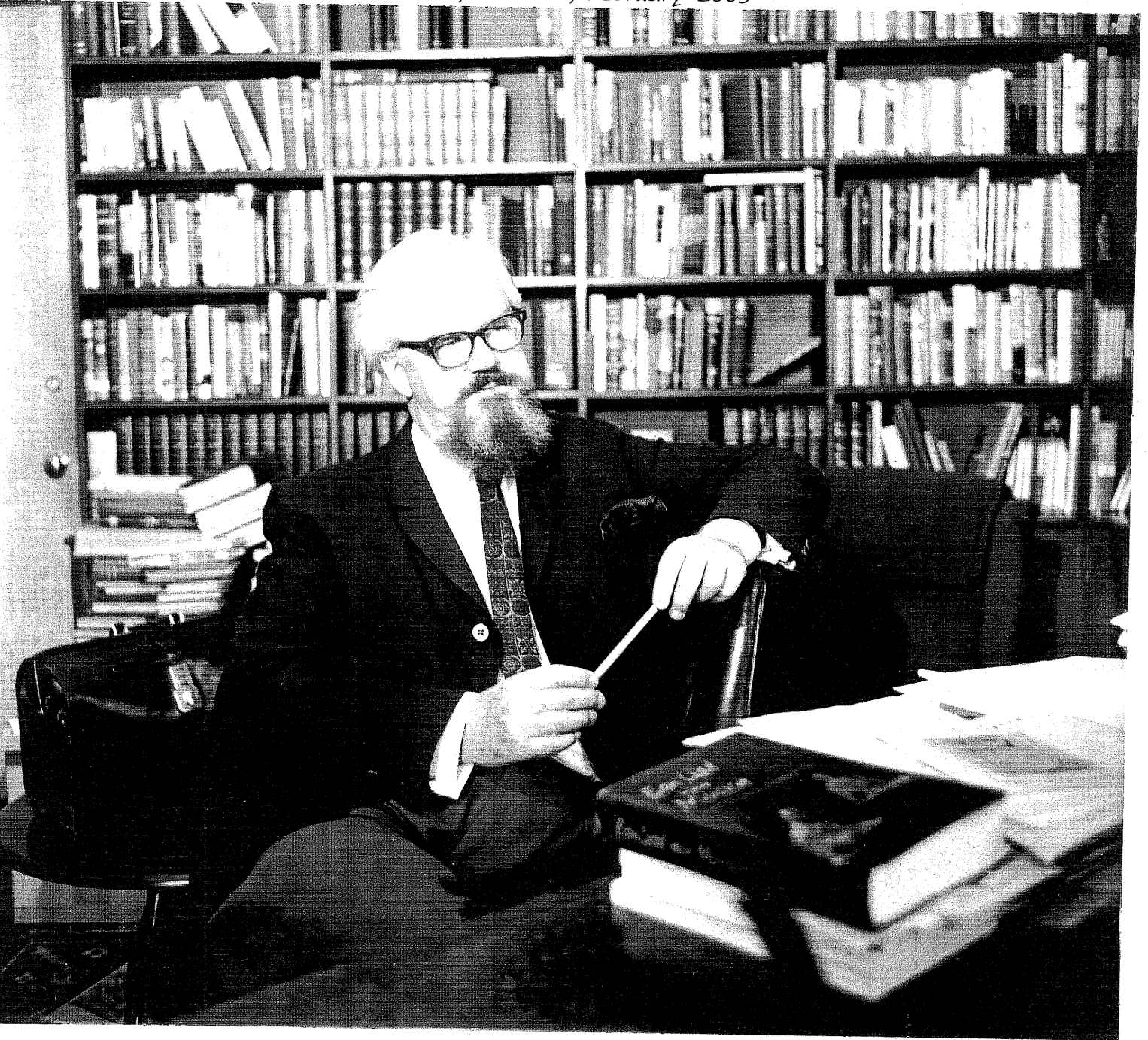


The Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley

Volume 7, number 4, February 2003



Trent Valley Archives

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Cover photo: Robertson Davies in his office at the Peterborough Examiner.
[Electric City Collection 3.300; photo by Nick Yunge-Bateman, Peterborough Examiner]

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Advertising accepted

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
for east-central Ontario and connections*
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 supports the work of the Archives Association of Ontario, local heritage organizations and historical societies.

We were among the earliest supporters for the preservation of Ontario land records locally and are pleased to have been named the official repository for the land records of Peterborough County.

TVA 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 developed an archival repository dedicated to rescuing records and to supporting research into the history of the Trent Valley or to individuals and families so connected.

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 and research archives of Howard Pammett, J. Alex Edmison, Archie Tolmie, Albert Hope, Jim Moloney, Martha Kidd, John and Mary Young, the Robert Delledone collection on Lakefield's history; the Anson House archives, 1862 to the present; the Dyer family. There are now over 50 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 private libraries of Howard Pammett, Alex Edmison and Archie Tolmie. There are also books, journals and newsletters relating to archival organizations and functions, local, family and specialty history, 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, architecture 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 microfilm collections.

Our growing Genealogy Program computer database contains over 160,000 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.

Membership

The reading room is open to members from Monday to Saturday, 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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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. Members receive discounts. We will also help members search for titles.

We are also proud to be selling many of the recent Ontario historical

atlases which have been reprinted.

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

- 001 Abridged Atlas Peterborough County, pb A.O.C. Cole ed. 15.00
002 Along the Gravel Road Sherrill Branton Leetooze 18.95
003 Asphodel: A Tale of a Township Jean Lancaster Graham 25.00
004 Bridgenorth: Centre of the Universe Smith Township 30.00
005 Built of Faith & Fortitude Sherrill Branton Leetooze 18.95
006 Chemong Park Story, pb Smith Township 9.00
007 Crew of the Flagship Sherrill Branton Leetooze 18.95
008 Durham County Companion Sherrill Branton Leetooze 18.95
011 Hotels, Inns & Taverns of Old Durham Sherrill Branton Leetooze 10.00
012 Irish, Orange & Proud Sherrill Branton Leetooze 18.95
013 Kawartha Park by Path & Paddle, pb Smith Township 12.00
014 Once Upon a Lifetime, pb Pat Williams 14.95
015 Peter Robinson Settlement, pb Wm LaBranche 7.50
016 Peter Robinson Settlers, pb Carol Bennett 20.00
017 Putting Flesh on the Bones of Your Devon & Cornwall Ancestors Sherrill Branton Leetooze 11.95
018 Selected Poems of William Telford, pb William Telford 10.00
019 Set of 7 Township Histories (in box) Sherrill Branton Leetooze 125
020 Sketches of Peterborough Martha Kidd/signed 20.00
021 Smith Family Maps Smith Township 12.00
022 Smith Township Maps Smith Township 12.00
023 Trail Through the Bush Sherrill Branton Leetooze 18.95
024 Nelson to Lakefield Lakefield Historical Society 50.00
025 Mizilyaakwa-Tibelh Lakefield G. Young 50.00
026 49th Parallel, pb William Olgvie 5.00
027 Anson House - A Refuge & a Home Elwood Jones 20.00
028 City of Peterborough 1875 Historical Map H. Drosius 10.00

- 029 Cox Terrace & George Cox, pb Jones, Kidd & Hobbs 3.50
030 History of North Monaghan Township Alta Whitfield 20.00
031 Intermittent Ambition, pb Elwood Jones 3.50
032 Mayors of Peterborough, pb Ed Arnold 15.00
033 Peterborough, Land of Shining Waters Centennial Committee 15.00
034 The Past is Simply a Beginning, Peterborough Doctors 1825-1973 Dr. John Martyn/signed 15.00
035 Township of Douro Maps G. Dibb 5.00
036 Victorian Snapshot A.O. C. Cole 30.00
037 Way Way Down North, pb William Olgvie 5.00
038 Wilson Family in Canada, pb O.O. Calhoun 15.00
039 Historical Atlas of Peterborough County- reprint, large (12x17") 1825-1875 Hard Cover, land owners listed A.O.C. Cole ed. 90.00

DIGITAL PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE
E-1 Obituaries from the Peterborough Examiner 1992-2000 searchable PDF format CD ROM; transcribed by the MacKenzie Family; 25.00
E-2 St. Peter's Cemetery 4,255 colour photographs of gravestones, searchable by surname CD ROM 2001 Group' 39.95
E-3 Victoria County Marriages 1869-1873 floppy disk searchable PDF format; comp Marianne MacKenzie 7.50
E-4 Index to Little Lake Cemetery Peterborough beginning to 1998, Floppy disk searchable PDF format, gives name and death date from Cemetery Office records 10.00

USED BOOKS FOR SALE

Check our website for the latest selections.

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.

Alan Wilson encounters Sir Sandford Fleming

The fine TV documentary on "Sir Sandford Fleming" will be showcased at Trent University's Wenjack Theatre, 12 March, at 7:30 p.m. Alan Wilson, the driving force behind the project will comment on how historians make a difference in such projects and will show slides illustrating the behind-the-scenes aspects of writing, developing, and filming a biography of a celebrated Canadian. The event is open to everyone and there is no admission charge.

The Wenjack Theatre is on the east bank of the Trent Campus, in Otonabee College. There is a convenient parking lot easily reached from the River Road, the scenic drive between Peterborough and Lakefield.

Alan Wilson, the founding head of both History and Canadian Studies at Trent University used his fine story-telling skills, and exceptional knowledge of Sir Sandford Fleming to produce a most entertaining episode about Fleming in the History Television series, "The Canadians." It premiered on Wednesday, 25 September 2002, on History Television. The film, produced by Whitman and Matthew Trecartin of Tri-Media Production Services in Halifax, includes comments by Alan Wilson, Elwood Jones and Jean Cole.

Fleming had a remarkable Canadian career as a surveyor

and railway promoter. It began in Peterborough, when as a lad of 18 he emigrated from Kirkaldy, Scotland and stayed with his cousin, Dr John Hutchison, in what is now the Hutchison House Museum. Then after 35 years with several surveyors and railway companies, including the Intercolonial and the Canadian Pacific, he had another 35 year career as Chancellor of Queen's University. During these later years he was the great promoter of international standard time. The film captures Fleming's family and personal connections, many directly from Peterborough.

Alan Wilson's visit has been made possible by the generous sponsorship of Otonabee College, the History Department and the Canadian Studies Program with the support of the Trent Valley Archives and the Peterborough Historical Society.

Alan Wilson is featured at a colloquium in the Traill College Junior Common Room on Thursday, 13 March, at 1 pm to 3 pm, in which he will talk about "History and Fiction in Documentary Film, Biography and Literature." This will be followed by tea.

As well, people can meet Alan Wilson at a special reception welcoming him to Peterborough. This will be held at the Trent Valley Archives, 567 Carnegie Avenue, at 1 p.m. on Wednesday, 12 March. Other events are being planned during Alan Wilson's visit. To arrange interviews with Alan Wilson or myself, or to get more detailed information contact Elwood Jones at ejones@trentu.ca or at 705 743-0231.

Trent Valley Archives Annual General Meeting set 24 April 2003

The Trent Valley Archives executive announces that its annual general meeting will be held on Thursday, 24 April 2003, at 7 pm in the Peterborough Public Library, Aylmer Street, Peterborough, beginning at 7:30 pm. As well as the normal business of an annual meeting, we will confirm last year's resolution to establish the TVA Trust Fund.

Immediately following the AGM, Elwood Jones will discuss "Health and Welfare: archives and the writing of history." Drawing upon his wide experience, notably in the writing of the history of Anson House, the golf course and exhibitions, his light-hearted and useful illustrated talk will discuss how writers hear and share the voices of participants (such as patients, volunteers, nurses, doctors, administrators), institutions, community and the historian. He will discuss practical issues: how to get going and keep going; how to make decisions, as you pursue your research, thinking and writing.

This will be an opportunity to thank our volunteers who make the place hum. We need you all. The general public is warmly welcome. Bring a friend. Refreshments will be served.

Writing Local History: Robertson Davies, Howard Pammett and the "Progress of Peterborough" 1945-51

The following letters are excerpted from the Howard Pammett's file of correspondence relating to the Peterborough Examiner. [TVA Fonds 1, Howard Pammett fonds, Series 4, file 14: Correspondence, Peterborough Examiner, 1945-54.] We were prompted to look closely at the file as Judith Skelton Grant has just published an excellent book based on letters written by Robertson Davies before 1975. Her selection was very good and highlighted Robertson Davies' views of Peterborough, the experience of being a writer in Canada, and many other themes. However, we wondered whether we would get a better feel about Davies if we followed a single thread through several letters. Judith Skelton Grant was not aware of this series in the Trent Valley Archives. This file reveals how Davies approached the job of being the editor of the Peterborough Examiner, and in the process tells us much about how he thought history should be written and preserved, and how selfish or uninterested the people of Peterborough were when it came to local history. During these years,

Peterborough had no historical society, no historical museum, no archives, no Trent University. Even though we now have all of these, the concerns that course through the letters remain concerns today.

Through the letters we get very personal insights into both Davies and Pammett. Davies' play "At My Heart's Core," a play based in the founding years of Peterborough, was first performed in 1950 and yet no references to it appear in this exchange. Both were interested in promoting local history. As we read the letters we see two quite different approaches. Robertson Davies wants short, sprightly articles that provide fascinating insights into the lives of local people in a local setting. While Howard Pammett believed he could meet such a standard, he was more interested in providing solid, authoritative chunks of local history. Davies was a fox; Pammett, a hedgehog. Davies was hoping that Pammett would find the pace, and that he would synthesize the stories he found. Instead, Pammett became more fascinated by what he found, and was reluctant to edit what he was sure others would find fascinating.

The "Progress of Peterborough" ran every Saturday from January 1950 to August 1951, and is available at the Trent Valley Archives in the Don Cournoyea collection. Pammett hoped to convert the articles into a book, but that has not yet happened. This is probably because in eighty weekly columns, Pammett never found a narrative purpose for what he was writing. Even when writing the histories of Douro and Emily he used the encyclopedic strategies of "Progress of

Peterborough." Pammett did not deliver what he promised. Initially he was going to write ten articles for the Examiner's special edition marking the centennial of municipal government in Peterborough. That was changed to be a series to run weekly throughout the centennial year, 1950. The expectation was that Pammett would tell fascinating stories from the beginning to nearly 1950 that collectively would give a sense of Peterborough and the surrounding district as a lively and interesting community. The series was extended to the end of March 1951, so the project could be completed, but when it finally came to a halt by mutual agreement in August 1951, Pammett had only brought his story to about 1900.

While Davies was undoubtedly right about everything he said, it is fair to say that the local historical community has valued the "Progress of Peterborough" series. When I talked to Pammett while writing Peterborough: the Electric City (1987) Pammett suggested that it was unnecessary as he had already written the definitive history of Peterborough. Of course, there is no such thing as the definitive history of a community. Every historian has to define the themes and the witnesses that define the spirit and context for local events. Bruce Dyer and I wrote a series of articles that appeared in the Examiner in the spring and summer of 1987; each article was loaded with details that did not appear in the book we also wrote. Later I have written on several subjects related to Peterborough, and the book hardly mentioned these subjects at all: the Peterborough Gypsies, Hazelbrae and the

Barnardo Children, the Peterborough Chime, religion between 1870 and 1920, the Peterborough Exhibition, the Peterborough Golf and Country Club and Anson House. None of these subjects were noticed by Pammett either. The writing of local history requires both lively synthesis and careful preservation of records and details from the past. Peterborough needs both more foxes and more hedgehogs; the Trent Valley Archives welcomes both.

The Importance of Local History
Peterborough Examiner, 15 August 1945

We have received the News Letter of the Ontario Historical Society, which contains this note of a resolution contained in the minutes of its annual meeting for 1945:

Congratulations and thanks were extended to "the daily and weekly newspapers of Ontario for the space and attention that they have devoted to historical matter during the past year, whereby interest in history has undoubtedly been greatly stimulated." Since this resolution cannot be sent separately to all newspapers concerned, it is hoped that this publication of it will be noticed.

From time to time to time we have printed articles relating to the early history of this city and county in our columns, and we have been pleasantly surprised by the enthusiasm with which they have been received by our readers. We feel an obligation to do whatever we can to help in collecting and preserving the

records and intimate history of this district, for we know that it is from newspaper columns that much of the material for more extended histories is drawn. In Great Britain, and particularly in the West Country, it has long been the custom for newspapers to devote a column a week to archaeological and historical notes, contributed by local antiquaries. If the material were available, we should be happy to introduce that custom here.

There was once an Historical Society of Peterborough, but it dwindled to nothing because interest in it failed. But surely it left records of its findings, and surely those records were not destroyed; they would provide a foundation for the work of the society if it could be revived. We think it a pity that any large Canadian settlement should lack an historical society, for the field work which these societies can do in collecting old documents, and making notes of the recollections of aged persons, and photographing old buildings, is invaluable to other historians, and is an absorbing hobby in itself. Are there any local enthusiasts who are prepared to revive the Historical Society?

Robertson Davies to Howard Pammett, 5 October 1948

Thank you for your letter, and I am glad that you are considering my proposal. I shall see that your letter asking for information is published tomorrow.

I would like to make it clear that we do not expect that you can include the whole of Peterborough's history in the short form that I have suggested to you. We should very much like, however, to give our readers

something which will be of permanent value to them, and which will give them a lively sense of the interesting history of this district. Dr Poole's history is very dull in my opinion, and I get the impression that he suppressed a good deal of very interesting information in order not to give offence to people who were living at that time, and also to fit in with the idea which Peterborough had of itself in that day – that is that it was an ideal Methodist civilization, untouched by wickedness of any kind – but from what I hear about country life in this district in the past, and particularly about the doings of those appalling ruffians, the "Cavan Blazers", it was a very lively place in which religious and political feeling often reached boiling point. I do not know whether you agree with me on this matter, but I should be glad to hear your views.

Of course you are at liberty to quote from any articles which have appeared in this paper. I feel that the publication of a good deal of interesting new matter in our special edition would create interest in the preparation of a full length history of this district. I should be glad to hear from you when you have prepared your list of subjects.

Robertson Davies to Howard Pammett, 6 July 1949

Dear Mr Pammett:

I was glad to hear from you, and I had supposed that your silence was the result of the lack of response to your letter in The Examiner. However, I believe that you are a native of this district, and I am sure that you know how reluctant people here are to stir themselves about

anything or to volunteer information about their family history. I think that as you suggest, it would be necessary to do some work on the spot in order to find anything which is not already common knowledge. I shall be in my office on July 11th, but I have a meeting in the afternoon from which I cannot be absent, and I would therefore be very pleased if you could arrange to call on me in the morning. I am looking forward to meeting you, and hope that our conversation will prove fruitful.

**Howard Pammett to
Robertson Davies, 14
December 1949**

I am sending forward herewith the first article of the series on the history of the Peterborough district concerning which you wrote me some time ago, and which we discussed last July when I was in Peterborough.

As you will note after reading it, it is primarily an introductory article laying the foundation for the series. Some mention was made of a series of ten articles, but I have made up a tentative list on the basis of what material is available as follows:

- I. The Kawarthas in the Time of Champlain and the Indians: Up to 1818 A.D.
- II. The Early Pioneers of 1818 -1825 - Birdsall, Stewart, Smith, etc.
- III. Robinson's Irish Emigration of 1825 - Selection in Ireland and Trip to Kingston
- IV. Peterborough Is Founded - Arrival and Settlement of the Irish, 1825-1826
- V. Pioneer Struggles in the Kawarthas 120 years ago.

VI. The Kawartha 'School' of Writers - Stewart, Strickland, Traill, Moodie, Need, Langton, etc.

VII. Peterborough Village 1825-50

VIII. Rural Life a Century Ago in Peterborough County - life of the people, amusements, industries, homes, &c - Cavan Blazers, Ennismore gangs, etc.

IX. How Peterborough People Lived in the 1850s - their urban homes, stores, mills, churches, trade, banking, sports, etc.

X. Settlement and Industry Spread North in the Kawarthas - 1850-1920

XI. Peterborough as a Town - 1850-1905

XII. The Kawarthas as a Vacation Land in the last 75 years

XIII. Peterborough Becomes a Modern Industrialized City, 1905-50

XIV. Peterborough's Heritage and the Future - a general history of the foundations for Peterborough's development.

In this series I have tried to balance and alternate the growth of the district and the town of Peterborough, as you will observe from the titles. I take it that it would be most useful to include as much as possible about the more outstanding pioneer families, many of whom have descendants still in the region. However, if you feel that this series of 14 articles is too much, I will endeavor to consolidate and limit it to any number you wish.

This first article will, I think, approximate one full newspaper page. I would like to suggest that you print with it a good clear map of the Kawartha district from

Lake Simcoe to the Bay of Quinte and Lake Ontario, preferably one showing the townships of Peterborough County, plus Emily and Cavan, Cobourg and Port Hope. If nothing is available locally, I will find out whether the Dept. of Mines and Resources has a suitable map of the district, if you wish. I do not believe there are any pictures needed with this first article, unless you want to run one of Champlain, or Hon. Zaccheus Burnham the contract surveyor.

On the general subject of pictures and maps and charts for the series, I may say that I have quite a few maps and charts showing various phases of the settlement, plus a few sketches which might be reproduced. I also have some of various points of interest at various dates. The early sketches of the Peterborough district by Captain Basil Hall, Anne Langton, etc. as reproduced by Guillet and others, may be available, but I have no information about them. Possibly in the Denne Collection of historical pictures there may be some of use, and various families in the district may have pictures of their early pioneer ancestors. May I rely on your good offices to look after these, if you wish to publish them with the articles?

I would like to learn also something definite about just when and how the articles are to appear. Some mention was made of a Special Centenary Issue of the 'Examiner' - is this still your intention? Do you wish the articles to appear all at once in such an issue, or do you plan to space them out at intervals of a few weeks through the centenary year 1950? Frankly, I would prefer the latter course, particularly if there is to be a

long series. At any rate, I would appreciate knowing just what the 'deadline' is for the next and subsequent articles, so that I can get them done in good time.

As to price, you mentioned the sum of \$60.00 per article at one time. Would you let me have something definite on this, when you are advising about the number of articles, when they are to arrive, and so forth. I have heard that the common practice is to pay at the time each article is published, but I am not familiar with newspaper practice. One last item - you assured me that the copyright for the articles would remain with me, in case I should want to consolidate and / or expand the series into a book later. I am in hopes that the publication of the articles by your newspaper will stir up so much interest that book publication will be worthwhile.

And finally, would you please be good enough to arrange that get about 6 or 8 copies of each issue of the 'Examiner' in which my articles appear. Many thanks in advance.

I hope to hear from with definite information on these matters as soon as convenient.

Yours very truly,
Howard T Pammett

P.S. I would advise against any prior publication of the titles of forthcoming articles, beyond the immediate one following, as what we bureaucrats call "the exigencies of the material situation" may result in slight changes after the material is put into shape and the article written. HTP

Robertson Davies to Howard Pammett, 19 December 1949

Dear Mr Pammett:

Thank you for your letter of December 14th. I have gone into the problem of publishing the articles which you have outlined in some detail, and I do not see that it will be possible for us to publish them in the form which you suggest. As you yourself say, these articles would each take up about one full newspaper page. We have no capacity for articles which take up so much space, and we know from experience that most readers avoid them, as they have a very foreboding appearance. What we should very much like, and what I hope will be agreeable to you, is fifty articles running to about 1000 words each, and certainly never more than 1200 words. We should like to run one of these articles every week during 1950 except for two weeks in the summer, which would give you a slight break. I know that such a method is not the most satisfactory one if you wish to republish these articles in book form, but it is quite out of the question for us to publish articles of great length, with two or three weeks' interval between the appearance of each one. Such a series would not attract and hold nearly as many readers as a regular weekly short article.

We will take care of providing illustrations for the articles if these should seem to be necessary. We have, of course, published a good many pictures of early Peterborough and its people in the past, and some of them have appeared so often that there would be little point in running them again. For articles of this kind, however, we do not

think that it is necessary to have a picture every time, as the articles themselves command sufficient attention without them.

Regarding payment, we would be prepared to pay \$12.00 an article for such a series as I have described, which would amount to \$600.00 in all. This is precisely the same price as I mentioned for a series of ten long articles at \$60.00 each.

If this plan is agreeable to you, we should like to have the first of these thousand-word articles before the end of the year, for publication on Saturday, January 7th. We would like to have each succeeding article in the office on the Saturday before it is to appear; that is to say, precisely one week in advance of publication. We find that this interval of time gives about the right amount of protection to both the writer and the newspaper in case of mishaps.

As we are anxious to complete our arrangements for features of this sort during the coming year, I would be grateful if you would send me a telegram collect, stating whether these arrangements and these terms are acceptable to you.

Robertson Davies to Howard Pammett, 7 February 1950

Dear Mr Pammett:

Thank you for your letter of February 6th, and for the suggestions about illustrations, which I will pass on to Mr Allen. Regarding the matters which you bring up at the end of your letter, we have decided to have the off-prints of the articles done in groups of twelve or sixteen. We do not make the off-prints in our

own office, but send them to a job printer to be done on a machine of a type which we do not possess. We are dealing with the matter in this way, because we think that it will make a neater job, and it will then be possible to file the off-prints in neat pamphlets. I assure you that we have not forgotten that we promised off-prints to you, and they will be sent to you as soon as they are made, which will not be, however, for some weeks. If you have not received payment for the first four articles by the time this letter reaches you, a cheque should reach you shortly, as our accountant tells me the cheque was mailed to you on the 4th of February. I know that you asked that your articles be numbered with Arabic numerals, but we have a preference for Roman numerals in matters of this kind, and we have never had it suggested to us by any reader that he found these difficult to make out. May I suggest that your complaint that an Irish farmer would have difficulty in puzzling out such a number as XXXVIII is hardly valid, as all of us learned Roman numerals at school, and as the Irish have notoriously good heads for figures, I don't think that they would have any trouble in reading them.

I am sorry that you are disappointed in the matter of response to your series of articles in the way of letters. You must not be disappointed, nor must you assume that your articles are not being widely read. It has been my experience that the people in this district are extremely slow to respond to such matters, and that the last thing that they are likely to do is to write a letter to a

newspaper commending it for something that it has printed. From time to time we receive letters of complaint about things that we print, but very rarely letters of commendation. This is pretty general all over Ontario. I can assure you that from what I hear in the city that your articles are being widely read, and are greatly appreciated, but if you expect Irish Canadians to take the trouble to say so in print, I can only say that I envy you your warm faith in humanity.

Robertson Davies to Howard Pammett, 19 April 1950

Thank you for your letter of April 18th. I am glad that you are going to fall in with my suggestion to finish the Peterborough history by March 31st, 1951. I did not mean to imply by my earlier letter that there was no interest in your articles at all. They have attracted a good deal of interest, but among a small circle of people, and so far as I have been able to discover, the local history teachers have done very little to make use of them. I know that this is discouraging, but I am sure that you realize that people, including teachers, are extremely reluctant to do anything which interferes with their routine, or presents them with even a small amount of extra work. There may be history classes in the city which are keeping these articles carefully, but I have not heard of them. I hope that you will not think that I am unduly cynical when I suggest that what they will do is wait for about five years and then want to come into this office and scramble over the files in search of information which they could have now if they would take the trouble to keep it.

A picture of the Honourable Peter Robinson appeared in the last article of yours which was printed. I shall see that the Ontario Archives receive copies of the off-prints. As for your map of Peterborough from 1820-40, it will be printed soon. The delay in using it was caused by the fact that the map which you sent was quite unsuitable for reproduction, as it was much too small and was executed in a kind of ink which does not come out well in engravings. We have had the map copied in a larger size by a commercial artist, and it is being engraved at present. Your original will be returned to you, unfolded as you request. I shall ask Mr Allen to return to you the articles of which you speak.

Robertson Davies to Howard Pammett, 4 May 1951

I am sorry to have been so long in answering your letter of April 23, but I have been digging into the questions related to your series "Progress of Peterborough". I find that we have been remiss in supplying you with the off-prints which we promised to you, and I am very sorry that this should have been so. Apparently there was some argument in the mechanical department about how these off-prints should be prepared, and the matter has been neglected. However, we have all the type of the articles, and work has begun now in making proofs of these which will be sent to you just as soon as they are ready. I am not sure quite how long this will take, but I have asked the printers to hurry it up and will see that these off-prints are sent to you the very minute that they have been completed.

Robertson Davies to Howard Pammett, 14 June 1951

Mr. Allen has passed on to me your letter of June 13. This is the latest of a number of letters which you have written since you set out on your History of Peterborough for this paper, all of which, as I remember them, have contained complaints of one sort and another about the way in which this newspaper is treating your work. Before I continue on this theme, let me answer your latest complaints; I sent an order to the subscription department some time ago that your subscription should be continued until further notice without charge. If you are not receiving your newspaper within the week, please let me know and I will find out why. Off-prints of your articles were sent to you yesterday. I am truly sorry that our conduct has been so unsatisfactory in supplying these to you, but there are technical difficulties involved in work of this kind which will not have occurred to you. It was our intention to have the off-prints made in pamphlet form by a job-printer. When we discovered, however, that he wanted to make extra copies of these pamphlets for sale, we refused to allow him to do so, and in that, I think you will admit that we protected your interests. However, we had to make the off-prints ourselves on a proof-press, and this is a long job which has to be done after hours by our apprentices. However, the off-prints have been completed and I presume that you have them at this time.

Now, permit me to deal with one or two other matters of which you seem to be unaware, but which, I feel, should be made

known to you. You undertook to write this History for the Examiner, completing it in the Centennial year and bringing it up to 1950. You failed utterly to come anywhere near this objective. You were, however, paid for three extra months of this work because we were prepared to recognize your difficulties. These difficulties, however, are entirely of your own making. You have made no adequate attempt to synthesize your material, but have been content to put huge, indigestible gobs of it into your articles. You have neglected one of the first requirements of a writer in that you have not had your conclusion in sight before making your beginning: you have sent us, not a coherent work, but a mass of ill-organized and unsifted research material. The result was to make your History at first, dull, and by this time, downright unreadable. We continue to print it only because we are reluctant to leave a project uncompleted. We are only too well aware, however, that very few people read your History.

I am sorry that it has been necessary to say these things to you, but you appear to believe that you have given us, in return for our payment, an excellent History of Peterborough. What you have actually done is to take much longer than the stated time to give us an inferior History of Peterborough. You do not seem to think that we have dealt fairly with you. It is very hard for us to feel that you have dealt fairly in return.

I must tell you plainly, therefore, that you must complete this History up to 1900, as fast as you can, as we are anxious to be done with it.

Robertson Davies to Howard Pammett, 20 June 1951

Thank you for your letter of June 18. I had expected that my communication to you would provoke a sharp retort, and your letter undoubtedly contained the liveliest writing that has ever reached this newspaper from your pen. I am returning your money order which I would not dream of accepting. You are fully entitled to the complimentary copy of the paper which you have received, and I am assured by our circulation department that your name is again upon their list and that you should be receiving the paper.

It is not my wish to quarrel with you or to make you feel badly, and I do not intend to go through your letter attempting to refute the things which you have said. It is plain that our worlds and views are entirely different: as a newspaper editor, my job is to procure and print what people will read, taking such care as I can to get material of the best quality; your job, as a man interested primarily in historical research, and secondarily in interesting a large public, is to get as much indisputable information as you can and to put it down as fully as possible. My readers have neither the patience nor the training to appreciate your method, and my instinct as an editor was not at fault when I specified at the beginning that your account of the progress of Peterborough should be contained in fifty articles.

Your suggestion that I do not know what is involved in writing local histories is ill-founded. I have read a good many of them with interest and am a member of two societies which publish

quarterly reports on historical research in the Welsh border country. I am continually astonished at the degree of literary skill and liveliness with which the writers are able to invest material, which, at first sight, might appear to be unpromising. I had hoped for something of that kind in Peterborough, but you must not think that I lay the blame for the very limited success of the venture entirely at your door; local people who possess information which might be of wide interest have been remarkably close-mouthed and uncommunicative about their innocent matters which could not possibly have reflected any way but favourably upon themselves. It is impossible to write the history of people who regard the past as, in some way, a personal possession of their own.

I am glad that you share my opinion that it would be well to finish this series quickly. I wish you every success with your publication of the History in book form, and I can assure you that this newspaper will not be ungenerous in its treatment of the book when it appears.

Robertson Davies; the People's Chime and Peterboronians

[Editor's note: This letter to Sylvia Sutherland was in response to her column in the *Peterborough Examiner*, 23 December 2002. She was

reading the recent book of Robertson Davies' letters with Dr Gordon Roper. As a result of this correspondence, and arrangements made with Christine Holloway, the chime master of the People's Chime, the bells in St John's Church will peal for **St David's Day, 1 March 2003, at 3 pm**. It is hoped this will be an annual occurrence.]

Robertson Davies did not get it entirely right. The People's Chime (not Chimes) were designed for St John's Church, in 1911 (not "during the last century"). The project was spear-headed from start to finish by the Rev Canon J. C. Davidson, then the Rector of Peterborough, and the minister at St John's. There were thirteen bells (not 12); since the major restoration in 1992, there are now 15. It was never a carillon (which requires 26 bells), but always a Chime. However, the people of St John's did widen a church project to include the whole community. And the church still looks for ways to reach out to the whole community.

Robertson Davies was right to remind the people of St John's that it is called the People's Chimes. The bells should ring for all major occasions, including every St David's Day. They have rung for funerals, coronations, the end of wars, and rang daily during Canada's centenary. They ring for weddings, and individuals may request them to ring even for weddings taking place elsewhere. Believe it or not, though, there are some who complain of the noise, especially before noon on Sunday.

The name People's Chime was chosen because in 1911 Canon Davidson wanted a more impressive Chime than initially

planned. A fundraising campaign that presaged the United Way campaigns of later years raised money from leading individuals in the city, and from workers on the assembly lines at General Electric and Quaker. The Chime was never owned by the people in any legalistic or deeded form. However, it was hoped that the people of Peterborough would embrace, and in that sense take ownership, of what was then and remains the largest set of bells between Toronto and Ottawa. It was a civic improvement project. If the people of Peterborough wished to raise the Chime to a Carillon, it could be done. The largest bells are already in place and we are assured the remaining would fit in the tower.

Apparently for safety reasons, the bells were prevented from rolling with the result that the sound was produced by clappers which struck the same spot on each bell. This meant that for those with terrific ears, which Robinson Davies clearly was, would hear a sound more fuzzy than clear. The bells were tuned and refurbished in 1992, and a maintenance plan is in place.

There have been different arrangements for the playing of the Peterborough Chime. Responsibility has shifted between the sexton and the organist, and in some years the Chime committee maintained the roster and handled training sessions.

I have read *Robertson Davies: Discoveries: Early Letters 1938-1975* cover to cover, and plan a full review in the February issue of *Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley*. Naturally, I noticed how easily the expression "Peterboronians" flowed from your pen. Until reading

Discoveries I had never encountered that collective noun for the people of Peterborough. I thought Peterburians was the preferred term; those who were ruder could use Peterboors or Peterburgers. I wonder if anyone knows who else used Peterboronians before Davies so assuredly reported its currency to H.L. Mencken, the guru on American English.

Davies certainly writes beautiful and persuasive letters. I strongly recommend this book for anyone who wants to know more about Peterborough before 1965. And without revealing how the book ends, Gordon Roper will discover that a lot of these letters, notably from the early 1970s, were written to him. Now we need a book that features Gordon's letters to Davies.

Elwood Jones
Parish Archivist and Historian
St John's Anglican Church

Robertson Davies letters provide insight into the history of Peterborough

Elwood Jones

Robertson Davies, *Discoveries: Early letters, 1938-1975*, ed Judith Skelton Grant (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 2002) Pp xvi, 413. Index.

For Robertson Davies, letter writing was an art form at which he excelled. His visually attractive letters could be framed and mounted on walls. Some of the letters are inserted

between the chapters of this book and on the endpapers, and pass as the only illustrations in this book. His writing is a cursive Italic font usually reserved for the salutation and signature. The rest of the letter is typed, and clearly he composed his letters as he wrote. His letters, even when typed by his secretary, Moira Whalon of Peterborough, have generous margins and aesthetic appeal. Physically the letters project the balance between reason and emotion that are the essence of the content as well. I have read thousands of letters, but none have been read more easily than those of Robertson Davies. It is as if he was playing to an audience with every letter he wrote.

Judith Skelton Grant has hunted widely to find letters written by Robertson Davies. His letters are in the Davies papers whenever Moira Whalon typed them; the rest were only with those who received the letters. She has arranged the letters chronologically, identified the recipient and sometimes provided context. As well, she has asterisked the words that spark an endnote, and her endnotes are usually very erudite and useful. The book is arranged in arbitrary, if necessary, sections. The book flows very naturally, a sure indication that the editor did a superb job.

Davies' letters in this collection tell us how Davies saw his career, and allow us to see how living in Peterborough and in Massey College impacted. Davies' career is about types of writing. He writes editorials and letters with ease, but wants to write plays. The plays take extraordinary effort, and seem to get performed by amateurs looking for Canadian quota. He thinks he

was writing plays at an unfortunate time, but after the rise of Stratford and Shaw festivals, and more professional opportunities created from television and Toronto, the opportunities increased greatly for his successors. By this time, he feared, his own plays were either dated or too expensive to produce.

Yet one is left with the feeling that his years of writing editorials and plays made his novels meaty, erudite and impressive. He had a great sense of the dramatic, understood the importance of careful plotting, and allowed his characters to develop. As his career was reaching an apogee in the early 1970s, he turned to Gordon Roper, the only intellectual he knew in wartime Peterborough. Roper was the first critic to see Davies' work in context, and to see his writings as serious and full of meaning.

Davies went to Massey College at the University of Toronto, and Roper came to Trent University. Roper found in Peterborough what Davies never did. Peterborough and Massey College emerge as actors in these letters.

Davies first Peterborough home was a comfortable unstylish room at the Empress Hotel; hotel life was dull, but the food was "endurable." He came to edit the *Peterborough Examiner*, and had favourable first impressions of his nice office, of Hugh L. Garner (wrongly identified by the editor as Herbert) and J Wilson Craw. He thought the people of Peterborough, whom he observed in passing on the streets, were "crass and rough-hewn" but "more real" than those of Toronto and Kingston. Physically, Peterborough, compared favourably with Kingston. (11-17)

The most interesting explanation of Peterborough came in Davies' 1946 letter (25-27) to H L Mencken, the great American writer who was fascinated with words. He said the proper word for someone from here was Peterboronian, but nothing was more honoured than being a "Peterborough man." For this honour, one had to be of a family of at least three generations. V J McElderry, KC, was a fine lawyer but two ladies on a bus did not consider him a "real Peterborough man." As Davies noted, he had been born 25 miles out of Peterborough and had only lived in town for 19 years. I had similar experiences in the early 1970s, and was told by one local that Davies had not lived in Peterborough very long. He was surprised when I replied Davies had lived here at least 21 years. He also told Mencken that Peterborough's name was a tribute to Peter Robinson; "tribute" is precise. The name came from New Hampshire, but won over other choices because Robinson would see it as a compliment. The old pronunciation was "Peterburra" but the announcers on the new CHEX radio station were saying "Peterbow-row." This is a terrific letter revealing Davies' confidence in his powers of observation and hearing. In a letter to Edwin Guillet, (71-72) he discusses the pronunciation of "my" as "me" by Irish descendants in *At My Heart's Core*, his play on the founding of Peterborough.

Davies was disappointed that his plays did not get better critics, better acting companies and better audiences. These letters let us see how he finds consolation. After twelve years he considered himself quite successful for he had many books and plays published, and

his plays were performed. As he told Anthony Quayle, the famed English actor, he was surprised at how theatre companies, in contrast to publishers, left important decisions to people unfitted for the task. (123-124)

His 1961 appointment as Master of the projected Massey College opened fresh possibilities for Davies. He had made the transition to writing novels with *Leaven of Malice* in 1954, but his real success with novels came in the early 1970s. The move from newspaper to academe made it easier for him to tackle novels, which he found was very hard work requiring long periods of concentration. The letters to Gordon Roper emerge as most important in these years. Davies used the letters to try to work out ideas about how novels should be written.

Davies had a remarkable career, and it is breath-taking to keep up with the many ideas that propel his letters. However, as so often in the creative arts, his emergence as a major writer with international importance took nearly thirty years, and when it came it came quickly. He worked thirty years to become an overnight sensation with *Fifth Business* in 1970.

Writing was hard work for Davies. Reading this book is pure pleasure. Davies writes letters with his audience in mind. So much of his life as an actor and as a newspaper man was spent thinking about audiences. It is almost as if the progression from acting, to writing editorials, poetry and plays ensured that his novels would profit from all his earlier writing. So do we.

M a r i a n n e MacKenzie

Marianne Emma (Cocks) MacKenzie, died after a courageous fight against cancer, aged 73 years at Peterborough Regional Health Centre on Thursday, 31 October 2002. She was one of the pillars of the Trent Valley Archives and will be sorely missed. We express our deepest sympathy and condolences to her family.

She is survived by her husband of 55 years, Donald "Don" James MacKenzie; by two sons and two daughters, Donna (married to Brian Whatley), Richard, Alice and John (married to Jennie); and three grandsons, Eli, James and Shawn. She was the daughter of the late John J Cocks and Susannah Tebb; daughter-in-law of the late James MacKenzie and Grace Smith; and sister of William E Cocks, the late Alice Wells, Archibald, Walter, John "Jack" Cocks and Clifford Darling.

Marianne worked at the Peterborough Centennial Museum and Archives for 25 years, 1966 to 1991, and was its first Archivist. She was the first chairperson and then Honorary President of the Smith Township Historical Society. She was a volunteer at the Bridgenorth Public Library. As well, she was a founding member, volunteer, manager, member of the Board of Directors, and one of the driving forces of the Trent Valley Archives. She organized research, proof-read, and indexed several local works including the Historical Atlas, and histories of Smith, Emily and Bridgenorth. She encouraged researchers and writers and

supported countless historical and genealogical projects throughout the region.

Marianne was an accomplished pianist, obtaining her Associate in Music designation in 1950. She enjoyed sharing her love of music for many years as organist for the congregation of St John's Anglican Church in Lakefield and taught many students throughout the Lakefield and Bridgenorth areas in their homes.

Her life was celebrated on Tuesday, 5 November at 1 pm at Kaye Funeral Home, 539 George Street North, in Peterborough, followed by a reception at George Street United Church Hall. Donations in her memory may be made to the Trent Valley Archives.

Reflections on the life of Marianne MacKenzie

Elwood Jones

When Marianne Mackenzie became the founding archivist at the Peterborough Centennial Museum the Archives designation was added to the name: it became PCMA - the Peterborough Centennial Museum and Archives. A friend of mine came from the Public Archives of Canada to advise on the organization of the archives, and I talked with Marianne different times about how to convert a system designed for acres of expansion space into the compact quarters she had. The fruit of our discussions, now visible, is the Trent Valley Archives. Small archives should put all their expansion space in one place: at the end. It is a simple principle - if one can only agree which end is "the end".

Marianne had many virtues as an archivist. She was a team player. The archivist job had risen out of her job as the registrar of Peterborough's new museum. She joined Anne Heideman, who alas passed away last Christmas, and Chalmers Frisken as the definers of what was arguably Peterborough's first significant heritage undertaking. They laid exceptionally fine foundations. They worked hard at getting up and running, and then in their spare time attended countless courses and workshops to upgrade their skills and to connect with the freshly burgeoning provincial museum scene.

Marianne's archives were born out of serendipity. The holdings of the museum were held by a literary, arts and heritage foundation that itself was rooted in Peterborough's museum history. Many of the items gathered by the old Victoria Museum, founded 1897, had been dispersed to the winds. The trust was founded to ensure that whatever happened to future museums, the donations of several generations would be retained within the community. That trust has now been entrusted to the Peterborough Historical Society which had an endowment trust to support the work of the Hutchison House Museum. But with the old trust, it was now possible for the Museum to repatriate the Peter Robinson Papers. As well, the city museum fell heir to old court records. And a happy bunch of pickers had rescued many assessment rolls from the city dump. The combination of these and other events made Marianne realize how many of our names and our collective histories are retrievable from the past, as long as the archival sources are preserved in archives. I think this became the hallmark of the initiatives of the last half of her life.

In a sense, her strategy was simple. She would dispense accessible and usable information to anyone who would undertake really important projects. She indexed books about Peterborough. She compared directories and assessment rolls to censuses. She provided lists of names. Nearly every book about Peterborough history, after *Land of Shining Waters*, benefitted from her help. Perhaps the best, certainly

quintessential, example of her influence was the *Historical Atlas of the County of Peterborough 1825-1875* which totally depended upon her acumen and effort as the research chief for that work. Most of her great indexes are now at the Trent Valley Archives and continue to be as valuable as she imagined they could be.

I worked for Marianne on the atlas project. She had compiled the information from the pertinent directories, the 1869 assessment, and the 1871 and 1881 censuses. She did this as a labour of love, over lunch hours and breaks, and countless evenings as part of the family quality time. We were trying to replicate the atlases of the 1870s and 1880s, a series which stopped short of Peterborough. We had some distinct advantages, although we tied ourselves to the criterion that everything we did had to be knowable in 1875. We compiled lists of individuals, still the most valued feature of the atlas, using a standard of persistence: people had to have been in the county in three of the source lists from 1869 to 1876, and in the 1876 directory. We have learned a great deal about the relationship between assessment and directory information now, and so know that in the Peterborough section I made a flawed assumption that throws out the year of birth by up to two years. Still, Marianne's vision was flawless, and the *Historical Atlas* remains a landmark of local historical publishing. Others did the writing and editing, but Marianne gave it the classic features that make it such an essential resource for local historical study. When Bruce Dyer and I wrote *Peterborough: the Electric City* we likewise always received sound and useful advice from Marianne MacKenzie.

Howard Pammett comments in his book on Emily Township that Marianne MacKenzie proof-read the book and prepared the index. She was the archivist for the Smith Township Historical Committee when the history of Smith Township was produced, and her hand is visible in the best parts of the book. The most telling comment about how Marianne brought Alice and Don into her

historical passions appears in the preface of the Bridgenorth book [Helen Rutherford Willcox, *Bridgenorth: the centre of the universe* (1997)].

"Marianne MacKenzie, former Archivist of the Peterborough Centennial Museum and Archives and now in the same position at the Smith Township Historical Society's Heritage and Learning Centre in the Smith Township Library, has drawn on her extensive experience for the research for the book and for the compilation of the family trees. I have called on the services of her daughter, Alice, for research and typing, and her husband Don for solving computer problems." [p ix]

Marianne's contributions to the Trent Valley Archives have been immense. TVA tries to be true to her driving conviction that archives are the stuff of real history, and that ordinary people (and perhaps historians) can recover the lives, times and events of countless people in what the unimaginative believe to be dusty old archives. "There's exciting stuff in them thar hills." She did everything possible to get a speedy modern edition of Howard Pammett's classic MA thesis, which has been appearing for the past three years in serial form in the *Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley* and is scheduled for publication as a useful book, naturally with an index. She helped us get our signature collections from Pammett and from J Alex Edmison; she created the shelf list for both collections and for the Tolmie collection, three private libraries that form the core of TVA's impressive research library. For some time she was the manager of the Fairview Heritage Centre, the home of TVA. She has been a mainstay of the Archives Committee which has developed mandate and collections policies, arranged and organized collections, and created finding aids for some of the most important fonds. In truth, her touch is felt everywhere.

Recently she gave me her copy of *The Peterborough Letters* by Betty Beeby. These are lithographs inspired by over 100 letters by a 1904 George Street seamstress

reunited with a son she gave up for adoption years before. This portfolio of lithograph sketches and hand-printed letter fragments were not done to Marianne's recommendations; of that we can be sure. But they do reflect the passion of Marianne's life: ordinary lives can be rescued from archives, perhaps in unpredictable ways.

May we also catch the vision.

Mary Frances Young, (nee Baldwin) (14 May 1916 - 17 November 2002)

Mary Frances (nee Baldwin) Young, aged 86, died in Peterborough's Fairhaven Nursing Home. A memorial service celebrating her life was held on Sunday, 26 January, at the Peterborough Lions' Centre.

Mary was predeceased by her husband, John (Jack) Alexander Irwin Young, and her sister Peggy Faught. She was survived by her five children: Alex (Michelle) of North York, Greg (Anne) of Omemee, Barbara of Toronto, Donald (Jennifer) of Toronto, and William (Therese) of Oakville; her six grandchildren: Robert, Mary Anne, Jonathan, Christopher, Annika and Eryn; and her sister Barbara Anderson.

Mary Baldwin was born in Montreal, and raised in Vancouver. After receiving her B.Sc in Home Economics from the University of Manitoba, she taught, 1938-42, in British Columbia, and then became a British Columbia government nutritionist, 1942-45. She married Jack, 31 August 1945; they moved to London, Ontario where Jack pursued a radio physics degree. They spent a year or so in Toronto, where Mary, a busy young mother, joined a political interest group. When Canadian General Electric in Peterborough hired Jack to develop solid state power supplies for industrial applications, the family spent a year in Young's Point, where Mary was very active in

St Aidan's Anglican Church activities. The Youngs then moved to Peterborough, where Mary was a founding member of the Peterborough Unitarian Fellowship. She actively pursued her interests in the family, social welfare and in education. She was active with the Family Enrichment Association, and with the Home and School Associations in Peterborough and Ontario. She was an elected school trustee with the City of Peterborough Board of Education, 1965-68, and with the Peterborough County Board of Education, 1968-70 and 1978-85. She was awarded the provincial honour, the Lamp of Learning in May 1969.

The papers of Jack and Mary Young, which are housed in the Trent Valley Archives (Fonds 40), contain a wealth of material relating to her life. There are report cards and photographs from her youth, pictures of her as a teacher, and at a Nutritionist convention. There are pictures of her family, and even copies of her pioneer healthy eating advice column, which appeared in BC newspapers in 1944 and 1945. Papers relating to her interest in education and civic duty include campaign material and letters of support for her several election campaigns between 1965 and 1985. We also have courting letters. Jack and Mary became inveterate genealogists, and their papers include exceptional manuscript, photographic and research material relating to the many family lines. They even wrote several family histories using the many letters and pictures in their possession.

My oldest personal memories of Mary are of her as a school trustee. Even so, it was only recently that I realized she had been a pioneer for special education in the public schools. Also, I saw her often during the 1990s when she and Jack lived on Engleburn Avenue, a part of what I consider my neighborhood. I knew Mrs Ferguson who lived there earlier, and one of my bridge partners built the addition on the house for Jack and Mary. The Otonabee River was in their backyard, and they had a bird's eye view of the building of the MNR building. Jack was publishing the

Peterborough Historical Society Bulletin which Don Willcock and I were editing. Both were very generous with their support for good causes.

Jack and Mary shared a long and rewarding life. They will be missed. On behalf of all the members, we extend our sympathy and consolation to the members of the family.

My very dear Jack: Mary Young reflects on courtship

On this occasion we wish to share Jack's most treasured courting letter from Mary. Historians are usually not so fortunate; this letter provides many insights into the art of courting in wartime Canada. This letter, 30 December 1944, is in TVA, Young fonds, Fonds 40, vol 2 File 8. Mary was living at the Beatty household, 1149 Oliver St., Victoria BC.

My very dear Jack: -

Having done nothing all day but "laze" and enjoy it, thought it would be a fitting climax to take pen in hand and write to my favorite brunette. While lazing was thinking about our past and pasts and our future and futures. Of how we first met on the boat to Powell River - where you were the one who ushered me safely off the boat and who later sent me a Christmas card inscribed "from Dick and Jack." Then a year from then I had another card from you and threw away the envelope with your address months later was prompted to write you a note and phoned Ruth White for your address. Next came the spasmodic "joke book" era of our correspondence punctuated by a phone call one day when I was in bed with jaundice. Remember that I was rather peeved that Mr. Beatty didn't suggest you call on me in my boudoir since I was feeling pretty

fed up with being in bed. Then later when I didn't hear from you for sometime and had decided your morale must be sufficiently built up and I wouldn't write you again until I heard from you. Finally a letter from Pat Bay forwarded from Wpg. to Vancouver and y reply which led to our meeting in the Strathcona Hotel - From that time on I really didn't have a chance though I tried hard at first to convince myself that I wasn't interested in loving anyone and that the only reason I enjoyed your company was because it helped my self-esteem. I should have known I was fooling myself the night you first mentioned Aimee's name and I felt compelled to write you a nasty letter which I made sure was mailed in time to reach you before you saw her in Vancouver. Later our first New Year's together at Wm. & Daphne's and your expressed wish that the feeling between us might grow into something deep and lasting. - Many other things come to mind. - The thrill of seeing you again after each separation. Hating to see you go each time you had to leave again. How loving you so very much and knowing deep in my heart what a thoroughly fine person you are it sometime hurt when you couldn't or wouldn't put yourself out to be entertain-ing when we were other people. Realizing however that it was my pride and not my faith in you that was hurt and that understanding and love were more important than pride. - how despite the fact that I have gone out with various other people in the past two years I have never found anyone whom I could remotely imagine taking your place in my heart. How completely satisfactory your letters have always been when circumstance has decreed that we could not be together. How looking forward to and planning for our life together gives purpose to the present and makes it worth living.

Yes, my dear, I find in reminiscing over the past and looking forward the future - at the end of this old and the beginning of a new year - that, all in all, life has been very full and promises to be even richer. It is in no small measure your love and patience with my whims that are responsible for its being so in the past and if I made a resolution for 1945 it would

be to so live and conduct myself that nothing of my doing could mar the promise of our life together in the future.

I love you with all my heart and soul, Jack and hope with you that 1945 will see the end of our separation and be a "reunited" New Year."

Your very own
"Sal" [?]

Francis Flynn: Obituary

Flynn, Francis (Frank) (Retired Bell Canada Employee)- Peacefully at PRHC on February 12, 2003. Age 74. Loving husband of the late Elizabeth Anne (Bettie) Currie. Beloved father of Dan and his wife Carol, Paul and his wife Lisa, the late Laurence (Larry) Flynn, Mary Jane and her husband Chris Sammut, and David and his wife Jackie. Dear brother of William (Bill) Flynn pre-deceased; Mary Briglia and Cathy Hurst. He will be missed by his many grandchildren whom he loved deeply and by his dear friend Marg Duck.

Bob Delledonne: Lakefield historian

Bob Delledonne passed away recently, and the local historical community lost a remarkable and unusual man. He was the sparkplug behind efforts to write a major history of Lakefield. The gathering of materials proved an extraordinary challenge, as he became aware of the complexity of historical research. There is a difference between the archivist and the historian. His efforts led to the formation of the Lakefield Historical Society which published the history of Lakefield, *Nelson to Lakefield*. His research materials came to the Trent Valley Archives, and in a future issue we will highlight his work and his collection.

AGM: 24 April 2003 PPL

Don Courneya collection

OPERATION OF THE MACHINE TELEPHONE

The Lorimer System and Characteristic Features of its Operation

A VERY SIMPLE MECHANISM

Visit to the Factory of the Canadian Machine Telephone Company - an Exchange in Actual Daily Use - Some Interesting Fact

*Peterborough Examiner 9 June
1904*

The result of an investigation into the features of the Lorimer system of Machine Telephones is given below, the facts quoted having been gleaned by a personal inspection of the factory where the equipment comprising the system is manufactured, and a complete working exchange is in operation.

The system while apparently complicated, is in reality exceedingly simple, and the work which the subscriber is called upon to do in order to become connected was with another subscriber only occupies the space of a few seconds, and is very easily learned.

This system will be installed in Peterborough during the next few months, and this town will be the first to have the Lorimer system in operation as far as subscribers are concerned. This town will also be the first of its size to have underground wires.

Peterborough during this and preceding years has attained considerable prominence from the fact that there is possessed by the town a number of institutions and characteristic features not duplicated anywhere in the Dominion. The latest of these, regarding which Peterborough citizens are saying with considerable commendable pride, "Not another one in Canada like it," is the new

system of machine operated telephones. This town was the first in Canada to grant a franchise to the Canadian Machine Telephone Company, and with one possible exception, where it is stated there is a small system in operation, the "Electric City" is the first municipality in the Dominion to have a system approaching in any degree the magnitude of that about to be installed here by the Canadian Machine Telephone Company.

That the town made no mistake when the franchise was given to this Company; or rather that in the view of the members of the councils in other municipalities, no mistake was made, is attested to by the fact that since the contract with Peterborough was made, the Company has been voluntarily communicated with by seven or eight towns with a view of having their system installed in these places. This fact is mentioned merely as a further evidence of the fact already patent to those who have studied the situation, that Peterborough in almost every particular, in which progressive citizenship is a feature, is abreast, and in most cases, ahead of any other place in the Dominion similarly situated as far as population etc are concerned.

THE TELEPHONE INVENTED

The invention of the telephone 28 years ago by Professor Alexander Graham Bell, a Canadian, whose name is worthily associated with the instrument ever since, was recognized as one of the remarkable achievements of the 19th century, and since the original introduction a number of very important and essential improvements have been introduced, but there has always, from the very first, almost, been one feature, which was recognized by all students as well as users of the telephone, to be what was more required perhaps than any other, and that was a system which would operate automatically, without the necessity for manual interposition between the person calling and the person called. Existing telephone companies have sought to overcome this by perfecting as far as possible the equipment now used, and in a measure have succeeded, but this one link between the manually

operated, and the perfect system, that requiring no human agency the "Central" remained unsolved - at least for practical uses on a general commercial scale.

THE AUTOMATIC SYSTEM

The Lorimer system of machine operated telephones, however, has apparently supplied this missing link, and this system is that used by the Canadian Machine Telephone Company, which recently was granted a franchise by the town council, and which is now making active preparations to install the system in the near future, on a large scale.

In view of the fact that to comparatively few are the features characteristic of a machine operated telephone system familiar, and since the company has already secured a large number of local subscribers the majority of whom have never seen the system in operation, the Examiner made the work of investigating the working of the system the object of a trip to Toronto yesterday and the General Manager of the Company, Mr FD MacKay, when he learned the object of the visit, made the task an easy one.

The factory in which the telephones and the different parts constituting the system are manufactured is situated in a large white brick structure on Duncan street, in which is located a complete 200 subscriber exchange, now in daily operation.

To one who has never seen the new method telephone services, a visit to this factory is a revelation, for her a machine is made to accomplish what for many years has been thought to be impossible without human assistance, and although one would naturally think differently, the equipment is not a complicated one, nor its operation difficult to understand when it is explained, and the great wonder is that such a simple method of overcoming the greatest obstacle in the way of perfect telephone connection had not been discovered long ago.

HOW IT WORKS

Of the general principles of the system itself little need be said beyond a brief description of what

impressed the Examiner as being the king-pin of the whole system. This particular part is known as the decimal indicator. One of these is attached to every section of one hundred phones, and its duties briefly are to (1) To test every subscriber's line once in four seconds for incoming calls, and to pass those calls on to an idle connection division, of which in the case of Peterborough, the management gives assurance there will be ample provision for all the demands which will be made on the service. (2) To guard subscribers' lines from interference while they are in use, and (3) to test every subscriber's line every four seconds for cross circuits or grounded wires; or in other words, the decimal indicator completes a circuit every four seconds which is the equivalent to an operator asking one hundred subscribers every four seconds what number they want, if it were possible for an operator to do that. Upon receiving a call, it stops momentarily until the call is taken by a connecting division, when it proceeds upon its course. It does not, like the operator, wait until the connection is completed before attending to the next call, consequently it can get through three or four times as much work in the same time.

What the subscriber is principally interested in, however, is not the system itself, regarding which little thought is expended upon his part, providing it renders an efficient service, but on the telephone in his office or home, and which he uses; and what he is interested particularly in is whether the new system, by which he gets the person in whom he wishes to speak, himself, or that by which he depends upon someone else to get him, is preferable, and upon this feature depends the success or otherwise, of the machine system.

THE TELEPHONES ON THE WALL

The telephone in appearance is similar in its general outlines to that with which custom has made every telephone user familiar. There are, however, a few radical differences in the method of using. Directly beneath the bells in front of the

telephone, as will be seen by reference to the accompanying cut, is the indicator plate, with four small levers, which may be set at any number from 1 to 9999, that the subscriber desires to call. After setting the levers at the number desired, the subscriber gives a small knob at the foot of the telephone a quarter turn, which action sets an impulse to the central station, and starts the call, which immediately releases the knob, and it springs back to its original position, in so doing conveying a contact-making arm over the contact pins, thereby causing impulses corresponding to the thousands, hundreds, tens and units, at which the levers on the indicator plate had been set, to be transmitted to the machine. As each impulse is sent, the mechanisms are stepped forward in unison, and nothing remains to be done except to place the receiver to the ear, press the ringing button, and wait the subscribed caller's response. Should the number called be busy, this is made clear to the subscriber calling by the fact that as he presses the ringing buttons, he fails to hear the vibrations of the ringing circuit, which would be perfectly audible if the called subscriber's bell was ringing.

This operation ... occupies only a moment of time ...: (1) Set the levers to indicate the number wanted. (2) Turn the knob one quarter of a turn. (3) Put receiver to the ear. (4) Press button, and wait response.

The work which the subscriber has to do is perfectly simple, and during the time that he is on the line he is complete master of the situation. No one can "cut in" until he is through talking, and this fact, that there is absolute secrecy, no one by any possible chance becoming connected with another telephone while it is in use, constitutes what is claimed to be one of the chief advantages of the machine system.

When the conversation has been concluded, the replacing of the receiver gives instantaneous release, and the subscriber may at once call another member, or he may be called by another subscriber. The value of this instantaneous release will be appreciated by telephone users. //

The method of operation is so simple that there is no possibility of a mistake being made or the instrument being put out of order.

Each telephone is fitted with a long distance equipment, for which no extra charge is made

In case of a telephone being "out of order" through crossed wires or other outside cause, an alarm is sounded at the central office, attracting the attention of the single attendant, and, automatically recording the number of the line in trouble. The attendant can at once send out to have the trouble remedied, and this may be done before the subscriber is aware that his line is in trouble.

AN INFORMATION BUREAU

In connection with the local office here the company will establish an information bureau, at which all local information, such as the arrival and departure of trains, the location of fires, etc., will be given to the subscribers.

While there may be some doubt as to the efficiency of the system, in the minds of those who have not witnessed its work, and who have been so long accustomed to the manually operated system, that it seems to them impossible to imagine a system operated automatically, to see the system of the Canadian Machine Telephone Company in operation, is to be thoroughly convinced of its practicality, because the principle and method of working it out are so simple that the fact is itself sufficient recommendation.

The factory in which the machines and their equipment are manufactured is fitted up in a thoroughly modern manner, and well equipped for the work, and the manufacturing end of the business gives indications of the same progressiveness and at the same time efficient management which characterizes the business end of the company.

Peterborough is to be congratulated upon the enterprise evidenced by the council in thus becoming the first municipality in Canada as far as is known, to have the machine operated

telephone system, and the fact that in the company owning this system considerable Peterborough capital is concerned, and that local men occupy the administration offices is additional cause for gratification on the part of the citizens of the town.

Neil Hill, one of our superb volunteers, reports that the Canadian Machine Telephone Company came into Peterborough sometime in 1904. It is listed in the 1905-6 City Directory. Egbert S. Lorimer resided at 29 Homewood Avenue. The original address of the building was 174 Charlotte St., with F.D. McKay as manager. He was gone by 1907. The Company was located between the Heintzman & Co. pianos company and the William English Canoe Company. In 1908, B.A. Lillie was the local manager and the offices had shifted to 172 Charlotte St. In 1910, Lee Hammond was manager and A.E. Brasseur was manager in 1912. By 1912, Egbert Lorimer and family were no longer living in Peterborough. The Canadian Machine Telephone Company remained unchanged between 1912 and 1925, when it last appeared in the Peterborough directory. Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone in 1876, and the first telephone exchange in Canada was in Hamilton in 1878. We published Peterborough's first telephone directory in an earlier issue of the *Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley*. Hoyt and George William Lorimer of Brantford operated exchanges in Brantford and Peterborough, and their factory which opened in Toronto in 1904, exported equipment to England and France. For further information see the website for the Canada Science and Technology Museum www.science-tech.nmstc.ca and Mike Hand's book *The Lorimer Brothers: Brant County's Other Telephone Inventors* published by the Brant Historical Society, at \$6.95.

Alan Wilson and Sir Sandford Fleming: 12 March 2003

Trent Valley Archives

Queries

If you have information for our correspondents please contact the Trent Valley Archives at 705 745-4404 or info@trentvalleyarchives.com.

Harrold

Hello, I am contacting you from Lincoln, England and wonder whether you might be kind enough to provide the answer I am seeking. In your catalogue (lib.) online I have found the book 'Diary of our own Pepys' by E. W. Harrold. This was Ernest Wm., born in England, who came out to Canada in 1913 to an Uncle from Gloucestershire, England, who was already in Ottawa. The family legend is that Ernest was a well known broadcaster and journalist and Harrold Square in Ottawa is named after him, also that he wrote this book.... Very many thanks, and congratulations on such a marvellous web-site for what you do. Jean Fanthorpe.

Hogan

Researching Douro Twp Patrick Hogan mar Bridget Purcell; children; Bridget, Mary, Norry, James, Patrick, Michael, Ellen, Catherine. Joanne Burroughs

Mansell

Requesting information on the burial of George Mansell, bachelor (d 1880). He had requested burial next to the Roman Catholic Church, presumably in Peterborough.

Red Moncrief (1894-1952)

Why was Red Moncrief chosen in 1999 for the Peterborough Pathway of Fame in Cray Park?

Red Moncrief was born in South Monaghan and learned to play the piano as a child. As a young man, Red combined farming and music gaining popularity performing at local house parties and barndances. The band, Red Moncrief and the Haymakers, played together for 22 years, and performed a weekly live radio show on CHEX for three years. The band was a big hit through the Depression and war years.

Howard Pammett's Peterborough Irish: part twelve: chapter ten (2)

The Emigration Committees of 1826-7, and Other Supporters and Critics of Irish Assisted Emigration and Settlement (2)

The indefatigable Horton made several other attempts to arouse interest and to prove the success of the emigrants of 1823 and 1825. {296} After the Reports of the Emigration Committees of 1826-7 were ignored, in June 1828, under authority of his position in the Colonial Office, he sent printed questionnaires to the heads of 180 families. He stated in the introduction:

The emigrations of 1823 and 1825 are believed to have been eminently successful, so far as regards the comfortable settlement of the emigrant, and the accomplishing that happy change in his conditions, which Government had in view. Besides the various accounts which have reached the government through official channels, and by other means, the private letters of many settlers to their friends in Ireland have furnished the most convincing evidence of their prosperity, and their thankfulness for all that has been done for them ...⁷²

He continued to say, wrongly, that Government had in mind a larger application of assisted emigration; assisted emigrants would repay the Government for the money

advanced.

But it should be known that in Ireland great exertions are made to discountenance such a measure, and great pains taken there to render the population unfavourable to the idea of relief by colonization, and to characterize their settlement in Upper Canada as a system of transportation and banishment, attended with misery and privations... To those who assisted you in emigrating, it appears so far otherwise that they seem convinced that a pauper emigrant head of a family would be enabled without any real difficulty to pay in the produce of the country by annual instalments, such a sum as would at last cancel the debt of £60, which he would owe Government for locating him and his family, and providing him with sufficient necessaries until he could subsist himself ... To give Government the benefit of your candid and sincere opinion on this point, the following queries are put to you, to which it is wished that you should give an honest answer, not allowing yourself to be swayed by any other feeling than a desire to speak the plain truth, whether or not your opinion agrees with the view of the question taken by Government.⁷³

Horton is misleading and hypocritical in this effort, that not one atom of reliance can be placed upon the results which Horton so triumphantly brandished in *Ireland and Canada* in 1839. He stated definitely that the questionnaires were sent "at my request to heads of 180 families who formed part of the emigrations of 1823 and 1825,"⁷⁴ yet an examination of the 80 completely answered questionnaires preserved in Peterborough reveal that they were answered almost entirely by English and Scottish settlers residing along the lakefront and elsewhere in Upper Canada, who had {297} been in Canada for various periods since 1815. Not one of the 80 was filled out by an actual assisted Irish emigrant settler. Names such as John Stewart and Alexander McNeven of Otonabee, Ambrose Male and Richard Dale

near Cobourg, and Robert Hampton and David Mofet of Beckwith township appear regularly.⁷⁵

There were 19 questions in the questionnaire, ranging from the circumstances of the emigrant before coming out, to his present circumstances, and from the increase or decrease in his family to his impressions on the increase or decrease in his comfort and happiness. The last two questions went to the basis of Hortonian theory:

Suppose the Government had furnished you and your family with a passage out, paid your expenses to your lands, given you 100 acres free of expense, provisions for a year, and the necessary farming implements, and that this was done upon the condition that you should repay the sum advanced by annual instalments, beginning to pay at the end of 5 years after you had been settled and paying £6 in each year until the whole was paid up, would it have been in your power to make these payments? Knowing Upper Canada as you do now, would you think it advisable for a head of a family in Ireland, who is now poor and without employment to accept of such terms? Would it be better for him to receive from Government after landing at Quebec the £60, or whatever may be necessary for taking himself and his family to his land, finding him provisions for a year, and farming utensils, upon the condition of thus repaying to Government the amount so advanced to him, either in money or produce of the land, or to be merely landed at Quebec and afterwards to depend upon his own exertions for establishing himself and family?⁷⁶

Since the answers to these questions were not given by Irish emigrants we need not study them in detail. Horton correctly declared that "The answers to the last two questions are unanimous in favour of the acceptance by an emigrant of assistance from government upon condition of progressive repayment in produce, in preference to a reliance on his own unassisted exertions."⁷⁷

This was the key-note to his whole policy of assisted emigration, and may have been a wise policy if properly administered; however, Horton should not try to prove this by subversions, mutilations and distortions of truth. Horton even persuaded Rubidge to swear in 1839 that these "180 Irish settlers" would after 10 years give the same answers!⁷⁸

One pities, however, poor Horton who rose in the Commons on 24 June 1828 to "make the motion that Emigration {298} be applied to relieve pauperism in Ireland."⁷⁹ After a few short quotations read from witnesses of Irish misery, his speech was cut short by Home Secretary Peel, who forced him to withdraw his motion. The Commons could no longer be won over by his quotations of reams of evidence in favour of assisted Irish emigration. Horton was banished to a minor post in Ceylon and went in March 1831, staying for several years. While he had misguided enthusiasm for a worthy cause, he deserves more respect than he has gained. Instead, he has been treated to indifference, ignorance, ridicule and spite by the Wakefield school and others who followed with varying theories for emigration and imperialism.

Before we leave Horton, we should notice his last three attempts to justify himself and his emigrations and Committees. In 1829 his pamphlet, *The Causes and Remedies of Pauperism*, defended the Emigration Committees' findings against the 1828 attacks of Sadler, and the Committee who had published *No Emigration*. In this work, Horton published an interview with Captain Hall; he asked:

"Have you known a single instance in which any emigrant sent out and located by Government had thereby been exposed to serious distress and privation, or in which such emigration has terminated the misery of the emigrant instead of relieving it, in other words has hastened his death?", and Hall answered: "I have not known of any instance in which any emigrant sent out and located by Government according to any

plan has been exposed to distress or privation, or in which the existence of the emigrant has been terminated in consequence of the treatment he received from Government. On the contrary, I have been unable by diligent inquiry to hear of a single instance of complaint..." Horton asked: "Were not the settlers whom you saw in a state of remarkable prosperity?", and Hall dutifully answered: "The settlers whom I saw were not only generally but universally in a state of remarkable prosperity..." Horton asked: "Do you share the opinion of the Committee, that regulated emigration is as advantageous and certain as unregulated emigration is hazardous and uncertain?" and Hall answered: "It is better for the emigrants, the mother country and the colonies. It is better for them to be guided to a place of rest by experienced disinterested men, than to be left adrift to seek out their fortune in a new country, the prey of sharpers and land-jobbers, to say nothing of other miseries which attend ignorance. It is better for England, because emigrants so sent by Government are much more likely to remain as her subjects, than if they went out singlehanded. The nominal temptations for them to leave the British colonies and steer to the United States {299} are so numerous that many are led off. This has very rarely happened in the case of Government settlers. A very short actual residence in the Canadas makes their superiority over the United States too conspicuous to be trifled with afterwards, except by roving spirits that are better out of the way."⁸⁰

Horton demolished Sadler's attacks with a flood of evidence as usual, and succeeded fairly well. In spite of the disastrous average of £26 per head amassed in 1825, Horton was optimistic that "if those early emigrations would require £75 per family, the expense would be reduced to 2/3 of that sum, if not less, as the increasing number of emigrants already settled afforded

increasing facilities for each annual body of emigrants arriving..." He also asserted that 11 colonial witnesses before the Emigration Committees, including the Chief Justice of Lower Canada and Archdeacon Strachan of Upper Canada, unanimously agreed that emigrants would be both willing and able to repay government loans for passage and maintenance. One wonders what these men knew of the difficulties of farming on Upper Canada backwoods frontiers!

In 1830, John Richards was sent out as a Commissioner to inspect waste lands and suggest methods of emigration. Evidently, he was a friend of Murray and involved in the emigration trade to Canada. In a letter in the fall of 1829 he outlined to Murray his Wakefieldian ideas for Imperial colonization and settlement. His plan of settlement was: (a) "Prepare the country for settlement by reconnoitering, by laying down roads and by surveying the districts determined upon." (b) "Place on them emigrants, giving them their choice of lots and such assistance as is necessary." (c) "Encourage schools, mills and churches." (d) "Occasional visits by an agent, to see to roads and bridges, stimulate exertion, prevent dissatisfaction, report upon state of country." (e) "Careful appointment of civil officers".⁽²⁾⁸¹ Baring. 22 November 1829, approved these ideas and declared the great benefits which would flow from "a well-regulated system of emigration, first as relieving the over-charged population, second as a means of strengthening the North American colonies, and third as a measure of benevolence."⁸² Richards, from Quebec 18 August 1830, reported to Hay of the Treasury that he had visited Peterborough, Quinte and Kingston, but not the Rideau. He put his finger on one of the worst abuses: "The granting of waste lands is the great obstruction to the settlement of Canada. When the 6,000,000 acres are disposed of, settlers must go to the remote regions of the north..."⁸³ {300}

In January 1831, Richards presented his Report to the Colonial Secretary. He noted that "Emigrants are taken from Liverpool at £3 per head, from

Dublin and Cork at £2,10s. per head, and from west Irish ports at £2 per head with provisions from Ireland about 25-30s. more..."⁸⁴ He claimed, "The emigration of 1823 after deducting cost of passage gave £15,8.9 per head and that of 1825 gave £13,11,8. A more recent experiment in Ops gave £3,2.6 per head; but in the first two cases many abandoned their lots and increased the cost, though their places have been supplied since."⁸⁵

He commented upon the Peterborough region "...up the Otonabee, a fine river, which will hereafter be used by steamboats with light draft of water. The land is generally good and favourable to settlement but out of market by reason of absentees, who put forbidding prices on it (Burnham etc.) We saw many small openings, relics of former sham settlements. Peterborough is a settlement begun in 1825 under Mr. Robinson of some of the poorest classes from Cork, whom he located here and lived with them above twelve months. The place was well selected at the head of navigation and with millpower to any extent. The soil is dry and gravelly on a terrace 20 feet above the river. Already a sawmill, flour mill and carding mill, distillery and tannery, about 60 houses - 22 frame buildings were erected in the last 11 months. There is a plan for steamer on the lake to cost £2000 of which 3/4 already subscribed. The agent [Col McDonell] thinks 1000 labourers, preferably young men, might find employment."⁸⁶

At Horton's request, he wrote to Horton from London, 1 March 1831, explaining a bit more fully about the emigrants.

My Dear Sir: In reply to your question whether the Irish emigrants located under the superintendence of Mr. Robinson in 1825 had to complain of increased misery, privation and discomfort, and what reply I should suppose they would make to such a question if put to them, I have no hesitation in stating distinctly that they would repel it with indignation, as ridiculous and unfounded, and show with exultation the small farms they

have made, which enable them to live in independence. I understand that the emigrants of 1823 were equally well off, but I did not visit their settlement. I was two or 3 days in Peterborough, during which time perhaps 30 or 40 settlers and some with their families came in to see Mr. Robinson [who accompanied him]; and the manner in which they met him was quite affecting; it was more to bless him as a benefactor than to receive him as visitor!⁸⁷

On 7 February 1831, Colonial Secretary Goderich sent a copy of Richards' Report to Governor Aylmer of Lower Canada, commenting that "the subject of emigration is under consideration of the Government", and instructing Aylmer to take the preliminary steps for systematic reception and settlement of emigrants.⁸⁸ Apparently Colborne also received a copy, for he replied to Goderich on 16 May 1831 that

waste lands of the Crown have been generally opened {301} as recommended by Richards, but his plan of employing poor emigrants is too speculative. Many of them may obtain employment on canals or on farms of old settlers, but if a large body arrive, work will have to be found for them by government and as the object or Government is to improve the province rapidly and to make settlers escape the misery to which they are exposed whilst clearing land without means to provide for their families, proposes that each head of family be advanced £3 for every acre cleared during the first year, be sold provisions at prime cost, and be employed in making roads near his location ... the industrious settler would be anxious to obtain his deed and pay his debt ... There are no means at the disposal of the provincial Government to settle emigrants as proposed by Richards ...⁸⁹

Colborne had carried out his scheme in Ops, as will be seen, and was inclined to be critical of Richards' scheme.

During the period of 15 years after

1828, numerous travellers visited the growing settlement at Peterborough, and have left accounts, favourable or unfavourable, which we will consider in a later chapter. Some made general remarks upon Irish emigration and settlement. John MacTaggart, who spent the years 1826 to 1828 in Upper Canada, allowed his racial prejudice to sway him into writing some very callous and untruthful accounts of the Irish emigrants. Talking of the Irish emigrants near Bytown, he said:

The common people of Ireland seem to me to be awkward and unhandy ... once they get a mud cabin, they never think of building one of wood. At Bytown they burrow into the sandhills, and families contrive to pig together worse even than in Ireland ... they absolutely die by the dozen, not of hunger but of disease. They will not provide in summer against the winter; it is my opinion that a tenth of all poor Irish that come to Canada perish during the first two years they are here, and when they do not change their ways, few are left in 5 years. Emigration of the poor may answer a good end as lessening the dense population of Ireland, but it certainly will never do well for Canada. Let some plan be found therefore to keep these people in bread at home. Emigration only increases their distress, and they might as well die in Ireland as in Canada. Supposing even that they were put on cleared lands to live by farming, they will only exert themselves so far that they may not starve; they will not struggle for any comforts beyond this. Emigrants from Ireland will clan together like the Scotch and Americans, but not like these latter for one another's mutual benefit. A wealthy Irish settler will not assist his countrymen, though he will cry 'Ireland forever!' on election day, when they will rally round him and cry 'Success to his honour!' But will he help a few of them to build huts over their heads in his neighbourhood, to a patch of potato land? We have rarely seen this.⁹⁰ {302}

We need not pause to refute this mixture of nonsense, ignorance and

spite. Even worse, McTaggart recommended the beautiful "vale of Gattineau as a proper place for the transportation of convicts", the most damnable suggestion ever heard from a Scot.

William Dunlop, writing in 1832, was more sanguine.

The Hon. P. Robinson under orders of Government brought out a number of poor emigrants from south Ireland and settled them in the Rice Lake county. So far as concerns the beneficial effects of emigration on the emigrants, the experiment has succeeded beyond the expectations of the most sanguine; for from being absolutely penniless they are now in the most comfortable and independent and many in affluent circumstances. Their morals too have improved with their circumstances, for they are a quiet peaceable sober and industrious population; and the very men who if at home might be rebelling against all authority, and tracing their path with buring haggards and roasted Peelers, are quietly pursuing a peaceful and useful career in the backwoods, grateful to Government, and the most loyal and devoted of His Majesty's subjects; so far from requiring a civil and military force to compel obedience, the ministrations of my worthy friend the priest are found quite effective in maintaining order among them; though it must be confessed that the worthy ecclesiastic does not depend entirely upon spiritual thunder, but with hardened and impenitent sinners sometimes resorts to the temporal co-operation of an oak stick--an argument which no man in the province can handle with more power and emphasis. It is true that this experiment cost a great deal of money, but were it to be repeated from the knowledge the Government has attained of emigration, it could be effected for much less; and indeed our worthy lieutenant-governor (Colborne) is now thickly settling many townships with poor emigrants at an expanse trifling in the first instance, and which must ultimately be repaid to

Government...⁹¹

The emigration was criticized in the United Kingdom because it made not the slightest alleviation in the condition of the pauper masses of south Ireland, except for a temporary relief in the small district from which the emigrants were taken. Some critics charged that instead of encouraging voluntary emigration, as Horton fervently reiterated, it actually checked such emigration, since large numbers waited to be taken out by Government who would otherwise have worked to earn enough to emigrate of their own accord. This point of criticism was unsound, as has been proven by statistics, as the assisted emigrations spread the idea of emigration as nothing else could, both those who hoped to be taken out and friends of those taken out in 1823-5 determining to go. William Hickey (Martin Doyle) writing an emigration guide in 1827 for Irish emigrants, pointed {303} out the independence of those who had already been sent out by Government:

Just fancy yourself possessed of REAL PROPERTY upon such terms - no yearly tenancy - no terminable leases to breed interminable jealousies at the change of occupants - but pure fee simple - no rent to pay - landed proprietors - estated gentlemen!! After labouring here for a shilling or 10d. or 8d or 6d. a day, and receiving even this perhaps in the receipt for rack rent! What a happy change would this be; and only think of the advantage of working a rich maiden soil, that will yield abundantly, instead of ploughing or digging a worn-out one at home without manure to mend it, and which without abundance of it, will not yield a crop sufficient to pay its labour.⁹²

Such accounts as this made the Irish peasants and farmers of means eager to get out to such a fine country. Yet we have already seen the bitterly harsh accounts of Irish degradation and poverty given by Cobbett in 1833-4 while he toured south Ireland, even in the district from which the assisted emigrants had been taken. The land-greed and

inhuman callousness of the landlords was so great that there was not a bit more land for the peasants there after the 2600 were removed than before, especially with the high birthrate prevalent in southern Ireland, and other impossible obstacles.

Government policy toward emigration was changing between 1828 and 1831. This was partially reflected by Colborne's settlements in Ops in 1829-31, and, as we shall see, in Rubidge's settlement in 1831. Significant steps were the appointment of A. C. Buchanan as Emigration Agent at Quebec, followed by Richards' Report and Horton's transfer to Ceylon in 1831. Colborne and Aylmer each had their special schemes and district. The Commissioners of Crown Lands were asked for voluminous estimates on lands and employment. On 23 August 1830, Kempt of Lower Canada remonstrated against the sending of paupers to Canada and on 11 November 1831, Aylmer warned Goderich of the trouble that would be caused by the provincial legislatures if "the idea got abroad that it was intended to relieve United Kingdom of indigent disorderly persons who are burdensome to parishes and troublesome to society."⁹³ Colborne disagreed. He believed that land speculators at {304} Quebec were in league with the governors there and Buchanan to get all the settlers who were industrious and had capital. Rather than building Fort Henry near Kingston, he thought "The best fortifications would be good roads with British settlers."⁹⁴ In early March 1831, Goderich sent Aylmer copies of the Australian Regulations for sale of lands to military settlers; he wanted the plan immediately begun in Canada.⁹⁵ In February 1832, he argued, in the language of Wakefield and Richards, that pauper immigrants should not be given lands and maintained from public revenues.

the only resource for people of this description is labor for wages, for which there would appear to be plenty of opportunity ... An agent should be appointed to direct immigrant either to farm or employer ... As for the sick, Government might assist in providing hospital attention. If

employment could not be found, Government might set unemployed to work on roads, bridges or any other utilities of advantage; payment might be in provisions or land. Where direct assistance was absolutely necessary, it should be confined to conveyance of immigrant to either scent of labor or settlement.⁹⁶

Assisted emigration had ended by 1837, as Thomas Elliott, Agent-general of Emigration noted.

In point of fact, in the case of a few settlements of people which have been made at the public expense, the result has been very gratifying as regarded the well-being of the parties, but it has also demonstrated the great costliness of the operation. On the other hand, various examples in America and Australia have shown the vexatiousness and futility of trying to obtain repayment of large sums of money advanced in small sums to poor emigrants.⁹⁷

This last meant the doom of the system used in Perth, Ops and even in Dummer, where Horton's plan to have landlords send out their peasantry failed. Wakefield had come into his own.

Wakefield was critical of Horton. "Still less did Mr. Horton excite general interest in his plans of mere pauper emigration, notwithstanding his singular perseverance. Then as now 'The shovelling out of paupers', as Charles Buller afterwards so happily termed it, was a displeasing topic; and though Mr. Horton rode his hobby, to induce Parliament to try on a small scale a costly and deterring experiment of his well-meant suggestions, he soon rode it to death..."⁹⁸ Buller and Wakefield were both unfair. Horton's scheme was not a mere 'shovelling out of paupers', but was assisted and controlled pauper emigration and settlement, {305} with perhaps too costly control. But Wakefield had his own theory to justify and put into practice, and had no time to admire Horton's policies. Wakefield's own scheme proved equally futile when considered on its greater scale.

Of course most immigration resulted

from individual and family decisions. Until 1830 emigration experiments had been haphazard. There was little scientific theory to support the practice of discarding the unfit, unsuccessful part of the parent population. The colonies were managed by minions of the party in power, and were regarded in Britain as only dumping grounds for the lowest poorest parts of their society. Their grievances were not redressed, and their opinions were not heard. The Wakefield system differed radically from that of Malthus and Horton. It looked upon the Empire as a unit, and the colonies as vital parts of that Empire. Horton was more concerned with the prosperity and benefit to the United Kingdom, not least because Parliament was funding his experiments. He seemed less concerned with the future and welfare of the colony receiving pauper Irish emigrants. Horton had the amiable hope that his experiment would divert voluntary emigration from the United States to Canada, but his chief motive in the whole scheme, and the one constantly emphasized, was the amelioration of conditions in Ireland, and thereby of conditions in Britain also. The Wakefieldian system brought a new vision of the value of colonies and a higher conception of the place of emigration in the development of the Empire.

To Wakefield, Britain treated the colonies as "moral cesspools of Empire." Britain saw the colonies as suppliers of raw products, timber, wool, flour, and sugar, which she could extract from them. If conditions in a colony caused unrest there, Parliament appointed a Commission to investigate, and then forgot both the colony and the Committee. Under Wakefield's system, land was sold to selected emigrants, and funds generated were used {306} to bring out more emigrants and to help the same colonies toward prosperity and self-government. Wakefield founded the Colonization Society in 1830, and won over the Colonial Secretary, Lord Goderich. With Horton's removal in 1831, the emphasis was on "Colonization" rather than assisted "Emigration." Wakefield

criticized Hortonian emigration as if it were concerned primarily with ridding the British Isles of paupers. True worthwhile colonization implied the settlement of every class in the new colonies, especially industrious young married couples. The overstocked labour market at home affected every class, and therefore a whole section of the young population, in the same proportions as at home, should be transplanted to the colonies to start anew, as in the ancient Grecian colonies.

Wakefield's *England and America* (1833) praised the American system of land sales at a uniform low price, with accurate surveys, and contrasted it with the inefficient wasteful corrupt Canadian system, with its free grants, blocks to absentee favourites, poor contract surveys, and Crown and Clergy Reserves. Yet already in 1826 a system of sale by auction, based upon the New South Wales system, had been introduced into Canada; by 1831 all free grants ceased. The British government appointed a Commissioner of Crown Lands to supervise its operation in each province; Peter Robinson was the first appointment in Upper Canada. Wakefield also sketched out the section on emigration in the Durham Report of 1838; it was written by Buller, and signed by Durham.

The corruption of the Land Department was severely censured.

In the North American colonies the function of authority most full of good or evil consequences has been the disposal of public land. The existing evils of the Land Department must be removed before {307} any system of political reform can be expected to work well ... Mr. Hawke, chief agent for emigrants in Upper Canada, calculates that out of 2/3 of emigrants by St. Lawrence who reach that province, 1/4 re-emigrated chiefly to settle in the States ... [O]ut of 17,000,000 acres within surveyed districts of Upper Canada, only 1,200,000 acres remain open to grant, and of this 500,000 are to satisfy claims for less than a tenth of the land granted has been even occupied by the settlers, much

less cultivated...the surveys throughout the province are very inaccurate generally, produced by the deficiency of qualified persons and the carelessness of the surveys ... a pauper emigrant on his arrival in this province is generally either with nothing or a very small sum in his pocket; entertaining the most erroneous ideas to his prospects here; expecting immediate and constant employment at ample wages; entirely ignorant of the nature of the country.⁹⁹

Yet the Imperial Government allowed the colonies in North America to take over control of their waste lands after 1840, and Lord Stanley stated the government attitude in 1841: "It might be wise to assume direction of the MANNER in which this emigration may be conducted, but to force it beyond the AMOUNT it has already reached would be at once both inpolitic and injurious."¹⁰⁰

The Wakefieldian system could never succeed in Canada, since it depended upon large-scale farms with many hired labourers. Canada had been built upon a foundation of small independent farmers working their own little backwoods farms for themselves, except for a few colonial "gentry".

When Wakefield was at the height of his popularity and power in Emigration and Colonial Office circles, Horton returned like a ghost from the dead past to erect another headstone over the corpse of his assisted emigration theory. His pamphlet, *Ireland and Canada*, was drawn up before the Durham Report was made public, and published in 1839. Horton reiterated the main arguments of the Emigration Committee Reports, which had been gathering dust for 11 years on governmental office shelves. Still with the mind of an Under-Secretary, Horton began again to question witnesses and accumulate testimony, but did not attempt to formulate general conclusions or state fundamental principles; that might have confounded Wakefield and enlightened later generations. Horton relied upon the voluminous {308} personal evidence of Charles Rubidge, and the equally unreliable written evidence of Richards and Bond Head. After repeating the

fallacy that the emigrants of 1823-5 were taken out at an average of £22 per head, Horton asked: "Do you think that the expense of £16 per head would now be necessary to effect a colonization precisely similar to the colonization of 1825?"¹⁰¹ Rubidge then submitted a schedule by which a family of five could be located for £60, or £12 per head.

Passage to location £20, clearing 2 acres £7, seed potatoes £2½. Flour, pork and meal for food £17, building shanty £2½ utensils and blankets £2½, seed wheat 10s., roads, surveyors, doctors and other expenses £5½. Difference between £60 currency and £60 sterling would pay superintendency and book-keeping.¹⁰²

Rubidge also urged that only 50 acres be given, for the absurd reason that it would cut down the expense and difficulty of location! Yet he himself had been given 800 acres, and more later by favour!

Rubidge supported Strickland's observations and Richards' evidence of 1831:

They are not only living in independence, as stated by Mr. Richards, but many of them are now keeping their horses, and I might go on further to state that many of these people have their sons grown up, and are not only independent themselves, but their children are independent also, and some of them are even more so than their parents...¹⁰³

Rubidge, following Horton's leading questions, testified that the emigrants had doubled in number since 1825, as almost all the boys and girls who had come out in 1825 had married. Horton took a thrust at Wakefield by getting Rubidge to testify that the marriage of young persons in Canada was much more advantageous than would have been the case in Ireland before emigration, as

these young people, when they have married out there, have had sufficient experience to go on the land, and to work it with advantage; young people brought up in the country are much better settlers than young persons sent out as young couples. Young couples be being

industrious might provide for themselves in this country [United Kingdom] ... I think giving encouragement to young couples is giving support to those classes who are least in want of it and least entitled to it...¹⁰⁴

Besides being hopelessly feeble, this testimony is entirely wrong in its inference that before emigration, getting married in Ireland made the couple shiftless worthless settlers while in Canada {309} made them industrious and worthy. Rubidge and Horton conveniently forgot that a good proportion of the emigrants of 1823 and 1825 were young couples, and that Rubidge was in Britain at the very moment to lead out a small emigration containing numerous young couples!

When Horton read the address of the Northumberland magistrates in 1826, Rubidge testified that they still felt the same concerning the Irish, being himself one of the magistrates:

"I say positively that we date the great prosperity of our district over all others to the introduction of the emigrants of 1825. It was before that time in a languishing state, and from that time it has got on in a most surprising way ... The farms of the emigrants of 1825 have greatly increased in value, particularly those near the town of Peterborough. I believe, taking them on an average, that every farm of 100 acres is now worth £150. Many of those settlers have, as well as their sons, bought crown and clergy reserves from the Government. I have sold as much as 400 or 500 acres to one family, and I believe that the freehold property owned by these colonists (i.e. Irish) would not fall short of £80,000; in fact, many of them possess considerable property in the town of Peterborough...¹⁰⁵

Horton tried to prove mathematically that this value was greater than the interest on the money expended to bring them to Canada and locate them; Rubidge responded "Yes" at the appropriate intervals. If they had been kept in charity in Ireland at 2d. per day, living on charity, then the annual expense to the state would have been £6156, 6s. 8d:

Here then you have on the one

hand 2024 beggared paupers trailing on a miserable existence under an annual tax on Ireland of £6156, as compared with 2024 persons enjoying independence and prosperity in a colony for £40480(?); and instead of living upon the charity of their own country, increasing its prosperity by their exertions and industry, and not only benefiting the colony but the mother country by the demand for the manufactures of that mother country ... the perpetual annuity for the payment of their location amounts only to £1436 (interest on £40480).¹⁰⁶

This complex reasoning is flawed. There was no Poor Law in Ireland until later, and the landlords would certainly have seen the paupers starve as in 1822 before supporting them at 2d. per head per day. Also the actual cost of the emigration of 2024 and the settlement of fewer than 1900 emigrants was closer to £50,000 than to £40,480, as we have proven, and we have only Rubidge's unreliable guess that they were worth £80,000. {310}

Rubidge was on safer ground when telling the effects of the 1825 emigration upon the Peterborough district. If they had not come, "nearly every settler would have abandoned the country, for although we had good farms and built barns and had greatly improved our estates (sic), still we were shut for want of mills, roads, bridges, or steamboats, and often with our barns full of wheat could not get a pound of flour to eat and this continued until 1825."¹⁰⁷ But after the Irish emigrants were located,

Upwards of 2000 souls were added to our population, an excellent mill was built at the expense of Government, leading roads were but in all directions, and a steamboat in operation. Where at that time one old house stood, the town of Peterborough grew up as if by magic, and it now contains two churches, two meeting houses, upwards of 400 houses, and 2000 inhabitants. Speculators flocked to the neighbouring townships in all directions, mills were built, stores opened, and life, bustle, and civilization went on with spirit...¹⁰⁸

The population north of Rice Lake grew from 500 in 1824 to over 15,000 by 1834.¹⁰⁹ In that district before 1825 the settlers made all their own clothing, and the only "gentry" were Rubidge, Stewart and Reid, so that not more than £1000 of British manufactured goods were sold there, while in 1838 the amount he estimated to £45,000, or £3 per person per year.¹¹⁰ This was pure conjecture, based only upon prejudiced observations and calculations.

Rubidge testified that the 1825 emigrants were now

generally independent, having fine farms well stocked with cattle, sheep, pigs and horses. Many of them keep their horses, with conveyances for winter and summer. Their families are all settled about them on farms purchased by their own industry. There is not one instance of any member of one of these families asking charity of anyone; if any of them were addicted to crimes at home in Ireland, they are now free from them(?) and placed above necessity, and are as moral peaceful and loyal a body of people as we have in the province.¹¹¹

While Robinson imported most of his rations from other parts of the province and the United States, doubling the cost, plenty of provisions could now be readily obtained in the district for any number of new settlers. Rubidge criticized that Robinson emigration because the emigrants were too well fed upon unsuitable rations. He also declared that 50 acres was plenty to give a new pauper settler, instead of the 100 acres given in 1823 and 1825. He noted that no preparations were made before the emigrants of 1825 came (although he made none himself in 1831 and 1839), {311} and advocated the erection of log houses at the depot, cutting of leading roads, careful survey of lands to be located, and growing of potatoes upon prepared lands in the previous year to cut down expenses of location and rations.¹¹² He was also justified in stating that the emigrants should be victualled for at least the first year, and for emigrating, victualling or locating,

no single men should be treated as "families"; yet he had with Horton stated that couples should not be married before coming to Canada! Rubidge concluded:

I have repeatedly heard these people speak of their deplorable situation in Ireland, and of the difficulty at times of getting work, even at the very lowest wages. So far from your having exaggerated the present condition of these colonists, it is my opinion that if their present state of comparative wealth and comfort were more generally known, it would convert the whole nation to your way of thinking.¹¹³

Horton made a final fruitless appeal for recognition for his theories.

Let such member of Parliament inform himself of the conditions of the emigrants of 1823-5 before they were removed to that 'Nove Hibernia' [New Ireland] where their wretchedness has been transmuted to prosperity – let him move in his place in Parliament for a return of the value of their present property of these once-wretched paupers – and then state whether I have exaggerated the case...¹¹⁴

But although such Return of their Assessment was asked and given in 1846-7, Horton was met with total indifference, worse than any opposition. He was twelve years too late, or 6 years too early, to get a serious hearing from Parliament or the nation.

The landlords who had profited by the 1823-5 emigrations still hoped to get aid from Government, and supported Horton in his agitations. On 1 March 1826, Goulburn forwarded a letter from Dr. Hayman stating the earnest desire of people to emigrate to the colonies, and their struggles to raise money for passage and provisions; he asked the government to contribute even a small proportion of the cost.¹¹⁵ The Committee of 1827 remarked that from Peter Robinson's report "it is manifest that in proportion as our agriculturists, manufacturers and labourers in the mother country have decayed during the years 1823-7, the prosperity of Mr. Robinson's settlers have increased to a relative extent;

and such is now the result, that applications and memorials from thousands of persons are pouring in upon Government from all parts of Scotland, and Ireland, and a few from England, for assistance {312} to go out with their families to Canada..."¹¹⁶ When Lord Mountcashel heard in May 1827 that Robinson was in England to testify before the Emigration Committee, he quickly requested more pauper emigration from his estates. Others also wrote.

[T]he poor people for a space of 50 miles around have taken it into their heads that Government has commissioned me to take a list of their names, and that on my recommendation they will be taken out by you. You will recollect that on a former occasion the same thing occurred, and that I was able to furnish you with a list of about 5000 individuals. At present the people are pouring in from every quarter, and I cannot satisfy them without putting down their names on a list ... In general they appear in the greatest misery, but well-disposed, and say they place their whole confidence in His Majesty's government and in me. Many have disposed of their cabins and potato gardens being confident as they say of being taken ... The list they have compelled me(sic) to take will contain double or treble the number I before furnished, as the population from the greater part of south Ireland apply to me. The last time I did not show partiality only to the poor living on my own estates(?), but also to all others who appeared fit and proper families to emigrate. It was, as you must recollect, you yourself who chose the few(26 families of his) you were than able to take, and I only took care they should be on the spot to recommend themselves when you came to Moore Park ...¹¹⁷

How could landowners be so selfish as to believe that Government would take a third emigration of their pauper nuisances from one tiny section of Ireland? They could not see that Hortonian theory must be applied for the general relief of all Ireland or fail, and that political undercurrents even in 1827 were running strongly against it because of

the selfish stupidity of these few landlords who had been favoured.

The virtuous Mountcashell was in 1840 one of the backers of Thomas Rolph, who was seeking a charter for the North American Colonization Association of Ireland; as chairman of the North American Committee in the House of Lords, he asserted his support for all schemes for "increasing emigration on a large scale, especially state-assisted emigration to Canada."¹¹⁸ This NACAI {313} was formed in 1833 by Coghill, Palliser, Singer and others, aided by many landlords of south Ireland, in league with Spring Rice and Mountcashell and Rolph, to get by grant or purchase a large tract of land between the Ottawa and Lake Huron; their efforts were blocked by John Galt and the Canada Company in London. They declared altruistically that the "object of the Association would be for the benefit of their pauper and supernumerary tenantry ... to promote the good of Ireland and amelioration of the condition of its emigrants ..."¹¹⁹ They wanted 50,000 acres which they would sell to emigrants on deferred payments at 4s. per acre; quarrels split their directorate, some of whom wanted to get lands in Lower Canada, where they were forestalled by the British American Land Company in official favour, and near Lake Huron where they were forestalled by the Canada Company, and in New Brunswick. In April 1835, Downing Street informed them, "They are mistaken in believing the establishment of land companies is only deferred. There is no intention of establishing land companies."¹²⁰ They then fixed upon the route between the Ottawa and Lake Huron, and urged its opening as a route by water to the west assisted by their emigrants settled there, urged by Grant and Shirref who were interested in the timber trade in that Ottawa region. The officials, especially Colborne, were opposed and Colborne advised Spring Rice that the number sent by the Association would not be one-fifth of voluntary emigration, and questioned "the advantages of selling to joint-stock companies large tracts of land where if these companies could make a profit

Government is in a better position to do so."¹²¹

But the Association was revived after 1840, and Rolph toured Upper Canada in their behalf. He found that the Irish settlements by 1844 had risen 35% in property value, even in 5 years.

"The Irish settlers who had been planted in the Newcastle District, and the extent and beauty of their cultivated farms, would satisfy the vilest grumbler of the wisdom and humanity of the national expenditure that produced such results."⁽²⁾¹²²

He quoted Lord Brougham: "Every axe driven into a tree in British North America sets in motion a shuttle in Manchester of Sheffield."¹²³ This reflected the new British industrial model of colonies as opposed to the old commercial view. {314} Concerning a speech to the Bishops of Cork, while forming the Association, Rolph said:

I had fortified myself with abundance of documents and other evidence to show the state of Irish immigrant settlers in Canada. From Valcartier to Sandwich, I showed to the venerable prelates that wherever Irishmen had settled down - there were exceptions of course - they had provided themselves with a peaceful comfortable home and by their conduct had not only benefited themselves and their posterity, but were materially adding to the strength and wealth of their country, in whose defence, indeed, they had proved their loyalty by taking up arms and rushing to the point where invasion or rebellion threatened (1837). Such was the state in which Irishmen were placed in Canada; not, as represented, ready to fly from it at the first opportunity and seek a more congenial soil - for they had found the means of maintaining themselves and families in comparative comfort; and their conduct showed that they were not likely to be deprived of the advantages they had obtained by their industry, frugality and honesty.¹²⁴

There were still critics of Irish pauper

emigration, perhaps none more reactionary than the London *Times*, a strong supporter of Wakefield colonization. On 27 May 1844, it declared, "Extensive plans of pauper emigration are not much better than penal emigration. We have no right to cast out among other nations, or on naked shores, either our poverty or our crime. This is not the way in which a great and wealthy people, a mother or nations, ought to colonize."¹²⁵ In the Irish plague and famine of 1845-they had to recall their words. Even those who favoured assisted emigration, wished to take north Irish or English or Scottish because of religious prejudice. Robert Reid of Douro went to Ireland in the summer of 1830, and wrote to Robinson about bringing back settlers:

I am well acquainted with the north of Ireland generally but particularly so with the counties of Downe and Antrim and, with all due deference to your(sic) county of Cork, I consider them first in Ireland in the general diffusion of education, habits of industry, and improved state of morals...those that I would prefer would be small farmers with suitable families, who could by the sale of their few acres and stock raise a small capital...¹²⁶

John Godfrey visited the Peterborough district in September 1842, and found the northern Irish in Cavan and Monaghan better than the southern Irish of Otonabee and Douro.

We passed between the townships of Cavan and Monaghan, settled principally by Protestants from north Ireland, and I was very gratified by the progress which they have made. I visited the houses of several, and the result was everywhere the same: all were doing well. One man who came out from Cavan in Ireland without a dollar now has a capital house and 1200 acres of land ... Peterborough is the result of a government settlement made 17 years ago, when a large body of emigrants was brought {315} out from south Ireland, and given food for a year, and stock and a house: in fact, as a gentleman told me who came out at the same time [Strickland? Stewart?

Rubidge?] they had a great deal too much done for them. And whether in consequence of that, or being naturally a less energetic and industrious race, they have not prospered nearly as rapidly or universally as the Protestants of Cavan and Monaghan. At the same time a number of half-pay officers who had received grants of land came out, and these almost invariably have done badly. They came to the country with habits totally unfitted for the life they were to lead, spent all their money, and ended generally by leaving with broken spirits and fortunes...¹²⁷

This account is rendered unreliable by religious and racial prejudice, and the concluding remarks about half-pay officers seem to show that the Irish peasants made far better settlers than Irish and English "gentry." He did not see that the Cavan Irish had a 9-year start on the southern Irish of the back townships, and could get more grants before 1826, and were far closer to mills and markets on the lakefront than the southern Irish, who were hampered by large blocks of speculators' and surveyors' and officers' lands. The shrewd observation of Godfrey's landlady in Peterborough was nearer the truth: "This is a land where the rich get poor and the poor get rich."¹²⁸ Thomas Stewart told Godfrey that "he was at first alarmed as the Robinson settlers bore no very good character, but his fears were groundless, and that he has never suffered any annoyance from them."¹²⁹ He might have added that he benefited from their arrival. Godfrey continued: "I saw one or two of them, who appeared very well satisfied with their condition. One, a mason, told me he got as much work as he could do during the summer, at 6s. a day and his board - he and his sons have a grant of 300 acres, and have bought 300 more..."

The general impression of Irish emigration, and the Hortonian experiments, however, was adverse, and summed up by Godfrey before the Devon Commission in 1845: "The whole thing was done as

extravagantly as possible."¹³⁰ This adverse feeling prevented assisted emigration being used to any great extent to aid the terrible distress prevailing in Ireland between 1845 and 1850. The Lords Committee on Colonization from Ireland in 1847-8 did investigate the method and results of the 1825 emigration, motivated by Mountcashel and the Irish landlords, but received nothing but criticism, as might be expected in the flood {316} tide of the Wakefield system. One witness was T. F. Elliott, Agent-General for Emigration, who reviewed the official figures for the cost of the expeditions of 1823-5, and concluded: "The experiment in both cases was beneficial to the people, but too costly to be persevered in."¹³¹ submitting a paper on these emigrations.¹³²

Rubidge turned up again as a main witness before the Committee and proceeded to criticize Robinson's emigrations from every angle. He stated:

Peterborough at that time was like every other part of the country - there was not a house in it ... the country was in a languishing state, nearly all the settlers were talking of leaving ... at that time there was not a mill in the country and scarcely any road... [the emigrants of 1825] were too liberally supplied, 1 lb. pork a day and 1½ lb. flour, and given food to which they were entirely unused, and the consequence was that they disposed of this for whisky ... Mr. Robinson was not perfectly acquainted with the habits of these people, and the food to which they were used or he would never have given them this food ... Those who were settled among English and Scots and North Irish came into the habits of those and are very much improved over those in townships exclusively south Irish ... great expense due to no preparation by cutting out roads, no determination upon site for location, very expensive food and many unnecessary supplies.¹³³

He stated, however, that "Every family located by Government in Colborne District has brought out about five times the number to join

them as volunteer emigrants." and when asked: "Have you known instances in which the emigrants of 1825 sent money to Ireland for the purpose of inducing their friends to join them?" he answered: "I have noticed numerous instances of the kind; they send over small sums - there is a Bank agent, Mr. Hickson, in Peterborough who is generally employed as their agent to remit the money to Ireland."¹³⁴ We shall see the truth or untruth of some of these charges in a later chapter. The fact that Rubidge could swing from commendation of the Irish settlement before Horton in 1838 to condemnation of the same settlement before a Colonization Committee in 1847 shows that little reliance can be placed upon his integrity; he was too anxious to please anyone in authority, and to trim his sails for the current winds of policy.

This Committee also asked for a return of the assessed value of lands in the townships where the 1825 emigrants were settled, and {317} this Return was sent to Grey by Elgin in March 1848, with the comment that the emigrants seemed to be progressing very well, and that "of the unpatented lands, parties are still proving claims and applying for patents."¹³⁵

From this it can be seen that (a) Prosperity and tenacity of the Irish depended upon the accessibility of markets, and not on settlement among English and Scots; (b) 82% about of the Irish received patents; (c) The Irish were only settled upon about 18% of the lands and were 18% of population, but by 1847 they had 33% of the assessed value in those townships, a tribute to their industry against great obstacles.

Strickland, Mrs. Moodie and Mrs. Traill, writing in 1852-5 after 20 years' residence among the Irish of the Peterborough district, had nothing but praise for their industry and improvement. They had originally despised them, and still considered the Irish to be inferior. Susanna Moodie wrote: "The large proportion of our domestics are from Ireland, and as far as my experience goes, I have found the Catholic Irish as faithful and trustworthy as the

Protestants ...¹³⁶ Although he thought them less worthy than the Dummer settlers of 1831, Strickland noted that "A great improvement is perceptible in the morality, industry and education of the rising generation."¹³⁷ Catharine Parr Traill wrote:

The Irish emigrant can now listen to tales of famine and misery endured by his countrymen, while he looks around with composure and contentment upon his own healthy, well-fed, well-clothed family and thinks how different is his lot from that of his less fortunate brethren at home. He sees his wife and children warmly clad with the wool spun from the fleeces of his own flock before his door, fed by the produce of his farm; and remembers the day when he landed in the strange country, hungry, naked, forlorn, and friendless, with drooping head and crushed heart...¹³⁸

Supporters and enemies of Irish poor {318} assisted emigration had varied motives: greed, prejudice, ignorance and callous indifference jostle each other in the thinning ranks of supporters as in the increasing ranks of critics. The callous greed of the Irish landowners is as terrible as the prejudiced spite of the English and Scottish critics. The fanatical trickery of Horton was as offensive as the ambivalence of the wavering "gentry" such as Rubidge and Stewart. The jibes of Wakefield and Cobbett are as distorted as the distribses of Horton and Robinson. Among all the waves of print and eloquence, the Irish paupers remained the dumb unprotesting unresisting "animals" upon which rival theorists wished to perform their callous "experiments." The political philosophers were seeking a remedy for the ills of the nation, but cared not about the people upon whom they were experimenting. From all the contradictory evidence, we may draw some general conclusions about the expeditions. The expeditions had good effects upon the lives of the fortunate 2600 taken to Canada, and upon the economic developments in the two

districts where they were settled and in Upper Canada generally. Because of the extravagance, the poor preparation, and the negligible effect upon the misery of Ireland, they can be soundly condemned for failing to persuade the landlords to continue the "experiment." When Horton knew that the Government would assist no more Irish emigrations, he made Robinson Commissioner of Crown Lands to compensate for his disappointment. Before long, Horton was eased out of the Colonial Office. The experiments failed politically in Britain, even though the economic impacts in Canada were very favourable.

[The series will continue, as we move to Chapter 11 in the next issue.]

Census of the Northwest Provinces 1906 finally released

At long last, Statistics Canada has allowed the Archives of Canada to release the manuscript census records from the 1906 census of the Northwest Provinces: Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

Canada has a 92 year rule for the release of census materials, and even that seems unduly long. However, Ivan Fellagi, the chief statistician at Statistics Canada refused to permit the release of this census. It was argued that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had promised any information given would remain private. However, no one has been able to document such a promise. However, it has been possible to document Laurier's argument that the census would prove useful for historians.

Statistics Canada certainly dragged its heels. It consulted

numerous lawyers and panels of experts, and commissioned two public opinion polls and studies of 22 focus groups. Opinion strongly favoured opening the records.

At the same time, genealogists and historians lobbied in various ways. Senator Lorna Milne used her position to give focus for proposed legislation that will again recognize the 92 year rule, albeit with restrictions aimed at saving face at Statistics Canada. Senator Milne apparently received countless emails and a petition of 20,000 names gathered worldwide. The Trent Valley Archives has argued for early release of census records by a standard as liberal as in Great Britain and the United States, or else within sixty years. The Canada Census Committee had gathered \$7,000 to launch a court appeal. The court would likely have ordered Statistics Canada to release the census records, and might not have insisted on limitations.

As an archivist with the Public Archives of Canada in the 1960s I tracked down the legislation related to Canadian censuses in order to find what restrictions might apply. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics was founded during World War I and earlier censuses had been conducted through the Department of Agriculture, the godfather of arts and science. I recommended opening all censuses up to 1911 as it became physically possible to do so. It turned out that there were physical difficulties: some records had been lost and some were deteriorating. The biggest problem was that DBS (now StatsCan) wanted to set down the conditions under which the Public Archives (now the National Archives of Canada) could receive and release the documents.

William Kaye Lamb, the Dominion Archivist, firmly believed that the job archives was to make records accessible. As literary executor to the estate of the late William Lyon Mackenzie King, he was instrumental in ensuring King's diary, one of Canada's most precious archival documents, was both preserved and made available to the wider public. Archivists also accept that donors can keep records closed for reasonable periods of time.

The 1906 censuses, even if one considered 92 years to be reasonable, should have been released in 1998. Now, it seems, we can look forward to seeing the 1911 censuses later this spring. This is a tribute to persistence and good research.

The 1906 census is already available on the National Archives of Canada website at www.archives.ca. The digitized census returns can only be searched by census district or sub-district. The returns contain terrific information: names of all family members, sex, marital status, year of immigration to Canada, post office address and other details. Many people from the Trent Valley area settled in the prairie provinces before 1906. Indeed, the main export from the prosperous industrial town of Peterborough was people, mainly bound westward to the new wheat frontier or to all parts of the United States. The Canadian prairies also had extensive group immigration from eastern Europe and from the farm areas of the American mid-west.

The National Archives web-site explains the checkerboard survey system used on the Canadian prairies. Researchers

can match the townships, numbered in relation to identified meridians. The census districts and sub-districts are defined in the Canada Gazette for 1906, pages 2570-2579, and in electoral maps, both scanned to the web-site www.archives.ca.

The release of the 1906 census records is a tribute to the importance of archivists, historians and genealogists, and the Trent Valley Archives basks in the achievement.

Reminder

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7:30 pm Sir Sandford Fleming film and illustrated talk, Wenjack

Theatre, Trent University

Annual General Meeting

24 April 2003, 7 pm

followed by Elwood Jones

Archives of Ontario: 100 years serving Ontario

*Miriam McTiernan,
Archivist of Ontario*

The Archives of Ontario is celebrating its 100th anniversary in 2003, and I invite you to celebrate with us.

In July 1903, the Government of Ontario passed an Order-in-Council creating an Archives Bureau with Colonel Alexander Fraser as provincial archivist. Immediately upon appointment, Fraser began arranging records of historical significance in government departments, particularly the valuable Crown Lands records, and also began to collect and preserve municipal, school, and church records, maps, pamphlets, and family papers in private hands. Fraser codified his mandate in the 1923 Archives Act, the legislation that still governs the Archives of Ontario

today.

Through the years, there have been eight provincial archivists overseeing the direction of the institution, and hundreds of staff carefully acquiring and preserving valuable historical documents used by millions of researchers. The history of the Archives of Ontario itself is a fascinating tale of personalities and politics, and you can find out more about it in a web exhibit that will be posted in March 2003.

But the 100th anniversary is about much more than just ourselves. It is a time to showcase Ontario's rich and diverse history through the varied documents preserved as one of the province's most valuable resources. Our extensive holdings document more than 300 years of development of Ontario society in its economic, social, political, and cultural dimensions. They are essential for identifying and understanding the issues, events, individuals and influences that have shaped that development. These records constitute our society's memory, recognizing our individual and collective identities and histories.

The Archives of Ontario will be sharing some of that rich documentary history through various anniversary initiatives planned for 2003. We will be mounting onsite, web, and travelling exhibits on such wide-ranging themes as movie theatres in Ontario; Six Nations peoples; sports; natural resources; women's diaries; the War of 1812; architectural plans; and maps. As well, a book is in progress illustrating some of the more interesting and important documents in our holdings. In partnership with the John B. Aird Gallery, the Archives will also be inviting Ontario artists to participate in a juried art competition in May and June. A maximum of three of the works will receive purchase awards and will be acquired for the Government of Ontario Art Collection.

Overall, 2003 is a year to reflect on our past, but also a time to look to our future. We are actively preparing to move to new facilities--facilities that will provide a safer and more secure environment for our unique holdings, a conducive environment for research, and a cultural attraction

for local and international visitors.

February- Ann Langton. Exhibit guest curated by Barbara Williams featuring newly acquired material and focusing on the life of Langton and the collection at the Archives.

March 1 - June 22, 2003 - A Record Preserved: Toronto's 20th Century Architecture in the Archives of Ontario. In co-operation with the City of Toronto Archives. Admission is free to the Market Gallery on the second floor of the South St. Lawrence Market, 95 Front Street East. For information call 416-392-7604. Gallery hours are Wednesday through Friday 10 a.m. - 4 p.m., Saturday 9 a.m. - 4 p.m. and Sunday noon - 4 p.m.

March - December 2003 - History of the Archives of Ontario, in the Archives' foyer at 77 Grenville Street.

Apr/May - Preservation at the Archives of Ontario

June 2003 - First Nations exhibit focusing on items in the collection that pertain to the Six Nations People.

July 2003 - The war of 1812. September - Movie Theatres in Ontario.

October - Sports in Ontario.

November - Cartography.

aspects of the Ontario Heritage Act (1975). It gives a history of heritage preservation in Peterborough. It identifies historic buildings that have disappeared, and notes others that are in danger. It contains a complete list of local sites that have been designated under the Ontario Heritage Act, and for these properties notes other designations that have been placed on them.

The booklet makes clear that property owners should consider heritage designation to be advantageous. Great effort is taken to note pluses, but also to clarify misunderstandings about the impact of the act. Heritage designation gives public recognition of a property's heritage value, ensures that changes are sympathetic to its heritage features, delays demolition for up to six months, allows the owner access to grants and rebates, and free expert advice. Heritage designation does not limit choice of colours, property uses or real estate sales. Nor does it impose obligations on owners beyond basic care and maintenance and notifying city hall of changes. Its great value is that it heightens awareness of the heritage and historic aspects of properties and neighborhoods. Ultimately the whole city gains from this sensitivity.

The Ontario Heritage Act also permits designation of heritage conservation districts, archaeological sites, and heritage conservation easements. Jim notes that the easement on the former CPR station does not affect its sale or use. He notes several properties on the PACAC wish list and discusses other tools to promote heritage preservation.

There are photographs of several buildings that have been lost (date of demolition in brackets), together with current photos of the sites: YWCA (1996), County Registry Office and Water Pumping Station (1959), Brock Street stone house (late 1960s), Post Office (1955), Ashburnham Town Hall (late 1960s), Octagon house at 709 George Street (1960s), Nicholls Hospital (1981), northwest corner of Simcoe and Water (1980s), Peterborough Lock Works (after 1955), Menzies House on George Street North, Royal Bank of Canada (late

1960s), Customs House (1950s), old Fire Hall (1970s), and Hubbs House on Armour Road (1980s).

Next there are photographs, including one "before," of nine interesting restoration projects: Park and Simcoe, 196 Brock Street, Little Lake Cemetery chapel, Darling Insurance, George and McDonnell building, Nutty Chocolatier, 544 George North, Dan Joyce's, and the George Street commercial block that was a former home of the Peterborough Examiner and the Peterborough Review.

There are pointers on preserving heritage aspects of your own home, coupled with an eloquent plea on the advantage of maintaining original wooden windows. The list of threats to heritage buildings includes neglect, natural elements, vandalism alterations, and fire. I would add to the list bureaucrats, such as fire marshals, who interpret legislation and impose fiats on property owners. This was certainly the main reason Peterborough lost its mansard roofs and upper floor meeting rooms.

The appendix lists the 45 designated heritage properties generally in chronological order. As well it lists five other heritage properties, and eleven properties in the designation process. It would have been nice to have brief essays on each of these properties, for the brief labels scarcely hint at the heritage significance. While the city has many other sites worthy of designation, these are not listed aside from those noted in the wish list.

This brief publication provides interesting insights into the history of local heritage preservation and will rekindle many memories. It should achieve its main purpose and give a healthy boost to local interest in heritage.

News, Views and Reviews

Jim Leonard's Heritage Guide

Jim Leonard, *A Property Owner's Guide to Heritage Designation* (Peterborough, PACAC, 2002) 46 pp, bound with Appendix, "Designated Heritage Properties in the City of Peterborough, Ontario" 22 pp. Available from PCMA.

Jim Leonard, the Peterborough City Archivist, has compiled an interesting guide to Peterborough's built heritage. The work, commissioned by the Peterborough Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee (PACAC) and dedicated to Martha Ann Kidd, pursues several objectives. It summarizes pertinent

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The **National Library of Canada** has published the final hard-copy issue, vol 34 no 6, of its long-running *Bulletin*. People will be able to get its online version by subscribing to the listserv nlc-info-bnc. Go to the National Library website and find out how to do this: www.nlc-bnc.ca/6/20/index-e.html We mourn the passing of the real *Bulletin*. Reading a web-site is not the same experience as reading an attractive magazine.

The Hon Sheila Copps, Minister of Canadian Heritage, announced, 2 October 2002, the creation of the **Library and Archives of Canada**, with a view to converging the collections and expertise of the National Library of Canada and the National Archives of Canada. It is not entirely clear what will change. The two websites are linked, and the *Bulletin* bears the joint imprint. The press release stressed growing world-wide demand for information about Canada, and felt the announcement signaled stronger "visibility, relevance and accessibility." Let's hope that it will.

There is far too much emphasis on libraries and archives as custodians of information. They are that, but they are much more. It is understandable that we should strive to have a great gateway to our world of learning, but archives and libraries will never show more than the tip of their great holdings.

The **database for the 1901 Canadian census** is now digitized and accessible at www.archives.ca. The census, as of 31 March 1901, recorded name, age, nationality, religion, occupation and information about income and education. The project worked from the microfilm, and so is only accessible by general geographic location; not by family name. It is amazing what can be found, and we have certainly been pleased that the Trent Valley

Archives has the microfilm copy for censuses relating to our region.

The **National Archives of Canada** had a research evening, 1 November 2002, on the theme "Universal access and social cohesion: making records relevant to citizens through digitization." Genevieve Allard spoke on "History in the First Person Singular: digitizing the 1901 census at the National Archives of Canada." Cara Downey gave an archivist's perspective and Antonio Lechasseur approached the census as genealogy.

Congratulations to **Ian Wilson**, our National Archivist since July 1999, who received an honorary D.Litt (Doctor of Letters) from York University, 3 November 2002, for his contributions toward making archives more accessible, especially by letting Canadians know the great wealth of documents in the National Archives of Canada. Ian Wilson, a long-time friend of the Trent Valley Archives, has served as the archivist of Queen's University, Saskatchewan and Ontario.

Trent Valley Archives

is pleased to welcome Diane Robnick and Pat Marchen, our new archival assistant and administrative assistant respectively. They bring terrific background, and great enthusiasm. We thank the Government of Canada's HRDC grants for making this possible. We believe that the Trent Valley Archives will come closer to matching our vision of a very accessible and important place to learn about families and places in east central Ontario.

Trent Valley Archives

is pleased to announce that they have subscribed to **Paper of Record**, and have made this service available at no charge, to members on our online computer lab at the research centre.

About Paper of Record™

Paper of Record is an historical archive of full-page newspaper images that you can search for

unique coverage of papers archive is created from newspaper collections on microfilm, preserving the original format of the paper, but saving you of research time. Now you don't have to scroll manually through reel after reel of film to unfold history, page by page search engine to: find birth, marriage and death notices read fascinating stories about the communities your ancestors built follow events like the Titanic tragedy, as they developed see all the items that were "fit to print" in the context in which they were originally presented.

Paper of record's powerful search engine is easy to use - when you search for a word or phrase, you are shown your facsimile of the original newspaper pages with the search terms highlighted in yellow. The Paper of Record archive is managed by Cold North Wind, Inc.

Individual subscriptions are available for use on your personal computer at www.paperofrecord.com

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