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The Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley
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The Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley is published by the Trent Valley Archives, for its members.

We welcome articles relating to local and family history, and to archives, or to the methods by which one may pursue these. Reviews of books or institutions are encouraged. We also include information about the activities of our various committees and projects.

The information and opinions expressed are those of the contributors and not necessarily those of the Trent Valley Archives or its directors.

Trent Valley Archives

Your five counties archives centre
Archives * Heritage * Genealogy

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Serving east central Ontario
from Oshawa to Bancroft,
from Haliburton to Belleville.

Trent Valley Archives was founded in 1988, and incorporated in 1989. It is a public advocacy group promoting the preservation, identification and care of archives. It has also advocated more liberal access to archival collections, and a recognition that freedom of information laws should be exactly that. In particular it favours the development of public regional and county archives, or barring that strong municipal archives. It realizes that reorganizations of governments lead to inadvertent destruction of records and offers help in meeting such difficulties.

It encourages businesses and organizations to include archiving as a part of their records management programs. It assists individuals in keeping archives or find-ing suitable homes. It has accepted archival documents and fonds when necessary and the move to the Fairview Heritage Centre was partly prompted by the need to make its holdings accessible.

Its holdings include microfilm records of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Peterborough, St John's Anglican Church Archives, and the censuses of the five counties for 1871 and for all census years in Peterborough county, 1851 to 1901.

Other significant collections include Lakefield newspapers since 1949, the radio archives of Frank Schoales, and the personal archives of Howard Pammett, J. Alex Edmison, Archie Tolmie, Albert Hope, and others. Recently, we have been adding the following archival records: Delledone collection on Lakefield's history; the Anson House archives, 1862 to the present; the Dyer family papers related to the history of Peterborough, recreational activities (including a magnificent archive related to pigeon racing in the 1960s and 1970s). There are now 35 collections of archival records relating to various aspects of Victoria and Peterborough counties.

In addition to the Research Room Library, the Trent Valley Archives has books, journals and newsletters relating to archival organizations, the history and function of archives, and issues surrounding freedom of information, legislation relating to municipal government, Hansard for the 1980s, Journals of the House of Commons and Senate, for the 1980s, and other books relating to farming, public history, architectural and other issues.

The Trent Valley Ancestral Research Committee oversees our many ventures in family history, and researching the many queries that we receive. Our Reading Room houses a significant library of local books, cemetery records, family histories, and some of our microfilm collections. Our growing Genealogy Program computer database contains over 72,000 names, mainly connected to original families of the Trent Valley.

The Irish Heritage Research Centre has a fine and growing collection of pamphlets, magazines and other materials relating to research on Irish migration and family history on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Trent Valley Archives now has holdings that relate to child migration, as well.

TVA Membership

Membership in the Trent Valley Archives continues to grow.

The reading room is open to members from Monday to Friday, 10 to 4:30, and other times by appointment. Annual memberships, $40. Special rates for university students can be arranged.. The major benefits of membership are unlimited use of the reading room at the Fairview Heritage Centre, subscription to Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley, invitations to special events, and opportunities to help in the diverse work of the Trent Valley Archives, of the Trent Valley Archives Ancestral Research committee, of the Irish Heritage committee and various other heritage activities.

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Around the Fairview Heritage Centre

Keith Dinsdale

Annual General Meeting

The 2000 annual general meeting of the Trent Valley Archives was held Thursday, 22 March 2001, at the Fairview Heritage Centre. After hearing reports and dispensing of the business of the meeting, the members were treated to a wide-ranging presentation about the history of Anson House. Students at Trent University are using TVA archival records to reconstruct this most interesting history. The organization went through various stages before becoming Anson House in 1931. It dispensed outdoor relief in the winters from 1862 to the 1890s. Three successive buildings, from 1865, were known as the Peterborough Protestant Home. Its long-term supporters guided it through many changes. The impressive building on the Hilliard Street hill opened in 1912; the architect Sandford Smith was a descendent of the first Sheriff Hall. Members were pleased to see this impressive use of the resources at the Fairview Heritage Centre.

Books

on Genealogy and Local History and general interest

We carry an amazing array of books and other items related to local history, family history and genealogy. We have some out-of-print titles and we are always willing to help those seeking an elusive title. Browsers welcome.

Among the titles currently being sold in our reading room are:

- *Nelson's Falls to Lakefield, a history of the village* (1999)
- *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Peterborough County 1825-1875* (1975) maroon special, $100.
- *The Past is Simply a beginning: Peterborough Doctors 1825-1993*, by Dr John Walter Martyn (1993), $30
- *Mizgiiyaakwaa-tibelh Lake-field ... a look at its heritage*, Gordon Young, ed. (1999), $50
- *A History of North Monaghan Township*, by Alta Whitfield (1989) a super special at $15
- *The Peter Robinson Settlement of 1825: the story of the Irish immigration to the city and county of Peterborough, Ontario* , by Bill LaBranche. (1975), $5
- great selection of historical atlases

Ask us about archival supplies for the preservation of your photos, letters and memorabilia.

J. Alex Edmison shares his memories

[*These items were shared with many of Alex Edmison's correspondents, and copies are in the Edmison fonds, one of the larger archival collections at the Trent Valley Archives at Fairview Heritage Centre. Alex Edmison was one of Canada's favourite after dinner speeches and his memories had charm. We plan often to share other memories and tales from his talented pen.*]

I

DONALD FITZGERALD AND CHARLES J. BEGLEY ARE HONOURED FOR BRAVERY

Two Royal Humane Society medals awarded some time ago [3 June 1919] to Donald Fitzgerald and Charles Begley for saving the life of little Evelyn Roberts, daughter of A.G. Roberts, local superintendent of the Metropolitan Insurance Co., who resides at the corner of Smith Street and Dennistoun Avenue, were presented today. The presentation was made at 2:30 p.m. on a stand near the George Street entrance on which the school children under the direction of Miss Rannie of the Normal School staff, were present.

Directly in front of the stand stood the Boy Scouts under Scoutmaster Tyrer. On the platform were Mr. A.G. Roberts, Mayor G.H. Duncan, Rev. Father Phelan, Rev. J.C. Davidson, and His Honor Judge Huycke. His Worship the Mayor introduced Mr Roberts to those present, who related how his daughter was saved from drowning at Inverlea Park last June, how Charlie Begley held her above the swirling water as it raced under the Smith Street bridge, until aid arrived in the person of Don Fitzgerald, who jumped off the top of the bridge and brought them both nearly exhausted to the shore.

Don Fitzgerald was not present at the opening of the proceedings and the crowd was of the opinion that modesty had got the better of him when he appeared on the platform just as His Honour expressed to the people his regrets that he was not present.

"You have upheld the traditions of your race," said His Honour, "and sacrifice is one of the greatest things in the world."

The medals which were then presented to the boys consist of a large round bronze plate suitably inscribed with the Royal Humane Society's escutcheon attached to a broad ribbon at the end of which is an attached bar.

After the presentation the school children sang with a vim "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," after which Father Phelan and Rev Canon Davidson made some suitable remarks.

BRAVERY

A.M. FITZGERALD
PETERBOROUGH ONT.
JUNE 3, 1919

ROYAL CANADIAN HUMANE ASSOCIATION

II

THE JAGSHIP OF THE TRENT

[J. Alex Edmison comments that this item appeared in the Peterborough Review around 1914. *"The reference to the Honourable James R. Stratton who died in 1916, caused a minor sensation at the time, and I remember the roars of laughter occasioned when read. I recollect seeing, years after, the yellowed clipping produced from wallets as a sure-fire conversation piece."*]

Hurrah for the Bessie Butler,
Hurrah for her gallant crew
As spick and span a little craft
As ever the Grit flag flew.
Whenever the boys got thirsty,
And all their money spent,
They boarded the Bessie Butler,
The Jagship of the Trent.

The cargo she took was precious,
And they stowed it all below,
Rum and whisky and lager,
Right down in the hold would go;
And never was crew so handy,
With never a thought or care,
And the tools they carried were corkscrews,
And each man had a pair.

Thre was gin for the gallant Captain,
And beer for the bo'sun bold;
They spliced the mainbrace every hour
When the weather was hot or cold;
They sang and played the piano
From eve until the break of day,
And the theme of the song was Stratton,
And the chorus was Laurier.

Hurrah for the Bessie Butler,
The boat so smart and trim,
Loaded with beer and vittals,
She did great work for Jim,
She did her duty nobly,
Wherever she was sent,
The good old Bessie Butler,
The Jagship of the Trent.

III

THE HOUSE AT 83 HUNTER STREET EAST WAS SOLD BY DON FITZGERALD TO MISS MARY MASON

The above item was from an issue of the *Peterborough Examiner* during the month of January 1942. To the casual reader it means little or nothing – to me it means a great deal. The "Don Fitzgerald" referred to is the son of my mother's late brother. The "83 Hunter Street East" referred to was the home in Peterborough of my late maternal grandfather, Alexander Fitzgerald, after whom I am named.

"83 Hunter street East" was my boyhood paradise. For the first twenty-five years of my life I visited there every summer and almost invariably went there for Christmas.

Sitting here, on the evening of the 9th of March 1942, in my London, England apartment, thoughts and memories crowd to me over the miles and the years.

Grandfather - I can see him yet at the Peterborough station waiting to meet us as the train from Cheltenham, Kincardine, or Toronto came in - and extending a

welcome that thrilled me as a boy and warmed my heart as a man. There he would be, tall, broad shouldered, smiling through his drooping moustache, this veteran of the Fenian Raid who kept until his eighties the strength for which in his youth he was noted throughout Peterborough County. No smoker or drinker he - and those who knew him well never indulged in either in his presence - but beloved, nonetheless, by every drunkard and loafer in town because of the kindness of his heart and the generosity of his purse. Son of a Protestant Irishman, he was a life-long member of the Loyal Orange Lodge and the picture of William of the Boyne ever adorned his wall. Yet his Catholic friends were legion, and the tears that flowed from his Irish Catholic neighbour, Con. Clancy, on his death (in 1928) were something not easily forgotten. He was a lover of horses (he kept prize stock at one time) and of dogs and of gardens. His affection for his grandchildren will be remembered as long as they live. "Alex, m'boy, come here", he said to me on countless occasions, and taking my hand in his huge one he would slip into it a ten cent piece, or a shinplaster (the old 25 cent note), or some peppermints.

He was a devoted member of the Anglican Communion and many the time I went with him to St. John's - the ivy-covered church on the hill. Then we would go for long walks and he would tell me of his pioneer farming in Upper Canada before Confederation, of forest fires, of sugaring parties in the bush. These walks would be interrupted as he stopped and chatted with people in all walks of life, and about everyone he would relate to me afterwards some always favourable story. Looking back through the mists of the years, and measuring him quite objectively, he is one of the finest persons I have ever known. He was a good man, a strong man, a kindly man - and I am very proud that he was my grandfather!

In the first years of my visits to Peterborough, Grandfather would have a Victoria hack engaged for us - I can see the black horses now - and the clubfooted coachman, beside whom I used to be allowed to sit in great pride and majesty. The coach would rumble across the Otonabee Bridge, by the Quaker Oats, into Ashburnham and would draw up by the large dismounting stone in front of .....

83 Hunter Street East - I can picture that beloved rambling old house - with its large well-trimmed lawns in front, its hedges, its vines, the profusion of flowers on all its sides. And there Aunt Chris and Aunt Liz would extend fond greeting - they were the sisters of my Grandmother who had died when I was quite small. Aunt Chris would have some food ready - an enormous quantity and a wide range - but always apologizing in a quaint Irish brogue for it. Many the cookie and candy she slipped to me. Good old Aunt Chris - with a plate of milk for every stray cat and a meal and a coin for every stray tramp or beggar. Liquor she highly disapproved of - but she served her own dandelion wine which carried "a kick like a mule". And Aunt Liz, with her great skill with the needle, always giving me "things" and picking neckties for me until the very last of her long life.

Then after gulping down the food ("Alex-are you sure you've had enough?") I would dash out the back door, look at the numerous fruit trees, observe the large garden, inspect the hens, explore the barn (long since a garage), duck into the red coaching shed (long since torn down) - and then push up the lift gate in the fence and tear over to see my pals, Joe and Mike Clancy (whose mother would usually give me a large loaf of her famous homemade bread to take back.) These preliminaries over, and with the plans made for baseball on the morrow with Joe and Mike, I would run out of the side gravel drive, shake hands with John Kerr the family grocery (with perhaps a lollipop as a reward) and proceed up Mark Street to make my presence know to Gord Mein, my other Peterborough playmate.

Thus would my holiday pass at "No. 83" - every minute jewelled with youthful pleasure and excitement. I know every room in that house. I can see the pictures on the walls. I know where Grandfather kept his peppermints and where Aunt Chris kept her Christmas pudding and the jars of fruit she always labelled "this year's". I can visualize those happy Christmas dinners, Grandfather as the expert carver (those hands of his could do anything), handsome Uncle Harry, jolly Aunt Nell, my keen and kindly Dad, Aunt Chris worrying whether the turkey was cooked properly and Aunt Liz trying to render her not-always-welcome assistance. These six who meant so much to me are together now - in Little Lake Cemetery.

No boy ever received more love and kindness in any house than I did in "No. 83". No wonder then that I am moved by the item... "the house at 83 Hunter Street East was sold." I feel a door closing behind me and I hear a lock sound and a key being thrown away. I have afeeling of loneliness this night.

Ottawa, 11 July 1960

I can now make another and "final" entry concerning 83 Hunter Street East. I was informed by grandfather's long-time neighbours, Mr & Mrs Tenot Glover, that the old house was being torn down to make way for a gasoline station. On June 30th, on my first trip of the year to the cottage, I stopped by "No. 83".Demolition was almost complete ... "it is gone ... and the place thereof shall know it no more." It exists now only in our memories.

Committees need members

If you would like to serve on one of our many committees, talk to Keith Dinsdale or any other member of the Board. There are dozens of jobs for which we require help. In addition to the Photo committee noted above, we are developing new committees for genealogy, for archives, for building maintenance, and for publications. We get many requests for information, and we are processing new collections all the time.

Thomas Rutherford: Peterborough Firefighter

Don Willcock

I first came across references to Thomas Rutherford during my research into the Peterborough Fire Brigade. He joined the Brigade in 1866, became its Chief in 1881, and held that post until 30 June 1908 when the volunteer brigade was disbanded to be replaced by the permanent Peterborough Fire Department. No one else held the position of Fire Brigade Chief for a longer period -- a great tribute to his capabilities and popularity in an era when the firemen themselves elected their officers annually.

As I did some digging into Thomas Rutherford, I encountered a most capable and interesting local historical figure. He was born in Peterborough in 1849, and was a life-long resident. His father was Robinson Rutherford, who served on Peterborough's first town council (1850) and for many years afterwards. Thomas, as a young man, was a cricketer renowned throughout Ontario for long drives that "are still talked about by the old residents **[of Peterborough]**" (*Examiner*, 23 August 1915). He was an equally adept curler who led the Peterborough rink in Tankard competitions. Thomas Rutherford seems to have developed his sense of civic responsibility early in life: the same year (1866) he became a fireman he also enlisted in the local militia to meet the Fenian threat -- despite being under age. He also was a member of the Fire Brigade Band.

Thomas and his only brother Christopher, also a long-serving firefighter, were contractors by profession. Their family company built many hotels, stores, and other buildings in Peterborough. They also had a hand in erecting some of this community's more significant structures: the Customs House (demolished), the old Post Office (demolished), Market Hall & Clock Tower, the old Public Library (now the Carnegie Wing of City Hall), King Edward School, Mount St Joseph Convent, and the Catholic House of Providence (demolished to build the present Marycrest Home for the Aged). It was perhaps this construction expertise that helped both Thomas and Christopher Rutherford to be such good firefighters.

Thomas Rutherford's firefighting career was not entirely without controversy. In 1879 and 1880, the Brigade members were at loggerheads with the Peterborough Council as to the future status of the town fire service, and its administration and command structures. From its inception in 1850, the Fire Brigade had been a volunteer force that elected its own officers, mostly governed and disciplined itself, and even raised money for some of its equipment (notably uniforms). However, in the late 1870s there was discussion about the state of firefighting in Peterborough – with more emphasis on the lack of equipment and funding than any question of the men's abilities or dedication. The Brigade was re-organised (a practice sometimes employed by the town leaders when a bigger municipal fire budget was suggested) in mid-1880. Thomas Rutherford was nominated by the men, and appointed Chief by Council, for 1881. Francis Hincks Dobbin comments that Chief Rutherford was a "capital example of homegrown man in the service. Possibly in a larger field and he might have attained provincial prominence as an experienced fire fighter." (*History of the Peterborough Fire Department* (1925) p. 41).

In 1908 the volunteer Fire Brigade was replaced by the permanent Peterborough Fire Department. It was not an amicable change-over. Mainly because Council did not ask Chief Rutherford to submit his application to be chief of the new force – even as a courtesy to this veteran firefighter – the entire Brigade resigned en masse, although they did continue to respond to fires. The grand parade of Peterborough firemen and citizens, on the evening of 30 June 1908, that marked the end of the volunteer Brigade was in part a tribute to Thomas Rutherford from his men and the community, and partly a protest against Council's hiring of an out-

of-town chief. Chief Rutherford seems to have taken Council's snub more quietly than many of his colleagues.

On Sunday, 22 August 1915, Thomas Rutherford succumbed to pancreatic cancer at the age of 66 years. He was survived by his wife, sons Walter (Peterborough) and Ernest (Milwaukee), daughters Mrs Roy Richardson (Milwaukee) and Mrs George Hardill (Orillia) and Mrs. H.P. Morgan (Peterborough), his brother Christopher, sisters Mrs James Kendry and Mrs J.D. Craig and Mrs Sharpe and Miss Sarah Rutherford (all of Peterborough).

The funeral was held on 24 August at the Rutherford home on Union Street, with a final procession to Little Lake Cemetery. It was most fitting that six members of the old volunteer Peterborough Fire Brigade served as pall bearers for their last chief.

Don Willcock

[Don Willcock is working on a major study of firefighting in Peterborough. He welcomes any information our readers may have about photos, documents, records, memories concerning fires and firefighting in early Peterborough. He may be reached through the Fairview Heritage Centre.]

Queries

Bill Amell and Marguerite Young

We get many inquiries from our members and we are happy to oblige in whatever ways possible. When requested we pass the questions to our readers in this popular column. If you have responses to these queries we would welcome hearing from you at the Fairview Heritage Centre, so we can add the information to our growing files. It is always great to hear from satisfied customers, too.

Direct your queries to Bill Amell or Marguerite Young at the Fairview Heritage Centre, 567 Carnegie Avenue, Peterborough ON K9L 1N1.

Masters

Researching the family of Samuel Masters who was born in 1837 in Cramahe Township in Northumberland County, Ontario, Canada. His parents were Samuel and Mary Masters.In the 1871 Census for Cramahe and Percy Townships several Masters are listed there.Samuel is listed in Cramahe as 34 yeras of age. He was a Weslayan Methodist and a sawyer. His mother, Mary, was 81 at the time, and she was listed as being born in the U.S.A.. Mary E., at 25 and Clara, at 26, are also listed in his family. Other Masters families in the area were George, Richard, Catherine, John, Stuart, Jacob, and Almira. With so many Masters families living in such close proximity, it is hoped that someone can provide more information on this family.

Leland E. Masters , at 18 Franca Drive, Bristol, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
02809 would be ever so grateful.

Wharton/Glass

Searching for information about a Wharton/Glass family who lived in the Town of Peterborough in the latter half of the 1800's and early 1900's. John Wharton was born in Ontario on September 4,1862. He married Mary Louisa(Minnie) Glass. They had a daughter Edna Pearl, born on January 29, 1890 and Nellie May, born on October 15, 1891.John was listed as an English Methodist. I believe that Mary Louisa belonged to the family of Joseph Glass, as his was the only Glass family listed, and her age seems to fit. Joseph Glass was born in the U.S.A. on August 14, 1842. He was of German descent, and he, also, was a Methodist. He was a an irom moulder by trade. His wife, Lucy, was born on Juy 10, 1845 in the U.S.A. and was of Scotch descent. Joseph emigrated to Canada in 1863 and Lucy in 1855. Their children, Rosa, Joseph, George, Clara, and Nelly were born in Ontario. They are listed in the 1891 census, and again, in the 1901 census of Peterborough Town. Edna Pearl, daughter of John and Mary Louisa, married James White in Toronto, Ontario about 1917. Your assistance would be greatly appreciated. Anyone having further information about this family, please contact

Janis White,

53 River Street,

Parry Sound, ON, Canada. P2A2T8.

Masterson

This is a search for information on the Patrick Masterson family and descendants. Patrick lived on Lot 21, Concession 1, Alnwick Township, Northumberland County, Ontario, Canada in the 1800's. He was married to Ann Roark(O'Roark, Rorke). In the 1861 Alnwick Census, Patrick and Ann are listed as aged 48 and 47, repectively and originating in Ireland. Their children were born in Upper Canada and were listed as follows: Roseanna,19; Thomas,18; Hugh,15; Mary,13; John,17; Catharine,6; Margaret, 3. Catholic Church Records of the family were found in St Mary's R.C. Church, Grafton, a mission of Cobourg at the time, St. Michael's R.C. Church, Cobourg, and Our Lady of Mount Carmel R.C. Church, in Hastings. Hugh married Catherine Kewin and their children were as follows: Sarah(1874), James(1875), Thomas(1877), Roseanne(1880), Annie(1883), John B.(1884), Hugh(1886), Catherine Agnes(1885), and Mary Ellen(1889). John married Bridget McGinnis (McGuiness) in 1882.Thomas moved to Wisconsin sometime prior to 1871. Many of the Mastersons are buried in St. Jerome's Cemetery, Warkworth. A priest, Rev. John Masterson was pastor at Our Lady of Mercy Catholic Church in Port Hope in the early 1900's. He may be a relative. With all these leads, we are hopeful that someone in our readership can add to this

family search. If so, with grateful appreciation, please contact:

Margo Lemke, N5377,

Bueno Vista Drive,
Fond Du Lac, WI, U.S.A. 54935

Anson House History Project

[Elwood Jones prepared the following article for the "Historical Sketches" column in *Prime Time*, March 2001. We thought it would be of interest to readers of the *Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley*. Editor]

Anson House

A group of scholars working on the history of Anson House have learned many surprising things.

Anson House is known to Peterborough people as the big house overlooking the intersection of Hilliard, Water and George. Since 1912, this has been Peterborough's most historic home for the aged, home to 35 to 45 senior citizens at a time. It had fifty years of history before moving to the old Hilliard farm, now with the postal address, 136 Anson. The organization has, in fact, changed many times. Like a chameleon it takes on the colour of its background. However, its ability to reinvent itself is more akin to a Greek god.

We traced the roots of Anson House to 1862 and Louisa Wallis and Helen Haultain, supported and encouraged by local clergy such as the Rev J.W.R. Beck and the Rev Vincent Clementi, as well as by family and friends. In November, on one of the stormiest days of that year, nine hardy women traipsed to the office of Col Frederick W. Haultain intent on organizing the Peterborough Relief Society which would help "those [unfortunate people] requiring and deserving assistance," make it through the winter. In a matter of days, they organized the group, and developed a support network that reached into all parts of the town. Merchants volunteered to supply groceries, beef, wood and clothing. Churches and the Orange Lodge raised funds. Women paid weekly fees. Each member took responsibility for a small neighbourhood. They identified the poor, whose cases they presented to the weekly Wednesday afternoon meeting of the Peterborough Relief Society.

They hoped, we are told, to "discourage the system of begging from house to house by idle and disreputable persons." This would end a public nuisance, while giving greater support to the "deserving poor." The deserving poor were those not to blame for their predicament.

It was not all smooth sailing. In less than three months, the ladies responded to criticism by publishing an audited statement of their ongoing work.

The Peterborough Relief Society was strongly defended by one local editor, Robert White, who with his brother Thomas successively owned the *Peterborough Review, the Hamilton Spectator and the Montreal Gazette.* White defended the women, but also criticised those who ignored or opposed their work. Some poor people claimed they could get more money begging door to door, and had complained when the Relief Society refused help them. White said some merchants opposed charitable purposes on principle, and used their influence to prevent public money being spent on this group. White thought such people were happy that the society might save public money by helping people who might otherwise need public welfare. They just would not assist it. White even believed there were some people too wicked to support a group working "upon moral principles."

What kind of determination did these women need? Where did they get their inspiration and confidence?

Historians have had many ideas about what motivated women to enter into the world of social welfare. How did they get their determination, inspiration and confidence in a world defined by men? Some suggest that if women were given primacy in domestic roles, church and voluntary associations would provide opportunities for being effective in a more public sphere. One historian, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, uses the metaphor of a gingham table cloth to distinguish three areas of involvement defined by the way the warp and the weft intersect. White squares are private roles, indigo squares the formally public, and the squares with white and indigo indicate the area of visibility. Women might spend more time in white and mixed squares, but this still means many opportunities for mixing in the wider world. That seems to be how it was in Victorian Peterborough. Women assigned politics and competitive business to the world of men, but women were everywhere else. Certainly, that was how it was with the Peterborough Relief Society. Men would talk to the politicians (who were invariably men); men would audit their accounts; and men would defend their position in the newspaper. Yet women were not constrained by their gender. They saw themselves as women primarily helping women and children. There was personal satisfaction in extending help where otherwise it would not happen.

Even the world of the poor can be understood by the gingham table cloth metaphor. Those most in need of help

from the women of the Peterborough Relief Society were those in the white squares. These were widows, orphans and others who had been abandoned by men. It might include, as well, the disabled. The indigo squares were occupied by those who were not deserving of help, those who were physically capable of holding jobs but who were too consumed with personal bad habits, such as laziness and abuse of alcohol. In the mixed square were those who needed help were in difficulty because of lack of work opportunities, the consequence of the workplace and natural environment. Winter was a tough season. There were fewer opportunities to work, and there was more demand for good housing, heat, warm clothing, and affordable food. Even today, winter is the source of many woes. How much more so in a society where full employment might mean working 200 days a year, and having to spread meagre earnings over an additional 165 days. For the most part are women helped those in the white squares, those who were unable to beg door to door or otherwise fend for themselves.

Of the many remarkable women of 1862, two stand out as real dynamos: Louisa Wallis and Helen Haultain.

Louisa Wallis, and her husband James, lived at Merino, the fine stone house on their model farm west of the town and now defined by a subdivision along Wallis Drive and Merino. When St John's Church needed help with paying for their fine church building, the Wallises helped by arranging a loan from Fenelon Falls (which was paid off by the development of buildings along Water Street on the west side of the church property). They also organized a most ambitious summer fete and bazaar that was held on their fine property; among the countless attractions was a Montgolfier balloon and a great fair-like atmosphere. She was considered a "personage." She had a stately and dignified manner, had been a fine singer, and was admired "for her beautiful voice and loving heart."

The Haultains were a family that left the rest of the town breathless from the moment they arrived. They came in 1860 from British India, where Colonel Frederick W. Haultain had been stationed. In an 1864 by-election, Haultain was elected to the legislature of the Province of Canada. The American Civil War was at full tide, and fears that it might lead to invasion of Canada prompted politicians to seek a Confederation of all the British provinces. Haultain had had a major religious conversion in 1844, and from that point on was an active, evangelical Christian. In Peterborough, Both Frederick and Helen were active laity at the Free Kirk Presbyterian Church (St Paul's Presbyterian Church), and they actively supported with their fine-honed social Christian consciences all endeavours related to Christian witnessing and to helping the poor and the needy.

Katherine Wallis, the famed sculptress who trained under Rodin and lived a long and fruitful life at Santa Cruz, California reflected on the origins of the Women's Auxiliary in Canada's Church of England. This 1947 letter is in the St John's Archives. Her mother, Louisa, was attending a missionary outreach group at the Presbyterian Church, with her good friend, Helen Haultain. She decided the Anglicans should have such a group, and approached her rector, the Rev Canon J.W.R. Beck. Beck said that was a fine idea, as long as the women tied a domestic purpose to the group. So aided by her good Presbyterian friend, Louisa Wallis started what was the first branch of what became the Anglican Women's Auxiliary (W.A.) in 1881.

As I re-read this letter recently I was struck by the parallels with the start of the Peterborough Relief Society in 1862. The Rev Vincent Clementi was the most public figure in a major fundraising initiative to help industrial workers in the British Midlands to meet the need for food and heat in a tough season of discontent. The Rev J.W.R. Beck was at that first meeting in Col Haultain's office. It seems likely that Louisa Wallis and Helen Haultain thought that if we can support poor on the other side of the ocean, we should be able to be more helpful to those on our door step. Louisa Wallis would have expressed her concerns to her rector, who would have confirmed that charity begins at home. Mrs Haultain secured her husband's office, and within a couple of weeks the Peterborough Relief Society was helping people in need.

The ladies met in Col Haultain's office every Wednesday afternoon, and by the fourth meeting were ready to give assistance. The first case was presented by Mrs A.M. Kempt, and six yards of flannel was given to Mrs Delany. Mrs Best was to request fire wood for Mrs Freeman. Mrs Ogilvy could spend three dollars on clothing for the children of E. Powers; as could Mrs Wrighton for the family of Mrs Preston. More commonly, the poor were given vouchers for groceries and beef. But the pattern was set. A member of the Relief Society presented the case, and the person or family in need was given a little support, often more than once.

The work and the name of the Peterborough Relief Society changed once it had a home base. The first Protestant Home, from 1865 to 1870, was in a house at Sherbrooke and Aylmer, made available rent-free by R.A. Morrow. The second Protestant Home, from 1870 to 1912, was the Old Stone Brewery around the corner from Hutchison House, the gift of Sheriff Hall's family. The third Protestant Home, known as Anson House since 1931, continues to operate from its gorgeous

hill-top overlooking Peterborough. There are many stories to tell, and some will find their way into a history of Anson House being prepared by me and my students of everyday life in the past, in co-operation with the Anson House Millennium Committee. From the vision and expertise and enthusiasm of a fine band of women, of whom Louisa Wallis and Helen Haultain were so central, has borne exceptional fruit. Women accomplished much even in Victorian times.

Peterborough Protestant Home 1887

Jane Gifford Hall

[Editor's note: *The following report, which appeared in the local newspaper, was glued into the minute books of the Peterborough Protestant Home. These records are in the Anson House fonds at the Trent Valley Archives, fonds 35. This report has very wide interest as it comments on several people, on funeral arrangements, on the handling of infectious disease, and on the importance of the fairly new Nicholls Hospital. The report was written by the secretary, Jane Gifford Hall, and covered the six months from March to September 1887. If you have information relating to any of the names mentioned in this report please inform the Trent Valley Ancestral Research committee or the editor.*]

In giving you this brief resume of the doing of the last six months in this institution little has occurred that was not anticipated, to break its monotonous routine. The necessaries of life and clothing have been graciously provided by our Heavenly Father, and the interest and sympathy of friends in its welfare we hope not diminished. The only infectious disease amongst its inmates was diphtheria, which, we have reason to believe, was contracted outside the precincts of the Home, as the patients (the matron and her child) had been absent for a holiday and shortly after their return the malady showed itself. On their removal to the Nicholl's Hospital their recovery was speedy and the conduct of the inmates during her absence was all we could desire. Meantime the Home was thoroughly cleansed and disinfected, but for some weeks we held our meetings at Mrs Bruce Ferguson's (opposite). During the months of July and August these gatherings were but sparsely attended, partly on account of the intense heat, and also because some of the managers sought recuperation in more bracing localities. Two of our aged women have left, finding homes elsewhere; one aged 87, the other 62. Three have been snatched away by the messenger of death. Joseph Newbold, aged 88, died 23rd April [1887]; his, an eventful life, being at one time a Major in one of Her Majesty's infantry regiments - a striking example of the uncertainty of wealth and social position. The Freemasons of our town tenderly administered to him during his last illness, and, at their own expense, buried him according to Masonic rites; nor did their kindness end here. His wife, Anne Newbold, died 22nd June, aged 86, and most thoughtfully and generously the Masons paid her funeral expenses. Sarah Hearne, in her 91st year died 18th September, and her remains were taken on the following day to Gore's Landing by her grandchildren. Peter Whittock, a palsied old man of 84, is in an extremely helpless and feeble condition, and is visibly passing away. Our deepest gratitude is due John Carnegie, Esq., for the interest he manifested in the Home whilst M.P.P. thereby inducing the Local House [Provincial legislature] to give us a small grant; as yet we have only received $128.52. Also our warm thanks to Mrs Nicholls for the handsome donation of $150, which she sent us 20th September. Mr Brodie most kindly, some weeks ago, sent a large parcel of remnants and samples of flannel, which will make most comfortable under clothing for our aged ones this winter and dresses for our children. The inspector visited the Home lately and was much pleased with the order, cleanliness and thrift evinced throughout. To Mr Mason, Florist, we are indebted for the pleasing appearance our humble parterre [flower beds with paths between] has presented this summer. It is with sincere regret I announce the resignation of our able treasurer, Mrs Cox. We have all felt her good sense and generous worth; her presence amongst us has indeed been a true pleasure, and most reluctantly do we part with her. Donations have been acknowledged to the best of our ability, some names being withheld, owing to their objection to appear in print – "Content to fill a little place if God is glorified." We hope before another year that our Home present a more commodious appearance and that the necessary improvements which the Local Government [Provincial Government] require may be accomplished. Kind friends still continue to hold religious meetings, and may we not hope that it shall be said of our unobtrusive Home in that Great Day "this man and that woman were spiritually born there," and that the Most High at times delighted to adjourn there?

Jane Gifford Hall, Secretary, P.P.H.

Don Cournoyea Collection

I

Examiner, 22 September 1962

Groom 83, Bride 73

First Couple Wed in Fairhaven Chapel

First wedding in the chapel of Fairhaven Home for the Aged took place Friday afternoon [21 September] at three o'clock. William Pearce, 83, a resident since April 7, 1961, took as his bride Elsie Margaret Davis, 73, who came to the home February 14, 1962. // They will move into an apartment in the married couples' section of the home. Both were married before. // The Rev. J.B. Spencley performed the ceremony. Mrs Davis was attended by Mrs Annie Kitchen, also a resident of the home, and the groomsman was C.I. Cuttlemore, superintendent of Fairhaven. // Seated in the guest pew, marked by pink and white ribbons and bells, were Mrs Davis' son, Cyril Davis, her son-in-law and daughter, Mr and Mrs Stanley Leggitt, and her granddaughters Miss Elsie Leggitt and Mrs Grant Reader, accompanied by Mr Reader. // Other guests included friends of Mr Pearce, who has no family, and Ald Mrs Bernice Graham. All residents of the home were invited.

Fifty friends were in the chapel for the ceremony, and places for 50 were set in the auditorium, where the reception was held, with Fairhaven Ladies Auxiliary assisting. // Red Roses centred the bride's table, and her cake, decorated in pink and white, was served with ice cream and tea.

Mrs Davis was wearing a royal blue printed jersey dress with bone shade hat and accessories and her corsage was of pale pink rosebuds with stephaneffs.// The matron of honor wore a corsage of white carnations, and dress and hat in beige and brown tones. White carnation boutonieres were worn by the groom and groomsman. // Mr Pearce is a veteran of two wars, and served in the U.S. Army. At one time he was a member of the North West Mounted Police.

II

FAIRVIEW CHURCH CELEBRATES DIAMOND JUBILEE OF FOUNDING

Examiner, 23 November 1932

(By correspondence, from Bridgenorth)

An epoch in the history of Fairview United Church was marked by a celebration of the diamond jubilee of its founding when special services were held last Sunday and Monday.

Rev Archer Wallace, M.A., D.D. of Toronto was the guest speaker and gave two memorable and magnificent sermons to large congregations which filled the church. // At the morning service his text was Proverbs 20:18: "Where there is no vision the people perish." After defining people of vision to be those who live more for the things that are not seen and are eternal, than just for the temporal things of life the speaker referred to the Fairview Church build by men and women 60 years ago [1872] in which they and their children's children might serve God and be reminded thereby that life is eternal. He said: "Religion stands everywhere for the realities of the unseen. The people of the world need this spiritual vision which religion stands for testifying to the realities of the unseen." // The people whose lives are hardened by repeated disappointments and hard knocks need this vision to give them new heart and hope. Campbell Morgan said: "Any man who could say flippantly and boastingly, "I am an atheist," was a fool, but a man who suffered, and through it has lost faith in man and God, and says it with a sob, needs our sympathy and assistance.

"The builders of the church are gone. Do you think as they look back from t he better land that they are happy over having built this church? I think the thought makes them happy over there this morning – and it is always morning where they are now. They built for the future and the church and congregation gathered here to-day is a living monument to their memory. Because they had a vision their work has lasted through the years.

"Again the people whose lives are narrow, who work is always the same, all day and every day, need this vision of the church to open the windows of their outlook on life, that they may see Heaven and forget the narrowness and smallness and pettiness of their life work. Again the people whose lives are very busy need this vision lest they become interested only in their business and forget God and Heaven.

....

Dr Wallace took as his text for the evening service, Acts 3:6: "Then Peter and John said, silver and gold have I none, but such as I have I give thee. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk." // ...

Splendid music was presented by the local choir assisted by Mr and Mrs Milburn in the morning and Mr and Mrs W. Sidey of Bridgenorth in the evening.

Fowl Supper

On Monday evening a fowl supper and entertainment was held in Fairview Church, when about 175 people sat down to a most sumptuous supper. The following program was given, Rev. R.J. Merriam, the pastor, acting as chairman, with Rev. R.D. Wright of Gilmour Memorial Churhc, and Rev. Archer Wallace on the platform: Musical numbers enthusiastically received. Morley Nixon, Harry Stalker, and Max Roseborough. F.R. Clark gave several numbers of Old Banjo Melodies, and Master John Lewis delighted everyone with two beautiful numbers. Miss Edith Elmhurst gave three readings in a most enthusiastic and humourous manner and

Rev. R.D. Wright spoke briefly but warmly of his appreciation of the people of Fairview, and congratulated them on their anniversary.

Fred Bell produced the Minute Book used by the officials at the building of the church and read the names of the first trustees and the motions relative to the building of the church. This part of the program was nicely presented and well received.

Rev. Archer Wallace spoke on the subject: "Is the World Getting Better?" Dr Wallace is a most humorous as well as a most practical and interesting speaker. His sermons and lectures were full of helpfulness and interspersed with humour. and made one of the most attractive of speakers for both young and old. #

III

El Jones Joins Kingston Radio

Examiner, 6 September 1950

Elwood Jones, well-known man of many talents, has been appointed commercial manager of radio station CKWS in Kingston and will take up his position immediately.

El has been in Peterborough since 1942, where he was commercial manager of CHEX. He is best known to most citizens of Peterborough and district as a master of ceremonies of countless talent contests and a leader of community singsongs. // He is well-known by sport fans as the man who started radio broadcasts of local baseball games in the city and in this way helped to revive the sport's popularity.

It was he who organized the Junior Chamber of Commerce in Peterborough in 1946 and is a charter past president of the organization. He is also a member of the Peterborough Sales and Advertising Club, as well as the Peterborough Masonic Lodge 155. // He has been active in the YMCA and has been on the Y's executive.

Although he is looking forward to his new work as CKWS's advertising manager, El said "I'm sorry to leave Peterborough. It's a marvellous city and I have made a lot of friends here. #

IV

GILLESPIES OLDEST DEALERS IN CHRYSLER CARS IN CANADA; PLYMOUTH IS ADDED TO LINE

Examiner, 26 November 1932

[Gillespie's Garage has added the low-price Plymouth to its line. The firm was founded in1917 by G.A. Gillespie, of the local branch of Silverwood Dairies. It was located in one of the city's oldest brick buildings. Formerly, home to the Baptists, the Salvation Army and the Christian Scientists, the building had been about 35 feet by 50 feet, with a small wing at the rear. Except for adding show windows at the front, the building remained largely unaltered until the rear wing was removed, and a larger service department was built, in 1924, and enlarged in1926 to 6000 square feet. In 1929, the church was torn down to build a new showroom. The new two-storey fireproof steel and brick building was extended north ward in 1932 after the purchase of the old double house owned by the late Thomas B. McGrath.

Gillespie's sold Maxwells until 1925, and then Chryslers. It sold Studebakers and Chalmers cars at times between 1917 and 1921. The first Chryslers in Peterborough were sold to J.I. Allen and Theo. McWilliams.]

Howard Pammett's Peterborough Irish : serialization, part 5

[*The Trent Valley Archives is pleased to reprint Howard Pammett's 1933 Queen's thesis. The work remains the most solid study, and although much has happened in the intervening 70 years, the rich archival texture of the work commands respect. The Robinson papers are now in the Peterborough Centennial Museum and Archives. After considerable pertinent work on the study of immigration, settlement, family life, and Peterborough, we know considerably more about many of the families that are usually referred to as the Peter Robinson settlers. The Trent Valley Archives has sought ways to celebrate the descendants of this famed migration. TVA is the home to Howard Pammett's excellent historical library, and also to some of his private papers.*

In this excerpt, Pammett discusses the history of Peterborough before the arrival of the Robinson settlers. There was a history etched in the landscape. The Mississauga Indians had been in the area for close to a century, and there were several English settlers who arrived between 1818 and 1825. Pammett considers it important to see the entire context, and this is a classic telling of those stories.

Again, we are thankful to Alice Mackenzie who has typed the entire manuscript, and whose efforts have made it possible to share Pammett's thesis with a wider audience.

The Trent Valley Archives plans to publish a fine edition of Pammett's work and it is hoped that making parts of it available to our readers in this way will spark interest in the bigger project and perhaps bring useful comments from researchers and friends. The numbers in parentheses will direct the impatient to the pertinent page of the thesis.]

CHAPTER FIVE

EARLY SETTLEMENT

NORTH OF RICE LAKE TO 1825

{117} Champlain was the first white man to pass through the Kawartha district. In 1615, he went with the Hurons from Lake Huron to attack the Iroquois southeast of Lake Ontario. On 4 September, the flotilla left the narrows between Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching. There were hundreds of war-canoes in the flotilla. First came chiefs. Champlain and his 12 arquebusiers were in the middle with the main body. Scouting parties were on the flanks, and there were fifty warriors in the rearguard. They ascended the Talbot river, travelled the old worn portage road, and then swept down the long stretch of lake and river through the Kawarthas until they reached Pimisticotyan Sahkahaygan, "The Lake of the Burning Plains", now Rice Lake. Champlain wrote:

> We continued our way toward the enemy and made about five or six leagues through these lakes [12 1/2 to 15 miles]. Thence the Indians portaged their canoes about six or seven leagues in length and three in width [Balsam or Sturgeon Lake], from which issues a river which empties into the great Lake of the Entouhonorans [Lake Ontario]. When we had crossed we passed a rapids [Bobcaygeon?], and continuing/our course down this river, about 64 leagues, we passed five falls [or rapids] some of them four or five miles long, and through several lakes of considerable extent. These lakes as well as the river which flows from one to the other abound in fish, and certainly the whole country is very beautiful and attractive. Along the riverbank it seemed as if the trees had been planted in most places for pleasure, and as/if all these regions had once been inhabited by Indians who since had been obliged to abandon them in fear of their enemies. The vines and walnuts are very plentiful, and grapes ripen there, but they always leave a sharp acid taste from not being cultivated; for the clearings in these places are rather attractive. Hunting for stags and bears is very common here; we hunted and took a goodly number of them as we journeyed down...As for game, there is a great deal of it in the season. There are also many cranes as white as swans, and several other kinds of birds such as those in France. We went by short days' journeys as far as the shore of the Lake of the Entouhonorons, hunting all along... [1]

In his notes to his large map of 1832, Champlain said of the Trent river system:

> This river is very beautiful and passes through a number of very beautiful lakes and river meadows, with which it is bordered, many islands of varying dimensions abounding in deer and other wild animals, many good fishing spots full of excellent fish, and a great deal of very good cleared land, which has been abandoned by the Indians on account of their wars. The river empties into Lake St. Louis [Ontario], and many tribes go to these regions to hunt for their winter supply.[2]

The boiling rapids and broad falls of the Trent between Rice Lake {118} and Lake Ontario descended 365 feet in 60 miles. This doubtless seemed very hazardous to Champlain compared to the smooth paddle along the sheltered Bay of Quinte. Coming back from this unfortunate expedition Champlain continued:

> We entered a river 12 leagues in extent, crossed a portage of half a league to a lake ten or 12 leagues in circuit, and where there was a large amount of game such as geese, swans and so on.[3]

There has been much dispute over the situation of this lake. Parkman said it was northwest of Kingston, Machar said northeast of Kingston, Kingsford located it as a bay near the present Sillsville, Withrow located it as Mud Lake, and Slafter as Loughboro Lake. Since it is most natural that they returned by the same route as they went, the probable solution is that they went up the Bay of Quinte, which Champlain called a river since he was used to the broad reaches of the St. Lawrence; there the portage mentioned was the Carrying-Place at the head of the Bay, and the lake mentioned was Weller's Bay, then a landlocked sheet of water; it was on the north shore of this bay that they camped. Since Champlain was wounded and the Hurons retreated very quickly, the 67 miles might be taken by him as 12 leagues. They remained at this camp for six weeks recuperating, and in this time Champlain became lost in the woods, as every history tells. On 4 December they left the camp, reached Rice Lake up the Trent in two days, crossed on the ice to the north shore, followed the Otonabee river up to the site of Peterborough, took the old Indian communication trail across to Chemong Lake, went up through Sturgeon, Pigeon, Cameron and Balsam Lakes, then over the height of land to Lake Simcoe, and reached the Indian village of Cahiaque after 19 days of arduous travel, 23 December 1615. What were Champlain's thoughts as his canoe carried him down the rushing rapids past the site of a large city-to-be, or later as he sat beside his campfire on the "Plains" en route to Georgian Bay, wounded and dejected, among the seven hills which encircle the plain beside the river, where a beautiful city was to rise two hundred and more

years {119} later? Did he think it a fine spot for a trade depot on this shorter route to the Huron country, surrounded in uncertainty and mystery, where lay the narrow ocean on whose father coast was the mighty Empire of Genghis Khan, and the wealth of the mighty East, which he hoped to bring to France for his King?

The Kawartha is worthy of much anthropological study as an early home of various Indian tribes. Messrs. Boyle and Laidlaw in their investigations have revealed traces of numerous populous Iroquoian villages dating from well before the white contact, and most early settlers found traces of Indian "barrows" and villages on their farms. The first Indian inhabitants were Hurons, who came down to the Kawartha lakes and rivers every summer and autumn to gather rice and fish and deer and ducks. Then between 1640 and 1650, the Iroquois, in a series of devastating raiding parties, exterminated most of the Hurons. They seized the hunting grounds for their own use, coming up across Lake Ontario every year to spend some months in the Kawarthas to get winter food and supplies. Coming into contact with the Mississagas (a branch of the Algonquins) who lived on the north shore of Lake Huron, the Mohawks endeavoured to drive them farther north, and wiped out several small hunting parties; consequently the Mississagas determined to drive the Mohawks south of Lake Huron and make them stay there. The story of how they did this and took possession of the Kawarthas for themselves was told in a very interesting paper read to the Ontario Historical Society in 1904, having been taken down from Chief Paudash of the Mississagas, settled now on Rice Lake Indian Reserve:

> A party of Mohawks were entrenched at an island in lower Georgian Bay afterwards known as Pequahkoondebaminis, or Island of Skulls. The Mississagas surrounded them and made great slaughter...The Mohawks were compelled to retreat eventually, but being a fierce warlike tribe they resisted stubbornly. The Mississagas then advanced up what is now the Severn River to Shunyung, or Lake Simcoe, stopping at Machickaing(which means Fish Fence) at the narrow between Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching, to get a supply of food...There they received reinforcements, dividing into two parties, and made preparations for the campaign. The main band proceeded along the Portage Road to Balsam Lake, the other party went {120} south to Toronto. After various skirmishes the Mohawks continued to retreat down the valley of the Otonabee or Trent, to where they were settled in numerous villages along the river Otonabee and Rice Lake. They made their first real stand at Nogojiwanong, the original name of the town of Peterborough, meaning the place at the end of the rapids; [Katchewanook lake, above the present village of Lakefield, means the place at the beginning of the rapids]. A sharp skirmish took place there upon what is now known as Cemetery Point, the Mohawks being worsted and retreating farther down the river, making, however, a determined stand at the mouth of the river, where the Mississagas encamped at Onigon, now known as Campbelltown; the word `Onigon' in Mississaga meaning `the pulling up stakes', because the Mississagas coming too closely on the entrenched Mohawks, they pulled up their stakes and retreated further upriver. After great preparation an attack was made by the Mississagas both by land and water, and the Mohawks were driven after a battle in which no less than a thousand warriors were slain, down Rice lake to what is now Roche's Point. Great quantities of bones and flint arrowheads are found at the site of this battle even to this day. At Roche's Point there was a Mohawk village...an attack having been made upon this village, the Mohawks were compelled to retreat once more. The Mohawks then fled to Quegeeging, or Cameron's Point, at the foot of Rice Lake, where great numbers of weapons and bones have since been found, and were again fiercely attacked by the Mississagas, who compelled them to retreat down the river to Onigaming, the famous Carry-Place, being the portage from Lake Ontario into Bay of Quinte, and from there into their own country. The Mississaga rested at Onigaming and waited for the detachment from Toronto to join them. Before pursuing the main body of Mohawks farther after the attack of Cameron's Point, a party of the Mississagas went upcountry to a lake called Chuncall, in Madoc north of Trenton, where a party of Mohawks dwelt, and wiped them out...The Mississagas then returned, and seeing that the land conquered from the Mohawks, who had dispossessed the Hurons, was full of game and an excellent hunting-ground, they came down from Lake Huron and settled permanently in the valley of the Otonabee and the Trent, and along the St. Lawrence as far east as Brockville...The British government subsequently recognized the claims of the Mississagas to this country, and the eastern bands were gathered together at Nanabojou or Hiawatha on Rice Lake, at Chemong, and at Scugog. Hiawatha is not Mississaga, the Mississaga name for Rice Lake being Pamadasgodayong, meaning Lake of the Plains, from the fact that when the Mississagas first

> came down to the mouth of the river the south shore of Rice Lake opposite appeared to be flat, since it had been cleared of forest, being the cornfields of the Mohawks. Chemong is a corruption of Oskigimong, referring to the bow-shape of the lake. Scugog means `shallow waters'..."[4]

The first white man to stay in the Kawartha district was an Indian fur-trader named Herkimer, who in 1790 followed Peter Smith in the trade at Smith's Creek,now Port Hope. In 1793, he moved to the north shore of Rice Lake to be closer to the Indians with whom he traded. He carried his goods throughout the woods on two primitive carts made for him by a Mr Harris, his successor at Smith's Creek. One oxcart was made entirely of wood. Herkimer's shanty was at the

{121} mouth of the Otonabee, near the present reserve of Hiawatha. Major Charles Anderson, who lived in regal splendour with several squaws and a numerous offspring, later traded from this same point. When the first white settlers began pushing up from the lakefront in 1818, the Mississagas under their chief "Handsome Jack" Cow, overlord of the Kawartha district, tried to regulate settlement and other activities, but could provide little opposition. His memory is retained in Jack's Creek and Lake in the upper Kawarthas. There is a Polly Cow Island in one of the Kawartha lakes, named after a sister of Jack Cow, who from it leaped into the lake and committed suicide when she could not marry the man of her choice.

Until about 1830 these Indians had no permanent villages or farms. They roamed in scattered bands, carrying their poles and skins; when they wished to settle for a time, they erected these poles and covered them with hides or birchbark. The ground inside their wigwams was covered with hemlock or balsam boughs, upon which they laid furs and skins, and they lay on them rolled in furs and trade blankets, with a fire burning constantly in the middle in cool weather. They spent the summer and early autumn months mostly around Rice lake, where they raised a few crops, principally Indian corn. In the early autumn they harvested the crop of wild rice along the lake's edges, from their canoes, expertly beating the heads so that the grains fell into their canoes. A little later they shot wild duck, which settled down on the rice-beds in clouds on their trip south. This was a period of dissipation, since the traders did not hesitate to give them liquor to get them into debt for their next winter's furs. Before the ice came, they loaded their canoes and disappeared silently up the Otonabee to the upper Kawarthas, where they gathered their winter's meat supply of deer and bear, and with the first snow began to set their traps and snares. In the spring they reappeared as silently down the river with {122} their catch of furs to sell to the trader on Rice Lake. Later, after 1820, they brought venison and moccasins, birch brooms and baskets, to sell to the settlers; the latter were made by the Indian women in the long winter months. They had the reputation of being hard to bargain with but always honest in their dealings, as we shall see later. As the years went by, the Indians came greatly under the authority of Major Anderson, who lived among them in their village at the mouth of the Otonabee and ruled them as a native chieftain, his weapon debts.

The Mississagas ceded to the British government in 1784-8 through Sir John Johnson the whole territory from Toronto to Lake Simcoe and east to Brockville, wisely retaining the Kawartha district for their own use, and this was named the Nassau District, later becoming the Home district. Then in 1792 Durham and Northumberland counties were formed from part of this region, and the latter of these became the official name of the Kawartha district stretching indefinitely north, though only defined as stretching north then to Rice Lake:

> That the 12th of said counties be hereafter called the county of Northumberland; which county is to be bounded on the east by the westermost line of county of Hastings and Carrying Place of the Presque Isle de Quinte on the south by Lake Ontario until it meets the westernmost point of Little Bay; thence by a line running north 16° west until it meets the south boundary of a tract parallel to Lake Ontario, until it meets the northwestermost boundary of the county of Hastings.[5]

In 1802, Durham and Northumberland were united for administrative purposes by proclamation under the name of Newcastle District, and remained under this name for forty years. Almost immediately, {123} the Government was granting lands and settlers were locating in the Indian territory without regard for Indian rights. Not until 1818 (November) did the Government make another treaty with the Mississagas. Then, the Mississagas ceded the whole Kawartha district north to the 45th parallel, 1,951,000 acres, for which they received an annual present of $2,960, amounting then to $9 for each Indian. This miserable sum was not even supplemented by reserves for 15 years, although the Indians had the right to hunt and live on any unsettled parts of the district.

The northern limits of the limestone area follow the southern limits of the Archaean area, excluding Algoma and Muskoka, and including the Kawartha lakes and Lake Simcoe, stretching across to Georgian Bay and surrounding the present cities of Kingston and Peterborough. Thus the southern townships of North Monaghan, Otonabee, Asphodel, Belmont, Dummer, Douro,

Smith, Emily and Ennismore, are in the Trenton limestone formation, and the northern townships of the

district are in the Laurentian granite formation. Gold, iron, lead, mica, copper, plumbago, white and grey marble are found in isolated spots in various parts of the region. It was very centrally situated in southern Upper Canada, with better soil and climate than is found in the Eastern and Midland districts. The soil was also better than that of Northumberland county, south of Rice Lake. The surface of this Kawartha region was undulating. North of Buckhorn and Stoney Lakes was non-agricultural. South of these lakes was agricultural as the mostly smooth hills had long slopes that were no hindrance to agriculture. The southwest townships had a heavy rich soil, clay and clay-loam, while the southeast townships had sandy-loam soil producing good crops with moderate rainfall. In these southern townships the forests were very extensive, chiefly hardwoods oak and maple and walnut, with a few swamps and pine tracts and some birch and cedar. The eastern part had half hardwood and half conifer. The central part around the lower lakes was of gravel-loam soil with occasional exposed rock. North of the Kawartha chain of lakes, granite outcrops were very extensive, with poor soil and steep slopes, with very numerous lakes and streams and swamps. There was only a little arable land in the northeast, around the present village of Apsley. Generally speaking, the soil became less and less fertile from south {124} to north of the District. Since the early settlers and the emigrants of 1825 were settled almost entirely in the southern townships, we need only discuss those. The northern townships were mostly settled after 1855. Their timber became quite valuable, and created an artificial settlement which receded with the passing of the lumbering industry.

In the first quarter of the century, new lands in Upper Canada were surveyed by an inefficient contract system, whereby the contractor received 4½% of the land he surveyed. Naturally, the surveyor usually chose the choicest lots in each township for himself, unless they had been pre-empted by members of the Councils or Land Boards or other influential persons. Some friend of the Government, such as Hon. Zaccheus Burnham or Charles Hayes in the Newcastle District, was given the contract for surveys, and he hired an actual surveyor such as Birdsall, Huston, or Smith to do the work. Then the contractor took about 4% of the land and gave the surveyor the other 1/2%. Thus by corruption, men such as Burnham and Hayes obtained huge blocks of the best lands of the district. Many of the contracted surveys were very careless and inefficient, and led to much litigation later on when land became more valuable. The contractors showed a startling tendency to describe their lots to the Surveyor-General as "200 acres more or less" while in actuality they were up to 300 acres; neighbouring lots, perhaps only 150 acres, were also described as "200 acres more or less". As the surveyors' lands did not need to be cleared and could be sold at any time, speculation and absentee ownership were encouraged. This was more serious when the contractor took his blocks of land on good mill sites and along lakes and streams, cutting off the settlers behind from water transportation. This was very serious in the Kawartha-Peterborough settlement. The whole system was severely condemned {125} by the Seventh Report on Grievances 1835, the Durham Report of 1838, and the Report of the Commission on Public Offices 1839-40.

In 1818-25 the average expense of laying out a surveyed township was £348. The outlines of the township were first laid out, then the surveyor commenced laying off the concessions from the front of the township, posting the lots as he went. Two concessions were fronted upon each road allowance to double the amount of labour available for road maintenance. The standard lots were 200 acres, and the concessions were laid in 100-acre half-lots with 30 chains' frontage. The concessions were 100 chains (1.25 miles) apart, and at each concession line there was a road allowance of 60 feet. Every fifth cross-line or lot line at right angles to the concession line was also a road allowance, of 60 feet if near the front and of 40 feet if near the back of the township. If the township fronted on a navigable stream or lake(as most did at first), the concession lines ran perpendicularly toward it so as to give a maximum of access to the outside markets. This explains why some concession lines in the townships we are studying run north and south, while others run east and west. In practice, the survey of a township was gradual. No attempt was made to hurry through a complete survey unless, as in Ennismore in 1825, a large settlement was expected to fill it. Ordinarily, only the first few front concessions were surveyed; the rest could be done, perhaps a decade later, after the front part was settled,

A one mile square town plot was left, if one seemed appropriate, either in the middle of the township or on its water frontage. In Otonabee township, there was one left at the mouth of the Otonabee, which was never built upon. Each town site was divided into one acre town-lots in the centre and nine acre park lots on the outside. Townships varied greatly in size; in Peterborough county, townships had from 12 to 18 {126} concessions each with from 20 to 40 lots. The clergy and crown reserves were sometimes in blocks of from 6 to 10 lots at each corner of the township, but more often later were laid out in a checkered pattern throughout the whole township on every road, that they

might increase in value through the development of the surrounding settled lots. The average 100-acre lot had an 80-rod frontage on the road and a depth of 200 rods, back to back with a similar lot facing on the next concession line, but other lots were only 20 chains (¼ mile) frontage and deeper in proportion. The average township, after deducting road allowances, had about 60,000 acres, 300 regular lots of 200 acres each. One-seventh was reserved for each of crown and clergy reserved (although legally only one-eighth was to be reserved), leaving only about 42,000 acres grantable after 8000 or 9000 acres of reserves were deducted. The contractor took another 2,000 acres for his labour in surveying. Of the remaining 40,000 acres, a proportion was in lakes and swamps and otherwise unfit for agriculture. We find constant instances in the Newcastle Land Board Minutes and the Crown Lands Papers of settlers who, after being located upon a lot, were given another because the first was unsuitable for cultivation, being swamp or stone land. Others had to be given an additional part of a lot because their lot was as low as 70 acres instead of the regulation 100; these deficiencies were more a condemnation of the surveying system and the Government than of the Land Board, who did not get any information about lots before locating settlers upon them, relying upon the survey-reports.

Up to 1818 settlement duties were not of any great importance, since the main desire of the Executive was to get land fees with little regard for settlement. But by Order-In-Council of October, 1818[6] each settler was to send a certificate signed by two magistrates to the Surveyor-General, proving that he was actually a settler on his lot, that he had a house erected upon it at least 20 by 18 feet, that {127} he had cleared and fenced five acres per 100, and had cut and cleared half of the road allowance in front of his lot; this was to be done in two years after location, and then by paying fees he might apply for the patent for his land. Due to many protests that these duties were to stringent, "On Feb.21,1820, His Excellency the Lieut. Governor was pleased to direct that the clearing of half the road and cutting down without clearing one chain in depth from the road along the front of each lot, be considered as part of the 5 acres per 100 required."[7] Actually, most settlers did not bother much about settlement duties, as the penalty of forfeiture was never strictly enforced unless some influential person coveted the lot, since it would defeat the desire of Government for more settlement. Especially after the introduction of the sales system in 1826, settlement duties were not enforced, as free grants were gradually abolished, and roads were to be constructed and maintained from the proceeds of taxes and land sales.

Up to 1819 persons intending to settle had to get location tickets from the Surveyor-General at York, but in that year Land Boards were re-established for each district, empowered to locate settlers upon lots from 50 to 200 acres, especially the ordinary 100-acre lots. The intending settler had to produce a certificate of having taken the oath of allegiance, or had to take it there, and to show proof that he intended to settle. Then he was given a location ticket for a certain lot[8] which he presented to a deputy-surveyor who guided him to it. He had to complete the settlement duties within two years and to get a patent for his land, to submit a certificate from two magistrates or "gentry" or deputy-surveyors that the settlement duties had been completed, and pay the patent fee, and in time he was given the patent for the land. The patent fees fluctuated from £4.9s.4d. in 1816, to £05.14s.1d. in January 1819, up to £12 in December 1819, and back to £5.14s.1d. in 1824-6, for 100-acre lots.[9](3)

The extent of land granted without settlement in the Newcastle {128} District is seen from the following table of lands grants, long before the first surveys or settlers north of Rice Lake. Most of these grants were undoubtedly in the townships along the lakefront, but some of them were in townships north of Rice Lake:

1803: 90 grants, 20382 acres;

1804: 46 grants, 11221 acres;

1805: 42 grants, 11934 acres;

1806: 30 grants, 7600 acres;

1807: 36 grants, 8601 acres;

1808: 44 grants, 8580 acres;

1809: 34 grants, 9257 acres;

1810:25 grants, 5588 acres;

1811: 24 grants, 5190 acres;

1812: 23 grants, 5950 acres;

1813: 5 grants, 2450 acres;

1814-5: none;

1816:14 grants, 3100 acres;

1817: 323 grants, 71400 acres;

1818:59 grants, 14315 acres;

1819: 18 grants, 16555 acres;

1820: 45 grants, 14863 acres;

1821: 71 grants, 14771 acres;

1822: 91 grants, 18416 acres;

1823:111 grants, 20450 acres;

1824: 199 grants, 31381 acres;

1825: 115 grants, 21224 acres;

1826: 110 grants, 22473 1/2 acres;

1827: 97 grants, 14515 1/2 acres.[10]

In them can be traced the prevalence of large absentee grants, especially at first, as compared with other Districts, and the gradual increase of small 50 and 100 acre grants to poorer emigrants and militia settlers after 1816.

The preliminary step was taken in

1818 when the Mississagas were forced by Government to surrender their control of the Kawartha district for an annual subsidy, three reserves of land later, and unlimited fishing and hunting rights over unsettled lands of the district. The surveying of the new townships north of Rice Lake was begun in 1818, due to the demands of settlers to locate in the region. Hon. Zaccheus Burnham of Cobourg, member of the Legislative Council, was given the government contract, and he employed Richard E. Birdsall to survey the eastern townships in the next seven years, while John Huston, another of his deputy-surveyors, surveyed Cavan, Emily, Monaghan, Ennismore, Harvey and Smith to the west, 1818-28. Later John Smith surveyed the rear townships of Fenelon, Verulam, Burleigh, Methuen, part of Harvey, etc. The survey field-notes of Huston, Smith, Birdsall and others provide an interesting and valuable description of the south townships of the district where the Irish were settled, before there were many settlers in them.

Cavan and Emily townships, although outside the region which later became Peterborough county, are closely linked with it because they {129} were settled by Irish at the same time, and their existence has been always dependent upon their close relations with the settlers around Peterborough. Cavan had good soil, sandy loam in the west and clay loam in the east, rather light in the front concessions, well-watered and with numerous mill sites; it had been earlier surveyed, by Huston. Emily had soil generally fairly good, sandy loam in the hills and clay loam in the valleys and flats, with two good mill sites; it also had been earlier surveyed by Huston.

Smith and North Monaghan were first surveyed of the townships in the Peterborough region, in 1818. Smith had good loam soil, rather rocky in the northeast, but well-watered throughout, with numerous mill sites, and close to the river system and to Peterborough. North Monaghan was hilly, and the soil gravelly, but fertile loam on clay; it was well-watered, but with no mill sites or lakes, except at Peterborough, in its northeast corner. Otonabee was next surveyed in 1819. The soil was good loam and clay, with sandy plains on Rice Lake; it was well-watered, with numerous swamps but no internal lakes. Asphodel was surveyed in 1820. The soil was generally good, well-watered but with no lakes, although there were several mill sites. The following is of interest in this connection:

Lieut.Governor's Office, Jul. 17, 1820. Sir, I have submitted to the Lieut.Governor your letter of the 6th inst. enclosing copies of two letters from Messrs Burnham and Birdsall on the survey of township of Asphodel, and I have received His Excellency's commands to acquaint you that he accedes to the request of Mr. Burnham therein contained -- that the northern boundary of Otonabee be extended for the rear or northern boundary of Asphodel. I have the honor to be &c &c. G.Hillier, secy. To T.Ridout, Surv. General".[11]

Harvey and Burleigh were partly surveyed in 1822, but are of little importance in this study. Douro, Dummer, Belmont and Methuen were surveyed in 1823, the first two entirely, the last two partially; the last three were unsettled for a number of years and had then to be resurveyed. Douro had excellent land with good soil,

rolling and stony in the north, and best in the east farthest from the water(much to the {130} chagrin of contractors, speculators, favourites and such "gentry" who had taken their large blocks along the water). It was well-watered, but had few mill sites and several swamps. Dummer was stony in the northern half, but fairly good in the south. Most of the soil was poor, though some toward the front was fairly fertile. It was badly watered, with no lakes. Ennismore was last to be surveyed, in 1825, at the same time as Ops and the town of Peterborough. It was done especially for the Irish emigrants. Its soil was excellent, loam on clay, mostly level, well-watered and with some swamps in the rear.[12].

The origins of these township names are of interest: Monaghan took its name from that county in Ireland, as did Cavan. Ennismore was taken from a township in Kerry. Asphodel was named from the abundant lilies along Rice Lake. Smith was named for David Smith, Surveyor-general of Upper Canada 1792-1804. Douro was one of Wellington's titles given after his Peninsular victories, Baron Douro; the name was chosen by Maitland, who had served there under Wellington. Dummer was named after Hon. Wm. Dummer Powell, then Chief Justice of Upper Canada and Speaker of the Legislative Council. Harvey was named after Sir John Harvey, a governor of the Maritimes and a military commander in the War of 1812-14. Belmont was named after Belmont Castle in Perthshire and Belmont House in Kilkenny, Ireland.[13]. Ennismore was for several years known as the Gore of Emily, and contained many reserves and surveyors' lands due to its excellent situation and rich soils. In 1827 Maitland decided to rename it:

> Govt.House,30th March, 1827. Sir, I am commanded to convey to you the pleasure of His Excellency the Lieut. Governor that the tract of land lying between townships of Smith and Emily, heretofore designated as the Gore of Emily, be in future denominated the township of Ennismore. I have the honor to be, &c &c. (Sgd.) G. Hillier, secy. To the Surveyor-General.[14](3)

The early voluntary settlement north of Rice Lake was very small. It began in

1817, but Captain Rubidge testified 10 years later that there were in 1825 only 500 settlers north of Rice Lake before {131} Robinson came with his assisted emigrants. We shall find some of the reasons for this slow infiltration as we survey the settlement of the district in the eight years up to 1825.

Cavan and south Emily received an influx of Protestants from north Ireland in 1817-8, who were stranded in New York and other Atlantic seaports until sent up by James Buchanan, British Consul at New York. In July 1816 he wrote to Gore in Upper Canada asking what arrangements could be made to settle these in Upper Canada, since depression in the United States ports left them in acute distress. The Colonial Secretary, Bathurst, permitted Buchanan to expend $10 each in transporting British subjects stranded in American seaports to lands in Upper Canada, where they were to be given ordinary 100-acre lots.[15] He had sent on many before, including a number who had been in the United States several years, but Gore refused to settle the latter, being doubtful of their allegiance. This Ulster Irishman, Buchanan, forwarded 3,663 of these emigrants, mostly from Cavan and Monaghan, to Upper Canada between 1817 and 1819, and later when trying to collect £696 and several land grants in Upper Canada for his services, he complained that he had in ten years forwarded 8000 to 10000 emigrants to Upper Canada![16] Buchanan promised them free implements, provisions and patents for land in Upper Canada, and employment on public works, and when they came to find that they were only to get locations of land like ordinary settlers, there was much dissatisfaction. Having received their locations in Cavan, Monaghan and Emily townships, many of them went to brickyards and other works at York and elsewhere, even to the American canals. Accordingly Bathurst ordered that no more were to be accepted from New York under those terms, and those already received were to be given provisions and implements, and given their patents for half-price when and if they finished their settlement duties(3).[17] Some worked two {132} or three months in brickyards and on canals etc., at $10 a month and provisions, and took back $25 to 30 to buy a cow and other necessities for their farms. According to Robinson and Strachan and A.C. Buchanan they numbered about 976 in 1825, including a number who came directly from north Ireland, settled by the Land Board in Cavan, Monaghan, and the first few concessions of south Emily.[18] These who remained on their farms prospered exceedingly, and sent money home to bring out more relatives and friends who settled nearby. Later there was some religious trouble when they formed Orange lodges hostile to the south Irish emigrants of Robinson, causing friction for several decades after 1825, as we shall see later.

In 1818 settlement began in the township of Smith, when a group of 16 settlers from Cumberland in north England were given lots in Smith township, and came up from Cobourg overland to Rice Lake, and up the Otonabee in boats. They have been known ever since to local historians as the "colony settlers", and included: William Dixon and 5 sons, Joseph Lee and 2 sons, John Smith and 1 son, Robert and Thomas Millburn, Robert and John Walton, and Walton Wilson. They landed north of Spaulding's Bay, and went along the old Indian portage trail which left the river at the foot of the present Simcoe Street, across the plain (across the blocks west of Water Street) to the foot of the Smithtown hill (leaving the present city where Smith Street or Park Hill Road leaves the city limits to the west). At this point, on the first lot west of the Communication Road leading to Chemong Lake, a small triangular lot, they erected a rough log shanty where they all lived over winter, until they were able to locate their individual lots and help each other raise shanties on them in the spring.

> To these emigrants on depositing a sum of money in the proportion of £10 to each head of a family, a free passage had been given; the money was returned when their settlement was complete.[19]

They were located along the Communication Road leading from the site of Peterborough {133} to Chemong Lake, the old Indian trail recut. Their descendants live along the same "Chemong Road" today. Later in 1818 came others from the lakefront to settle in Smith: John Harvey, Ralph Bickerton, Jacob Bromwell, Alexander Morrison, Robert Nicholson, James Mann, James Mann Jr., Thomas Lockhart, John Yates. Early in 1819 came John Edmison from England, and in the next two years a dozen more families. The Land Board, from 1819 to 1825, located many families in Smith, Otonabee and Emily townships. By 1825 they had located at least 163 families in Smith: 1819: 36, 1820: 37, 1821: 29, 1822: 17, 1823: 3, 1824: 11, 1825: 28.[20] Besides these, there were several large grants given to government favourites, notably 1000 acres to Elias Jones (a member of the Land Board) and 1200 acres to Thomas Ward.[21] The settlers were required to get their patents within two years of location, although many did not do so. In Smith by the end of 1827, only 92 patents had been issued.[22] Of these patents, the honour of first place goes to Allen Otty, an absentee, on Oct.14,1819. The first real settler to get his patent was John Edmison on 20 November 1820, only a year and a half after location, a record seldom equalled. A more usual average was that of James

Huddlestone, who located on 16 June 1819, finished his settlement duties by 11 October 1822, and received his grant on 27 March 1823.[23](3) Charles Fothergill was one of the Inspectors appointed by the Land Board (being a member of the Board himself), for reporting on completion of settlement duties, and his territory was Smith and North Monaghan. In May 1821 he was given this position, and in January 1823, John Hutchison was appointed in his place.[24] The settlers of Smith were handicapped for the first few years by the lack of a grist-mill, until Adam Scott started one at Scott's Plains in 1820. A very inefficient mill was also erected on Galloway's Creek in Cavan, but like Scott's it seldom worked, and most settlers up to 1826 carried their grain to Smith's Creek (Port Hope) by boat or through {134} the unbroken forest, and brought back flour on their backs or in boats. It was the custom on those trips to carry along a supply of food, part of which was hidden at intervals along the trail for use on the homeward journey. Although Smith township, unlike Otonabee and Douro and others, cannot claim any notable names among its early settlers, its pioneers were of a sounder more industrious pioneering stock than any number of half-pay officers and other minor "gentry", trying to establish an absurd backwoods "squirearchy", who condescended to settle on large grants in some of the other townships.

In 1818, the same year the township of North Monaghan was surveyed, settlers began filtering from the lake-front into its northern eight concessions. South Monaghan, as with Cavan in 1817-8, had been settled by north Irish and English of a sturdy type such as the Rutherfords and Smithsons. The only settler located in North Monaghan by the Land Board, however, was George Thompson on 25 February 1823. The numerous others who obtained land there in the early years up to 1825 could only have obtained them directly from the Executive at York as half-pay officers, militiamen, United Empire Loyalists, and friends of the Government. There were a number of large grants to absentees in 1818: Francis Spilsbury, 800 acres; Allen Otty, 400; Alexander Garden, 500; Augustus Baldwin, 600; and Walter Boswell, a member of the Land Board, 500.[25] A letter from Bathurst to Richmond, 8 March 1818, transmitted the names of persons embarking from Hull to settle in Canada "under the guidance of Captain Spilsbury on same terms as those who left Perthshire in 1818: "110 pounds had been deposited and will be repaid on location of the persons..."[26] Among the first genuine settlers were William Fowler, Robert Morrison, Robert Thompson, John Tully, William Birdwhistle, Thomas and Robert Leadbeater, Richard Alexander, Robert Cross, John Foster, James and Matthew and William Wilson, John Burney, Wildord Drysdale, and Thomas Spiers.[27](3) A typical one was {135} William Fowler, born in Scotland in 1775, who came to Canada and to Smith's Creek [Port Hope] in 1817, then came north to take land in North Monaghan in 1819, on the north half of lot 1, concession 11, later buying 240 acres more on the same concession; but he got no patent before 1830. The first patent to a real settler was given, 25 January 1821, to Thomas Leadbeater, and the second, on 30 May, to James Parker. There were 40 patents in all given up to June 1827. One for 100 acres (west half of lot 3 in 8th concession) was granted to Peter Robinson on 29 May 1823.[28] Charles Fothergill, a member of the Land Board, was given a lease on the mill-site of the future town of Peterborough (part of lots 14 and 15, concession 13, and part of lot 15, concession 12 north) on 13 February 1823, but had to surrender it to Government on 20 May 1829. On 1 June 1827, Richard Birdsall, the surveyor, received grants of nine park-lots west of the town-plot, and Charles Rubidge, Alexander McDonell, Doctor Reade, John Smith, surveyor, George Burke, the deputy-superintendent of the Irish emigrants, and others at the same time.[29] Because of its limited revenues, the Government had a settled policy of rewarding all its friends and helpers, whether for meritorious work or for no reason at all with land grants instead of sinecures, varying directly in relation to the importance and influence of the applicant with voters and Governor.

Captain Francis Spilsbury brought out a number of emigrants into Otonabee township in 1819 as well, but they did not like the situation and only one stayed, George Kent, who located his land before the township was officially opened to settlement, the first locations by the Land Board there being in 1820. He located the broken lot 7 in concession 12, on the Otonabee River, for which he did not get his patent until 24 January 1829.[30] Captain Charles Rubidge, R.N. (he was offically "Lieutenant" only, but most widely known under the title he took in Canada as "Captain"), a half-pay officer, also visited the township {136} in 1819 to choose his 800 acres of land, intending to settle thereon with his family. He was only one of a number of retired officers who came to Upper Canada after the close of war in 1815, and were favoured with large land grants by the Colonial Office and the Family Compact in the fatuous hope of creating a colonial aristocracy.[31]. A great many of them "favoured" the Kawartha district in the next 20 years, of whom only a few were in the least an asset to the district. They were attracted to the district by the pleasures of hunting and fishing and boating possible, and by the hopes of having a submissive Irish peasantry to "squire" over as in Ireland and England, and were aided in their designs by the Colonial Government up to the rebellion. Many of them did not settle at all, and

fewer pioneered, but hired men to do the settlement duties for them and then sold parts of their lands as they became more valuable in time, due to the hardships and industry of the "common" settlers around whom they treated with stupid contempt, and who in turn hated their attempts to establish a gentry of birth and corruption in a land where the only gentry worthwhile was that of industry and equality. Others of this class after staying a few years found that they were not treated as aristocracy by the surrounding "lower classes" of mere settlers, and finding that they could not become wealthy, in spite of Government patronage, without some hardship and endurance and toil and discomfort, left the land, and often returned to the British Isles to spread distorted lies concerning the rebellious nature of the "Yankee" colonials who would not serve their superiors, and of the harsh rocky wintry land of perpetual snow that was Canada to them. They were no loss to Canada.

Captain Rubidge was destined to be an important figure in the affairs of the district for 60 years, and did less harm and more good than most of the "gentry" who followed him into the district, chiefly because he could seldom get the ear of Government in his constant demands {137} for patronage in lands and offices (as Stewart, McDonell and Burnham had more influence); but Rubidge outlived them all and became the important figure in the development of the district. He was a son of Robert and Mary Rubidge, and born in 1787 in London. In 1796 he entered the Navy as midshipman, and on the "Arrow" sloop saw much service. He served under Nelson and Cochrane, and was at the battles of Aboukir and Copenhagen. After 1815 he was retired with many other less efficient officers, and like many others came out to Canada on the promise of Government to give them large land grants, where they hoped to found estates, with plenty of colonial "vassals" to do the work and make them wealthy, as had been the basis of the agricultural system in the British Isles. Thus after making "Canada safe for aristocracy and Britain", they could retire to England with honours and wealth. But Rubidge found he could not live according to his rank in his retiring half-pay of £100 a year, and in autumn of 1818 decided to emigrate to Canada, with his wife and three children ranging from 3 to 7 years of age. After laying in a stock of tools, clothing and food, they sailed on May 3, 1819, and arrived at Cobourg via Quebec on July 19th, their travelling expenses being £100,8s. It took 2 1/2 day to come from Quebec to Montreal in the "Swiftsure" (neither swift nor sure) and the only means of ascending from Montreal to Kingston was by bateau. At Cobourg he was accomodated in the home of Captain Boswell, retired R.N. (and a member of the Land Board), who kept Rubidge's family there until their lot was ready in the next spring. "As a new township was about being surveyed on Rice Lake, and I had not means to purchase a cleared farm near my friend Boswell, I determined to wait until the survey was finished and try the bush. This was December in the same year 1819..."[32] He then took 800 acres in Otonabee, which his rank entitled him to (by regulation, at any rate), and "in February 1820 I contracted with two men to put me up a log house 28 by 20 feet; and 13 logs or as many feet high; to roof it with shingles, and to board up the gable ends; and to clear off one acre about the house, for which I paid them $100...Whilst the snow and ice were good, I moved all my effects, got boards sufficient to finish my house, and a six months' {138} stock of provisions, and on the 8th of May 1820 I took my family into their pile of logs in a Canadian forest..."[33] His land consisted of lots 13 and 30 in concession 11, and lots 14 in concession 12 and 13. He employed two Americans in the following summer to chop 4½ acres at $6 per acre, and another retainer to work around the farm who chopped 3 acres more, so that with little toil on his own account he overcame the initial hardships; he spent the first year himself in improving the interior of his house! The attitude typical of his class is shown in the following: "In August we cut some coarse grass in a beaver-meadow close by; after this we logged up and cleared 3 acres of the land I had chopped, and by the end of September had it sown with wheat; the logging though heavy I did with my hired man and steers, and before the winter I had it fenced with rails..."[34] Compare such a "gentleman settler" with the ordinary pioneer who was given 50 or 100 acres, and, usually penniless and without help or equipment, succeeded in clearing a farm and achieving solid prosperity himself.

Rubidge was made a Justice of the Peace in 1820 by Chief Justice Draper, a personal friend, and in 1821 was appointed Inspector of Settlement Duty for Otonabee by the influence of another friend, Boswell of the Land Board. Rubidge claimed later that he was the first settler and was given the first patent in Otonabee[35], fallacies which are repeated by Poole, Mulvaney, Dobbin, Harstone, and Guillet in writing about Rubidge. The truth was that Kent and others preceded him in settling, and that he did not get his patent for 600 acres of land until 27 April 1822, after 31 others had been given patents in Otonabee; his other 200 acres was not patented until 20 April 1828.[36]. Hillier, the Governor's Secretary, wrote to Ridout, Surveyor-General, Jan. 19, 1820, as follows: "I am directed by the Governor to acquaint you that he declines confirming the location you have made of Lieut. Rubidge of the Royal Navy on lot 12 in 11th concession Otonabee, such location having been made in disobedience of an order of His Excellency conveyed to you through the

Chief Justice; and I am to desire that Mr. Jones be located on that lot..."[37](3) Jones, a member of the Land Board, apparently had more influence in the right quarter than Rubidge; the latter however, was consoled by the Land Board: "Charles Rubidge, Lieut.R.N. {139} is allowed to locate lot 30 in 11th concession Otonabee under authority of a letter from Major Hillier dated 26 September 1820, in lieu of lot 12 in 11th concession Otonabee, granted to Charles Jones."[38] Later Rubidge came into greater influence by doing work in road-building and locating Irish emigrants, for which he received more patronage.

In 1819, when Rubidge came, many other settlers, with less money and more ability, entered Otonabee. There were 11 families and 20 single men in all. One family, John Fife and his six sons, became renowned for the discovery of Red Fife wheat, a new frost-resisting wheat. Before the Robinson settlement, the Land Board authorized 174 locations in Otonabee: 79 in 1820, 18 in 1821, 7 in 1822, 12 in 1823, 13 in 1824 and 45 in 1825.[39] Absentee owners of large tracts were numerous and widespread, starting with the first patentee, Zaccheus Burnham of Cobourg,a member of the Land Board. Burnham received, on 26 February 1820, patents for 3,150 acres; he received another 300 acres in 1828 and a further 382 acres in 1830. Burnham shrewdly picked single lots scattered over the township; the toil of actual nearby settlers would increase their value. The evil speculative designs of the Land Board members were revealed by their vicious habit of locating "common" settlers in groups around the large holdings of them and their friends. The labour of the actual settlers would increase the value of such blocks; the blocks hampered and obstructed the real settlers. Such abuses of public offices of trust were more flagrantly open and evil because those in power had a stranglehold on the whole land system. They pursued benefits for themselves first, the welfare of Britain second, Upper Canada third, and the actual settlers of the province least.{140}

Charles Anderson was a very interesting character. In August 1820, he received 600 acres in the block of land reserved for a town-site at the east side of the mouth of the Otonabee on Rice Lake. He succeeded Herkimer as fur-trader to the Mississagas there. He wandered up and down the Trent and Kawartha system from one camp to another in various seasons. The worthy "Major" attained great influence among the Indians at Rice Lake, and lived among them with several Indian squaw "wives" and a large brood of children, the Oriental potentate in the Canadian woods. While the "ladies" of the nobler settlers were prone to look down their noses at the gallant Major, the "gentry" were not so shy. Some periodically gathered at his fur-post for shooting and fishing and other more illicit pleasures. In 1837, he led his bold Indian retainers to drive back the rebels and American "invaders"; they became confused and lost in the march.

A nearby neighbour, John Bannister, who received 800 acres stretching back from the lakeshore in November 1820, being Irish and a retired naval lieutenant, wrote several pamphlets in the next few years concerning the best methods of emigrating from Britain to Canada.[40] He bombarded Horton with tracts on pauper emigration from Great Britain and Ireland to Canada, and, in 1823, magnanimously offered to lead them himself, at a sizeable personal profit, of course. As with Bastable, Astle, and others, he became an enemy of Robinson and assisted emigration when the wary Horton refused his noble offer.

Other large land grantees were: Lieut. John Williams and Captain Elmhurst in 1821, 800 acres each; Walter Boswell (a member of the Land Baord) in 1822, 700 acres; George Boulton in the same year 600, and Lieut. Rubidge 600; in 1823 Rev. John Macaulay(a member of the Land Board) 700 acres, and Captain Spilsbury 400 acres; in 1825 Rev. John Wilson received 600 acres. There were 94 patents issued up to the middled of 1827. Yet Rubidge, when later asked by Horton:

> From the {141} time you became a settler up to 1825, did the part of the country where you were settled prosper or otherwise?" replied: "None had the means to build roads, bridges or mills, and from having no market town nearer than Cobourg on Lake Ontario 19 miles(?) off, and having a lake 3 miles wide to cross to get there, the settlers became disheartened, and many left in despair, of getting a change; the number of heads of families were in 1825 reduced from about 70, the number that originally settled there, to 35...[41]

This estimate, while unauthoritative, shows the trends, especially when compared with the locators and patentees. Yet there is no doubt that those first years were difficult in Otonabee. The only means of entering the township was across Rice Lake by boat or ice, either of which was dangerous. Boating was very dangerous because of the swiftness with which squalls might blow up along the 30 miles of open water. Jenkins and Collier, two early settlers, were drowned thus, while Alexander MacIntosh and daughter were lost through the ice. The story is told of one fearless settler who ferried 4 head of cattle down the lake 14 miles in a skiff, arriving safely! Rubidge kept the first post office at his home, and used to carry mail around with him in his tall hat, giving it out when he saw the person to whom it was sent, perhaps after months; Thomas Carr, who with his brother Andrew drew the land on which the village of Keene was later to grow, kept a post office there

also from 1821 on. The settlers had to take their grain to the lake front, or after 1820 to Scott's Plains, until Dr. John Gilchrist erected a saw and grist mill to start the village of Keene, in 1825. Yet their difficulties were less than those in Smith.

Asphodel, surveyed by Birdsall in 1820, received a few settlers in the same year, the first being John Beckett and his family. For some reason the Land Board settled none there, and by 1825 the following were the only settlers: Walter Scott, Robert Humphries, Hugh and Alexander McColl, W. Kirkpatrick, Robert and Job Humphries, William Housten, Charles Parker, Richard Birdsall the surveyor, Captain Howson, William Fortune, Peter Anderson, John Comstock, Mr. Micks and Mr. Johnston. Soon after 1820, the first small gristmill was erected on the site of the village of Norwood by Joseph Keeler, with Nathan Drury as miller; it {142} had a single run of stones driven by a tub waterwheel, but it was very valuable to the settlers for 12 or 15 miles around. Mr. Keeler also built a sawmill nearby, powered by the same dam and wheel. A typical example of absentee ownership, patronage and corruption was Honourable James Crooks, who received a grant of 1000 acres of land in Asphodel, including a valuable mill site on the site of the village of Hastings, on condition that he erect a gristmill on it. He put up a very inefficient mill which ground one half-bushel of wheat and then fell to pieces; but the grant had been secured, and that was all that mattered to the Honourable Crooks, whose name became a symbol in that region for all the parasitical "honourable crooks" who fattened on the toil of the actual settlers because of government patronage. The first grant made in April, 1821, was 1820 acres to that speculator-par-excellence, Hon. Zaccheus Burnham, for contract surveys. The first real settler to be granted land was Allan McDougall in July 1821. By the middle of 1827 there were 51 grants made in Asphodel,[42] including many absentee owners of large tracts: Colley Lyons Foster granted 1200 acres in 1822 and also Thomas Markland 800 acres, Hon. George Markland 600 acres, George White 800 acres; in 1823, James Rowe 800 acres, Philip Hall 800 acres, John McDonell 800 acres, James Richardson 500 acres; in 1824, Edward Lawes 900 acres, William Owston 400 acres, Oliver Church 500 acres; in 1825 Joseph Keeler 500 acres; in 1826, Charles Anderson 600 acres, Alexander McLean 500 acres, Archibald McDonald 700 acres. These illustrate the combined obstacles of "gentry" settlers and absentee ownership which hampered the district for generations.

The only person of importance in the township was Richard E. Birdsall, the deputy-surveyor who laid out Asphodel, Otonabee, Douro and other townships, as well as the town plot of Peterborough. His family have ever since been leaders in the life of that township, and have exerted a beneficial influence upon the whole district. He {143} had been born in Yorkshire in 1799, came to Canada in 1817, and settled upon lot 1, concession 1, in Asphodel in 1820. Later he acquired much of the land between Westwood and the Lake as just reward for surveying work. He married one of the daughters of Zaccheus Burnham, who had the contract to survey the Newcastle townships, and who deputized Birdsall to do the actual work in the eastern townships. Later on, he completed the survey of Smith in 1830, and other northern townships. His grandson, Colonel Richard E. Birdsall, born in 1860, still lives and farms on the old homestead on the shore of Rice Lake.

Douro township received two settlers of note in 1822, a year before the township was surveyed. These were Thomas Stewart and Robert Reid, with their families, from north Ireland. They had sailed in June 1822 from Belfast to Quebec, bringing families, servants, implements, furniture and provisions. Mrs. Frances Stewart had influential friends in England, and they brought letters of introduction to the Lieutenant-Governor. On 21 July, they reached Quebec, and at Montreal bought more supplies for the backwoods. They reached Kingston on 8 August by bateau, and York on 14 August by sailing ship. There Governor Maitland offered them land in whatever part of Upper Canada they wished, and advised Douro. Reid was given 2000 acres and Stewart(his brother-in-law) 1200 acres, on condition of actual settlement. They were also given control of the township for 5 years in order that they might bring out and settle friends and relatives around them therein, but they gave up this monopoly in 1825 to allow Robinson to settle Irish emigrants in Douro, to make their lands more valuable and to supply labour. We have only the word of the Stewarts for this sub-rosa arrangements, and the following letter seems to contradict this monopoly:

> Dec.11,1823,Govt. House, York...His Excellency has no objection to the persons whose names have been submitted by Casey and Dorland, officers and men of the Midland District Militia, being located in such parts of the township of Douro as are open to location without interfering with other intended or existing arrangements. {144}To the Surveyor General, York. (Sgd.)George Hillier, Sec'y."[43]

Yet the township of Douro was reserved with Asphodel from the Land Board as a private preserve for Government favourites, and the first grant registered in Douro was to Samuel Copping in October 1825, with only five others before the end of 1827. Incidentally, there is no grant registered for either Stewart or Reid up to

1830.[44]

Both Stewart and Reid were men of fairly industrious able calibre and so were beneficial, to the community which grew up, as leaders, and also (quite incidentally of course) became very wealthy at the same time. They came early in September 1822 to choose their lots in Douro and were brought up the Rice Lake by a friend from Cobourg. Stewart said:"In company with a friend we went to Rice Lake, where he introduced us to the surveyor of the back township (Birdsall) who lives at the east end of the lake." With Birdsall they proceeded "24 miles up the river Otonabee, to a place then called Scott's Plains, now Peterborough, where there was and still is a most wretched farmhouse and a tumbling-down grist and sawmill..."[45](3) Stewart fell ill then at Cobourg and Reid went to York to bring down their families and baggage by schooner. Then Reid with his sons and some workers went up to erect their log houses on the lots, that they might move onto their lots before winter.

> They cut a road from opposite Scott's Mills, 3 miles through thick woods to the place where they were to build, for the strong current in the river prevented them proceeding farther by water. With some difficulty they procured a yoke of oxen to hire in Smythtown and were obliged to swim them across the river...[46](3)

Reid soon had 18 men at work on the houses, most of them "common" settlers assisting with no pay, except that they expected help when they in turn needed it. Stewart brought up provisions for the men, and returned to bring up their families. His house was 2 1/2 miles up the river from Scott's Mill, on the east side of the river, and Reid's house was erected 3/4 mile farther up. The houses were 40 by 28 feet and were much better than those of ordinary settlers. Mrs. Reid and family journeyed to Douro in December, but the Stewarts were detained by illness in Cobourg until February 1823, when they too came in by sleigh through {145} Hope, Cavan and Monaghan. Mrs. Stewart's book, *Our Forest Home,* is both interesting and valuable for any study of early Peterborough settlement, but can be only mentioned here. She mentioned that the common wages of a chopper were $12 a month, and that their house cost only $40. Prices in Cobourg in 1823 were: beef or mutton 3d. a lb., potatoes 9d. a bushel, butter 7 1/2d. a lb., milk 2d. a quart; they bought a cow for £3. She continued:

> May 23,1823: Mr. Reid went to York to complete the business of our grants, which could not be done until this township was surveyed. The survey was only finished about 3 weeks ago when one very wet day I saw two men walk past the window; one had a blanket about his shoulders, a pair of snowshoes in his hands, and a small fur cap on, the other was dressed in ragged sailor's clothes. I took the first to be an Indian, but to our surprise we found this was Mr. Birdsall, a very smart young Englishman who is surveyor for the townships in this district, and his assistant; they had 5 men with them as chainbearers &c. I found they had been all living in the woods for March and April. After another week's work the survey was finished...There is a charming Mrs. Rubidge, wife of a lieutenant in the Navy, who lives within 6 miles of us, but there is a swamp two miles broad between, and by water it is 18 miles to go call upon them...[47]

In August she wrote:

> T... [Her husband] had hired some Highlanders who had settled in Otonabee to do the work of chopping, piling logs into heaps and burning... There are a few families scattered in the neighbouring townships of Smith, Monaghan and Otonabee, but with the exception of Lieut. Rubidge and a few miners, all are farmers ...[48]

In April, 1824 she wrote a very significant letter, beginning:

> "We are much shut up here for want of good roads, but next winter the new one through Otonabee to Rice Lake will be really finished.[49] The Reids and ourselves are the only European settlers in this township(?); all behind us are wild forests untracked by civilized feet except for surveyors. But I understand a tide of settlers is to set in next autumn..."[50]

This last item could hardly have been a prophecy of the Robinson settlers of 1825, but rather was probably based upon a rumour heard in Cobourg on a visit that summer about

> the new company lately formed in London which occupied all our conversation. It is extremely interesting to us, as it will be very advantageous to our back settlements. This company is to purchase the Crown lands and Clergy reserves, settle them and erect good bridges and mills, make roads, etc...[51]

The company referred to was the Canada Company, formed in 1825, which later did acquire much land in the Peterborough district, but did little to help the district by roads, bridges, mills, or any other developments.

The combined difficulties of getting in supplies and having no markets for crops nearer than the lakefront were almost too much for {146} these gentle settlers, and in 1825 they had almost decided to find land nearer civilization and leave others to pioneer in the Douro wilds. Stewart wrote:

> I thought as my children were growing up it was a pity to spend any more time in this hopeless retirement.

> So I had written to a friend in Cobourg to procure me a snug(!) little place in that neighbourhood with about 50 acres of land. A few days after this, Mr. Peter Robinson came to my house, and mentioned to me his intention of bringing up the emigrants to these back townships. At once we gave up every idea of removing, the clouds dispersed, all our difficulties seemed over...[52]

It is remarkable how quickly that thoughts of moving vanished when there was distinct possibility of prosperity. In September, 1825, there also came to Douro John Armstrong and family of 5, with two servants, who had been given lands near the Stewarts.

The other southern townships may be briefly mentioned at this point, before resuming the narrative, in order to complete the picture of early settlement in the district before 1825. Harvey township, surveyed in 1822, was not settled until 1832, but in November, 1823, patents were issued to one Abraham Nelles for 5920 acres of land therein along Buckhorn and Pigeon Lakes.[53] Belmont, surveyed in 1823 partly was not settled, except for a few Robinson emigrants, until 30 years later; but in July 1824, patents were issued to one Charles Hayes for 5124 acres therein.[54] Dummer township, surveyed in 1823, received no settlers until 1831, but there were three patents issued in September and October, 1826, to John Bogart and John and Elizabeth Davis.[55] Ennismore was surveyed in 1825 especially for the Irish emigrants of 1825, but there were many reserves and surveyors' lands in it. The first grant was issued to John Williad, a non-emigrant, for 230 acres in March 1826.[56]. It was known as the Gore of Emily until renamed as Ennismore by the Lieutenant-Governor in March 1827. Emily was not one of the new townships, and its early settlement from New York etc. has already been noticed, but it is worth noticing that the Land Board between 1819 and 1825 located 273 persons in it: 1819: 56, 1820: 106, 1821: 71, 1822: 20, 1823: 16, 1824: 3, 1825: 1.[57](3) Land Board locations declined and ceased in 1825 in townships in which Irish emigrants were {147} to be settled, although Robinson reported that their location was only decided by Maitland and himself when they met in August 1825.

In 1818 Samuel Wilmot, surveyor, wrote to the Surveyor-General, for warding a rough map of the township of Monaghan:

> 27th March,1818, Sir: I take the liberty of recommending the lots 14,15,16 in the 13th concession of Monaghan for a government reserve, lying at the head of navigable waters of the large river at the Carrying Place. It is a beautiful high site for a village, and a good situation at the head of navigable water for a waterworks..."[58]

In the previous year he had been ordered to survey the township of Monaghan for Buchanan's Irish from New York, and had sent in a partial map of the township on which he had named the North River, which he thought flowed west through the township of Manvers; he was ordered to complete his survey in the winter of 1818, and to explore the river which he described (the Otonabee) and the above letter resulted. Thus the town plot was reserved, with its mill site, although nobody had any vision of the city to come.

Charles Fothergill of York and Smith's Creek [Port Hope], a shrewd merchant and miller, saw the advantages of the mill site in a growing settlement, and on 11th Feb.1819 obtained a 99 year lease on the site Lease to Charles Fothergill... all that parcel of land in the township of Monaghan in county of Northumberland in District of Newcastle -- being the mill seat situate on part of a certain plot of ground reserved for the site of a town in the township of Monaghan, together with 10 acres of land adjacent thereto, for the term of 99 years at the yearly rent of 5 shillings to be paid annually to the Receiver-General which said parcel of land is composed of parts of lots 14 and 15 in 13th concession and part of lot 15 in the 12th concession of the township of Monaghan... [details of plot] ...Reserving for a road one chain in width to the landing with space for each street in the future town which may lead toward the river: with free access to the beach by all vessels, boats and persons not interfering with the present mill and dwelling house. Thos. Ridout, Surveyor-General."[59]

On 13 February 1823, he received the patent for 10 acres, "mill site on town reservation, part of lots 14 and 15 conc. 13 and part of lot 15, concession 12...surrendered May 20th, 1829."[60](3) Apparently Government broke the lease monopoly when it was seen that a town was growing around the mill at the head of navigation, and that no amount of influence could hold such a valuable town plot from settlement.

In May 1819, a party of men came up the Otonabee in a rowboat {148} from Rice Lake, having crossed over from Smith's Creek: Adam Scott, Charles Fothergill, Thomas Ward, John Farrelly, John Edmison, and Barnabas Fletcher. Fothergill and Ward were merchant speculators, Farrelly was a surveyor, Scott was a miller, Bletcher was a farmer, and Edmison was an emigrant intending to settle in Smith township. They were mostly from Smith's Creek, and were looking for good lands and mill sites close to the recent settlers in Smith and Otonabee; Fothergill was bringing up Scott to look over his mill site lease at the head of navigation on the Otonabee. They

came across Little Lake landing above Spaulding's Bay, and prepared to spend the night beside the river at the point which later became the Steamboat Landing. Scott by discharging his gun lighted a fire; after supper they lay down around the fire under the trees for the night. Next morning Edmison and Ward went 6 miles overland along the Communication Road (the old Indian portage trail) to Chemong Lake, where Ward had acquired a large grant on the site of the village of Bridgenorth, which he wished to explore. They had their meals with some of the "colony" settlers just recently located along the Communication Road. Edmison stayed in Smith to take up his lot, but Ward rejoined the others on the bank of the Otonabee, where he found them discussing possible locations for pond and dam and flume and mill on the riverbank. On the same evening the party went down the river, across Rice Lake, and back overland to Smith's Creek, well satisfied with their labour.[61]

Early in 1820, Adam Scott and his son came up again, to build a mill on the site of Peterborough, which they were to run for Fothergill. Adam Scott had been born in Edinburgh in 1796, and in 1812 he came out to Delaware County in New York State, where he became a millwright. In 1818 he came to Smith's Creek and built a sawmill there, but left it in 1820 to start anew in the backwoods. They decided against trying to control the rapids of the Otonabee, and instead {149} dammed up the waters of the creek which still traverses the town, conveying the water to their mill on the bank of the Otonabee by a short flume.[62] The aptness of their choice of location is shown by the fact that as late as 1867 there was a large frame mill in operation on the same site, at the corner of King and Water streets,[63] and even yet there is a flour-mill there, though not run now by water. Their flume led from the millpond formed by damming the creek, to their mill on the steep bank of the river at the foot of the present King Stree. Scott first built a rough log shanty 18 by 20 feet covered with black ash bark, to accommodate his family until they could build the mill. This small crude mill was of rough boards and about 24 by 18 feet, containing a small upright saw of the "up and down" variety, and a poor run of very common millstones quarried nearby for grinding grain. An undershot millwheel in the flume provided the power, but as the creek was often dry and usually nearly so, the mill was often inactive; when it did run, it had little power to saw lumber of any thickness or to saw it well, and the grain ground was very poorly done. Scott then erected a frame house, a low square cottage-roofed structure made with rough lumber from the mill. Later, when the emigrants arrived, he began a primitive distillery in his house, to make a living when his inefficient mill did not pay

A daughter Jeannette was born in 1820, the first white child in the place. Scott himself was six feet four inches tall, weighing 260 pounds and immensely strong. The late Thomas Choate, himself the first settler in the village of Warsaw, recounted a story which proved the strength of that pioneer miller who started Peterborough. In March 1821, Thomas was a boy of 11 years, brought by his father, Jacob Choate, a farmer living near Smith's Creek, to visit some English settler friends near Chemong Lake in Smith, and to bring them some needed supplies. They came up through the bush on a blazed but {150}uncut snowroad on a sleigh, as there was ten inches of snow on the ground. Ten miles north of Smith's Creek they met Adam Scott trudging along toward that village with the 250-pound crankshaft of iron from his mill, which had been somehow broken, taking it to have it repaired in the foundry there. He rested the burden on a corner of the sleigh and chatted with Mr. Choate, a friend of former days, for a few moments, and then hoisted his enormous burden on his shoulder again and trudged away to finish his 30-mile journey through the forest, his woolen stockings hanging down over his boots, far below his corduoroy breeches. The Choates called at Scott's house on their way back from Smith township, and found his wife had not even a candle in the house, so poor were they. They met Scott on his way home with the mended crankshaft(let us hope upon the OTHER shoulder!) in triumph after his long journey, a brave worthy pioneer who triumphed over difficulties ten times as great as any of the complaining but prospering(through patronage) Rubidges and Stewarts and Traills, etc.[64].

Before the dam was constructed below Little Lake some decades later, the river above the lake was in spring a raging torrent, and in summer and autumn quite shallow, and Scott often crossed it on stilts to reach his oxen, pastured on the eastern plain, now the suburb of Ashburnham, at the same time that the Stewarts were complaining that it was impossible to cross the river (after 1823). Scott's house was situated on the west side of Water Street, about midway between Charlotte and King Streets (now); it was demolished in later years when factories were built through that section. Parts of the flume of the old Scott mill were dug up when the foundations of the Grand Opera House and Turner's factory were being built at the corner of George and King Streets toward the end of the century.

Scott did not prosper with his mill, because it was very inefficient and undependable. Many settlers continued to carry their {151} grain to Smith's Creek, where they could exchange part of it for supplies, or to the mill on Galloway's Creek in Cavan, or to Keeler's mill in Asphodel. But Scott's Plains became a

centre for trade and a public asset for Smith, Douro, Emily, North Monaghan, and other more northerly townships. There is a story that Scott was offered a grant of land around his mill, but refused it, thinking the land too low and swampy for much use; but in view of Fothergill's lease and patent, and of Scott's lack of influence, we may brand the tale as untrue. His wife died in 1825 of fever brought up from Kingston by the Irish emigrants, and in 1827 he gave up his position as miller for Fothergill, discouraged, and went to farm near Port Hope, later moving in 1829 to Cavan, where he was a millwright again; he died in February 1838. There is another story that Robinson asked him to accept the Immigration Agency at Peterborough in 1827, but that he declined and McDonell was appointed; but with any knowledge of Robinson and patronage conditions of the time, this story may be seen as absolutely impossible, when influential office-seekers were crowding around Robinson like parasitical flies where-ever he went at the time. This pioneer miller, who founded the city and showed a fine example of fortitude and endurance among very great hardships, is now entirely forgotten, and not even a memorial or a street retains his name, while streets are named after his quite unimportant successors who took the "public eye" by purse and power in the Peterborough of 1825-1875, such as McDonell, Stewart, Reid, Burnham, Rubidge, and others; these were builders of superstructures perhaps, but not founders.

We may picture Scott's Plains in the summer of 1825, before it was awakened to life by the tide of incoming Irish emigrants. None had then any vision of its future, beyond hoping that they might get a good mill, a bridge, and perhaps a store and a tavern there. The ground west of the creek to Rubidge Street and north to McDonnel Street (in the present city) was densely covered with pine trees, with {152} a few beech and maple. Between the creek and the Otonabee River was a flat plain with a few stunted pine and oak trees, and small bushes; its open spaces bore traces of the occasional campfires of Indians and white hunters from the lakefront. The site, as we have noticed, was ideal for a city, and commented upon as such by the surveyors and early settlers. The soil in general was dry and gravelly, and the terrace was twenty feet above the river, with a fine creek running from the northwest through the woods to enter the river near the southern end of the plain, below Scott's mill. Wild animals came boldly to the river to drink, and bears especially were numerous and troublesome, attacking farm animals close to the cabins. The old Indian portage trail to Chemong Lake was beginning to lose its primeval appearance, as the settlers along the Communication Road hewed out their road allowances. It began at the foot of the present Simcoe Street on the riverbank, where the bank shelved down, went north-west to leave the city at the western end of Park Hill Road(Smith Street), and continued northwest through Smith township to the lake, 6 miles, cutting off the long water journey through the lower Kawarthas. The courthouse hill had a fine growth of tall oaks, a few of which still remain; the margins of the river down to Simcoe Street had also some of these tall oaks. The ground of the town site was flat toward the south, and hilly to the north, but since then most of the hills and depressions have been levelled up gradually. Wild flowers, huckleberry and other bushes, and stunted trees, grew in profusion on the plains, and especially on the courthouse hill. There were some willows along the river, and the margins of the creek were also low and swampy until they were filled up later when buildings were erected along its course. At the southeast corner of the present Hunter and George Streets(where the Bank of Toronto now stands), there was a low wet spot which formed a stagnant pool in wet seasons.{153}

Mrs. Stewart was enthusiastic over the wild beauty of this plain when she saw its wild beauty first in 1823, and Mrs. Traill found the scene only a little changed when she came in 1832, when she wrote:

> I must give you some account of Peterborough, which in situation is superior to any I have yet seen in the Upper Province....It is situated on a fine elevated palin, just above the small lake where the river is divided by two low wooded islets...These plains form a beautiful natural park, finely diversified with hill and dale covered with a lovely greensward, enamelled with a variety of the most exquisite flowers, and with groups of feathery pines, balsams, oaks, poplars, and silver birches. The views from these plains are delightful, whichever way you turn your eyes...The plains descend with a steep declivity toward the river, which rushes with considerable impetuosity. Fancy a long narrow valley separating the east and west portions of the town into two distinct villages. The Otonabee bank (east) rises to a loftier elevation than the Monaghan(west) side, and commands an extensive view over the intervening valley... There are many beautiful walks toward the Smithtown hills, and along the bank that overlooks the river. The summit of this ridge is sterile, and is thickly set with loose blocks of red and grey granite, interspersed with large masses of limestone scattered in every direction; they are mostly smooth and rounded, as if by the action of water....The oaks that grow on this high bank are rather larger and more flourishing than those in the valleys and more fertile parts...[65]

About 1800 the block of land which

constitutes the present suburb of Ashburnham, long a separate village, on the east or Otonabee bank of the river, was by tradition given to an English military officer by Government. This officer tired of the wilderness and is said to have sold it all to Zaccheus Burnham of Cobourg about 1804 for $20 and a horse to ride to more civilized parts. Burnham sold the land only for high prices, and to him must go the blame for the small growth of Ashburnham as compared with the main part of the town. In the early days the "Scotch village" of Ashburnham was thought to be the part which would grow much faster in the future than Peterborough, and this failed mostly because of the speculative policy which seized and held large blocks of land in the northwest corner of Otonabee, preferring future unearned profits to present settlement. Mrs. Traill said as early as 1832:"This is called Peterborough East, and is in the hands of two or three individuals of large capital, from whom the townlots are purchased..."[66] Again Governmental favouritism and corruption worked to the harmful disadvantage {154} of industrious actual settlement and development.

This is the proper place to mention the survey of the townplot of Peterborough, although it was not surveyed until the emigrants had arrived in the autumn of 1825, and was a direct consequence of that event. The survey was made by Richard Birdsall of the Government Reserve in North Monaghan by an order dated Oct.18,1825:

> It being desirable that a survey be made of the town plott in Monaghan with the least possible delay, I herewith transmit to you a diagram plan showing the manner in which the same is to be laid out. Should you be willing to execute the survey thereof at the rate of 4 1/2 acres for every 100 acres surveyed, to be taken by ballot of such town lots as remain after the usual reserves for public purposes, and excepting the tract within the said town plott, now under lease, copy of which is herewith sent you; observing that with regard to the percentage it is equal to the highest that has been given by Government to any contractor for surveys...The lines must be sufficiently opened, so that they may be traced with certainty, laying down on your plan and also inserting in your field-notes everything worthy of remark and also noticing on your plan such places as appear to you most suitable for public purposes, such as church, parsonage, burial ground, court-house, etc. The streets passing west from the river Otonabee through the tract under lease are excepted therein, and are to be opened to the river, but not to be laid out into lots within the limits of that tract; and although the diagram does not show any allowance for a street on the bank of the river, yet you will in the survey leave one chain in width back from the bank of said river along the whole front of the town, excepting only in front of the leased tract... I am Sir, your most obedient humble servant, Thos. Ridout, Surveyor-General."[67]

The survey was completed the same autumn, doubtless with the aid of Irish emigrant chainmen. The original boundaries of the town were named: Smith Street [now Park Hill Road] on the north, Townsend Street on the south, Park Street on the west, and the river on the east. The "Scotch village" extended east to Concession Street [now Armour Road], and the town later spread west to Monaghan Road. Of course the city has now greatly outgrown all those century-old limits. Birdsall named five streets after his family, Elizabeth, Sophia, Maria, Charlotte and Birdsall Streets. Britain was honoured by King, Queen, George and Hunter Streets. The three parts of the British Isles were remembered in London, Dublin and Edinburgh Streets. Colonial officers were remembered in Brock, Hunter, Murray, Dalhousie, {155} Alymer, Simcoe and Gilmour Streets; Wolfe Street and Lundy's Land are also self-evident. Local magnates naturally took most of the street-names for themselves: Stewart Street, McDonnell Street, Reid Street, Rubidge Street, Burnham Street, Rogers Street, Mark Street (for Mark Burnham), Boswell Street, Crawford Street, Benson Street, Harvey Street, Walton Street, Bethune Street, Weller Street, etc.etc[68]. Robinson Street, a very short street in Ashburnham, is a memory of one founder. The records reveal that on 3 April 1826, Birdsall for his work received patents for 18 lots in the town as his 4 1/2 % of the surveyed town plot. Water Street, supposed to be laid along the riverbank, was actually back from it for most of its length, but was the main thoroughfare of the town in the early years, and all the first buildings were erected upon it as the main street.

Thus we see in 1825 the district north of the Rice Lake and the town plot of the city of Peterborough; the district was very much in need of the 2000 Irish emigrants with their reviving influence. While the number settled in the district must have been much over the 500 recorded by Rubidge in 1838-48, since the Land Board alone made 610 locations in those townships (not counting those cancelled or given up) and Government made many more, between 1818 and 1825, yet the district was languishing from lack of markets, roads, mills, and the trade and capital which make a settlement flourish and go with increasing settlement as a natural corollary. We have seen that Rubidge, Reid and Stewart were all in 1825 thinking of giving up the struggle which they found tiring for their gentle hands, and if conditions were bad for

them with their large resources, they must have been almost unbearable for the backbone of settlement, the ordinary pioneers on 50 to 200 acres, whose hardships we have touched upon only incidentally here and there in this chapter; they usually suffered and triumphed in silence, so that we have little record of them.

[End of fifth installment]

AAO *Off the Record*

The 2001 AAO conference is being held at Black Creek Village, 14 and 15 June. There is a tongue-in-cheek report on Toronto's bid for the 2008 Archival Olympics. The new AAO offices are in the Coach House at 376 Rusholme Road in Toronto. Reach by phone (416) 533-9592 or by email aao@interlog.com

The AAO Board of Directors wants a consultation process with the provincial government on archives and municipal restructuring. There is concern that restructuring did not give due attention to the care and management of records in the former municipalities.

Further information can be gained from Brian Masschaele, the AAO Archives Advisor, (519) 690-2870 or by email: advisor@execulink.com

President's Report for the year 2000

22 March 2001

Elwood Jones, Ph.D.

The Trent Valley Archives at the Fairview Heritage Centre has become a real going concern. During the past year we have expanded our hours, answered dozens of complex genealogical and historical inquiries, accessioned major microfilm and manuscript collections, strengthened our web-page, and launched the *Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley* in a more effective format. We are extremely grateful to our wonderful volunteers who have helped in all aspects of our enterprise: the maintenance of our landmark heritage building and grounds, the expansion of our mandate to include public access to the internet, the long hours of service in our reference rooms, the development of our membership lists, the reconsideration of matters of governance, the continued acquisition, arrangement and description of our archival collections.

The year had many highlights. We had visits from archivists attending the AAO conference in Peterborough and also from historical societies in the county. We hosted a school reunion that celebrated our ability to rescue one of the county's fine one-room schoolhouses. We made significant changes to the building, all part of plans for more effective space use, while aiming for archival standards. We had some major accessions related to the history of Lakefield and Peterborough. We are particularly proud of the Delledone collection, the Anson House fonds, and we have made headway in describing the Edmison, Tolmie and Dyer fonds. We may not be travelling at top speed, but we are going in the right direction.

During the near future, there are many initiatives in the works. On the archives side, we have a mandate to improve the volume and quality of archives in the Trent Valley. We are prepared to work with any organization which wishes to develop archives, or that recognizes that archives is an essential extension of records management: historical societies, heritage organizations, municipalities, corporations. We are prepared to help in decisions related to assessment, appraisal, preservation or arrangement of archives. No solution is universally right, but people must recognize what is endangered and what is needed. We are proud of our own holdings, but our over-riding objective is to make archives accessible. We have long recognized that our approach to history and heritage blends the interests of audience and agency.

We have supported other heritage groups and their activities. We helped in many ways the local efforts to help the Peterborough Centennial Museum and Archives to get the Roy Studio collection, and were really pleased that Jim Balsillie provided the resources to seal the deal, and that the City of Peterborough made commitments to ensure that the collection would be preserved and accessible. All in all, this is tangible proof of the value of heritage to the community. We have worked with organizations from Apsley to Millbrook to bring the Community Access Program to Peterborough county, and we expect the Fairview Heritage Centre to be a key player in the ongoing developments. The Anson House Project Group proved

the value of bringing an organization, an archives and an academic group to work on a project, and we will seek future opportunities. We have worked with other groups provincially and locally, and even though we think most heritage organizations are better at accepting help than in working co-operatively, we will continue to press on as we have through most of our previous twelve years. We hope that some arrangements will be easier now that we have settled amicably our legal differences with the group on Hunter Street. We have had good working relations with the Smith Township Historical Society, the Lakefield Historical Society, Heritage Lakefield, the Peterborough Historical Society as well as with the Trent University Archives, the Peterborough Public Library and the Peterborough Archives. We will continue to build on past respect. We are well-connected with local organizations, and have actively supported local heritage causes.

Since the summer of 1998, we have continued to place a high priority on ancestral research objectives and are very proud of what we have accomplished. Our Trent Valley Ancestral Research committee has acquired genealogical sources, as our collection of censuses, cemetery records, parish records, family histories, and magazines has grown.

We have a very efficient team handling "Queries," of which some of the most interesting appear in the *Heritage Gazette* or on the web site. We have a terrific research room; growing reference files in family and cemetery history; rich microfilm sources such as the manuscript censuses for the five counties, the birth, marriage and death registers, most notably for the Roman Catholic Diocese of Peterborough, and for the Anglican parish of St John's Peterborough. We now have ten computers that can access the rich genealogical and history sites on the world wide web. We will continue to look for ways to be effective in helping members, and in expanding our capabilities and our research resources.

The TVA has about 35 archival collections including personal manuscripts, research notes, minute books, ledgers, photographs, maps, newspapers and the wide range of sources which allow people to penetrate the past. Our archival sources include the rich work of Tolmie, Edmison and Pammett. TVA proudly believes that ancestral research is enhanced by our ability to help people understand what it was like to live at times when their ancestors were living.

The Trent Valley Archives, which is owned and operated by volunteers, wants to trademark its activities in archives, family and local history, ancestral research and heritage around the names Trent Valley and Fairview. A voluntary organization depends on its volunteers. We can always find great projects for volunteers, but we can also say that we are proud of our volunteers, and how much they have accomplished.

Hutchison House Volunteers Pay a Visit

Don Willcock

As guest speaker for the February meeting of Hutchison House Museum's Volunteers, I had the pleasure of discussing the Trent Valley Archives' collection and resources at the Fairview Heritage Centre.

Over 20 people came out – some who had been to the Centre, some who were familiar with it in one of its previous incarnations, and others who had never been there before. After an historical overview of the TVA and this heritage building, I outlined the services provided at the Centre, and discussed some specific holdings (such as the fonds of J. Alex Edmison, Howard Pammett, Archie Tolmie, Albert Hope, and a few others), and answered questions. The Volunteers examined samples of the archival holdings, and with Bill Amell and Marguerite Young explored the genealogical resources available in the Research Room.

Some of the visitors found historical and family information that they had not been able to discover in other places – and promised to return for some serious research. All in all, everyone seemed pleasantly surprised by the size and quality of the Fairview holdings, and judged it a most useful site for research into family and area history. A few thought it might be an appropriate repository for some parts of their own personal collections.

The Hutchison House volunteers are knowledgeable, sympathetic, and appreciative of heritage sites, collections, and issues. We encourage heritage groups to visit the Fairview Heritage Centre.

Volunteer Projects

The Fairview Heritage Centre is interested in magazines that relate to local history, archives, everyday life in the past, genealogy, or other aspects that will assist in helping people to place their family or local research into wider and pertinent contexts. Several of the journals noted are of great general interest, but are not available in other local libraries.

Volunteers are working on finding aids for our archival holdings, and we hope to feature guides to our holdings in upcoming issues of the *Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley.*

We thank people for the donation of books. In order to find out what books we have people have to ask our volunteers. We are hoping to have a computer search system for our extensive holdings in the near future. Many of our books are identified, as in the old British Museum style, by the collections in which they exist rather than by a library call number system that removes books from their context. However, we anticipate that a mixed system will be developed so books in open stacks will have call numbers and those in closed stacks will be identified within the collections.

If you wish to make donations of materials, give us a call, anytime.

Hahn Family of Artists

During March and April, two Toronto art galleries featured the work of three members of the Hahn family in two generations: Hal Hooke's grandfather, Gustav Hahn (1866-1962) and two of his daughters, Sylvia Hahn and Hilda Hahn Hooke. A very nice announcement, prepared by Katherine N. Hooke, includes biographical information and comments on the artwork. This is an impressive family. Hal's great grandfather was a commercial lawyer and emigration agent who kept a sketch book that is still in the family. Gustav Hahn's brother, Emanuel was an accomplished sculptor. Gustav's wife, whom he met at law school, and two daughters were artists who worked in many media and styles. Hilda Hooke was a commercial art illustrator, while Sylvia was genuinely eclectic. It is nice to see that so much has survived, and that Hal and Katherine Hooke are proving great stewards of the family's heritage.

For details: www.delake.com

Ancestors of European Origin at the CMC

The Canadian Museum of Civilization has developed an ambitious web-site that should be helpful to anyone who has ancestors of European origin. Currently it has developed a Virtual Museum of New France, which includes marriages to 1825 and births nearly as long, as well as histories of many family names.

Check out the web-site

www.vmnf.civilization.ca/ancestors

There are charges for using the site, but you can tour the site and consult examples.

Trent Valley Archives
Trent Valley Ancestral Research
Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley

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Turn off Water Street at the zoo and just go 1.6 km

Managers: Keith Dinsdale and Bill Amell

(705) 745-4404

tva@workmail.com

www.trentvalleyarchives.com

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Scottish Tea on the Terrace

daily 1-4 July & August (except Mondays)

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