "frequent absence," to be paid in three annual installments: £150 in 1847, the same in 1848 and £200 in 1849. A third clause provided an opportunity for Macdonald to accept an office in the government with an additional compensation to Campbell of £250 per year.<sup>6</sup> This clause had application in 1847 when Macdonald did accept the office of Receiver-General.

This new agreement did not solve the problems with the partnership. At the time the Macdonalds moved into Bellevue, Campbell was requesting a dissolution of the partnership. Macdonald's absence from work was one of the problems; Campbell claimed he had been managing 3/3rds of the business while receiving only 1/3rd of the profit. Campbell was also bitterly dissatisfied with the financial end of their partnership. In a letter to Macdonald on 8 June, 1849, Campbell wrote that Macdonald had failed to pay £420 of the compensation due according to the agreement. The practice owed £1800 -- a debt which was "the first blot upon the escutcheon" of their business. Most disturbing, wrote Campbell, were the "excessive calls upon the cash of the firm" for Macdonald's "private affairs." Campbell estimated that Macdonald's private debts were £2000, not including other liabilities in property Macdonald had purchased on which interest was mounting.<sup>7</sup>

The "private affairs" mentioned by Campbell likely concerned Macdonald's home life. His expenses continued to be high, even after Isabella's return from the United States. She required regular medical care. The doctor's bill, for the care of Isabella during the move from New York to Kingston, and subsequent attendance until August, 1849 (when the Macdonalds left Bellevue) came to £91.15.0, some of which was settled by legal services rendered by Macdonald.<sup>8</sup>

When Isabella first returned to Kingston, the couple shared a house with Macdonald's mother and two unmarried sisters. This house on Brock Street was built for Macdonald in 1842. It was large and commodious, and located in a fashionable downtown district. Equipped with all the amenities of life, it was probably generously furnished.<sup>9</sup> Its upkeep must have been costly.

Macdonald's expenses really rose with the move to Bellevue in August of 1848. He was now responsible for keeping up two households. Both Bellevue and the Brock Street house required fuel and a carriage and horses. Both households probably employed two servants.<sup>10</sup> A nurse for the child was required at Bellevue.<sup>11</sup> Despite Bellevue's size and location, rent may have been reasonable since



Kingston had excess rental properties at this time, built during the boom of 1841. However, it still had to be paid regularly. All these personal responsibilities would have depleted Macdonald's financial resources greatly.

Campbell admitted that Macdonald had taken more than his share from the firm's revenue because of the "necessities" of his domestic concerns. Nevertheless, he found the situation intolerable, and wished to settle up the debts and dissolve the partnership. He suggested a settlement on the basis of three to one in Macdonald's favour, more than generously acknowledging the business Macdonald's influence brought to the firm.<sup>12</sup>

Campbell's resolve wavered, however. Macdonald finally persuaded him to renew the partnership at an equal sharing of the profits.<sup>13</sup> Campbell agreed to renew for two years and to manage the business while Macdonald continued in politics, "anxious that [Macdonald's] political career should not be cut short at this moment."<sup>14</sup> Then Campbell changed his mind again for the last time deciding that although the renewal agreement seemed "perfectly fair" he would rather be free of Macdonald's large and complicated practice for the "comfort of a smaller business".<sup>15</sup> Their partnership came to an end on September 1, 1849. Macdonald bought out Campbell's interest for £1250, plus the remaining compensation of £420.<sup>16</sup> In order to meet this amount, Macdonald mortgaged his Brock Street house.<sup>17</sup>

Macdonald realized he must cut costs. During the negotiations with Campbell, Macdonald was probably enquiring about other living quarters. His yearly lease at Bellevue was almost up and he could not afford to stay.<sup>18</sup> He found a place to sub-let and his family moved into the west half of a double house on Johnson Street in September of 1849.<sup>19</sup> This house was probably less expensive to rent and being more centrally located it was easier to get care for Isabella and get around Kingston. Macdonald moved into a smaller office at the same time, thereby cutting more costs.<sup>20</sup>

It is unfortunately impossible to find detailed information about Macdonald's finances for 1848 and 1849, since his business and legal papers are incomplete.<sup>21</sup> An attempt at giving figures for his income and disbursements would only be misleading. It is clear nevertheless that his expenses were large and he had debts to pay. This situation probably influenced his domestic lifestyle to some extent. However other factors, such as his position in the community and future aspirations would have influenced the way he set up house as well as, or in spite of, his financial situation.

Macdonald was a leader in the Kingston community in many ways. He was favoured socially, holding positions such as president of the important St. Andrews Society. He had established a large and successful law firm, only a few years after he had been admitted to the bar. Primarily a corporate lawyer, he defended the interests of the business

elite in Kingston. He not only received their business as solicitor, but also acted as director and promotor of corporations. For example, he became both solicitor and director of the Commercial Bank of the Midland District in 1839, and of the Trust and Loan Company in 1844.<sup>22</sup> Despite the difficulties with his partnership, he continued to have one of the largest and most prestigious practices in Kingston.

Macdonald's involvement in politics at this period was closely connected with Kingston. He entered municipal politics in 1843, serving as alderman until 1846. He entered provincial politics in 1844 and for thirty-eight years he represented the interests of the Kingston community in Parliament. Although politics kept him away from his law office, it actually enhanced his practice. Indeed, politics was an extension of his work, providing opportunities to make good and lucrative connections and to promote his interests in Parliament.<sup>23</sup>

Macdonald joined the influential business elite in Kingston not only as its solicitor and advisor, but as an "active speculative businessman in his own right."<sup>24</sup> His main interest was real estate, and some of the opportunities for investment came through his law practice or politics. For example, in July of 1842 Macdonald was involved in a sheriff's sale of the estate of John McLean, a debtor to the Commercial Bank of the Midland District. As solicitor of the bank, Macdonald collected the notes produced on purchase, and he also bought for himself over forty-five acres, for £284.2.0.<sup>25</sup> He probably hoped to develop these lots located on the west side of the Cataragui River. The material about these investments is incomplete, but the documents of his land purchases existing for the 1840's mostly concern properties in Kingston and its suburbs. After 1850, Macdonald bought real estate all over the province, with an on-going interest.

His interest in investment contributed to his debts in the 1840's. He seldom had the ready cash to cover the costs of his purchases. For example, in 1845 Anthony Manahan's property in Kingston was sold under a writ of the Crown. Macdonald and his close friend, Charles Stuart jointly gave a £500 note to the Sheriff, Mr. Corbett for the purchase of lots. The note was due on July 30, 1845, but remained unpaid until September 12. On this date, Macdonald and Stuart gave a new note for £400 and Macdonald made a payment to Sheriff Corbett for £100. Actually, this cash was "kindly" lent to him by Corbett personally, as a tolerant gesture to the young speculator. To begin paying off the debt to Corbett, Macdonald borrowed £58 from Charles Stuart. In order to cover his portion of the note for £400, Macdonald had to borrow from the Commercial Bank of Upper Canada and the Montreal Bank. The note was finally discharged on February 5, 1847.<sup>26</sup>

Macdonald seems to have made these kinds of transactions with a carefree attitude. He was probably pleased to borrow money to cover costs, sure that the purchase would be sold at a profit in the future. For various reasons this never occurred, but in the 1840's, and while at Bellevue, Macdonald likely thought his "fortune" was right around the corner.<sup>27</sup> This optimism was not uncommon in many young Upper Canadians out to develop their careers and make their fortunes. Another man with these aspirations was Larratt Smith, a Toronto lawyer. In 1847 Smith borrowed £500 to cover the purchase of a partnership in a law firm. In 1849 this debt had not been paid and his law firm was in trouble, yet he was investing in real estate, Upper Canada bank stock, mining stock, etc., with the same assurance as Macdonald.<sup>28</sup>

Macdonald was confident that his standing in the community would lead to success in his work, political career and business investments. It follows that he would have wanted his home to reflect his social standing. He likely thought it fitting to have furniture in his house which, at that particular moment, he could ill afford. The crumbling of a partnership and debts piling up would not necessarily have deterred him. Indeed, some of the funds he was taking from the firm for "personal expenses" could have been for furnishings.

Unfortunately nothing in Macdonald's papers gives an impression, in concrete terms, of the degree of expense and fashion with which he furnished Bellevue. Alternatively, the letters of Larratt Smith, the Toronto lawyer just mentioned, do include a revealing statement about the relationship between his finances and the furnishing of his home in 1848: "[I am] without one farthing of my own (having embarked all in my business), have furnished my house not handsomely but decently." Like Macdonald, Smith had a failing law practice and debts to pay and had to curtail expenses accordingly: "I am not extravagant far from it & must reduce my expenses still more."<sup>29</sup> Only four months later, however, he bought a "very nice piano" for his drawing room.<sup>30</sup> It seems that furnishing one's home "decently" and "far from extravagantly" included, nevertheless, the niceties and comforts available -- for a price -- to middle-class lifestyle.

A few other factors may have contributed to Macdonald's efforts to make Bellevue look "decent," besides the wish to present an image to the community. Firstly, Macdonald showed an early interest in acquiring furnishings for his Brock Street house. On a trip to England in 1842, he wrote home that he planned to purchase there several household items, including a length of damask, paper hangings, chimney ornaments, an iron railing, and a kitchen range.<sup>31</sup> The damask, wallpaper and ornaments would be for the rooms used when entertaining, such as the parlour and dining rooms; the railing would ornament the house. The purchase of



a cooking range was an innovative idea, since ranges were not commonly used in Upper Canada. Macdonald shows in these purchases a consciousness of home decoration and convenience, which he might have extended to Bellevue.

Secondly, although Isabella Macdonald was frequently bedridden, she probably had some influence on the choice of furnishings. Showing a great interest in housekeeping affairs<sup>32</sup> at Bellevue, she was likely eager to furnish her home "decently". She was an accomplished young woman, accustomed to a genteel lifestyle.<sup>33</sup>

Thirdly, the Macdonalds were to set up their own household for the first time with the move to Bellevue. When Isabella first arrived back from New York, the family lived in the Brock Street house. No doubt the furnishing of that house reflected the tastes of Macdonald's mother and sisters. When Macdonald and Isabella moved into Bellevue, they probably took nothing from Brock Street save some favourite pieces, and bedroom and library furniture. For the first time since their marriage, the couple were able to enjoy furnishing their own home to their own tastes. They were young, and probably wanted fashionable, but conventional furniture.<sup>34</sup>

Because of the nature of their move to Bellevue however, they may not have furnished their home as fully as they might have wished. The move was likely a quick attempt to recover Isabella's fragile health in the "quiet and seclusion" of Bellevue.<sup>35</sup> Consequently, they may have viewed their stay as temporary. Macdonald was very busy during this time, working from nine to six each day to put his large practice in order.<sup>36</sup> He was also absent from home to attend Parliament in Montreal from January 1849 until the spring. There was little time to buy furniture and set up house. The death of their child soon after they moved in could have discouraged plans. Furthermore, there was hardly any entertaining done at Bellevue, since Isabella could tolerate few visitors.<sup>37</sup> Besides, Macdonald might have entertained friends and colleagues in the Brock Street house, which was conveniently located. His mother and sisters would have been well equipped for guests.

In summary several factors may have influenced how Bellevue was furnished. Macdonald was under financial restraints but this would not have entirely dampened his desire to have a home befitting a successful and ambitious lawyer, businessman and politician. The move to Bellevue provided Isabella and himself an opportunity to furnish their home to their own taste, which was probably conventional but up-to-date. On the other hand, little entertaining took place at Bellevue. Isabella's illness, the death of their child and Macdonald's absence may have discouraged the planning for their home. Indeed, Bellevue had not been chosen for the fashionable qualities of the suburban villa, but rather as a quiet place for Isabella.<sup>38</sup>

Given all these factors, it is safe to say that Bellevue was probably furnished fashionably, but not opulently. The furniture would have been moderately priced and conventionally up-to-date. Some of the less frequented rooms, such as a spare bedroom may have been relatively sparsely furnished and not completely laid out.

What resources did Macdonald have to obtain fashionable, but moderately priced furniture? He spent some of the year in Montreal after moving his family into Bellevue. He may have purchased some special furnishings there not available in Kingston, as he did on a trip to England in 1842. However the Kingston furniture industry at this period could have supplied the major pieces of furniture Macdonald probably desired. Although there is no record of furniture at Bellevue, a look at the furniture industry in Kingston will show the variety that was available to a young middle-class family.

One source of furniture frequently advertised in the Kingston newspapers were auction sales. The auctions usually included furniture from substantial households, and consequently one could buy perhaps older and good pieces of furniture at relatively moderate prices. But a young couple like the Macdonalds, starting out in a new home, would have wanted contemporary furniture purchased new, as well.

The Kingston cabinet makers and furniture suppliers in the 1840's marketed their furniture in a variety of ways.<sup>39</sup> For those clients with special needs or the money to spend, furniture was made to order. But for the majority of middle-class families, ready-made furniture was available. The great variety of standard, moderately priced items had been made possible in the previous decade through the industrialization of furniture making. Kingston had several large factories during the 1840's which produced parts such as chair legs or sofa frames in large quantities, to be assembled and finished later, and sold in the warehouse. A cabinet maker working on a smaller scale could buy parts from these and other factories in Canada West or the United States. Many furniture warehouses imported whole items of furniture to sell, as in this advertisement in the Kingston Chronicle and Gazette of 1842: "The subscriber .... has made arrangements with one of the best Establishments in Utica, for the constant supply of CHAIRS and FURNITURE of the best description, which will be sold low for cash."<sup>40</sup>

A list of furniture for sale by the cabinet maker George Hunter in 1845 shows the variety and relative cost of furniture in Kingston:

	£	S.	D.
1) 1 pair Mahogany Couches	25.	0.	0
2) 1 pair do do	20.	0.	0
3) 1 Walnut wing Wardrobe	20.	0.	0
4) 1 pair Mahogany Card Tables	15.	0.	0



		£	S.	D.
5)	1 Mahogany Sofa	15.	0.	0
6)	1 Walnut Sideboard	12.	0.	0
7)	1 Mahogany Star Top Centre Table	10.	0.	0
8)	1 Dressing Bureau	10.	0.	0
9)	1 Walnut do do	9.	0.	0
10)	1 do Grecian Chairs	9.	0.	0
11)	6 Balloon do	9.	0.	0
12)	6 do do	9.	0.	0
13)	1 Mahogany Work Table	5.	0.	0
14)	1 do Bedstead	5.	0.	0
15)	1 Walnut Dining Table	5.	0.	0
16)	1 do Work Table	4.	0.	0
17)	1 Mahogany Dressing do	2.	10.	0
18)	1 Walnut do Glass	1.	5.	0
19)	1 do do do	1.	5.	0
20)	1 do do do	1.	5.	0
21)	1 do Breakfast Table	1.	5.	0
22)	1 do do do	1.	5.	0
23)	1 do Work do	1.	5.	0
24)	1 Cherry do do	1.	5.	0
25)	1 French Bedstead	1.	0.	0
26)	1 do do	1.	0.	0
27)	1 Walnut Work Table	0.	15.	0
28)	1 do do do	0.	15.	0
29)	1 do do do	0.	15.	0
30)	1 do Washstand	0.	15.	0
31)	1 do Toilet Table	0.	12.	6
32)	1 do do do	0.	12.	6 <sup>41</sup>

Advertisements and inventories such as this indicate that furniture was available at a wide range of prices to suit most business and professional households. For example, the more expensive items in the Hunter sale were made of mahogany, which had to be imported. As alternatives, black walnut and cherry pieces are listed.

The latest styles were available to Kingstonians. The chairs mentioned in the sale included the fashionable "Grecian" chair and the "balloon" chair, the very latest style, suitable for a suburban villa, such as Bellevue. The "French" bedstead listed was what is now known as a "sleigh" bed, one of the many examples of factory-made furniture produced in the popular style now usually called American Empire.

It is impossible to determine exactly how Macdonald furnished his home. However, by weighing Macdonald's personal aspirations and tastes against his financial and family situations, it is possible to guess how he would have wanted his home to look. The variety of prices and styles of furniture in Kingston at the time indicates what was available to him to suit his tastes.

Except for a few older pieces brought from the Brock Street house, or purchased at auction, Macdonald would have wanted conventional furniture, in current styles. Kingston offered furniture for modern tastes, which was most commonly in the American Empire style. Macdonald would have had a wide choice of various priced materials, from painted pine, to mahogany veneer. The total effect at Bellevue, in the public rooms at least, would have been decent according to the conventions of the time and fashionable according to the tastes of the period.

#### Endnotes

- 1 A similar conclusion was arrived at by Hilary Russell, "Report for the Bellevue House team on table setting and the management of the sick room," manuscript on file, Parks Canada, Ontario Region 1979, p. 45.
- 2 Ibid., 23 April, 1844: "To Let. The premises occupied by S. Keefer, Esq., comprising a Stone Cottage of Ten Apartments, Well Laid out, Coach House, Stables, Garden, Well, etc., etc., beautifully situated, having a fine view of the Lake, and within seven minutes walk of the Mineral Springs, a desirable residence for the genteel Family, rent moderate." The term "cottage" was sometimes used to refer to any kind of modern, suburban dwelling. The "ten apartments" could have been the principal rooms at Bellevue.
- 3 For example: "A gentleman in occupation of one of Hales' Cottages wishes to dispose of his lease .... and Furniture." The British Whig and General Advertiser for Canada West (Kingston), 21.1.1844.
- 4 John A. Macdonald to Margaret Greene, Kingston, 11 July 1845 in J. K. Johnson, ed., Affectionately Yours, the letters of Sir John A. Macdonald and his family (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969) (hereafter cited as Affectionately Yours), pp. 34-35.
- 5 Macdonald to Greene, New York, 5 April 1847; 2 August 1847; 3 April 1847 in J. K. Johnson, Affectionately Yours, pp. 49-53. "Letheon" or "sulpherated" ether, used to anaesthetize Isabella was a very new treatment, first tried only ten months earlier in Boston; A. A. Travill, "Sir John A. Macdonald and his doctors," Historic Kingston, vol. 29 (Jan. 1981), pp. 95-96.
- 6 Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), Sir John A. Macdonald papers, MG26A, vol. 194, pp. 80603-80604.
- 7 Ibid., Campbell to Macdonald, 8 June 1849, pp. 80611-80616.

- 8 Ibid., vol. 554, pp. 262445 and 262458.
- 9 Lt. Col. J. Pennington MacPherson, Life of the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald by his nephew (St. John, N.B.: Earle Publishing House, 1891), vol. 1, p. v.
- 10 The 1842 census for Ward Four, where the Brock St. house was situated lists two servants in the household of John A. Macdonald; a man and a woman. PAC, 1842 Census for the town of Kingston (ward 4), M5907.
- 11 "The nurse and the child came out with us . . . .," Macdonald to Greene, Kingston, 29 August 1848 in J. K. Johnson, Affectionately Yours, p. 59. The nurse could have been for Isabella.
- 12 PAC, Campbell to Macdonald, 8 June 1849, Sir John A. Macdonald Papers, MG26A, vol. 194, pp. 80611-80616.
- 13 Ibid., Macdonald to Campbell, [2 Sept. 1849], pp. 80625, 80626.
- 14 Ibid., Campbell to Macdonald, n.d., pp. 80617-8.
- 15 Ibid., Campbell to Macdonald, n.d., pp. 80624-5.
- 16 Kingston Chronicle and News, Notice of termination of partnership, 8 Sept. 1849.
- 17 PAC, Sir John A. Macdonald Papers, Campbell to Macdonald, MG26A, vol. 194, 20 Oct. 1849, pp. 80631-80634.
- 18 Margaret Angus, "Bellevue Report," manuscript on file, Parks Canada, 1964, p. II, 13.
- 19 According to newspaper advertisements, most dwellings were rented on a yearly basis. Presumably, Macdonald's lease was from September 1848 to September 1849; Kingston Chronicle and News, advertisement for Bellevue to let, 11 Aug. 1849 - 1 Sept. 1849.
- 20 Queen's Archives, Assessment Rolls for Kingston, Victoria Ward, 1850.
- 21 Many of the transactions of Macdonald's law practice are incomplete; some pages needed to understand the transactions are missing. The papers dealing with his investments sometimes do not indicate what or how he paid for his purchases. Since Macdonald's work, business and political life were always so inter-related, it would be virtually impossible to piece it



all together. This impression is confirmed by J. K. Johnson in "John A. Macdonald, the young non-politician," (Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers, 1971) (hereafter cited as "John A. Macdonald, the young non-politician"), p. 139.

22 Macdonald's influence in the business sphere is explored by J. K. Johnson in "John A. Macdonald and the Kingston business community," To preserve and defend: essays on Kingston in the nineteenth century, ed. Gerald Tulchinsky, (McGill University Press, 1976) (hereafter cited as "John A. Macdonald and the business community"), pp. 141-156.

23 J. K. Johnson, "John A. Macdonald, the young non-politician," p. 150.

24 J. K. Johnson, "John A. Macdonald," The Preconfederation Premiers: Ontario government leaders, 1841-1861, ed. J. M. S. Careless (University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 200.

25 PAC, John A. Macdonald Papers, MG26A, vol. 543, pp. 256970 and 257296.

26 Ibid., p. 257107-257113.

27 J. K. Johnson, "John A. Macdonald and the business community," p. 155; J. K. Johnson, "John A. Macdonald, the young non-politician," p. 144.

28 Toronto. Metropolitan Toronto Library, Larratt William Smith Papers, S102, Accounts.

29 Ibid., transcripts of letters, Smith to Aunt George Smith, 19 Feb. 1847.

30 Ibid., Smith to his father, Captain Larratt Hillary Smith, 23 June 1847.

31 Macdonald to his mother, 3 Mar. 1842, in J. K. Johnson, Affectionately Yours, p. 28-30.

32 For example, Macdonald to Greene, 3 Dec. 1848: "She [Isabella] has as much to do as she is able for, in directing the household affairs managing her servants, etc., and I can assure you, such is her attention and method that confined to the room though she be, she makes a capital housekeeper," J. K. Johnson, Affectionately Yours, p. 60.

33 Lt. Col. J. Pennington MacPherson, Life of the Right

Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald by his nephew (St. John, N.B.: Earle Publishing House, 1891), p. 85.

- 34 There does not seem to be any evidence of anything idiocyncratic or eccentric in Macdonald's choice of personal effects or furnishings at any period. An informal look at furnishings attributed to Macdonald in various collections suggests that his tastes were conventional.
- 35 Macdonald to Greene, 29 Aug. 1848, in J. K. Johnson, Affectionately Yours, p. 59.
- 36 Ibid., 3 Dec. 1848, p. 60.
- 37 Ibid., 24 July 1848, pp. 62-3.
- 38 Macdonald had no pretention about Bellevue; indeed he was rather sarcastic about its appearance. Ibid., 15 Aug. 1848, p. 58.
- 39 I am indebted for the following discussion of the Kingston furniture industry to Joan Mackinnon, Kingston cabinet makers, 1800-1867 (National Museum of Man Mercury series, History division, paper no. 14, 1976) (hereafter cited as Kingston cabinet makers).
- 40 Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, 8 April 1843.
- 41 Joan Mackinnon, Kingston cabinet makers, pp. 67-8.

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