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**The Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley**  
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**Cover photo:** Ashburnham pioneers John W. Wood and Jane Porter Wood about 1906, proudly reflecting a close-knit and increasingly prosperous family, hosted a celebration with their surviving grown children at their newly constructed 404 Belmont Avenue residence, designed by the renowned Toronto firm of Sproatt & Rolph Architects, and built by William Langford of Peterborough. Back row (left to right): Edward Rogers Wood, George Wood, Roland (Roly) Wood; Middle row: Eleanor (Nell) Wood, Mrs. Jane P. Wood, John W. Wood, Annie Wood; Front row: Wallace Wood, Frank Porter Wood.. This photo, ca.1906 (photographer unknown, likely a Peterborough studio) courtesy of the Wood Family descendants and historian John P.M. Court.

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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.

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***Trent Valley Archives  
Trent Valley Ancestral  
Research***

*Your five counties archives centre  
Archives \* Heritage \* Genealogy*

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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.

Our 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 Archives 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 132,000 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.

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## Membership

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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### *Board of Directors*

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## 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.

We are happy to announce that we are selling many new titles, including hot-off-the-press, Trent University's History 475 students, Anson House: a refuge and a home, edited by Elwood Jones and Brendan Edwards. The book sells for \$20, and is loaded with names of people associated with Peterborough's history.

We are also proud to be selling many of the recent Ontario historical atlases which have been reprinted.

Our members get the best price possible on new titles and also on treasures from the past to which we have access.

Among the titles currently being sold in our reading room (with prices for members) are:

- Nelson's Falls to Lakefield, a history of the village (1999)
- The Past is Simply a beginning: Peterborough Doctors 1825-1993, by Dr John Martyn (1993), \$30
- Mizgiiyaakwaa-tibelh : Lakefield ... 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, Bill LaBranche. (1975), \$5
- Historical atlases for Peterborough, Victoria, Hastings & Prince Edward, Carleton, York, Lennox& Addington
- Martha Ann Kidd, Sketches of Peterborough, \$20

- Maps: Birdseye Peterborough 1875, Douro & Dummer 1840, Smith early settlers.
- William Ogilvie, Way Down North and 49<sup>th</sup> Parallel, only \$5 each
- A.O.C. Cole, Victorian Snapshot
- Trent University's History 475 Class, Anson House: a refuge & a home, \$18
- Sherrell Branton Leetooze, Durham County History, 7 vols; and other writings

and many other titles.

If you are looking for something, let us know.

Ask us about archival supplies for the preservation of your photos, letters and memorabilia. We also carry titles not listed and will search for others.

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Trent Valley Archives is pleased to announce:

Obituaries from the Peterborough Examiner Peterborough Ontario Canada for the years 1992 to 2000

collected and transcribed by Don, Marianne and Alice Mackenzie (Peterborough, 2001 Group Digital Media, 2001) CD Rom publication only \$25  
ISBN 0-9687957-1-4

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## Glory Days

Glendon Hall, the Wood's country seat on the edge of the city, has always set a high architectural standard  
by John Court

*[Michael Bliss, the prominent Canadian historian, once observed that Toronto passed Montreal as Canada's greatest city because Montreal did not have a Peterborough ninety miles away. The allusion was to the Cox, Flavelle and Wood connection from Peterborough that defined important aspects of Victorian Toronto. John Court captures that theme nicely. This article appeared in the York University alumni magazine and is published here by permission of John Court, a Toronto-based archivist.]*

When most of us became familiar with the Glendon Campus, we assumed from the profusion of woodlands and parkland that the Wood Family had carved their estate out of the primeval wilderness. In fact, the land had been cleared over the previous 104 years before they arrived to serve as pioneer farmers. Only two areas of original, old-growth forest remained -- portions of the east valley slope on the far side of the river, still preserved today as part of the "Glendon Forest" Environmentally Significant Area (ESA) and, on the upland plateau, the west woodlot adjacent to Bayview Avenue, known from a neighbouring 19th century farm family as "Lawrence's Bush" (from whence Lawrence Ave. derives its name).

Creating the other groves and the long-established appearance of an ancient country seat was actually accomplished in just the first few years of the Woods' occupancy. A 1926 Canadian Homes & Gardens magazine feature described the newly-arrived, mature trees amid the spacious lawns as "eloquent of the marvels of transplanting; one Corsican Pine which took four horses to move is typical of the work involved." An architectural journal was similarly impressed a few months later: "The whole outlay of the estate is marked by an air of spaciousness and freedom, and has developed an appearance of age and finish in a marvellously short time."

The centrepiece, then as now, was the Glendon Hall manor -- two years in the planning, two more years in construction (1922-24), and then exquisitely furnished and landscaped. The initial master-planning stage involved an architect and a firm of landscape architects laying out the new property plan, installing infrastructure such as the internal roadways and a sophisticated storm drainage system, early landscaping, tree transplants and similar preparations, all in close consultation with the Woods. The structural architects were then selected -- the Toronto firm of Molesworth, West & Secord -- and work was begun on the manor and the estate outbuildings. The latter were built in styles and colours that harmonized with the main house, and included: the gate cottage and head groundskeeper's residence (now the only surviving outbuilding); the greenhouse and potting shed (demolished in 1961 to make way for the College's York Hall, "A" Wing); the garage and head chauffeur's apartment (demolished in 1963 amid protests in the student paper, Pro Tem, to make way for the power plant); a summer tea-house pavilion on the site of the College's Hilliard Residence; and in the valley, the farm manager's residence, main barn and other farm-cluster buildings (demolished by the private nursery schools that succeeded to ownership of that three-acre site).

The Glendon Hall manor's unique architecture drew inspiration from a number of styles, notably the Italian Renaissance Villa school, British baronial revival, and the grand estate homes of Hollywood and Florida. As to the latter influence, the renowned conservationist and architecture professor, Eric Arthur (*Toronto: No Mean City*), wrote soon after Glendon Hall was built that: "The Architects for Mr. Wood's house have done better than those people by a good deal, but it would be a pity, I think, if the influence from that particular quarter were allowed to cross the border."

The house has an unusual, inwardly-angled front facade, derived from the baronial stylistic influence. This adds visual interest, varying as it does from the more familiar rectilinear plans. The angle

also served as a demarcation between the principal family wing on the right (south-east), and the servants' quarters. The latter wing nevertheless enjoyed the unheard-of, egalitarian treatment of its own front door and entranceway, and a screened entrance porch also prominent on the west end..

## The Wood Family

When Agnes Euphemia ("Pheme") Wood died in 1950, Toronto's news media paid tribute to a generous benefaction she and her husband made to the University of Toronto a quarter of a century earlier -- the elegant family mansion, Wymilwood. (It was later renamed Falconer Hall by the University of Toronto). Wymilwood filled a desperate need for a university women's centre. But at the time of Pheme's death, neither the public, the media, nor even the U of T were aware that the Woods had outdone themselves. Their long record of generosity, and timely, imaginative support (to a host of institutions) was surpassed in a final, grand gesture through the unexpected bequest to the university of their suburban, country estate -- Glendon Hall -- with its landmark manor house and 84 acres of breathtakingly beautiful gardens, parkland and natural areas. Glendon Hall -- a glen on the west branch of the Don River -- was the name the Woods had given to both the estate itself and their main family home. The latter is now often called simply "the manor" (or le manoir), to distinguish it from the Wood Residence which was built in 1965 as both Glendon and York University's first student residence and named in the Woods' honour. But time passes, and memories are short. Indeed, York's first multi-million dollar gift was, in fact, made in 1959 when, with provincial backing, the U of T's board offered to turn over the Glendon estate to York's new board, taking effect from 1961, as the home for its distinctive, residential liberal-arts college. From 1924 to the present, then, for the Wood family and both universities, the manor has stood as an attribute and symbol of this unique Canadian landscape. Approaching by the main driveway, or on foot from the open parkland opposite the house, this inward structural angle seems to offer welcoming feelings of shelter and inclusion to the arriving visitor or resident. On closer approach those feelings are sustained by the

elegant porte-cochère that crowns the central doorway and extends across the double car-width, circular drive. Its solid, wrought iron and glass construction anchored in the limestone trim protects those arriving from the weather, while leaving the entranceway open to natural light. This treatment was awarded second place in the "Details" category of the Ontario Association of Architects' Toronto Chapter Architectural Exhibition in 1927. Arthur commented that "The entrance... is a clever combination of stone and iron work which is both dignified and appropriate." Cladding the walls in waterproof, pebble-dash stucco of a light cream tone added more warmth and charm to the exterior than the usual stone or brick, with no loss of strength -- the walls' inner construction was heavy brick below grade and hollow, terra cotta tile above grade to add fire protection. This durable structure was employed on all of the estate buildings, along with the two-coloured, Spanish roof tiles that are still soundly in place on the manor and gate cottage.

The interior layout was configured to take maximum advantage of the house's siting on the brow of the West Don Valley. A long, screened terrace, a loggia with large picture windows and the dining room offered breathtaking views along this north-east vantage, while providing some daylight through to the central, lateral gallery. (Unfortunately, the two crude structural appendages grafted on by the U of T in 1956 for more floor space, although now put to good use as the bookstore and Gallerie Glendon, have significantly reduced access to the exterior views and natural light.) The living room and library looked out to the south and east on the tableland's gardens and parks, while the second and third floor rooms still enjoy views in all directions.

Interior finishes in the principal rooms were lavish blends of walnut panelling, sometimes in conjunction with two-toned, silk damask walls, hand-moulded plaster walls and ceilings, inset bookcases of black walnut in the library, and oak or marble floors. There are a host of surprises and accents ranging from Dresden china door-handles to the

elliptical grand staircase, lit from above by a skylight with lighting fixtures installed behind it for the same effect at night. Most of these special features and finishes, built to last, are still intact or at least evident, while a few rooms like the library have been substantially restored. The furnishings and artworks were not part of the property bequest, although several portraits survive (at various locations) from the family series commissioned for Glendon Hall in the 1920s. In addition, Mrs. Wood bequeathed five historic European portraits that hung in the manor to the Art Gallery of Ontario.

Formal gardens have been an integral aspect of country estates for several centuries -- celebrated in, and refined through art and literature.

The Woods were interested in the principles and beauty of landscape gardening, beginning with the idea of garden design as a creative, decorative art form that celebrates the wonders of nature and ultimately, for religiously observant people like the Woods, the glory of God. Formal gardens were always located beside the house as an outdoor extension of its living space, and a first stage outward to increasingly natural settings -- grassy parkland, then on to wilderness spaces. Glendon's front entranceway garden and the east, formal garden (later the Rose Garden) that was linked to the living room by a modest outdoor patio were laid out as soon as the manor itself was completed. Then, about 1931, the Woods commissioned the renowned landscape architecture firm of Dunington-Grubb and Stensson to execute a dramatic, more architecturally imposing makeover of both areas. Happily, those two projects have survived, substantially intact.

What also survives is much of the joy and friendship that enlivened the home. Glendon students and alumni with fond memories of the Café de la Terrasse will not be surprised to hear that that same lower-floor area (minus beer and wine, since the Woods were teetotalers) was originally a combined ballroom, music room and billiard room. Then, as now, it opened onto the rear, outdoor patio with the commanding view of the valley. Today's older generation of Wood descendants have happy memories of

Edward and PHEME hosting convivial Sunday evening dinner parties in those spaces, with as many as 30 guests. They were also fond of hosting garden parties, on a much larger scale, and that custom has also been restored to the College. The Bruce Bryden Rose Garden, as it was re-dedicated in 1992 and subsequently restored, is once again the scene of lively garden parties in one of Canada's most spectacular warm-weather settings.

But who were the Woods? In 1899, Sir William Mackenzie, then head of the Canadian Northern Railway (later part of the CNR), arranged for the new Saskatchewan village of Erwood to be named after E.R. Wood. He was just 33-years-old at the time, and 17 years Mackenzie's junior. In 1914 Wood was mentioned in connection with vacancies for Lieutenant Governor of Ontario and Canadian High Commissioner to Britain. By 1926, when the U of T conferred an honorary LLD upon him, and North York Township renamed Westbourne Avenue in the Glendon neighbourhood as Wood Avenue, the Wood family was nationally prominent and respected. Yet the Woods, consummately modest, never spoke of those accolades and they were quickly forgotten.

Edward Rogers Wood (1866-1941) and Agnes Euphemia Smart (1868-1950) were both born in Peterborough to Northern Irish Methodist families of average circumstances. Having migrated with two brothers from Enniskillen, County Fermanagh in 1847, Ed's father, John W. Wood, "was a prominent resident of the town and had obtained a large measure of success as a teacher," according to a 1910 account, although with a teacher's customarily modest level of income. In his early teens, while still in school, Ed Wood joined the G.N.W. Telegraph Company owned by Peterborough's Mayor George Cox, where Joseph Flavelle, eight years Wood's senior, was already learning the ropes. Cox, Flavelle and the Woods were also active in the George Street Methodist Church and the temperance movement. Soon after completing school Edward was moved upstairs to Cox's financial firm, Central Canada Loan & Savings Company, established in 1884. This clearly was Wood's *métier*, and in 1888 at the age of

22 he was summoned to join Cox and one of Cox's sons his own age, Fred, at the firm's newly-opened Toronto headquarters. Flavelle also relocated to Toronto in those years, leaving Cox's employ in the process and ultimately attracting fame, fortune and a spell of considerable notoriety.

During their 35 years in Toronto before moving to Glendon Hall, the Woods' family life and socio-economic standing evolved through a number of discernible stages, as they progressed from middling circumstances to enormous wealth and a fair degree of public acclaim. The initial stage, following directly after Wood's early years in Peterborough of apprenticing under Cox as a telegrapher and then a bookkeeper, occurred between 1888 and 1896. During this period he acquired an intricate base of knowledge that allowed his acumen for business and finance to flower as a journeyman financier in the Cox group. Then from 1896, as Wood turned 30 and by then having ably proved himself, his responsibilities at Central Canada were greatly augmented as Cox became a Senator, the president of both the Bank of Commerce and Canada Life, and an active financial partner with other leading entrepreneurs like Mackenzie and Mann.

Wood was fortunate that this career stage encompassed the economic boom period (with a few years of recession) between 1896 and 1914, the year that Senator Cox died and the First World War broke out, during which time Wood had matured as a leading financier while becoming a millionaire in his own right. In that era he first became active in philanthropy and lifelong pursuits in volunteer leadership roles for the U of T, hospitals, churches and the YMCA. Wood's next two career stages comprised the years of the First World War, during which (by now around age 50 and too old for uniformed service) he donated his financial and managerial expertise for critical civilian roles. After the war he returned to the financial community with continued success, from 1919 until nominally commencing formal retirement in 1929. From then until his death in 1941, Wood retained his key

business directorships and apparently all of those in the voluntary, not-for-profit and charitable realms. Even while retired he was invited to join other important boards, such as that of the gigantic Massey-Harris farm machinery enterprise in 1937.

The Woods built and lived in Wymilwood from 1902 to 1924, on a vacant, two-acre lot leased from the U of T. It abutted at the rear a small ravine that was still reserved (since 1852) for the university's botanical gardens. The property fronted on Queen's Park, which was then a quiet, two-lane stretch of tree-lined boulevard between Bloor Street and the familiar, oval-shaped park to the south. Although leases were granted to the Flavells, the Woods, and for two other elegant homes where the Planetarium and Museum now sit, the botanical garden reserve was maintained at the rear in a wooded ravine through which Taddle Creek had flowed not long before. The structural features, architecture and interiors of Wymilwood, during its initial period as a family home have been well documented, especially through an illustrated chapter (L.B. Martyn, 1980) that was enriched by the collaboration of the Woods' senior granddaughter Beverly Gaby (who recently died). Moreover this elegant, Elizabethan-style mansion of rose brick and limestone trim, along with the Flavells' sumptuous Holwood (1901-2) next door to the south, are still largely intact, although their grounds have fared less well. By 1920, when the Woods began a four-year process of acquiring, laying out, building, and eventually moving to Glendon Hall, the popular and professional media had offered favourable judgements of Wymilwood. Architect Frank Wickson commented favourably that year in *Construction*, a leading journal of his profession, on the emerging quality of domestic architecture in Toronto. "Such buildings as Sir Joseph Flavelle's in Queen's Park, E.R. Wood's in Queen's Park (and five others) are worthy of being mentioned..."

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## Queries

*Bill Amell and Marguerite Young*

We get many inquiries from our members and we are happy to oblige in what-ever 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.

*Carey / Carew*

During the past summer this member attended a family reunion near Peterborough. George and Redmond Carew / Carey, two brothers, left Ireland a few years prior to the Great Famine and settled on farms near Keene. In census and parish registers their surnames may appear as Carew or Carey.

George Carey married Catherine Logan in 1845 at St Michael Church, Cobourg. Eight children were born between 1846 and 1874: Ann, George, John, Catherine, Robert, Esther, Mary, Redmond, Margaret, Matilda, James, Agnes and Joseph.

The Logan sisters came from Ireland also. Note the children were given the same names in both families. The two families resided on adjacent farms. The historical atlas of Peterborough county places them at Otonabee Twp, Con IX, Lots 17 & 18.

These pioneers survived three score and ten years. George Carew (1822-1893) and Catherine Carew (1827-1902) were interred at St Paul Cemetery, Norwood. His death was noted in the Keen news column of the *Peterborough Examiner*. Their surname was recorded as Carew in the RGO official death registers. Redmond Carey (1825-

1905) and Ann Carey (1829-1905) were buried at St Peter Cemetery, Peterborough.

This researcher is trying to unravel the heredity trait of same names from generation to generation on the various branches.

Lois Edwards  
87 Cherryhill Drive  
Kitchener ON N2E 1N5

#### Mathews

The grim circumstances in Ireland compelled many young people to leave their native land. In mid 1830s Patrick Mathews made his way to Lindsay ON where he met and married an Irish colleen, Mary Fitzsimmons. Her parents farmed a few miles south of the village. The young couple settled nearby, also in Ops township, and raised twelve children born between 1837 and 1862.: Ann, John, Patrick, Thomas, Mary, Bartholomew, James, Bridget, Catherine, Edward Joseph, Henry, and Susan.

The Catholic registers for the region are missing prior to 1841 when the St Mary parish was established at Lindsay. The parish records record many baptisms and marriages. During the 1881 census, Patrick Mathews, his wife Mary and three children resided on a farm in Ops twp. The 1881 Atlas of Victoria County shows Pat Mathews at Ops Twp, Con II, lot 11. Ten years later, the parents and a daughter resided in town.

Patrick Mathews (1810-1898) and Mary Mathews (1817-189) are buried in St Mary's Cemetery. Eventually, the sons, daughters and families moved away in all directions.

This member seeks references about the Irish origins of his paternal Mathews ancestry.

John Mathews  
902 Park Avenue W  
Burlington ON L7T 1N6

## Census Takers Qualifications

*This explains why researchers have difficulties. Ed.*

### Job Description

"I am a census taker for the city of Buffalow. Our city has groan very fast recent years and now, in 1865, it has becum a hard and time consooming job to count all the peephill. There is not meny that can do this werk, as it is necesarie to have a ejudashun, which a lot of pursons still do not have. Another atribeart needed for this job is good speling, for many of the peephill to be caounted can hardle speak inglish, let alone spel there name." (The editor added with tongue-in-cheek, "Pity the poor reserchers triing to reed the Buffalow centsus rekurds.")

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## Parish registers in the Anglican Diocese of Toronto

*Elwood H. Jones*

The Archives of the Diocese of Toronto are located at 135 Adelaide Street East, Toronto ON M5C 1L8, and the archivist is Mary-Anne Nicholls. The large collection of parish registers (births, marriages and deaths) are accessible to researchers by arrangement. Contact the Archives at (416) 363-6021.

Many parishes continue to hold their own records, and even those parishes who have made deposits in the Diocesan Archives will have registers subsequent to the dates noted below. The Diocesan Archives had continued to acquire parish records since 1990, and this list does not reflect that activity. For example, the parish

records of All Saints' Peterborough are now in the Diocesan Archives. There are over 300 parishes in the Diocese of Toronto, and perhaps some 500 places of worship over time. The following list mentions 90 parishes outside Metro, and 71 within Metro. To mark its sesquicentenary in 1989, the Diocese of Toronto produced an excellent history of the Diocese which, among other features, contains an appendix listing all the parishes in the diocese and indicating the likely dates the parish operated. Some complex parishes, such as the parish of Cavan had as many as five churches at one time. It is worth noting that many parishes have produced fine histories that often contain useful references about parishioners. Among the especially ambitious or helpful are those for St John's Peterborough, the Cathedral of St James, St Thomas Huron Street, St Mark's Port Hope, and St Clement's Eglinton.

The following list has been compiled from the excellent *Guide to the Holdings of the Ecclesiastical Province of Ontario* (Toronto 1990), which was the second in a series of guides intended to draw attention to the holdings of the various diocesan archives in the Anglican Church of Canada. That project was spearheaded by the most important Anglican archives, the General Synod Archives, at 600 Jarvis Street, Toronto, ON M4Y 2J6. By arrangement with the diocesan archives, the General Synod Archives does not do genealogical inquiries; these are done by the diocesan archives and researchers should make arrangements directly with the diocese in which they are interested, or to the parish most likely to have the pertinent records. If you wish to purchase a copy of this guide, or any of the others, contact the General Synod Archives at (416) 924-9192, or by mail to the address noted above.

The parish registers are only one aspect of what could be found in the diocesan archives. They contain financial records, minutes of various groups, architectural records, photographs, newspapers and other publications and countless other types of records. Even some parishes can have large archival holdings, reflected in the list below by the microfilm records of parishes such as St John's Peterborough, St Peter's Erindale and the Cathedral of St James, and by the absence of some very large churches, such as St John York Mills and St Paul Bloor Street.

This list is arranged by the titles used in the Diocesan Archives, with a minor exception. In the Metropolitan Toronto entries, it is normal to append the label in the geographical column, as done in the previous paragraph. The parishes are listed alphabetically by geography outside Metro, and alphabetically by church name within Metro. The inclusive dates are only for the parish registers; the inclusive dates for the whole fonds is usually much longer, but typically the earliest documents in a parish are its registers. For many years, these registers were effectively legal documents. The use of square brackets in the dates is meant to alert the researcher that the dates may vary slightly. This is because the description of the records sometimes lumps service registers (information about the actual services held in the church) with the parish registers (which are normally births, marriages and deaths, but sometimes include confirmations).

Allenwood St Thomas1905-42  
 Alliston St Andrew1874-76  
 Alnwick St James1910-47  
 Batteau Christ Church1867-1981  
 Beeton St Paul1889-1959  
 Blackstock St John1838-1965  
 Bolton Christ Church1844-1981  
 Bondhead Trinity marriages, 1855-57  
 Boskung St Stephen1917-52  
 Bowmanville St John1838-1926

Bradford Holy Trinity1849-1955  
 Brighton St Paul1911-51  
 Brock Township 1843-75  
 Brooklin St Thomas1865-1949  
 Buckhorn St Matthew[1901-73?]  
 Caledon East St James, Albion1843-57; 1876-1962  
 Cameron St George1873-1926  
 Campbellford Christ Church1849-1953  
 Cannington All Saints marriages, 1858-1908  
 Castlemore St John, Toronto Gore 1862-1965  
 Cavan 1819-1950  
 Clairville Christ Church1887-1925  
 Coboconk Christ Church1942-62  
 Cobourg St Peter1854-1951  
 Colborne Trinity Church1874-1956  
 Coldwater St Matthias1911-76  
 Collingwood All Saints1855-1982  
 Columbus St Paul1873-1922  
 Cookstown St John1859-1959  
 Dixie St John1907-76  
 Elmvale Wycliffe Church1873-1975  
 Emily St James / St John[1840-1987]  
 Erindale St Peter1827-1975 microfilm  
 Fenelon Falls St James[1902-73]  
 Gore's Landing St George [1908-48]  
 Grafton St George[1844-1963]  
 Grahamsville St James baps 1862-85  
 Haliburton St George1869-1986  
 Hastings St George1862-1947  
 Haultain Holy Trinity1908-73  
 Holland Landing Christ Church / St Albans1905-50  
 Ivy Christ Church1863-1947  
 Kinmount St James1882-1976  
 Lakefield St John1855-1941  
 Lindsay St Paul1856-83  
 Lorne Park St Paul1932-71  
 Manvers St Mary1857-1967  
 Maple St Stephens1833-1981  
 Maple Lake St Peter1911-66  
 Markham Grace1053-76  
 Medonte St George[1883-1962]  
 Midland St Mark1885-1963  
 Mono St John marriages 1866-69

Mono East St Paul1861-1951  
 Mono Mills St John marriages 1896-1921  
 Mulmur [1892-1947]  
 Newcastle St George1846-1955  
 Newmarket St Paul1838-1920  
 North Essa 1853-1947  
 Oshawa Holy Trinity[1948-64]  
 Palgrave St Alban1881-1958  
 Penetanguishene St James1835-78  
 Perrytown St Paulmarriages 1905-66  
 Peterborough St John1833-1917 microfilm / TVA  
 Peterborough St Luke1853-1976  
 Pickering St George1850-1953  
 Port Hope St John[1819-1985]  
 Port Perry Ascension1871-1948  
 Price's Corners St Lukemarriages 1899-1931  
 Rosedale St John1944-71  
 Shanty Bay St Thomas1839-1936  
 Stayner Good Shepherd1887-1977  
 Stony Lake St Peter1896-1951  
 Stouffville Christ Church[1888-1921]  
 Streetsville Trinity[1921-39]  
 Sunderland St Marymarriages 1897-1925  
 Tecumseth St John1833-94  
 Thornhill Holy Trinity1831-1975  
 Tottenham Christ Church1889-1959  
 Tullamore St Mary1890-1951  
 Unionville St Philip1819-1954  
 Vespra Christ Church1873-1913, 1956-70  
 Waverley St John1905-69  
 West Essa St Peter1874-1961  
 West Mono 1874-1954  
 Whitby All Saints1868-1979  
 Whitby St John1842-1975  
 Woodbridge Christ Church1850-82; 1941-74  
 Wyebridge Good Shepherd1908-45  
 Young's Point St Aidan[1925-58]

## Metropolitan Toronto

St Agnes, Long Branch 1920-81  
 St Aidan 1906-87  
 St Alban the Martyr 1887-1973  
 All Saints 1872-1956  
 All Souls Lansing [1951-76]  
 St Andrew Todmorden marriages 1920-36  
 St Andrew-by-the-lake, Toronto Island 1884-1957  
 St Anne 1838-1988  
 Ascension Don Mills 1954-75  
 Ascension [1875-1934]  
 St Augustine of Canterbury 1903-77  
 St Barnabas Chester [1904-84]  
 St Barnabas Halton [1940-56]  
 St Bartholomew 1874-1946  
 St Bede 1929-83  
 Calvary [1917-70]  
 Christ Church Deer Park 1871-1981  
 Christ Church Mimico 1827-60; marriages 1929-32  
 Christ Church Scarborough 1843-1956  
 St Clement Eglinton [1920-40]  
 St Clement Riverdale 1889-1970  
 Comforter 1925-71  
 St Crispin [1921-61]  
 St Cyrian 1891-1957  
 St David Donlands [1906-12; 1941-70]  
 St Dunstan 1923-82  
 St Edmund-the-Martyr 1907-76  
 St Edward the Confessor West Hill 1962-84  
 Emmanuel, Hanlon's Point Toronto Island [1906-38]  
 Epiphany Parkdale 1888-1983  
 St George-the-Martyr 1847-1965  
 St George-on-the-hill Islington 1890-1969  
 St George Scarborough [1953-83]  
 St George Willowdale 1920-71  
 Good Samaritan baptisms [1961-69]  
 Grace-Church-on-the-hill lists 1941-60  
 Holy Trinity 1846-1982  
 Church of the Incarnation Scarborough [1922-74]  
 St James Cathedral 1800-1983 mfm  
 St John the Baptist Norway 1851-74

St John the Evangelist Garrison [1908-80]  
 St John Weston [1968-81]  
 St Jude the Apostle Roncesvalles 1890-1977  
 St Jude Wexford 1849-1975  
 St Luke East York 1870-1972  
 Spadina Avenue  
 St Margaret [1890-1907]  
 West Hill St Margaret-in-the-Pines 1948-85  
 Parkdale St Mark the Evangelist 1877-1947  
 St Martin's-in-the-field 1891-1980  
 St Mary the Virgin 1888-1965  
 Bellwoods St Matthias 1873-1960  
 Church of the Messiah 1889-1976  
 St Michael And All Angels 1908-51  
 St Monica 1907-62  
 Church of the Nativity 1923-76  
 Birchcliff St Nicholas 1912-68  
 Newtonbrook St Patrick 1954-67  
 microfilm  
 L'Amoreux St Paul 1843-1945  
 Carlton Street  
 St Peter 1923-76  
 Scarborough St Peter 1956-82  
 St Philip-the-Apostle 1942-71  
 Etobicoke St Philip 1831-70  
 Spadina Ave St Philip 1875-1946  
 Church of the Redeemer 1871-1976  
 Reformed Episcopal Church marriages 1896-1942  
 St Simon The Apostle 1887-1973  
 Highland Cr St Simon [1925-84]  
 St Stephen-in-the-fields 1858-1984  
 Downsview St Stephen 1954-79  
 Agincourt St Timothy 1912-86  
 Trinity East [1908-69]

## Don Cournoyea Collection

*Peterborough Examiner,*  
 30 October 1909

### PETERBOROUGH'S DEER HUNTERS OFF TO THEIR FAVOURITE TRAILS

#### Will be ready for the Opening of the Season on Monday Morning – Where Local Enthusiasts Will Follow the Monarchs of the Forest

Monday, the first of November is the official opening of the deer shooting season which will be ushered in with the baying of hounds and reechoing rifle reports in the unbroken wilds of the northern country. Peterborough's sporting fraternity have been leaving in groups during the past few days and by to-night they will all be gone. A long cold drive and a rest to-morrow in preparation for an early start on Monday morning and then with the dawn of the morrow the curtain will be wrung up. The weather is inviting and the prospects are of the best. The nights, however, are too cold, and in consequence the creeks and bays of the lakes are frozen up every morning, and it is said the ice has not disappeared before the noon-day sun. A little finer weather and the conditions could not be improved upon.

#### Battle Lake Party

One of the happiest parties that leave Peterborough is that which makes its headquarters on the shore of Battle Lake. It is composed on Dr C.H. Amys, Messrs Gus Corcoran, M. O'Brien, Arthur Head, J.E.A. Fitzgerald, M. Blewett, W. Weatherlake, and J. Stabler. They not only have plenty of sport but their evenings are spent pleasantly and as a male chorus they would do credit to a Schubert production. Battle Lake still re-echoes with last year's favourite, "Every Little Bit Added, etc." and this hist will be one of the most popular of the party's rather limited repertoire.

Mr J.B. Laroque has gone to Parry Sound where he will hunt with a Toronto party. They still go in for big game and all guesses are wrong if "Bat" does not bring down a moose.

Ketchum Lake

Up on the shore of Ketchum Lake there is a cosy lodge which has accommodated the usual party on many previous occasions, and will again be the mecca of a number of the "bunch." Among those who went back this year are Messrs G.W. Morrow, W.T. Hall, L. Hall, E.F. Mason, R. Munro, R. Gibbs, G.W. Burnett and R. Stuart.

Eastwood Party

Messrs W. Long, C. Harkimey, F. Sargent, H. Brundrette, T. Eastwood, and I. Eastwood left last night for Stoney Creek and expect to bring home as many of the antlered family as the law allows.

The Gladman Ray party and the R. Neill party will hunt in the Parry Sound district. They are no on their way to their favourite hunting grounds.

To Eagle Lake

Messrs Chas. Gunsolus, C. West, B. White, A.G. Carruthers, C. Gunn, and C. Mitchell, of the Eagle Lake Hunt Club left shortly after six o'clock this morning for Eagle Lake, where they will deer hunt for the next two weeks.

The following licenses for deer hunting have been issued by Col. Miller. Wm. Tedford, Jos. Tedford, R. Tedford, R. Hamblin, Steven Miller, Warsaw; J. Heskett, Lambton; J.M. Bradley, N.H. Bradley, Smith; L. Fife, Otonabee; R. Neill, G. Coleman, G.W. Henderson, Chas. Gladman, P.A. Kerr, S. Ray, T. Best, J. Bennett, N. Barnard, J.D. Collins, Robert Munroe, R. Waddell, W.H. Stroud; R.H. Jackson, F. Brownscombe, John Brightman, Andy Miller, Wm. Gill, Matthew Lambe, Peterborough; Arthur Hendren, R. Bell, Warsaw; C. Curtis, A.E. Curtis, J.H. Maybee, R. Haw, Robert A. Miller, C. Norslick, H. Larocque, B. O'Dette, M. McFadden, J.S. Waldron, George Metcalfe, D. Evans, J.G. Bothwell, W. Bothwell, G. Morrow, J.A. Morrow, Peterborough; N.J. Curtis, Northumberland; G. Bull, A. Bull, George Hoey, H.C. Winch, E.F. Mason, Wm. J. Miller, Amos Sherin, Frank Sherin, Lewis Fowler, Chas. Butcher and A.G. Carruthers.

**FIFTY YEARS AGO:  
FIREFIGHTERS AND  
THE ZACKS FIRE, 1951**

*Don Willcock*

The Zacks Department Store fire, the second-deadliest blaze in Peterborough history occurred fifty years ago, on 19 and 20 May 1951.

Peterborough has had several notable fires including the Chartrain Saloon fire (1861); the Dickson Mill blaze that destroyed the mill and 2 million feet of lumber (1855); the Blythe Mills complex burned twice (1864 and 1873); the Quaker Oats disaster (1916); the Neill Shoe Co. fire (1918); the Zacks blaze (1951); the Empress Hotel fire (1958); the Trent University Bookstore blaze (1984). In the worst fire, the grain dust explosion and inferno that levelled the Quaker Oats plant on 11 December 1916, killed 22 workers.

At 5:30 a.m., Saturday, 19 May, Police Constable Douglas Farthing, on foot patrol in an alley behind George Street near Hunter, saw a second-storey window "blow out", after which smoke and flames "spewed out into the alley and up the walls". He sounded the alarm and then roused occupants of the front apartments. The constable told the *Examiner* that an elderly lady tenant thought he was joking and went back to bed; he then "just about knocked the door off waking her the second time".

In *My Town -- My Memories*, Clare Galvin, who lived in an apartment across George Street from the Zacks building, recalls being awakened about 6 a.m. by a fire truck. "Within one hour, the entire fire brigade was on our block and the police had cordoned off the area." Russ Baer, CHEX radio manager, used the Galvins' apartment as a base for his technical crew, headed by TVA member Frank Schoales. Frank's stories of that day are fascinating: the crowds (about 7,000 by day's end); how a young boy on a bicycle was his courier taking filled recording disks to the station (then at Hunter and Water) for "live" broadcast; hanging a microphone out a window to catch the fire scene sounds. Frank has donated some of those record disks to the TVA -- you can hear the fire crackling and firefighters yelling. The first

trucks on the scene were two aerial trucks and three pumbers. For two days, the whole Peterborough Fire Department was turned out and Smith Township's new volunteer brigade was on stand-by in case of other fires. Peterborough Chief George Smith commented to the *Examiner* "I wouldn't ask any of my men to go where I wouldn't go.", and he and Assistant Chief Stewart Foster led in the first hose line.

A thick grey-yellow smoke cloud, estimated to be three miles wide, spread from downtown to the city's northwest. The fire jumped a firewall and reached the upper floors of the next-door Braund building. A series of "heavy explosions" rained glass and burning debris onto firefighters. Still, the fire was deemed under control by 9:30 a.m.; only a couple of firefighters had minor injuries. From the front, the brick, four-storey Zacks building appeared not to be badly damaged; from the rear, it was only a shell.

As firefighters were "damping down" to prevent re-ignition from hidden pockets of fire (within walls, under eaves, on rooves, etc.), tragedy struck! At 10 a.m., "two charred upper floors cracked and fell from above to where they were working on the ground floor". The force of the collapse sent glass across George Street, scattering onlookers. Seven men -- firefighters and volunteers -- were trapped on the ground floor by 15 feet of debris. Three managed to escape or be rescued, but four were killed: firemen Orville Rome, Grover Deck, George Reynolds, and Earl Spencely, a city florist.

As the ground was too unstable for earthmoving equipment, firefighters and citizens formed chains to remove rubble and recover victims. People even came from outside the city to help. The Salvation Army, under the energetic direction of Major Cyril Everitt, was on hand throughout the fire and rescue. The Churchill Restaurant contributed 125 gallons of coffee throughout the day. Other businesses sent over hamburgers and doughnuts. Red Cross workers and church volunteers made forty loaves of sandwiches for the rescue and recovery crews. Finally, Earl Spencely's body was removed at 3:15 a.m. on Sunday.

On Tuesday, 22 May, the largest public funeral in this city's memory was held for

the four dead men. St Paul's Presbyterian Church and its hall were both filled to overflowing, and about 2,500 people stood in Victoria Park listening on a PA speaker. City businesses closed. Workers building the new City Hall laid down their tools during the funeral. The chimes of St John's Anglican Church rang out and then were silenced for the service. A procession of 600 -- including Ontario's Fire Marshal and Deputy Marshal, nine Ontario fire chiefs, and firemen from 24 Ontario and Quebec brigades -- marched with the coffins to Little Lake Cemetery. The *Examiner* reports that Peterborough was silent for one-half hour, except for the sound of hundreds of feet marching and a lone piper playing "Flowers of the Forest." The three injured firefighters accompanied the procession in a car.

Thanks to the generosity of local and out-of-town people, groups, and businesses, over \$50,000 was raised to set up a trust fund for the Rome, Deck, Reynolds, and Spencely families. Firefighters, then as now, were admired immensely.

## Howard Pammett's Peterborough Irish : serialization, part seven Scott's Plains and Peterborough

[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. There has been considerable pertinent work on the study of immigration, settlement, family life, and Peterborough. We know consider-ably 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 seventh excerpt, Howard Pammett is concerned with the politics of supplying rations and locating people on the land. If we assume that those entitled to land are also entitled to rations, we should expect some similarities. Pammett is also able to compare what happened in the different townships, some tied to the earlier Robinson migration to Lanark county. Pammett also questions both the quantity and the choices of rations. He suggests that the British were not very alert to the peculiarities of Irish culture. It is possible that Pammett is too critical; much depends on which evidence is persuasive. However, Pammett's style is as ground-breaking as his analysis.*

*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 Seven: Locating & Supplying the Emigrants {171}

The location of the emigrants, by far the most troublesome and laborious part of the service, was completed before the winter commenced, and I had a small log house built for the head of each family on their respective lots...<sup>1</sup>

Robinson's official Report to the Colonial Office fades away at this point into vague generalities, without giving any particulars of this most important phase of the settlement. For the first time, Robinson shouldered the chief part of the burden of administration, as during the first 3 months Colonel Borke and most of my assistants were laid up with lake fever at Cobourg, and I had everything to see to. The surgeon (Reade) was obliged to remain there with the largest party, and those engaged with me in

building had not even the advantage of medical advice... during the first 6 months after I joined the emigrants in Canada, I was obliged to be so constantly with them and to attend personally to locating them, and to the laying out and opening roads through the different townships, and to get in a supply of provisions for them...."<sup>2</sup>

Yet he had at least four assistants in the actual work of location: Rubidge, McDonell, and two surveyors, John Smith and John Huston. Due to the many delays, it was not until late in October that Robinson reported to Horton that settlement of the emigrants upon their lands was well under way, in a letter to his brother of Oct. 21st.<sup>3</sup> Most were located by the middle of November, before the deep snows began, fortunately, but too late for anything but hibernation for the inexperienced Irish. Delays and mistakes were fast ruining the chances of success.

The location of the emigrants was and is shrouded in much mystery and little official information can be obtained concerning it. Charles Rubidge was in charge of locations in Otonabee:

In 1825 I assisted Mr. Robinson gratuitously in settling emigrants -- the township of Otonabee where I resided was given up entirely to me to locate...<sup>4</sup>

Nine years later he expanded this somewhat beyond the bounds of truth before the Lords Committee of 1847 on Colonization, when he said:

I assisted gratuitously and was allowed by Mr. Robinson to fill up all vacant locations in my own township Otonabee with part of his emigrants and any other settlers that applied...<sup>5</sup>

John Huston, the surveyor, was in charge of locations in Emily and {172} Ennismore (Gore of Emily), the hardest task of all. The following three letters from Robinson, found among the Huston papers, illustrated the part he played:

John Huston, Emily. Smith, Sept. 24, 1825. Sir, I should be glad that you would immediately begin to locate the emigrants in Emily. I shall send a small party to Cottenhams to meet you on Monday morning, and I will send by one of them the numbers of the vacant lots and such other information as I possess.<sup>6</sup>

John Huston, Esquire, Monaghan, Dec. 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1825.

The bearer Daniel Fitzpatrick with 2 or 3 more that were with you before, go out for the purpose of being located. These people are often misled by bad advisers, and no doubt in this instance these people were. However, as they now seem inclined to do something, it is best to encourage them. I am &c &c. Peter Robinson.<sup>7</sup>

John Huston, surveyor, Emily. Dec.... Dear Sir, Timothy Ryan, the bearer of this, says that his lot is bad, and he is desirous of getting the lot Daniel Fitzpatrick and son were located on. They refused it as bad and have given it up. If you have not promised it to any other person, I wish you to let him have it....By the next trip of the scow I will send you a good stove and crosscut saw. Your obedt. servant, Peter Robinson.<sup>8</sup>

In Smith township a certain McKibbon is mentioned as having located emigrants. In Asphodel township Birdsall, the surveyor, located numerous families. In Douro probably John Smith, surveyor, located many of the Irish. Besides these, a number of the former settlers who were hired to build shanties for the emigrants and to transport their baggage to these shanties were given the duty of showing them their lots also. No doubt the method of assigning lots to the emigrants varied in different townships, and no authoritative information is available about it, but the following account, by the son of one of the emigrants who came out as a boy, is at least interesting:

The surveyor put the numbers of the lots on a blaze on the corner trees. Then Mr. Robinson put the numbers of the vacant lots on pieces of paper in a tall hat, and the Oirishmen pulled out the numbers of their lots one by one. When 5 or 6 were pulled out thus, they sent a guide with them thru the woods over a blazed trail to their lots. This pilot brought the immigrants to their lots and said "That's yer lot, Pat."<sup>9</sup>

Naturally there was much bartering of lots so that relatives and friends might have lots close together. Sometimes too a small group was sent out with a guide, as Huston, and the latter was given a map on which were marked the lots which the emigrants

might settle, and then each was allowed to choose his own. {173} Those who had been well recommended on the voyage to Kingston were given the best locations: the broken lots which were larger than the regular 100 acres, or on a road closer to town or on a good site by lake or stream. We shall notice later some of the mistakes.

Each head of a family was given 100 acres upon which to do settlement duty, and usually the sons over 18 years were each given the same amount, close to their parents, so that of the 307 families brought out to Canada, while only about 285 families were settled in the Newcastle District, 407 locations were given in the district. Another 12 locations were made in the Ottawa district, of the 67 who had been allowed to go there.<sup>10</sup> The reason for giving land to all men over 18 years can readily be seen, in the light of future events. Horton was able to talk glibly to the Emigration Committees of the "415 families of Irish" rescued from misery and settled in Upper Canada,<sup>11</sup> and all was seemingly successful. It gave the appearance of 415 families of about five persons each, a total of 2100 persons, the basis upon which the calculations of expense were made. Horton even had the audacity to speak in Parliament in 1827 of the "1200 families" induced to emigrate in 1825 successfully!<sup>12</sup> The cost of the expedition when divided among the actual number of families brought from Ireland and settled upon lands in Upper Canada, about 290, presents a very different story from that so persuasively told by Horton.

Roads were hastily cut through the forests to the new townships surrounding the village, and a few teams of oxen and horses were purchased by Robinson to transport the emigrants' baggage and utensils to their shanties. Most of the teams were hired from the former settlers of the neighbourhood and of the townships south of Rice Lake, who also were given contracts to erect shanties on the lots. Rubidge had already begun the construction of the first good road to the settlement, from Bannister's Point on {174} Rice Lake, north through Otonabee and the present village of Keene(or a branch) up past Rubidge's property to the village of Peterborough. Mrs. Stewart had written on 5 April 1824:

We are much shut up by want of good roads, but next winter the new one through Otonabee to Rice Lake will be

really finished... I understand a tide of settlers is to set in next autumn.<sup>13</sup>

On both counts she was a year ahead of time, for the settlers did not come until September 1825, and the road was not finished until the end of the year:

To Hon. P. Robinson. Woodland Cottage, Nov.10,1825. Dear Sir, As the Road is now advancing pretty rapidly toward you and is now ready to be level'd in the neighbourhood of the settlers just located, permit me to request that they may be all warned to assemble on Monday next with spades and shovels. As Mr. John Sargent (an emigrant) will be much benefited by the road and is as forward as any of his neighbours, you will probably with me see the advantage of his being directed to oversee the party.<sup>14</sup> I trust Mr Stewart will not fail us with his oxen. I will take the first safe opportunity of returning you the cash you were kind enough to pay for me. With much regard, I am, Dear Sir, Very truly yours, Charles Rubidge.<sup>15</sup>

In 1847 Rubidge mentioned this road..

They had even to cut a road from my house up to Peterborough 9 miles to get provisions up there but they had to convey provisions up in winter when the waters were bound with ice, and they depended on this road which was cut out after their arrival..<sup>16</sup>

This reveals the motive for completing the road from Rice Lake before the winter ice bound the Otonabee river.

Other roads were cut east through Douro and Otonabee. The former went northeast to the present village of Warsaw, and the latter went directly east from Peterborough through northern Otonabee and Asphodel townships to the present village of Norwood. A trail was cut north along the west bank of the Otonabee river, whose impassable condition 7 years later reduced the Trails almost to despair. The Communication Road northwest through Smith to Chemong(Mud) Lake was already well-established by the earlier settlers. The emigrants located in Emily, Ops and Ennismore went to Chemong Lake over this road, and were taken across the lake to Cottingham's landing in a second scow, built like the original one which plied up and down the Otonabee. Settlers for the north part of Smith were also taken out the

Communication Road and north by scow along Chemong Lake to their {175} lots. Another trail was cut directly west from Peterborough along Smith Street, running along the base line between North Monaghan and Smith townships. Farther south a road ran south and west through Monaghan and Cavan and Emily. Thus 7 roads and the southern reaches of the Otonabee river stretched forth like spokes of a wheel from the hub, which was the depot at Scott's Plains, fast growing into a thriving village. Besides these, there were the concession roads branching off, cut by the settlers on each lot as part of their settlement duties, which were opened out more quickly than ever after the great accession to the population of the district in 1825.

Contracts were let by Robinson for the building of a shanty on each lot for the emigrants. The average cost was \$10 per shanty,<sup>17</sup> and many of the former experienced settlers made much money at this, as two experienced axemen could build a shanty in two days. Robert Harrison, an early settler in Asphodel, told how they were built:

"Early in the summer of 1825 William Fortune had been awarded a government contract for erection of log shanties for the families of Robinson's immigration, who were to be located in the township of Asphodel. I was then in my 10th year of age, and living with Fortune, the owner of the only horse in Asphodel.... It was during the erection of these log shanties that the knowledge of how to feed, ride and drive a horse stood me in good stead, for as Fortune cut the log I with the faithful horse hauled everyone of them to their proper places to be used in building, and with long chains and a "rolling hitch" assisted on skids in placing them on the walls of the shanties under construction..."<sup>18</sup>

This is the only statement asserting that building of shanties was begun before the arrival of the emigrants, and for that reason is important, but it cannot be considered as authoritative, as it was written in 1902, after a length of time in which the keenest memory might falter. As we shall see, contemporary observers complained that no preparation was made for the settlers, and that consequently too much had to be done to support them until they could be started

on their way independently. This was one of the gravest causes of failure in the first and also in the second Hortonian "experiments" in assisted emigration.

{176} Some of the more industrious emigrants, who had had previous experience in carpentering and felling trees, either in Ireland or in erecting the Government buildings at the depot, built their own shanties, and were given the \$10 by Robinson as recompense<sup>19</sup>. P.G. Towns, a Douro descendant noted:

The first part of their work was to clear a small space to erect a shanty built of logs and thatched with wild grass and balsam boughs, which served for shelter until they could get something better. Later they put in a fireplace which consisted of a very large chimney with an arch at the bottom on which was a crane on which they hung a pot to do their cooking. Those who were fortunate to have a shanty large enough erected a bed by boring two holes in the wall, then driving stakes in them and propping them upon the outside, then covering them with homemade planks. On top of this they placed grasses and cedar boughs for a mattress, and made pillows from down of bulrushes gathered from neighbouring marshes. This being done, they brought their wives and families...<sup>20</sup>

The standard shanty erected satisfied the minimum requirements of the settlement duty, viz. 20 by 18 feet, but this rule was never enforced strictly, least of all with the Irish emigrants. Captain Hall, visiting the settlement in 1827 described a typical emigrant shanty which was rather smaller.

The dimensions of this particular dwelling were 20 by 12 by 7 feet high. The roof was formed of logs split into 4 lengths, then hollowed out and laid with the concave and convex sides alternately upwards, so as to overlap like long tiles, sloping from the ridge to the eaves, so that each alternate log formed a gutter to carry off the rain. The openings between the logs forming the walls were closed by mud and moss mixed together, and sometimes these shanties had a window, some-times not...The size of the shanties put up at the expense of Government may be conceived .... two men accustomed to the use of the axe can manage to cut down the trees, prepare the logs, put them up, roof the house,

and complete the whole in 2 days.<sup>21</sup>

Mrs Traill, writing of these shanties in 1832, expanded the description:

The shanty is a sort of primitive hut in Canadian architecture, and is nothing more than a shed of logs, the chinks between the round edges of the timbers being filled with moss, mud, and bits of wood.... The eaves of this building resemble the scalloped edges of a clam shell; but rude as this covering is, it effectually answers the purpose of keeping the interior dry; far more so than roofs formed of bark or boards, through which the rain will find entrance. Sometimes the shanty has a window, sometimes only an open doorway which admits the light and lets out the smoke...A rude chimney which often is nothing better than an opening cut in one of the top logs above the hearth, a few boards fastened in a square form, serves as vent for the smoke; the only precaution against the fire catching the log walls behind the hearth being a few large stones placed in a half-circular form, or more commonly a bank of clay raised against {177} the wall. Nothing can be more comfort-less than some of these shanties, reeking with smoke and dirt, the common receptacle of children, pigs and fowls. But I have given you the dark side of the picture; I am happy to say that all the shanties were not like these; on the contrary, by far the larger proportion were inhabited by tidy folks, and had one or even two small windows, and a clay chimney built up through the roof; some were even roughly floored, and possessed similar comforts with the small log houses...<sup>22</sup>

Many of the Irish made their shanties more like those in Ireland by putting sods around the lower part of the outside walls and on the roof, plastering the outside walls with a thick coating of mud, and putting bark or branches on the roof. David Conroy says:

When my grandfather built his shanty in Douro in 1825, he built it in a hollow, with troughs on the roof. When my father built his own house on the same lot after he married, he built it on a hill and roofed it with shingles....<sup>23</sup>

That suggests the emigration was a success as far as the welfare of the emigrants was concerned. No settler could be successful

until he abandoned useless experiences of other regions and humbly learned the modes suited to the new settlement; from the harshness of their previous experience and existence the transition was easy for the Irish, and on the other hand the former ease and luxury enjoyed by the "gentlemen" settlers made them hostile to any change, and too conceited to learn from experienced former settlers. Fortunately for the Peterborough district, the efforts of this class to make it into a colonial version of an English or Irish county of landed estates with subservient peasant labourers failed completely. That failure, and the consequent prosperity of the district, as opposed to the prosperity of a few large landowners, is entirely to the credit of the poorer more industrious settlers, especially the "turbulent" peasants "transported" from Ireland.

The actual location of the settlers upon their lots was a very difficult affair, from which in Robinson's confused and vague accounts it is almost impossible to draw authentic conclusions. Many of the heads of families died, and the lots were located by sons or by the widow and family; other men cheerfully changed their names for some unknown reason, with no more explanation than the disappearance {178} of one name from the records and the sudden appearance of another; some sons over 18 were given lots for themselves while others were not, with no reasons attached; many of the men had identical names. Some of the men given lots were apparently strangers picked up in Canada; some of the heads of families wandered away without getting locations, and came back later to claim them; some of those located left without settling upon them, and came back later or sent their sons; some of them were put by mistake on pre-empted lots or reserves and had to be given other lots years afterwards; others were given lots too swampy for settlement, and had to be given others later; some were given scrip for land which they either sold or chose in other parts of Upper Canada. There were several conflicting lists of locations, and the maps of the townships provide alternatives with irritating frequency. The Irish were often settled on lots already located and abandoned, for which the original locatees had a disconcerting knack of turning up several years later and proving the lots legally theirs, attracted by

the improved value of lands in the district after 1825. Some idea of the complexity of the problem can be gathered from the fact that as late as 1836 at least one of the emigrants wrote asking Robinson to locate him on a lot, and the other fact that the last fiat(for patent) for a lot granted to an Irish emigrant of 1825 was issued in 1862.

A study of the location of the Irish emigrants reveals thoroughly the real reasons why Robinson's Report to the Colonial Office ended with a few vague generalities concerning the location of the emigrants and their subsequent progress. The "Return of Irish Emigrant Settlers sent to Upper Canada at the Expense of His Majesty's Government and Located in the District of Newcastle under the Superintendence of the Honourable Peter Robinson", was submitted by Robinson on 30 October 1835, with this letter:

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office, Oct.30,1835. Sir, I have the honor to transmit herewith to you, a list of the Irish emigrants located by me in the year 1825, which I beg may be submitted to the Honourable the Executive Council in order that the necessary authority may be given for the deeds to issue to the respective persons therein named. All were located as of date Nov. 24th, 1825.... Peter Robinson. To His Excellency the Lieut. Governor.<sup>24</sup>

{179} Carelessness and inefficiency and extravagance in the "experiment" now became rampant. Wholesale deception and deliberate fraud was widely evident. The number of fraudulent locations casually and carefully scattered through the list indicate that deliberate attempts were made to deceive the British Parliament. While Robinson must bear the blame, there is evidence that Horton ordered these frauds and that the provincial authorities in Upper Canada approved .

Four hundred and twenty-two locations were made in November 1825, in the townships of Smith, Emily, Gore of Emily, Douro, Otonabee, Asphodel, Marmora, Ops, Goulburn, Ramsay, and Huntley. They were divided as follows:

Heads of Irish Emigrant families in Peterboro district .....	224
Ottawa district.....	8
... given Scrip Certificates.....	1

----	----
Sons of Irish Emigrant families(with a few brothers)18 & over.....	132
" 18 & over, given Scrip cert's.....	2
" 17 years of age, given lots.....	4
" under 17 yrs. in Pet. district.....	4
" " " " " Ottawa " .....	3
----	----
	145
----	----
Widows of Irish Emigrant Heads of Families, given lots.....	0
Others not brought from Ireland, or brought under false names.....	38
" " " " .given scrip certif.	1
----	----
	39
----	----
Number of extra second lots given, to heads of families.....	3
" " sons of emigrants.....	2
----	----
TOTAL LOCATIONS.....	422 <sup>25</sup>

Thus of the 307 heads of families brought from Ireland, only 232 received regular locations. Besides these, there were 132 regular locations of sons of 18 years and over, with a few brothers. The 4 locations of boys of 17 years might be considered proper, supposing they had reached their 18th birthday between May and November 1825. Of 422 locations, therefore, only 368 could be called regular and sound according to the terms upon which the emigrants were brought out.

Twelve of the locations were made in the Ottawa district, 8 by heads of families, 3 by sons of emigrants below 17 years, and one by {180} a non-emigrant, only the first 8 being regular locations. Of the 54 irregular locations, 7 were to sons of emigrants below 17 years, 38 were to persons taken in in Canada or brought out under false names, 4 were scrip certificates for land, and 5 were for extra lots. The 75 heads of families who did not get locations were as follows: 9 died before location, 9 widows, 4 settled in Lower Canada, 4 deserted, 4 given no locations but given fiats for lots later without being located in 1825, 1 given scrip certificate for land, 44 others not recorded in any account. The last three groups, consisting of 49 heads of families, who apparently either never reached the Scott's Plain depot, or left soon after arrival. Five later made claims for land; 4 were given patents and one, a scrip

certificate.

Many of the "families" put together by the Irish landlords for purposes of emigration now quickly disintegrated. Some 132 sons 18 years and over were given locations, but 44 others were not given locations. They probably went to other parts of Canada or to the United States to get work. Of these, only seven later returned to obtain patents for lots, and two more were given script for land. In the absence of records, it seems they were not located because of desertion, death or crime; after all, Robinson had been so eager to get enough locations to make up the "415 families" that Horton demanded be located in Upper Canada.

The fraud, as distinguished from mere inefficiency, becomes apparent when we turn to the 38 lots given to men not on the list of emigrants brought from Ireland. It is possible to identify that a few of these came out under false names, in families where perhaps they were betrothed to a daughter. For example, Maurice Casey, 26 years of age, came out in James Casey's family and was involved in a fight and dismissed, but turned up in the list of locatees as Morris Clancy, and was given a lot in Douro beside James Casey; another man who came out as {181} Michael Maddigan. He became Bartholomew Kenely in Canada and married Mary Maddigan, and was given a lot in Emily beside his wife's father. John Regan with wife and two children, became in Canada Thomas Shenick, and one of his children who was brought out as a girl Abigail, and noted on the shiplists as "alias William, victualled as a female, suspicious" became in Canada a boy outright! Another man who came out as Michael Sweeney, with wife and 6 children, became in Canada Michael Sullivan and was given a lot; John Pope, who came out with his brother's family married Ellen Foley when her husband died, and took the name Patrick Foley and obtained 2 grants, one as John Pope and one as Patrick Foley, as well as the one which was given to Ellen as widow of William Foley. These were a few of the newcomers into the settlement.

Many others were men who joined the expedition between Quebec and Cobourg, and were recorded as such. Most of the newcomers, however, seem to have been either strangers picked up in Canada to fill up the required list of locations, or friends

of Robinson and other officials, or former settlers in the neighbourhood who desired lots, or merely names inserted in the lists to get the lots and to make up the required number of locations. When some of the Irish died, their widows wasted no time in marrying other men, often former settlers, who thus obtained locations in the "experiment." For example, Norah Fowke, whose husband died in the autumn of 1825, married Timothy Cronin in June 1826, and he was given a lot. It will be charitable to assume that most of these 38 fraudulent locations were given to false emigrants, to friends and relatives of the Irish emigrants who managed to find passage money to come out unassisted during the summer of 1825,<sup>26</sup> or to former settlers who married into emigrant families. We cannot condone the deception practised in including them among the Irish emigrant families who were given locations, provisions, and supplies. It was intended to make the "experiment" {182} appear extremely successful to Horton's Emigration Committees.

It is improbable that Robinson would have engaged in such fraud without being expressly ordered to do so by Horton. He made no attempt to cover up the deception in the accounts, perhaps because he could not do so, or else counted upon the apathy of the public. Canadian authorities were too deeply concerned in corrupt land speculation and patronage themselves to object to a mere 5400 acres falsely located in the name of the British emigration "experiment." Any rumours of corruption were hushed long before they reached London. Mackenzie and the few others who attacked the whole scheme, as we shall see, claimed many of the emigrants were deserting to the United States, and criticized the type of emigrant and the extravagance. Although they suspected the whole land system of being filled with corruption, they had no inkling of this wholesale deception.

There are several other points on which the location of the emigrants may be criticized and censured. Except for those who died or deserted, all heads of families over 45 years of age, whose tickets of passage were distinctly marked by Robinson "To get no land in Canada", were nevertheless given lots. Of these 25 given locations, only half lived to get patents for their lots 9 years or more later, and the lots went to their sons. Another direct violation of the Regulations

on which the emigration had been founded consisted of the locations given to 7 sons of emigrants below the age of 17 years. Several other sons recorded as having settled in Lower Canada were also given lots in the new settlement. Three heads of families were given two lots apiece for location, and two sons of emigrants the same. Several others were given a whole lot (200 acres) instead of the regular half-lot of 100 acres. {183} This was justified by their assistance in saving the transport which grounded, manning the pumps, siding in cooking and distributing provisions, erecting the government depot buildings, distributing rations and utensils, and other such duties. One head of a family was given a scrip certificate by which he could choose his location anywhere in Upper Canada or sell it at will, and two sons of emigrants were given the same privilege. These minor variations from the general rule could be condoned if there had not been the larger frauds. Other objectionable and questionable phases of the location will arise as the rationing and patent-granting are discussed later. There was an entire lack of method, impartiality, efficiency, and ability in the location and maintenance of the emigrants of 1825, and in accounting for them. That one-seventh of the locations were fraudulent, with a corresponding increase in the rations, supplies and other assistance given, made the "experiment" correspondingly expensive by just about the same amount by which the total cost exceeded the sums voted by Parliament for the emigration of 1825. Thus Horton's trickery recoiled to the destruction of his assisted-emigration scheme, in trying to bolster it up, and ended all chance of its wider application in the succeeding decades.

The Irish settlers were located in townships as follows: Emily 142, Ennismore 67, Otonabee 52, Douro 60, Asphodel 36, Smith 33, Marmora 11, Ops 7, Ramsay 5, Goulburn 4, Huntley 3: TOTAL: 420.<sup>27</sup> The last 12 locations totalling 67 persons, were in the three townships in the Ottawa district (Bathurst) where the 1823 emigrants had located. The 408 locations in the eight townships of the district north of Rice Lake will be discussed in more detail by townships, especially the five townships which were later in Peterborough County: Smith, Ennismore, Douro, Otonabee, and Asphodel. Except for Marmora, somewhat

to the east, the other seven townships were near the towns of Peterborough and Lindsay. It is difficult to explain the 11 locations in Marmora, when much vacant land was left after 1825 in the 7 townships where the main body of emigrants were located.

In EMILY township 142 "families" were located, chiefly by John Huston, the surveyor. They totalled about 604 persons, but in the absence of definite records of deaths, marriages, and births among the emigrants, no exact numbers can be authoritatively compiled. There were numerous settlers previous to 1825 in the first 6 southern concessions, chiefly Protestants from the north of Ireland. The Robinson settlers were located mostly in the back concessions from the 7th to the 12th, only a few being placed in the southern half among the earlier settlers. They were mostly taken to their locations out the Communication Road, up Chemong and Buckhorn Lakes, across Pigeon Lake, and down Pigeon Creek, by a Government scow.<sup>28</sup> Most of the few Protestant families among the Irish emigrants were located in the southern concessions of Emily, to avoid religious strife.<sup>29</sup>

In OPS township to the west of Emily, were settled 7 "families" of about 30 persons. These were conveyed by the same route as those settled in Emily, under John Huston, and were located in the 10th and 11th concessions. There was little or no previous settlement in this township, and none after until 1829 under Colborne's regime, but the emigrants were close to the earlier settlers in Emily and Cavan. The townplot of Lindsay was later surveyed and settlement begun, in the middle of Ops township.<sup>30</sup>

ENNISMORE township (until 1827 the Gore of Emily) wherein were settled 67 "families" of about 297 persons, was the most thoroughly Irish and Roman Catholic of any townships, as its first settlers were Robinson's emigrants in 1825, it having been surveyed for their settlement especially in that summer. Except for clergy and crown reserves, {185} and surveyors' lands, it was settled first by the emigrants, who were taken out the Communication Road through Smith and directly across Chemong Lake by scow. They were located on all the concessions from the 2nd to the 11th. As the Government scow touched the

Ennismore shore after its trip across the lake with the first group of settlers, Patrick Gallivan jumped to the bank and exclaimed: "Behold, gentlemen, I am the first settler in Ennismore!"<sup>31</sup> the settler farthest to the north, Garratt Gallivan, was settled on the narrows between Pigeon and Buckhorn Lakes, in the 11th concession. He and the other settlers in the northern end of Ennismore found it most convenient to go to Peterborough down Buckhorn and Chemong Lakes by boat, and along the Communication Road. There was much friction caused in the early years by a mistake in the township survey, as revealed in a petition later: "...there was a mistake committed in the survey of every lot in the 4th conc. of said township, which left the south half of each lot more than 100 acres...the mistake commences on petitioner's half-lot, south of lot 1 in 4th, in the manner laid down in the enclosed sketch of the lot. When the township was first surveyed, the conc. line between 3rd and 4th concs run as the line D.H. being right at the boundary for about 30 rods towards B, then it strikes off according to the dotted line to the post at H. Then at the time of settling said township, shanties had been built by Government on this mistaken tract, and settlers placed in them, who knew very little about either ports or lines, only to commence working where they were stationed. Some years after when this mistake was discovered, and the surveyor brought to account for his mistake, he then came and surveyed it the second time and run the line as B.D., but as all the settlers' labour and industry was on this mistaken tract, and it being no error of theirs, it was concluded to let it remain as it was according to the first survey...Petitioner always considered that as Firhey (Patrick Trihy on north half of lot 1 in 4th con.) had his full hundred acres without any mistake, which was more than he was promised or expected and an emigrant(?), that he should not encroach on any part of his, and if he had any right to any part of the overplus of land, let him go to where it lay for it, and not meddle with that very identical tract which petitioner's deed covers...James Brenan."<sup>32</sup> These emigrants were located by surveyor John Huston and other former settlers. By comparing their progress with that of emigrants settled in other townships among English, and Scots, in a later chapter, we will be able to see whether the Irish prospered more when settled among other groups.

In SMITH township only 33 "families" of emigrants were settled, {186} about 135 persons. This township, like Asphodel and Otonabee, was already partially settled, and so fewer emigrants were placed therein than in Ennismore and Douro, which had few or no settlers before 1825. They were mostly placed in the northern concessions between 11th and 13th, while a few were placed in the south between 1st and 7th concessions. Several of them were placed on lots which had been located before and abandoned, and this caused much trouble later on as the following letters indicate:

"To Wm. Chewett, Acting-Surveyor-General, York 12th Feb. 1830. Sir, I beg to acquaint you that I located one of the Irish settlers under my superintendence in 1825 on lot 20 in 7th con. Smith in consequence of finding it with no settlement duty done upon it. As James Roseborough was located on it originally and now claims it, I am of opinion that he should be allowed to locate the south half of 26 in 10th Smith as it appears vacant...P. Robinson."

"Hon. Peter Robinson, York. Cobourg 25th March 1828. My Dear Sir, Since writing you this afternoon, a person has called on me who holds a location ticket for the 35th lot in 12th conc. of Smith, on which one of the Youngs was located in 1825, although I find that Young has made his improvements on 36 and 37 on the river, where he says he was placed thro mistake of McKibbon, the person employed to locate him. As I understand the person holding the location ticket has gone to York to see you, I have thought proper to suggest that lots 35-6-7 if disposable, be withheld until Young, who is a very good settler, should be confirmed in his location. Young intends erecting a sawmill this summer. The location ticket is dated June 1826, some months after our locating the settler... A.McDonell"<sup>33</sup>

Those in the northern part of Smith were taken up to their lots up a trail cut north along the west bank of the Otonabee through the thick forest, and others out the Communication Road and up Chemong Lake by boat to the same part. The most northerly was Patrick Bourke, a non-

emigrant settled as one of the Irish by Robinson, on the east half of lot 43 in 14th concession, and who did not remain on his land, like many others who were far removed from the depot and from markets.

In DOURO township were settled 60 "families" of about 254 persons. This township, like Ennismore, had few settlers before the Irish came about the only ones being Thomas Stewart, Robert Reid, and two of their friends who came in 1824-5, Captain John Armstrong and Sidney Bellingham. Stewart and Reid gave up their monopoly of the township {187} supposedly in 1825, that Robinson might settle emigrants therein, but this gesture was not so disinterested as they alleged, as Stewart and Reid in three years had done nothing to settle the township, and in 1825 were almost decided to abandon their lands there because of lack of schools and markets and civilization. Robinson even requested Stewart to give up one of his lots that two emigrant families might be settled thereon, a strange request when there was the whole township to settle them in:

"Major Hillier, York. Douro, June 17, 1827. Sir, When Mr. Robinson arrived here in 1825 with the Irish emigrants, he requested me to give up a lot of land to accommodate two families and he would apply for another lot in lieu for me. On his going to York from this the last time, I gave him the number of a lot I wished to have in place of the one I gave up, and requested that he would have it settled for me, but I suppose from his being so much occupied in making preparation for his departure for England he forgot it. The lot I gave up was 2 in the 10th conc., and I wish to draw the 3rd lot in the 9th conc. May I beg you will have the goodness to lay this before His Excellency the Lieut. Governor. I enclose the location ticket. I remain, Sir, &c &c., Thomas Stewart, M.L.C."<sup>34</sup>

The emigrants were settled in the southern middle part of the township chiefly, in the first 12 lots north from the front of the township, the best land in the township, centred in the present village of South Douro. The southwestern corner of the township, on the river and close to Peterborough, was in the hands of Reid and Stewart, who held onto it as the most valuable land in the township, and made large profits. Although no record tells who

was in charge of locations in Douro, it is possible that surveyor John Smith and Robinson himself handled the charge, and did it more efficiently than most others; surveyors when they stood to gain nothing, would place the settlers in the best part.

In OTONABEE township were located 52 "families", about 212 persons. These were located by Rubidge, and were more fortunate than any of the others, being close to the depot, reasonably close to the lakefront, and settled amid experienced pioneers. There were numerous unsatisfactory locations, however, as the following indicate:

To His Excellency Sir John Colborne, York, Jan. 21st, 1830. The petition of Thomas Hallahan humbly sheweth that Your Petitioner is one of the settlers sent out from Ireland by Government in 1825 under superintendence of {188} P. Robinson and was located on east half of 21 in 10th con. Otonabee, but it has been lately discovered the persons employed to build his shanty and show him his land, by mistake built the shanty and placed him on the west half instead, and your petitioner has remained on the west half ever since, whereon, exclusive of about 10 acres on the east half, he has cleared between 12 and 16 acres, and erected a house and other buildings...that the said west half has been deeded and is now owned by one William Beevis, who has also built and is now living thereon...<sup>35</sup>

Honble. Peter Robinson, York. Otonabee, 8th Feb. 1830. My Dear Sir, I have examined lot 21 in 10th con. Otonabee and find that Thomas Hallahan located on the east half of said lot has by mistake cleared and fenced from 16 to 18 acres on the west and belonging to a man named William Bevis, and that he has erected on the same a very comfortable log house, a small barn, a good root house, sheds &c and I think the man highly deserving of the hundred acres which you recommend for him which is very good land...I am &c. Charles Rubidge.<sup>36</sup>

It is interesting to see how Rubidge puts the blame on the man himself for clearing the wrong lot, when the blame was on Rubidge for locating him upon the wrong lot in the first place 5 years before.

Hon. Thomas Ridout, York. Peterboro,

19th July, 1828. Sir, David Long an Irish emigrant informs me that persons claiming the west half of 18 in 9th have lately performed the settlement duties with the view of obtaining the patent--18 is I believe one of the lots for which certificate of non-performance of settlement duties, were obtained from the proper person, as well as the date of location from the clerk of the Land Board, proving the lot forfeited at the time Long was placed upon it. I am &c &c. A. McDonell<sup>37</sup>

To Honble Peter Robinson, York. Otonabee, 2nd June, 1835. Your petitioner humbly sheweth that he was located on east half of 28th in 4th conc. in year 1825 on which he has since resided and improved to a large extent and after fairly trying the raising of crops find owing to the low and flatness of the ground that it is quite impossible for him to obtain a livelihood from it. Your Petr. therefore earnestly prays that you will take the said lot from him and give him in exchange 200 acres being west half lots 28 and 29 in 4th conc.....For which your Petitioner will ever pray.....John McCoy.<sup>38</sup>

The troubles of the Irish settlers will be more fully discussed later when narrating their progress after location. Most of them in Otonabee were located in the northern and western parts, close to the river, the Rubidge road, and the depot at Peterborough.

In ASPHODEL township were located 36 "families", about 196 persons. They were located by surveyor Richard Birdsall and other former settlers such as William Fortune, in the northern part of the township, on the lots from 10 to 20 in various concessions. Like the settlers in Emily, Ennismore and northern Smith, they were isolated from markets, {189} and from the depot by large tracts of unbroken forest. One route to Peterborough was by Rice Lake and the Otonabee river in a boat, which took a whole day each way. There was also a road east through Otonabee to Asphodel, branching east from Rubidge's road at lot 13, con. 10, and going east through the site of Keene, on into southern Asphodel; this was built in the autumn of 1825. Rubidge's road, as already described,

proceeded north from Bannister's Landing on Rice Lake, between the 10th and 11th concessions of Otonabee, turning west at lot 28 into Peterborough. In townships such as Otonabee, Smith and Asphodel in which there were numerous settlers before the emigrants, and in which speculators had been allowed to accumulate large amounts of land, the Irish had to be content with the remaining lots, which naturally were the poorest land in the townships thus settled. This tended to neutralize any advantage which might accrue to those Irish who were settled among experienced former settlers; naturally, the said former settlers such as Rubidge and Stewart, wanted this state which would increase their land values by the toil of the poor Irish. Although the Irish had been used to poor land in very small farms for many generations in Ireland, yet they were not slow to complain bitterly of the poor lands upon which many of them were located, and to demand more and better land, in the following 10 years. Robinson's appointment as Commissioner of Crown Lands in 1827 was thus not exactly a sinecure for him, although hailed with joy by his 2000 Irish!

In MARMORA township, in the present Hastings county, east of Belmont township, which is east of Dummer and Asphodel townships, were settled 11 "families", about 53 persons. No reason was given nor can one be found for their settlement so far from the main body of the emigrants, through 35 miles of dense forest.

The 44 heads of families not given lands in the autumn of 1825 nor the following spring, and who may be presumed to have died or deserted {190} before location, were divided as follows: 35 farmers, 5 labourers, 2 nailors, 1 weaver, 1 slater. With these may be included the 9 widows and wives, the latter being brought out to their husbands. While we might have expected that most of those deserting would be labourers and men in other industrial occupations, the returns prove that fewer of these in proportion went unlocated than of farmers. Of the 4 heads of families recorded as deserting, 3 had been labourers and 1 a farmer, while of the 4 heads of families settling in Lower Canada, 3 had been labourers and 1 a farmer. If these figures prove anything, they prove that (a) The return of emigration were very carelessly made out if not deliberately changed, to

give the impression that most of the emigrants were farmers in Ireland before being selected by the landlords; (b) That those who were designated 'labourers' were usually in Ireland farmers hounded into industry by lack of farms and who desired farms above all else. Most of the labourers brought out in 1825 went on the land and remained there, as many if not more in proportion than the farmers brought out. A large number of those brought out were designated as "farmer & labourer" or "labourer & weaver" or "farmer & weaver" etc; others were designated "farmer" on the tickets of passage and "labourer" on the ship-lists, and vice-versa, proving that there was little difference between the classes.

Not only were the deaths among farmer heads of emigrant families greater than among labouring heads, but desertions were also much greater in number, among those not located on lands in Upper Canada. As no record is extant of the further careers of these men and their families, save that contained in the ration lists and patent lists, nothing can be deduced concerning their destinations or occupations after the autumn of 1825, except in a few isolated cases. Probably numbers of them drifted into the cities of Canada and the United States, while others changed their names perhaps, and took farms in Upper Canada {191} or the United States, closer to friends and relatives, maintaining themselves with money brought out from Ireland secretly. Doubtless some of them had not the courage and endurance to begin a pioneer settlement in the backwoods even with the bountiful aid of Government, and preferred a life of idle poverty in the towns and settled districts. Others were attracted to the public works such as the Welland Canal, and clamoured later for land locations from the weak Robinson. There were a number of dismissals which are only hinted at in the records, as we shall see. Others were given recommendations by the surgeons, and disappeared to ply their trades elsewhere, such as John Doody (butcher) and others. While Robinson can hardly be censured for the whole blame for the desertion of such numbers from his emigrants whom he did not choose, yet he could by greater efficiency and despatch in settling his emigrants have given them less opportunity to complain and quarrel and listen to enticing rumours about land and work in other parts of Canada and the United States.

We have already studied something of the rations issued to the Irish on board the transports coming from Ireland to Quebec. Robinson submitted the schedule to the Emigration Committee of 1827:

"Scheme of Victualling on Ship for 2 weeks:(pds.unless stated)

(each)	Men:	Women:	Children (under 14):
Pease	3 1/2 pd.	3 1/2	3 1/2
Bread	14	10	7
Potatoes	9	9	9
Spirits	1 3/4 pt.	....	.....
Beef	3 1/2	3 1/2	2 1/2
Pork	3 1/2	3 1/2	2 1/2
Sugar	14 oz.	14 oz.	14 oz.
Tea	3 1/2 oz.	3 1/2 oz.	3 1/2 oz.
Cocoa	7 oz.	.....	.....
Flour	5 1/4 pd.	5 1/4 pb.	2 1/2 pd. <sup>39</sup>

The Commissariat continued the same rations while conveying the emigrants to Prescott. At the town of Prescott, securing and issuing of rations was taken over the leaders of the expedition, Doctor Reade to Kingston, Colonel Burke there, and Robinson from Kingston Aug. 10th. The provisions were continued until November 24th, 1826, a period divided into 6 quarters, the first being from the arrival at Prescott up to Sept.24,1825. From these accounts we can deduce the date at which each group of emigrants arrived at Prescott: 83 families from Resolution {192} and Brunswick on June 14, 44 families from Fortitude on June 16, 52 families from Star and Regulus on June 17, 50 families from Albion and Amity on June 18, 32 families from Elizabeth on July 2, 40 families from John Barry on July 8.<sup>40</sup> These accounts, entitled "Statement of Provisions Issued to Irish Emigrant Settlers by Quarters from June, 1825 to Nov. 24, 1826", are the most complete and accurate documentary material compiled by the authorities in charge of the expedition. Besides the ration accounts by families for each quarter, they contain valuable records of births, deaths, and other events concerning the emigrants. They will be more fully examined later when discussing the rationing of emigrants for the full 18 months; at present we are concerned only with the first quarter to Sept.24,1825, which brought the emigrants to the depot, and the second quarter to Dec.25,1825, which saw them located upon their lots for the winter.

In the first quarter 311 families were

rationed, amounting to 2036 persons: 667 men, 535 women, 475 children over 7 years, 359 children seven and under.<sup>41</sup> The families which deserted or settled in Lower Canada were struck off the lists at the dates of their leaving the expedition. Of the 307 heads of emigrant families, Denis Fitzgerald and family(8), William Foley and family(5), James Hamilton and wife(2) and Daniel Shea and family(6), were not given rations from Prescott on, presumably because they deserted or stayed in Lower Canada. Patrick Ryan's family was divided into two families, one of 6 persons being under his son Timothy Ryan. Besides this additional family, 7 other "families" of non-emigrants were included from Prescott on, consisting of: Denis Fitzpatrick and family(6), Timothy Cronin (1), John Hodge (1), John Russell(1), John Twomy (1), Patrick Foley and family (5), and Mary O'Brien and sister (2), all of whom were given land later at the depot except the O'Brien sisters. These additions, with the births between Cork and Prescott, and those joining families in Canada, brought {193} the total number under care of Doctor Reade at Prescott to 2036. Deaths and desertions soon depleted this comforting total, however, to an extent which no amount of manipulation of accounts and recruiting of false settlers could hide.

In the second quarter, from Sept.24 to Dec.24,1825, most emigrants who desired lots were located upon them. 307 "families" were rationed in this quarter; 642 men, 542 women, 464 children over 7 years, 335 children under and of 7.<sup>42</sup> These figures may be misleading, as all boys over 14 were listed as men, and all girls over 14 as women. By September, the following were officially dropped from the ration accounts, having deserted or settled in Lower Canada, Kingston or Cobourg, John Lane and family(3), Patrick Lewis and family(4), William Horney and family(6), James Gould and family(6), Patrick Lynam and wife (2), James Lee and family (6). Daniel Shea and family (6) were put on the ration lists again, being emigrant; also George Byrne and family (3) were given double rations, as their name appears twice in the lists for the second quarter. This brought a drop of 18 in the total number and the rest of the drop to the total of 1983 in the second quarter is explained by the numerous deaths between Prescott and Scott's Plains especially at Kingston. The

assertion that there were no desertions up to the time the emigrants arrived at Scott's Plains, except the 3 officially recorded families, would seem to be verified by these accounts. At the same time, they do not correspond with the official numbers located, viz.1859 in the Newcastle district and 67 in the Bathurst district, a total of 1926 persons.<sup>43</sup>The fatality of Horton's mistake in not providing an efficient accountant to manage the finance and accounting of the expedition becomes more and more evident as the location and ration accounts of the expedition are studied. System, clarity and efficiency were as rare as complexities, vagueness and carelessness were common, even in covering up mistakes and frauds. {194}

Robinson was assisted by Wesley Ritchie and Captain John Armstrong in distributing the rations to the emigrants. Usually some of the older boys and girls were sent in to the depot once or twice weekly to get the family's rations, while the men of the family were busy chopping and building and planting, and the women busy tending the house, cooking the meals, and helping in the fields. The rations were chiefly of flour, potatoes, beef and salt pork, some of which were purchased from the former settlers of the district, but most of which were brought in by scow from Cobourg, York and the lakefront, where the influential friends of Robinson obtained very profitable contracts for providing food. The original plan had been to give rations for 12 months only, as stated in the 1824 prospectus and elsewhere; but the emigrants were practically penniless and without crops until the end of July, 1826, and so the rations were continued until Nov. 24th, 1826, 18 months after the departure from Cork.<sup>44</sup>

This was certainly done to keep the Irish who HAD been located on their lands, since a cessation of rations in May 1826 would surely have driven many more from their locations to get work elsewhere, many of whom would not return, and thereby ruin the chances of presenting a favourable crop report for the first year. Yet wages in the district at that time were higher than elsewhere in the province; Rubidge said:

During the time Mr. Robinson's settlers were getting rations, labourer's wages were higher than they had ever been known except through the war. This would certain-ly not have been the case

if they had been less lavishly supplied. An able bodied man that is industrious will never want for work in Upper Canada; and if he will work he will in a very short time get himself a cow, grain, potatoes, &c.&c.<sup>45</sup>

If rations had been cut off in May, 1826, most who did stay on their locations would have probably stayed in that case, and gone out to work for part of the year as in Ireland, leaving their numerous children and wife to manage the farm in their absence. It would have prevented the clearing of much land, and hence would have prevented their sowing any crops in 1826 except a small patch of potatoes, as in Ireland. We {195} can see in this the desire of "gentry" like Rubidge, Stewart, Reid, and Strickland to get a class of tenant labourers who would cheapen wages in the district and be completely under their control, as in Ireland; it is to Robinson's credit that they were foiled in their plots. One hundred acres was of no more use to an emigrant than 10 acres if it was covered with forest, and they needed rations and unceasing labour on their OWN farms for the first year in Canada, to get a sufficient area cleared and fenced to raise food and marketable crops. As we shall soon see, the former settlers like Rubidge, Reid, Stewart and Strickland had little use for inexperienced Irish labourers, whom they instinctively disliked and despised. They could only get steady work by going to the canal projects and other works at a distance from the Peterborough district, as many did at a later date.

The "Statement of Provisions by Quarters" when checked by the original accounts kept by Robinson and his clerks, "Families and Rations by Townships", (of which there are the actual account-book and a fair copy in the Pet.Lib.Coll.), enable an exact and authoritative study to be made of the rations issued, in place of the several conflicting scales proffered by various writers. Most writers have followed Rubidge, than whom they could not get a less reliable guide, in stating the following as the ration scale used to provision the emigrants:

"One pound pork a day and one or 1 1/2 pounds flour. They were too liberally supplied and given food to which they were entirely unused, and in consequence they disposed of this for

whisky..."<sup>46</sup>

Elsewhere he expanded this; his desire to harm Robinson was very evident.

"All over 14 years of age: 1 pound flour and 1 pound pork daily.

Children 5-14 years of age: 1/2 " " 1/2 " " " " under 5 years: 1/4 " "

1/4 " " " " ."<sup>47</sup> There are several variations upon this by writers, such as: "daily rations of 1 pound pork and 1 pound flour for each adult, and half that amount for children,"<sup>48</sup> with a more liberal hand. Although the actual rations given were quite liberal, they were not quite so much {196}as opposition and ignorance would have us believe. They were as follows, with some minor variations:

Men and boys 14 yrs. & over, 1 pound flour and 1 pound pork daily. Women and girls 14 yrs. & over, 1 pound flour and 1/2 pound pork daily. Children 7 to 13 years of age, 1/3 pd. flour and 1/3 pd. pork daily. Children up to 6 years of age, 1/4 pound flour and 1/4 pound pork daily.<sup>49</sup>

During the first quarter, women and girls over 14 years received half a pound of flour and half a pound of pork daily, but after Sept. 24th, 1825, they received 1 pound flour as above, once the depot was reached. No reason is given for this unnecessary raising of the ration scale. Fully half the boys of 12 received women's rations, and half the boys of 13 received women's rations.<sup>50</sup> These were perhaps more mature children, and those who had more work to do, being without as many men and women of maturer age in their families. Some of them were given more rations by order of Doctor Reade, as marked in the "Families and Rations by Townships", and others, who were more industrious and willing and obliging than usual, by order of Robinson.

Thus in an average family of 7, they would receive 25 to 40 pounds of flour and 20 to 35 pounds of meat per week, with the blessing of the British government, over a period of 18 months. Most of the contemporary observers corroborate the verdict of historical analysis that these rations were twice as plentiful and half as suitable as the Irish needed, and indeed of positive harm to the emigrants. They were also of negative harm in discouraging thrift, industry and endurance during the first year on their farms, with the result that great

numbers left at the end of their rationed period, and never obtained patents for their lands. Most of the emigrants, especially those with large families, found it easy to live comfortably on HALF the rations issued, since they were used to much poorer fare in Ireland. Harrison, an early settler in Asphodel, told of

"one immigrant intimately known to the narrator who in the course of 2 years not only fed {197} his own large family well but in the meantime sold sufficient of the pork and flour furnished him by Government to buy two cows..."<sup>51</sup>

The woods around abounded in rabbits, partridge, deer, bear, and other edible game, and with roots, berries, and edible plants in profusion; the Kawartha lakes and rivers are still famed for their plentiful and varied fish; what need had any settlers of excess coarse black flour and tough beef and salt pork, which would ruin the strongest digestion, yet was given for all emigrants down to the babies? Many of the Irish did live on the healthful food provided by the region, and sold the government rations:

Some of us with more foresight than the common Irishman is credited with, had brought our ancient flintlocks and muskets with us. But sport lost half its charm when we were confident that there were no vigilant keepers around with an eye for poachers, but where we were free to shoot all we could....<sup>52</sup>

Yet this same emigrant said:

"This food (the rations) was vastly more nourishing and wholesome than what we were accustomed to, a diet of potatoes all the year round. There we never tasted meat; to be sure, we made a special effort to have a piece to hang up in the cabin, and were expected to look at it while we ate our potatoes, and obtain all the relish we could by that means. As Goldsmith says, in describing a typical Irish cabin: 'In some Irish homes, when things are so-so, A gammon of bacon hangs up for a show; But as for their eating the thing they take pride in, They'd as soon think of eating the pan it was fried in! The meat in an Irish cabin was a thing to be admired from afar, a thing for the district visitor to see, and an evidence of our thrift.'<sup>53</sup>

It was no mere coincidence that Adam Scott started his primitive distillery in his house at the depot in the summer of 1825. He sold his

impure and fiery whisky at 10-15c. a gallon, or more often traded a gallon for a pound of flour or pork.<sup>54</sup> Stewart stated to Hall in 1827: "Douro settlers are at present all Irish, and though doing well yet from their former indolent(sic) habits they have not exerted themselves as much as they might, being addicted to taking too much whisky and so losing a great deal of time..."<sup>55</sup>

Rubidge, writing to Hall also in 1827, amplified this assertion:

"From observation, I think Government did too much for those already sent out...they are not left to find resources from their own industry and energy. While the rations last many of the emigrants make little exertion, and dispose of food they have not been used to, such as pork, for whisky, thereby injuring their constitutions and morals, and fixing for a time habits of idleness..."<sup>56</sup>

In 1838 he declared to Horton:

"Generally speaking, emigrants sent out to Canada have been too well fed. Pork and flour for persons accustomed to live on potatoes mostly, are very {198} injurious to the health..."<sup>57</sup>

We have already seen his solicitude for the emigrants' health in his remarks to the Committee in 1847. But Rubidge did support Robinson in asserting that rations should be continued at least until the first crop was gathered, as in July, 1826:

Where the head of the family is compelled by a stoppage of rations to suspend his endeavours to make a home for them, and to leave them in a forlorn state in search of work, that it breaks down his spirit, he fears the worst from the undertaking he has engaged in, and if he can he will remove his family altogether; whereas, if his rations are continued till the end of July of the following year, he will then, having used common industry, have a good crop of potatoes at least for their support, whilst he takes advantage to work out through the harvest to get a cow, and in winter takes a job in threshing to supply them with bread....<sup>58</sup>

Thus many of the emigrants sold part or all of their rations, getting in return whisky and food more congenial to their tastes, such as potatoes, rye flour and oatmeal,

milk and peas.

"The principal diet of these early settlers was pea soup and pork, rye flour bread, and butter...Some of the poorer settlers were content with potatoes, porridge and milk, and sometimes bran cakes...in place of flour or meal, they boiled whole wheat and corn..."<sup>59</sup>

To this they added fish, vension, rabbit, wild roots, berries and other fruit, and many wild foods which were more nourishing and inexpensive than flour and pork, and provided healthful sport as well.

The ration ledgers, incidentally, gave the families as these came over on the transports, not the "families" as located upon the land; all who came over as one family (with some false members certainly) obtained their rations under the name of the head of that family, unless they were locted far distant from the head of the family, as some sons were, or were girls who married and received rations with the families of their husbands. It may be of interest to compare the "families" located on lands, with the real families as brouth out from Ireland and rationed, in the various townships:

	Locations	Rations
DOURO	60	39
SMITH	33	19
EMILY	142	89
ENNISMORE	67	42
OTON.ABEE	52	35
ASPHODEL	36	31
OPS	7	3
MARM.ORA	11	4
GOULBURN	4	3
RAMSAY	5	4
HUNTLEY	3	1 <sup>60</sup>

There were 422 "families" located in the townships, but only 270 {199} real families as brought from Ireland and rationed throughout.

The same loquacious Irishman who has been quoted before may be quoted concerning the supplies given by a bountiful Providence, in the rather unusual form of Government, to the Irish settlers of 1825:

How delighted the women were with the houses! They were so neat and clean, and furnished with everything necessary for a plain mode of living. No, true for you, we couldn't gaze far; the stumps and trees were too thick.

But what of that? Hadn't we strong hearts and willing hands, and oxen besides? We received also a cow, an axe, an auger, a handsaw, a hammer, 100 nails, 2 gimlets, 3 hoes, a kettle, a frying pan, an iron pot, 8 quarts of Indian corn to plant, and Joy of joys, 5 bushels of seed potatoes. This surely was a land flowing with milk and honey, or rather, what is better, potatoes and pork.....<sup>61</sup>

These stores and supplies were given after the location upon lots, as on Jan.12th,1826, Robinson wrote his brother from Monaghan, saying that he had been delayed in visiting him in York "awaiting the arrival of some stores from Kingston, the delay being caused by bad roads."<sup>62</sup> These supplies, with the spades, shovels, muskets, furniture and other utensils which some of the Irish brought from home, equipped them better than the ordinary poor settlers for the difficulties of pioneer life, and obviated some of the obstacles which their inexperienced and undernourished state magnified. The provision of supplies was one of the most sensible and efficient phases of the entire settlement. The utensils and seed given were well chosen, and the gift of a cow to each family gave them a sense of property ownership which 100 acres of wild forest could not convey, besides being very beneficial for the children in giving milk, cheese and butter.

The number of oxen distributed is uncertain, but one of those bought for the conveyance of emigrants was bestowed upon each group of settlers or "community", for the common use of all in their heavy work, after they had all been transported to their land. These oxen were mainly used thereafter in hauling supplies and rations from the depot for the group, in dragging stumps out of the road allowances and first fields, and in other community work and "bees". They were {200} of invaluable aid to the settlers, being hardier and requiring less shelter and care than horses; at least one old pioneer of Smith township, William Brown, still prefers oxen to horses in his farm work.<sup>63</sup>

The Government bounty, bestowed with a lavish hand by Robinson, did not even rest there, as all previous writers have taken for granted. The "Families and Rations by Townships" records the supplying of 294 blankets to 108 families between Dec.20,1825, and May 30,1826, mostly by

order of Doctor Reade. These varied in number from one to 5 per family according to the need, being given to the poorer and more sickly families as follows:

- Dec.20,1825: 3 blankets to 1 family,
- Dec.21: 25 blankets to 7 families;
- Dec.22: 29 blankets to 13 families;
- Dec.23: 21 blankets to 7 families;
- Dec.27: 5 blankets to 2 families;
- Dec.28: 22 blankets to 8 families;
- Dec.29: 11 blankets to 4 families;
- Dec.30: 20 blankets to 7 families;
- Dec.31: 32 blankets to 9 families;
- Jan.2,1826: 17 blankets to 6 fams;
- Jan.3: 7 blanktets to 3 families;
- Jan.4: 7 blankets to 2 families;
- Jan.5: 24 blankets to 9 families;
- Jan.6: 15 blankets to 5 families;
- Jan.7: 2 blankets to 1 family;
- Jan.9: 5 blankets to 1 family;
- Jan.10: 3 blankets to 1 family;
- Jan.11: 25 blankets to 10 families;
- Jan.12: 6 blankets to 2 families;
- Jan.15: 6 blankets to 2 families;
- Jan.16: 2 blankets to 1 family;
- Jan.20: 4 blankets to 1 family;
- Jan.28: 3 blankets to 1 family;
- Feb.13: 3 blankets to 1 family;
- Apr.11: 2 blankets to 1 family;
- Apr.12: 1 blanket to 1 family;
- Apr.26: 2 blankets to 1 family;
- May30th: 2 blankets to 1 family.<sup>64</sup>

The period of most distress and cold weather was between Dec.21, 1825, and Jan.11, 1826. The issuance of these blankets also had a relation to the prevailing fever and ague which swept off numbers of emigrants in the autumn and winter of 1825.

Basil Hall, writing in 1827, said:

Each of the families sent out by Government in 1825 when located on their land were supplied with various necessary articles to assist them, which cost, independently of the expenses of the passage out and all other incidental outlays, about £12 per head, or £60 for

a family of a man, a woman, and 3

children....<sup>65</sup>

Aside from the fact that the families sent out and the families rationed and supplied were not of the above average proportions, there is not an iota of accuracy or authority in this statement. In the sketchy accounts of the expedition, there was an item of £1199,18s.6d. "for stores supplied to the

emigrants of 1825", which implies that the supplies given to each of the 422 "families" located cost about £2,17s.2d. This probably does not include the cow and the {201} ox and the blankets and the seed, but could purchase all the UTENSILS given, at the current prices. This amount of £1199,18s.6d. was given to the Board of Ordnance, which would confirm the previous statement that these stores were purchased from the Ordnance, being left over from the previous military settlements. Some of them had been shipped in the John Barry, while others were collected in Canada, mostly from the military authorities at Quebec and Kingston.

The giving of utensils and the type of utensils given were very valuable aids to the emigrants; but the actual utensils given were not so useful, although relished by the unparticular Irish. These utensils had been rusting away in storehouses of the military for a decade, and now in 1825 the Ordnance Board saw a golden opportunity of getting rid of them for money and damaging the assisted emigration with one blow, and forced Robinson to buy them at a high figure. The quality of them is revealed by a letter of Byham (in the Ordnance) to Horton on Feb.16,1828, sending a list of stores in charge of the Ordnance storekeeper, sent out to Canada for settlers and not required for public service, as the issue of such stores had been discontinued for years;

The Board are desirous of receiving Lord Bathurst's propositions as to their disposal". Horton added a note to the letter before passing it on to Bathurst, "The tools are generally inferior in quality and unsuited for the use of emigrants, so that their acquisition is inexpedient if payment is required. It might be well to distribute them to emigrants without charge as a gift, but if sold by auction they could only be sold as old iron....."<sup>66</sup>

Yet the Ordnance did not give up their efforts to dispose of this "old iron" for a profit, as they wrote to Robinson in 1830, he being in charge of lands and settlement in Upper Canada:

Sir, Ordnance Office, Quebec,14 Jul.30 There being a considerable quantity of settlers' stores, which are not required, at Montreal, we have the honour to request you will be pleased

to inform us, if you require stores of this description, and would purchase them for use of persons settling upon land in Upper Canada. If you will agree to take them we will cause their being sent to Kingston. We request you will also state the price you are disposed to give for them...E.W. Dumford, Col. Commanding Royal Engineers, M. Gore, D'y .Storekeeper. 7500 scythes with handles, complete with 1 rag and 1 rubstone each: {202}3600 reaping hooks, 10000 garden hoes, 2000 garden rakes, 1400 spades, 7900 pitchforks, 6000 harrow teeth, 2000 brush hooks, 5000 hand bills, 4500 hand saws, 500 augers of sixes, 900 iron wedges, 1200 felling axes, 600 carpenters' knives, 1200 cooper's knives...Mont. Jan.18,1830.<sup>67</sup>

With such an assortment to choose from, it was a wonder that Robinson in 1825 chose only the utensils which he did give to each family; but a reaping hook and a pitchfork or two per family would have been good.

Col. Talbot's "Outline of a Plan of Emigration to Upper Canada" was laid before the Agricultural Committee in 1822, and was used extensively by Horton and Robinson; it stated £3 to be the proper amount to pay per family for utensils, and £4,10s. for each cow<sup>68</sup>(2). Since the first was the actual sum expended per family for utensils, we may conclude that the second sum was approximately that paid for each of the cows given to the emigrants; Talbot lived himself on the shore of Lake Erie in Upper Canada, and had shrewd knowledge of prices there.

Claims have been made that the Irish ate all their seed potatoes before the spring of 1826, but these seem groundless when we study the crops raised in that first year: From 2100 bushels of seed potatoes given out, there were raised 67,799 bushels in 1826; from 3360 quarts of seed corn, there were raised 10,438 1/2 bushels of corn in the first year.<sup>69</sup>

Only an experienced farmer is authority whether or not these are fair yields for inexperienced settlers in their first year, on fields filled with stones and stumps, newly-broken and uncultivated, where rabbits were plentiful and the hoe and spade were the only utensils possessed by the emigrants.

Thus while much criticism was expressed and was justified concerning the

wastefulness and unfitness of the rations, no adverse criticism was expressed or justified concerning the supplies issued by Robinson, although they might have been purchased more cheaply elsewhere. Every item on the list, from the cow to the frying pan, was very helpful and even essential to the emigrant in his battle with the woods. The axe was vitally necessary in chopping land and building house, {203} stable, barn, furniture, and even in cutting fuel. The auger, handsaw, hammer, nails and gimlets were necessary in building furniture, partitions, floors etc. in their new houses, in constructing snowsleds and drags and harrows and other implements, and in a hundred places around the farm. The hoes were very necessary for planting and cultivating, in the absence of ploughs and cultivators and other implements which no modern farmer could do without; especially in the growth of potatoes were hoes needed, to provide the emigrants over the next winter 1826-7, when rations were stopped. The kettle, fryingpan, and iron pot were the essential kitchen utensils, for boiling water and potatoes, cooking meat, etc. The iron pot, which had often been the only utensil in an Irish cabin, was indispensable to Irish housewives in the early years in the backwoods, when potatoes were still a staple part of every meal.

The Irish were grateful for the supplies given them, as indeed they were grateful at any time for favour or advantage. One of them has already been quoted at some length; another exclaimed to Hall in 1827:

Even to the value of that gimlet we are obligated to the King--God bless him! and we shall bring up our children to know what has been done for us and for them--and to be loyal subjects of His Majesty, whatever happens, like as we ourselves--and good reason too, for we have been taken from misery and want, and put into independence and happiness....<sup>70</sup>

Cornelius Sullivan felt the same, as Hall recounted:"I wished to know if he felt grateful to Government for having sent him and his family out to Canada free of expense, and given him so much land and provisions gratis? He was completely taken aback by the directness of the appeal, and exclaimed in a sort of shout:"Och, yes, to be sure I am! We owe everything in the

world to the Government--that is, to the King, His Majesty, long life to him!...."<sup>71</sup> We shall see later how far these feelings and words went in actions.

Thus we find the "experiment" well advanced by the end of November, 1825, 7 months after it was begun, with most of the emigrants located on lands, provisioned and settled and supplied. From their shanties, erected by Government, they could look out over 100 acres of forest which was theirs to cultivate and from which to create prosperity {204} for themselves and their children. Everything was done for them except the actual clearing and planting of the land. They lived in Government shanties, eating Government rations brought out often in Government sleighs and wagons drawn by Government oxen, and cooked in Government kettle, pot and pan. Their first task was to build a log stable for their Government cow, and then to construct furniture and partitions for their shanties with their Government saw, hammer, gimlets, augers and nails. They spent their winter cutting down trees with a Government axe, and dragging them to cabins or piles with the aid of Government oxen. When they were sick or cold, they went to see Doctors Reade or Connin and were given Government medicine and blankets. It was a situation which made them entirely dependent on Government, and while valuable in giving them a fair start in the bush, it was no test of their ability or industry or perseverance under pioneering conditions, as compared to life in Ireland.

The real test came when Doctor Reade left in the spring of 1826, and rations stopped in November 1826; the real measure of their industry is in comparison of their achievements in the first and later years, compared with earlier unassisted settlers, and later assisted emigrants of 1829 and 1831. The crop report which Robinson and Horton triumphantly shook in the faces of critics in Parliament and the Emigration Committees, was no true index of what the Irish could do unassisted from their own industry and ability in a pioneer life, although it might support Horton's theory of assisted emigration. The dependence which over-assistance continued in the Irish, the fawning and servility inculcated by generations of Irish landlordism, made

the growth of a snobbish colonial "gentry" in the district easy and inevitable, and we shall see the results in the succeeding decades. It was not until pride of ownership and prosperity made the Irish realize their equality with any in the district in industry and independence, that they disregarded colonial "squires" rich on stolen lands.

[end part 7]

## LIQUOR LICENSES, PETERBOROUGH COUNTY, 1876

*Peterborough Review*, 5 May 1876

### HOTELS

#### Peterborough

Allan Huffman, Huffman House  
 Mrs Morgan, Commercial House  
 William Croft, Smith House  
 Edward Phelan, Phelan's Hotel  
 Robert Roddy, Stewart House  
 John Dunlop, Revere House  
 Joseph Brault, Montreal House  
 John Wilson, Royal Oak  
 John Sullivan, Peterborough House  
 A.P. Morgan, Chambers House  
 N. Prenevau, Railroad Hotel  
 John Moloney, Caisse House  
 G. Berabee, Faucher's Hotel  
 T. Cavanagh, American Hotel  
 M. Halpin, Dublin House

#### Smith

M Hetherman, Bridgenorth  
 J.E. Kearney, Young's Point  
 Stephen Nicholls, Hall's Bridge  
 Richard Northey, Selwyn

#### Lakefield

George German, Midland House  
 Mrs Purser, Blakely's Hotel  
 J.C. Carveth, Carveth's Hotel

#### North Monaghan

Mrs Scott, Scott's Corners

#### Ennismore

Patrick Grady, Lehane's Hotel

#### Ashburnham

George Rickey, Tremont House  
 W. Swanston

#### Asphodel

Hugh Beckett, Norwood  
 Mrs Brennan, Norwood  
 A. Hill, Norwood  
 George Galvin, Westwood

#### Otonabee

John Gall, Keene  
 John McLaughlin, Keene  
 A. Erskine, Wallace Point  
 John Smith, Indian River

#### Belmont

J. Purdy, Blairton

#### Burleigh

J. Holmes, Burleigh Bridge  
 A. McImoyle, Apsley

#### Dummer

H. Myers, Warsaw  
 James Lynn, Warsaw

### SHOPS

#### Peterborough

William Harty & Co., George Street  
 McKelver & Hogan, Hunter Street  
 George Snyder, George Street  
 John Garvey, George Street  
 Rush, Rubidge & Co., George Street  
 John Cameron, George Street  
 Thomas Chambers, Water Street

#### Asphodel

R. Hall, Norwood

There were no applications for licenses from Douro, Harvey or Galway.

If you have enjoyed reading the *Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley*, why not share it with your kith and kin. Annual memberships only cost \$40 and include four issues of the most informative serial publication serving the area from Haliburton to Trenton, from Algonquin Park to Oshawa.

[Info@trentvalleyarchives.com](mailto:Info@trentvalleyarchives.com)

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Martha Ann Kidd Collection

THE  
**CANADA DIRECTORY**

CONTAINING  
THE NAMES OF THE PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS MEN  
OF EVERY DESCRIPTION, IN THE  
CITIES, TOWNS, AND PRINCIPAL VILLAGES OF CANADA:  
TOGETHER WITH

**A COMPLETE POST OFFICE DIRECTORY**

OF  
THE PROVINCE;  
**A DIRECTORY TO PUBLIC OFFICES, OFFICERS AND INSTITUTIONS;**  
A VARIETY OF STATISTICAL AND COMMERCIAL TABLES,  
EXHIBITING  
THE POPULATION, TRADE, REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, IMPORTS, EXPORTS, PUBLIC WORKS  
ETC., ETC., OF CANADA,  
AND A VARIETY OF OTHER USEFUL INFORMATION.  
BROUGHT DOWN TO NOVEMBER, 1851.

BY **ROBERT W.S. MACKAY**

-----  
MONTREAL

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN LOVELL, ST. NICHOLAS STREET.  
1851.

**PETERBOROUGH**

The COUNTY TOWN of the County of Peterborough, is situated on the Otonabee River, in the TOWNSHIP of Monaghan, C.W. - distant from Cobourg, 30 miles - usual fare, by stage and steamboat, in summer, 5s usual stagw fare u\ in winter, 5s. - distant from Port Hope, 30 miles - usual fare, by stage and steamboat, in summer, 5s., usual stage fare in winter, 5s. Population 2000.

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**PUBLIC OFFICERS.**

Hall, G.B., judge for the county and surrogate courts.  
Hall, James, M.P.P. for Peterborough.  
Conger, W.S., sheriff.  
Wrighton, W.H., clerk of the peace and deputy clerk of the crown.  
Rubidge, Charles, county registrar.  
Fortye, Thomas, clerk county court and registrar surrogate court.  
Crawford, Walter, crown land agent.  
Millburn, Thomas, revenue inspector.  
Short, Thomas, warden of the county, Keene.  
Hudson, Charles, mayor of Peterboro'.  
Carver, S.J., postmaster.

Vizard, W.H.J., town clerk.  
Ferguson, Frederick, county treasurer.  
Hall, J.J., clerk of division court.  
Sheridan, Walter, clerk, county council.  
Reed, John, county engineer.  
Nicholls, R. town treasurer.  
Norton, Henry, jailor.

**AGENCIES OF ASSURANCE COMPANIES,  
BANKS, &c.**

Bank of Montreal, Robert Nicholls, agent.  
Canada Life Assurance Company, Charles Rubidge, agent.  
Colonial Life Assurance Company, Robert Nicholls, agent.  
National Loan Fund, Life and equitable Fire Assurance Companies of London, W. H. Wrighton, agent, Court-house.  
Provincial Mutual Fire Assurance Company, James Hall, agent, Hunter st.  
Mutual Fire Assurance, Newcastle district, Robert Nicholls, agent.

**ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PROFESSIONS, TRADES, &c.**

ALBRO, JOHN., dealer in dry goods, groceries, hardware, crockery, &c., and country produce, George st.  
BETHUNE, ALEXANDER, dealer in groceries, crockery, glass and country produce, George st.  
BRADBURN, THOMAS, dealer in dry goods, groceries, hardware, crockery, &c., George st.  
BURNHAM, ELIAS, barrister and attorney at law, George  
BUTLER, REV. John, Roman Catholic.  
CONGER, W.S., sheriff of the county, George st.  
COULTER, WILLIAM, chemist and druggist, George st. - paints, oils, dye stuffs, perfumery, books, stationary, &c., for sale at moderate terms.  
CRESWELL, WILLIAM, Victoria Inn, Hunter st. - travellers or permanent boarders will find good accommodations and moderate charges; good yard and stabling attached to the premises.  
DENNISTOUN, ROBERT, barrister and attorney at law, master extraordinary in chancery, and notary public, Market square.  
EASTLAND, William, dealer in dry goods, groceries, hardware, crockery and produce, George st.  
EDMISON, HENRY, general smith and steam engineer - steam engines manufactured, and every description of repairs executed in the best manner, and upon reasonable terms.  
FISHER, THOMAS J., Albert house, stage house, livery stables, and steamboat office, George st. - travellers will find this a comfortable house and charges moderate.  
HALL, JAMES, tannery, Hunter st.  
HASLEHURST, GEORGE, printing office, George st.  
NICHOLLS, ROBERT, dealer in dry goods, groceries, hardware, crockery and country produce, corner of Simcoe and Water sts.  
PERRY, Dr. EGERTON, M. D., George st.  
PERRY, CHARLES, dealer in dry goods, groceries, hardware, china, glass, &c., and lumber merchant, corner of George and Hunter sts.  
SNYDER, WILLIAM, dealer in dry goods, groceries, hardware, crockery and country produce, George st.  
TYRE, GREENE, & CP., dealers in dry goods, groceries, liquors, hardware, crockery and country produce, George st.  
VIZARD, WILLIAM H.J., attorney at law, George st.  
WEEKLY DESPATCH, newspaper, G. Haslehurst, George st  
WHITE, Thomas, boot and shoe store, George st. - a good stock of boots and shoes constantly on hand or made to order, of the best quality and at reasonable prices.  
WINCH, RICHARD, butcher, Simcoe st.

Allan, George, smith and machinist, George st.  
Allan, George, blacksmith, George st.  
Almond, Francis, watchmaker, George st.  
Armstrong, F.H., storekeeper, George st.  
Arnott, William, baker, George st.  
Ayles, P.J., axe factory, Scotch village.

Bailey, G.W., accountant and general agent, Water st.  
Baxter, William, innkeeper, George st.  
Beatty, Thomas, innkeeper, George st.  
Beatty, R.P., tailor, George st.  
Beavis, Thomas, shoemaker, Simcoe st.  
Bell, James, general store, George st.  
Bell, William, chemist and druggist, Hunter st.  
Bigelow, J.R., tin and copper smith, Hunter st.  
Blackstock, Robert, saddler and harnessmaker, George st.  
Brown, Templeton, watchmaker, George st.  
Brown, James, tailor, George st.  
Burnham, Dr. George, Water st.  
Cathcart, Andrew, hardware, Hunter st.  
Chambers, Thomas, commercial hotel, corner of Water and Hunter sts.  
Chartrain, Gabriel, cabinet maker, George st.  
Cragie, J., carpenter and builder, Scotch village.  
Cluxton, William, general store, George st.  
Crothers, David, blacksmith, George st.  
Curry, William, dry goods, George st.  
Davey, John, baker and grocer, George st.  
Davis, John, mason and bricklayer, Simcoe st.  
Dickson, Samuel, saw mill, River side.  
Dunsford, George, barrister and attorney at law, Water st  
Edwards, James, storekeeper, Hunter st.  
English, John, machinist and smith, Charlotte st.  
Fleming, Robert, dry goods, George st.  
Gilmour, Rev. J., Baptist.  
Green, Benjamin, storekeeper, Water st.  
Hagart, John, tailor, Hunter st.  
Hall, John, grist and saw mills, River side.  
Hall, William, saddler, George st.  
Haney, James, iron foundry and machine shop, Scotch village.  
Hartley, Samuel, mason and bricklayer, South Town hill.  
Hamilton, James, foundry, George st.  
Hay, Dr. Thomas, Brock st.  
Heard, John, mason and bricklayer, Brock st.  
Henthorne, James T., baker, George st.  
Hogan, Michael, innkeeper, George st.  
Daniel Hopkins, plasterer, Water st.  
Hope & Sanderson, planing and saw mills, George st.  
Howard, Rev. Isaac B., Wesleyan.  
Hudson, Charles, storekeeper, Hunter st.  
Hunter, Robert W., grocer, George st.  
Hurley, Rev. Robert, Bible Christian.  
Hurley, James, cabinetmaker, George st.  
Hutchinson, Thomas, blacksmith.  
Jenkins, George, tailor, George st.  
Johnson, Hugh, farrier, Hunter st.  
Johnson, William, tailor, Water st.  
Keele & Wright, boot and shoe makers, George st.  
Kelly, Thomas, grocer, George st.

Kempt, A.W., druggist, George st.  
 Kennedy, John, painter and glazier, Water st.  
 Kingdon, William, cooper, Simcoe st.  
 Leach, William, blacksmith, Scotch village.  
 Lannin & Finley, shoe store, George st.  
 Law, Alexander, chemist and druggist, George st.  
 Lathrop, \_\_\_\_\_, shingle factory, River side.  
 Leonard, Thomas, shoemaker, George st.  
 Lundy, William, grocer, George st.  
 Lundy, William, distiller and grocer, George st.  
 McBurney, William, saddler and harnessmaker, George st.  
 McDonald, John, tailor, Scotch village.  
 McDonald, Dincan, blacksmith, George st.  
 McGregor, William, carpenter and builder, Scotch village.  
 McGregor, L., shingle factory, River side.  
 McNab, Dr. John, Hunter st.  
 McNeil, Alexander, storekeeper, George st.  
 Marshall, Christopher, baker, George st.  
 Malcolm, William, iron foundry and carriage-maker, Simcoe st.  
 Marshall, R.L., shingle factory, River side.  
 Might, John, Saddler and harnessmaker, George st.  
 Miller, Mrs., grocer, George st.  
 Mowry, John, iron foundry and machine shop, Scotch village.  
 Moffat, John, grist and saw mill, 1 mile north of town.  
 Neimeier, Dr. George, Simcoe st.  
 Nesbitt, E.J., saddler and harnessmaker, Hunter st.  
 O'Beirne, Ivan, barrister, Water st.  
 Palmer, R.D., hotelkeeper, George st.  
 Patterson, James R., bookseller and stationer, George st.  
 Peck, Arthur, brewer, Scotch village.  
 Poole, Thomas, cabinet maker, George st.  
 Reid, John, land surveyor, Hunter st.  
 Ridley, R., storekeeper and druggist, George st.  
 Roberts, Rev. E., Baptist.  
 Roe, William, carpenter and builder, George st.  
 Roger, Rev. J.M., Free Church.  
 Russell, Thomas, shoemaker, Water st.  
 Rogers, R.D., miller and grocer, Scotch village.  
 Roy, John, tannery, George st.  
 Ryan, Patrick, tannery, George st.  
 Shaw, Joseph, tailor, George st.  
 Spalding, Clark, brewer and distiller, George st.  
 Stalker, Joseph, shoemaker, Water st.  
 Stevenson, James, tin and copper smith, George st.  
 Stinson, Robert, shoe store, George st.  
 Sperry, \_\_\_\_\_, rakemaker, 1 mile from town.  
 Tanner, Robert, boot and shoemaker.  
 Tasker, William, shoemaker, Scotch village.  
 Taylor, Rev. R.J.C., M.A., Church of England.  
 Taylor, D., carpenter and builder, Scotch village.  
 Towns, Robert, woollen factory, Scotch village.  
 Thompson, Robert, general store, Gerge st.  
 Waddell, Robert, carriage maker and blacksmith, George st  
 Walton, R. Saddler and harnessmaker, George st.  
 Wortzer, Napoleon, carding and fulling mills, Peterboro'

East.

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**Martha Ann Kidd Collection**

**Robert Nicholls sells property, 1876**

FOR SALE: VALUABLE PROPERTY IN THE TOWN OF PETERBOROUGH

*Peterborough Review*, 10 March 1876

Brick store on George Street, occupied by Mr Hyman  
 Brick store on George Street, occupied by Mr W.G. Thompson  
 Brick store on George Street, occupied by P. Connal & Co.  
 Brick house and lot no. 1, east of Water and north of Macdonald Street  
 House and lot, west ½ lot 2, north of Murray and east of Water Street  
 Three brick buildings on Lot 1, south of Hunter and east side of Water Street  
 Two houses on lot 5, north side of London Street  
 House and lot 6, north of Macdonald and west of George Street  
 Lot south-west corner of George and Dublin Streets  
 Lot north west corner of Water and Hunter Streets  
 Lot 12, south of Hunter and west of George Street  
 House and Lot 13, south of Hunter and west of George Street  
 Lot 13, south of Simcoe and west of George Street  
 Lot 13, north of Charlotte and west of George Street  
 Part of lot 11, south of Simcoe and west of George Street  
 Lot 16, south of Dublin Street  
 Lot 1, east of George and north of Perry Street  
 House and lot 1, north of Elizabeth Street, Ashburnham  
 Lots in the English settlement  
 13 lots north side of Smith and west of George Street  
 30 acres, part of lot 1 on east side of Communication Road  
 18 acres adjoining residence of Alex Smith, Esq  
 Part of lot 3 in 12<sup>th</sup> and 3 in 11<sup>th</sup> concession of Douro, 127 acres  
 For particulars, apply to R. NICHOLLS

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*Peterborough Review*, 1 September 1876

IMPORTANT TO CAPITALISTS - SALE OF VERY VALUABLE TOWN PROPERTY BY PUBLIC AUCTION  
 The undersigned, to close the estate of Nicholls & Hall, will sell by Public Auction, at the New Building, next Hall, Innes & Co, on Wednesday, 6<sup>th</sup> of September, at Ten o'clock, a.m. THE FOLLOWING VALUABLE REAL ESTATE.

**IMPORTANT AUCTION SALE**

*Peterborough Review*,  
8 September 1876

On Wednesday [6 September] Mr Charles Stapleton sold by auction the town property of the late firm of Nicholls and Hall. There was a large attendance and very satisfactory prices were realized. The whole of the property was not sold, and the sale was adjourned until further notice. The lots still unsold are very valuable property. The following are the principal lots sold with the prices given for them:

Brick store on George Street, occupied by S. Hyman, bought by Mr A.P. Poussette for \$4,550

brick store on George Street, occupied by W.G. Thomson, bought by Mr P. Connal for \$6,000

brick store on George Street, occupied by P. Connal, bought by him for \$6,350

three brick stores on Water Street, called Robinson property, bought by Mr Richard Hall for \$2,600

double brick dwelling house on George Street, near Baptie's planing mill, bought by Mr Richard Hall for \$1,950

Dwelling house on Water Street and vacant lot adjoining, bought by Miss Nicholls for \$5,026

house and lot on west side of London Street, bought by Mr G.A. Cox for \$1,050

house and lot adjoining the last, bought by Mr John Walton for \$900

three houses and corner lot on Harvey and McDonel Streets, bought by Mr Robert Darling for \$1,025

twenty-eight feet frontage north of Hunter and West of Water Street, bought by Mr John Walton for \$54 per foot

half acre vacant lot south of Hunter and west of George Street, bought by Mr John Walton for \$3,400

house with one acre on Rubidge Street, occupied by Mr Richard Hall, bought by him for \$4,900

various other lots of less importance were also sold for sums ranging from \$600 down to \$180

The gross amount realized was about \$45,000.

**A New Index for  
TVA Material**

*Fraser Dunford*

NameIndex is a simple listing of names of people found in the material at the Trent Valley Archives, and the location of each name. It is, solely, an index, pointing to where more information can be found. We will continue to expand its scope for we know it will greatly assist in researching the family and historical inquiries. Naturally, material that is reasonably accessible through indexes and finding aids will not be in this index.

The current emphasis is to index books that do not have their own indexes, newspapers and photographs. The Index has 20,000 entries and is growing rapidly.

We intend to include Marianne Mackenzie's indexes to the following books, and great progress has already been made.

Brunger, Alan G (ed) - Harvey  
Township Illustrated History

Cole, Jean Murray - The Loon  
Calls (Chandos Twp)

Duff, Garth, Hazy Days in  
Dummer

Edmison, J Alex (ed) - Through  
the Years in Douro

Illustrated Historical Atlas,  
Peterborough County 1825-  
1875

Nelson, D Gayle (ed) - Forest to  
Farm: Early Days in Otonabee

Poole, Dr TW - A Sketch of the  
Early Settlement of  
Peterborough County

Suggitt, Gladys M - Roses and  
Thorns (Somerville Twp)

Thomas, WD - Bobcaygeon, The  
Hub of The Kawarthas

Austin, Leona M - As the Crow  
Flies (Wooler)

Boyce, Gerald M - Historic  
Hastings (Hastings County)

Carr, Mrs Ross N (ed) - Ops,  
Land of Plenty

Carr, Mrs Ross N (ed) - The  
Rolling Hills (Manvers  
Township)

Cole, AOC & Cole, Jean Murray  
(eds) - Kawartha Heritage

Craig, John - By the Sound of  
Her Whistle

Dean, RA - The Friendly Town  
(Norwood)

Dobbin, FH - Our Old Home  
Town

Farmer, Samuel - On the  
Shores of Scugog

Fleming, Rae, Eldon  
Connections: Portraits of A  
Township

Haliburton: Village 1864 - 1964  
County 1874 - 1974

A History of North Monaghan  
Township

Irwin, Ross W - Mariposa: The  
Banner Township

Kirkconnell, W., Centennial  
History, County of Victoria

"Nathaway Nan" - Yesteryear At  
Young's Point

Norwood, Then & Now

Pammett, Howard T - Lilies and Shamrocks (Emily Twp)

Reeve, Harold - The History of the Township of Hope

Reynolds, Nila - In Quest of Yesterday: Haliburton Highlands

This particular initiative also includes the photographs in the Osborne Collection, and the Dummer News.

Because this is a new index, you should ask the staff person to search it for you. Plans are to make it self-serve next summer.

## Anson House Book A Great Success

Trent University's History 475 Class, *Anson House: a refuge and a home* (Peterborough, Anson House Millennium Committee, 2001) Pp x, 164. Illustrations, index. Edited by Elwood H. Jones, assisted by Brendan F.R. Edwards Available from the Trent Valley Archives Bookroom, Fairview Heritage Centre, for only \$20 [\$18 for members]. ISBN 0-9688776-0-5

This history of Anson House, a Peterborough Home for The Aged, and its predecessors, the Peterborough Protestant Home and the Peterborough Relief Society provides a fairly thorough history of the organization and people through the 1930s, coupled with commentaries changing views on aging, reflections on changing government policies with respect to social welfare, health and aging and their impacts, as well as modern opinions on what was enduring about the world of Anson House and its volunteers. The appendices identify those who have chaired the organization, been volunteers since 1970, who resided in the Home in 1895-1891, 1931-1935, and 1995. The index does not include the various lists of names, but captures all the names that appeared in the text. The aggregate

information on the residents, 1886-1956, and on the receipts and expenditures, 1882-1932, also appears in the appendixes. The book is copiously illustrated.

This is a great tribute to what is possible by co-operation. The book was a project for a history class at Trent University. The Anson House volunteers ensured that the historical records were gathered, and arranged for many people to share their views on various aspects of the work. The Trent Valley Archives houses the records of Anson House and its predecessors and its facilities were freely open to the students. Peter Adams, MP, helped in many ways and the federal government millennium grant ensured the book would be published. The co-operation was unusually close, as members of the Anson House committee made several visits to the history class, actively participated in discussions, invited students to special events, gave guided tours, and assisted actively in the final editing of the book. By all accounts, this excellent book will be treasured.

## Historical Maps of Canada

Michael Swift, *Historical Maps of Canada* (London, PRC Publishing [Prospero Books] 2001) Pp 144 Available from Chapters, on remainder, at \$16.99. ISBN 1 55267 133 X

This is an interesting sampling of 100 maps related to the history of Canada that have been culled from the vast holdings of the British governments Colonial Office, War Office and Foreign Office in the Public Records Office in Kew Gardens, London. Michael Swift, the pen name of an historian with an MA from Oxford, offers minimal commentary. However, there is some valuable information to be gleaned from a close reading of the maps, even using the Trent Valley region as a focus.

The earliest map showing this area is "North America c. 1695." Hills and trees are evident, and there are streams from

what is recognizably Georgian Bay. "Canada 1745 / 1752" almost reaches the area. "Ontario 1785" has poor proportions, but Rice Lake is clearly labelled and the Kawarthas appears as "Hauteur des terres." "Canada 1796" was drawn on a scale of 20 miles to the inch, and Durham and Northumberland are marked on it. "Upper Canada 1800" surprisingly shows a New Talbot Road from Yonge Street to Kingston which traverses north of Rice Lake. The map "Great Lakes 1800" has Mississauga names on lakes in the Kawarthas: Cheboutequion and Wabuscommough. "Canada 1813" labels the lakes between Rice and Simcoe as the Shallow Lakes. "Otonabee 1828" is Richard Birdsall's plan for the Town Reservation on the Otonabee township side of the mouth of the Otonabee River. It shows several lots laid out along Rice Lake, and shows Captain Anderson with a choice 600 acres. Point Charles is identified on Anderson's property. Sturgeon Lake and Shebouticon Lake appear on "Canada 1844," Arrowsmith's great map of British North America. On the map "Canada 1848" someone has superimposed canoe routes from Montreal to Hudson's Bay. One of the most interesting maps is "Grand Trunk Railway of Canada 1857" with amendments to 1861 highlighting strategic considerations with respect to defending Canada from the United States, then on the verge of Civil War. What Swift labels "Upper and Lower Canada 1862" is a map titled "Canada Canals & Lakes" which actually shows railways very nicely. A detail from "Canada 1865" is loaded with place names, all too small to read. "Canada 1878" shows natural resources and identifies the northern reaches of Red Cedar, White Oak, Beech, hard Maple, White Cedar and Pine. There are several maps on "Canada 1880" which show physical attributes: summer rains, summer droughts, geological features, etc. One starts to realize that British officials could have known quite a bit about Canada. And we can learn quite a bit about the context of our history if we spent a little time with some terrific maps.

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## Other Recent Works

Jean Murray Cole, ed. *This Blessed Wilderness: Archibald McDonald's Letters from the Columbia, 1822-1844* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2001)

Jean Murray Cole, perhaps best known for her local histories, and the Historical Atlas of County of Peterborough, has in fact carved out quite a reputation as a fur-trade historian. This book blends her interests. The letters from Archibald McDonald (one of her ancestors) while a chief factor in the Columbia region were intended in part to gather information about what was happening in Upper Canada. The letters are filled with fascinating details that will be of interest to our readers.

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*Obituaries from the Peterborough Examiner Peterborough Ontario Canada for the years 1992 to 2000*

collected and transcribed by Don, Marianne and Alice Mackenzie (Peterborough, 2001 Group Digital Media, 2001) CD Rom publication ISBN 0-9687957-1-4 only \$25

This fascinating labour of love runs to over 1400 pages, and every item represents the work of three devoted people who saw the need for keeping track of the obituaries appearing in the Peterborough Examiner. They give all the names associated in the original death notices and other information to help you know if you have found the right person. One cannot begin to appreciate the amount of time and energy in producing this gem. This item is only available to members of the Trent Valley Archives, and the copyright conditions prevent any duplicating or distributing of this item.

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Ainslie Manson, *House Calls: the true story of a pioneer doctor* (Vancouver, 2001) ISBN 0-88899-329-3 Pp 56, illustrated, ages 8 to 12.

This a child's story that tells about Dr John Hutchison, of Peterborough. Ainslie Manson is a great-great-granddaughter of Hutchison, whose life is part of the

mandate of Hutchison House Museum in Peterborough. The book launch was held 30 September, and the book is available at Hutchison House and elsewhere.

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## In memoriam: James L. Moloney

*Keith Dinsdale and Elwood Jones*

James L. Moloney, a descendent of an original Peter Robinson settler family, passed away on Sunday morning, 23 September, aged 84.

He was born 9 September 1917, and grew up on a farm in the heart of Douro. He was nicknamed "Paul Revere" because he rode horseback to Lakefield High School, from which he graduated in 1935, a member of its first Grade XIII class. After graduating from the local teacher's college, he taught in the SS #8 school, Douro, 1937-40. He earned certification with the AACI and MIMA and began a long career in real estate assessment and appraising. He spent thirteen years as County Assessor, County of Lennox and Addington, before returning to be Assessment Commissioner, County of Peterborough. After his retirement, he continued to be a consultant on real estate appraisals.

Jim Moloney was one of the founders of the Trent Valley Archives, and remained a strong board member until his untimely passing. He was a strong advocate for regional archives, particularly as part of a systematic effort to preserve the archives of townships and counties in eastern Ontario. He was also a proponent of forming a Peter Robinson Society, operating along the lines of the Mayflower Society. The excellent

history of his family will be a lasting memorial to his commitment to the history of his family, and of Douro. He had a keen interest in family history, and the Trent Valley Archives remains a strong centre for the study of genealogy and family history, as well as for the advancement of local history, and the advocacy of regional archives.

He recently donated some of his personal papers to the Trent Valley Archives. These are especially pertinent to his career in appraisals and assessment, and are rich in survey plans and maps of east central Ontario, as well as interesting books related to his teaching days.

Jim Moloney was a key facilitator in the acquisition of the Fairview Heritage Centre, since 1997 the home of the Trent Valley Archives and the Fairview Community Access Program for computers. He, in fact, chose the name Fairview, because he was so pleased that we had landed in a former school, which had also for many years housed the Smith township offices. We think he would have liked his name always associated with this place which identifies with the many things he has done. The Board of Directors plans to find appropriate ways to honour his memory. One appropriate step would be to name the former 1899 school wing, the James L. Moloney wing.

Out of respect to Jim Moloney, the Trent Valley Archives and the Fairview Heritage Centre was closed on 27 September, the day his funeral was held at St Anne's Roman Catholic Church, Peterborough.

Alison and Paul Moloney have added some very interesting insights. "As you may know, Dad was dedicated to the ideal of

family pulling together through good and bad. He was proud of his ancestors' drive and tenacity in carving out a new life in Douro. He himself was no stranger to the challenges, and talked of working in the fields, shoulder to shoulder with his Dad, neither exchanging a word until the day was done.

"I believe his interest in the area's history grew out of respect for the people who came before him; his extended family, their friends and neighbours, and what they had achieved.

"He demonstrated that respect by working to build a record for the benefit of future generations. Many thanks to you and your colleagues for helping him in that cause."

Jim Moloney will be truly missed, but he built well.

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## Osborne Collection

*Fraser Dunford*

The Osborne Photographer fonds consists of 30,000 negatives and 15,000 prints, (but not his wedding photos) 1971 to 1989. Most prints are colour although a substantial minority are black and white. The colour negatives are 35 mm, the black and white are 4" by 5". The prints are mostly 4" x 5" with some smaller.

The collection represents a wonderful cross-section of the residents of Peterborough County in that time period. Most are portraits, including well-known names and ordinary people, families, individual portraits of whole graduating classes from Civic Hospital nurses, St Josephs Hospital nurses, and EPBC, as well as

many Trent grads, and young people entering the military or RCMP. Interesting is a complete set of the passport photos of the members of a PCVS trip to China in 1975. Also interesting is a large set of business photos covering the whole range of Peterborough business. The non-portrait photos include group pictures of church functions, masonic, sports teams, and entertainers. There are legal pictures, such as broken jaws and damaged restaurants.

So far we have archived the portraits from 1971 to 1979 and they are indexed in our NameIndex (our new index of proper names). There is also the photographer's index which provides some guidance to the rest of the collection. We have not yet started work on the non-portrait part of the collection.

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## Passing Comments on Recent Events

### Heritage Pavillion Productions

Ed Schroeter has gathered a keen group of volunteers led by Erik Burns, Ray Henderson and Kerry Lynn Parsons and others who are producing historical dramas at the Heritage Pavillion beside the Peterborough Centennial Museum and Archives. These have found audiences with school groups, but have also played to other demanding audiences. Most recently, they competed with the unseasonably wet and cold weather of October; one performance scurried to the Market Hall Theatre. Happily, productions and workshops are taken to schools and classrooms where close attention goes into

issues of how history gets translated into books and drama. History is sometimes more interesting than students think, and there are always questions about where one draws lines between what is known and unknown, what is important or not important.

The group did an entertaining production based on the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, and the most recent outing, "Patriot Dreams," featured the Rebellion of 1837 in this area. Dramatic characters such as Dr John Gilchrist and John Darcus moved very easily to the stage.

We are happy to give support to such worthy activities. Come rain or sleet, the message must get through.

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### Lech Furriers

Lech Furriers have been on George Street in Peterborough since 1861, and at the present location since 1865. Some think that the family-owned business which has been together through five generations may be distinctive now that the Molsons and the Eatons are no longer family firms. Kelly McGillis, in the *Peterborough Examiner*, 8 October 2001, did an informative feature article on the firm led by Gary Lech, who introduced his nephew, Karl Lech. The diary of the founder, William Lech, is a superb historical document that traced his wanderings across Europe to Peterborough. Karl Lech shared many interesting stories about the family and the business. Except for the recession of the 1980s and the anti-fur lobbies, the business has done well, and fur is certainly in fashion, and very important to the Canadian establishment.

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## Manager's Report

Keith Dinsdale

### Research Division Report

The queries staff has now had a great boost by the hiring of Tammy Lake full time{thanks to a government program]. She will be handling the business end of the TVA as well as replying to all the queries. This will allow the researchers to spend more time searching and then we can catch up on the back log of correspondence..But don't forget that our staff other than Tammy are all volunteers who do it for the love of the chase.

AGAIN...please notify us of any change in your e-mail and postal addresses.

### Many Thanks Department

1. Theresa McLaughlin and Kevin Perdue transcribed all the Emily Twp. family Births, Marriages and Deaths from the microfilm of Roman Catholic diocesan records relating to Lindsay, Downeyville and Peterborough. They have also done over twelve family histories ,which we will be receiving shortly.

2. Stan McBride and Marlow Banks donated the monumental Logan family history which Marlow lovingly created many years ago.

3. Evelyn O'Neill donated the 1867 map of the landowners in Emily Twp.

4. Martha Kidd donated her map collection covering from Hastings Cty through to Victoria Cty We noticed with interest her copy of the 1924 directory maps showing landowners in the three counties and adjacent areas. It is not that easy to do family research in that time period, and we suspect there may be a market for a reprint edition. We welcome

financial donations toward such a project.

5. Thanks to Milburn Jones for the Jones family history.

6. The Smith Twp. Historical Society shared the excellent *Peterborough Examiner* article about the work of the Trent Valley Archives. It is always great to see heritage organizations giving support to one another.

7. The National Archives of Canada and the Archives of Ontario give very prompt microfilm loan system. This has been of great service to our members, and we are most grateful.

8. Thanks to the MacKenzie family for donating their collection of the Peterborough Examiner obituaries from 1991 to 2000 which we have put on CD and are for sale. No words can express the amount of dedicated love and energy that they have devoted over the years to uncovering the stories of people in this area, and sharing it with others. The proceeds of the CD will go to the work of the Trent Valley Archives.

9. Stan McLean donated a copy of the very interesting illustrated family history, *The Fenner Family: Emily & Charles: 1917: Book of Cousins*, apparently produced last year. Stan spoke to our Board of Directors about the newly-created Fenner Foundation which he reports is looking for fresh ways to celebrate the histories of all "Home Children."

10. The Peterborough Utilities Commission and Riverview Park and Zoo awarded a Certificate of Appreciation to the Fairview Heritage Centre for providing them with historical information. This is really a valued recognition

of community service. It is especially a tribute to the fine work and energy of Don Cournoyea, one of our great volunteers.

11. We thank Evelyn O'Neill for sharing with us the delightful 1825 commonplace book It is a work of art, and we will have an assessment report in a future *Heritage Gazette*.

### Current News

The members of the newly formed Emily/Omemee Historical Society were given a tour of our facility recently and were quite pleased at the services we offer.

An intriguing story is unfolding on the family history of the Carey/ Carew family of this area. Three researchers are trying to understand why this family has used both names at varying times over the past 140 years. The records have been thoroughly checked and it has become quite a conundrum.[Even Sherlock Holmes would have had trouble with this.]

Our thanks to those who made donations in memory of Jim Moloney. These will be used towards the cost of archival supplies and organization related to the fine collection of real estate appraisal records which he recently donated to the Trent Valley Archives.

We like to give thanks to the many volunteers who make this place hum. There are so many things to do and so much to share and to discover.

If you would like to arrange a visit to our facilities, simply give us a call: 745-4404.

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***Trent Valley Archives  
Trent Valley Ancestral Research***

*Your five counties archives centre  
Archives \* Heritage \* Genealogy  
Serving Peterborough, Victoria, Haliburton,  
Durham and Northumberland and area*

*Research Room and Book Room  
Public access to internet  
open 10-4 daily except Sunday*

*Owned and operated by volunteers  
with a love of history and families.*

*Memberships only \$40 a year.*

***Visitors always welcome***

**FAIRVIEW HERITAGE  
CENTRE**

567 Carnegie Avenue  
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*Turn at the zoo; 1.6 km*

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[info@trentvalleyarchives.com](mailto:info@trentvalleyarchives.com)  
[www.trentvalleyarchives.com](http://www.trentvalleyarchives.com)

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**One book?**

Furrier Gary Lech was asked if he could spend one hour with a book, what would it be?

"I was born and raised here so I would choose *Peterborough, the Electric City* by Elwood Jones and Bruce Dyer."

*Peterborough Examiner, 8 October 2001*

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***Heritage Gazette  
of the Trent Valley***

The Trent Valley Archives publishes the Heritage Gazette, successor to the Trent Valley Archives News, as a forum for celebrating history, family history, ancestral research, genealogy, and archives in eastern central Ontario. The Trent Valley runs from the Georgian Bay to the Bay of Quinte, and the historical Newcastle District runs from Cobourg to Haliburton. It is available only as a benefit of membership (\$40 per year), and is published four times a year in May, August, November and February.

We are interested in news, upcoming events, stories about the past, present and future, family histories, great finds, upcoming events, and any efforts to make sense of the history of the area, or to preserve its archival heritage. Some of the important items of continuing interest will be shared on our website. [www.trentvalleyarchives.com](http://www.trentvalleyarchives.com)

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**Managers: Keith Dinsdale and Bill Amell**

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The Fairview Heritage Centre will be open six days a week during the summer. Come out and see what is new in ancestral research, local archives and the world wide web.

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**Fairview Heritage Centre**

There is always something happening at the Fairview Heritage Centre, so we hope to see you during the summer. Drop in for sure.

Our traditional anniversary weekend is the first weekend in June.

We are working hard on developing the descriptions and finding aids for our many archival and photographic collections. If you would like to help, just contact a member of the Board of Directors or drop by.

The Community Access Program is open to all members of the community. We expect to develop support for people interested in doing historical and genealogical research on the world wide web. The developments in this area have been astounding, and we are proud to be where the action is.

**See you soon!**

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