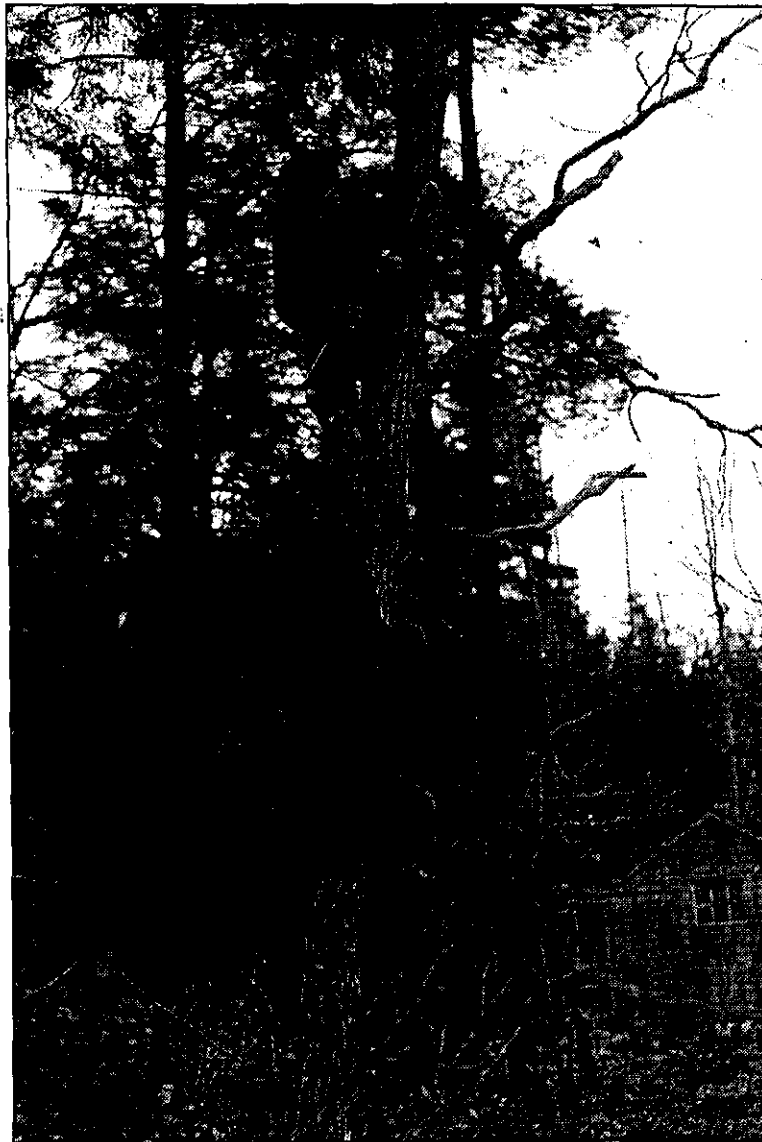


# The Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley

MAY 2003 • VOLUME 8, NUMBER 1 • ISSN 1206-4394



AT THE KETCHICUM HUNT CLUB  
F.L. ROY

TRENT VALLEY ARCHIVES  
567 CARNEGIE AVE,  
PETERBOROUGH, ON, CANADA  
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## COVER ART:

Alex Simpson, a hunting guide for the Ketchecum Hunt Club, appears to be treed by a young black bear at the Ketchecum Hunt Club in 1909. However, it was only an elaborate setup, captured by Roy Studio photographer Fred Roy. Mr. Simpson was the first of three generations to guide the sportsmen of the club. Mr. Roy was the second of three generations in the photography business. Please see the story on page 3.

*The Balsillie Collection of the Roy Studio image - 2000-012-0000193-16*

## The Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley

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

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

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

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### Trent Valley Archives

Your five-counties archives centre  
for east-central Ontario

**Genealogy – Archives – Heritage**

**Open Tuesday to Saturday**  
**10 a.m. to 4 p.m.**

**567 Carnegie Avenue**  
**Peterborough, ON K9L 1N1**

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#### Membership:

**\$40 per family**

Student memberships can be arranged

#### Membership benefits:

- subscription to the Heritage Gazette
- use of the resources at TVA
- invitations to special events
- volunteer opportunities

**T**rent Valley Archives, founded 1988 and incorporated 1989, 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.

Its members 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 finding 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. It believes strongly that records from one source should be kept together, and so its records are more diverse than might be expected.

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, 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, and Robert Delledonne; the Anson House archives, 1862 to the present; the Dyer family. There are now over 60 collections of archival records relating to various aspects of east central Ontario and the wider world.

It has five library collections. The Research Room Library contains a solid collection of works on local history, Irish history, Canadian reference titles, general

works with local connections, family histories, listings for cemeteries, indexes to local resources, directories, atlases and other digital and hard copy materials useful for pursuing genealogy and family history. As well, the Trent Valley Archives has the private libraries, accessible with digital databases, with some 15,000 titles, of Howard Pammett, Alex Edmison and Archie Tolmie. As well, the Work Room Library contains 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.

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.

Our staff is willing to help you make connections. Pat Marchen is the administrative assistant, and Diane Robnik is the archival assistant. We are a voluntary organization depending on our volunteers, including Elwood Jones, the Honorary Archivist and Susan Kyle, the Reading Room Supervisor.

We are always need volunteers, and we should be able to match you to one of our terrific projects.

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# The Ketchecum Hunt Club

After 100 years on Catchacoma, the club felt the pressure to move

Patricia Marchen,  
Trent Valley Archives

After more than a century on the shores of Lake Catchacoma in Cavendish Township, northwest of Peterborough, the Ketchecum Hunt Club has moved to new hunting grounds.

The pressure of more cottage neighbours extending their visits into hunting season caused the heavy-hearted move, in time for the 2001 hunting season. History was repeating itself, as the original club had moved to Lake Ketchecum (now called Catchacoma) from Chemung Lake for similar reasons.

Camp journals dating back to 1903 carefully register the dates of arrival, names of hunters and visitors, the watches each hunter took, the weather conditions and animals taken.

Newspapers were also generous with space devoted to the hunt, reporting who was hunting, when they left, reports halfway through the hunt from guests who went for shorter durations, and the results at the end of the two week hunt, accompanied by any interesting incidents and gentle gibes at the unlucky.

The club's membership boasted many of Peterborough's movers and shakers: mayors, aldermen, businessmen, doctors, lawyers and war heroes. From 1903 to 1911 members and guests included George Morrow, R.M. Dennistoun, R.G. Kingan, Robert Stuart, George Bennett, J.J. Lundy, Dr. John H. Eastwood, H.A. Morrow, Harry LeBrun, Dr. Mars McLelland, Max Comstock, Robert J. Munroe, G.L. Hay, R.G. Kingan, E.F. Mason, W.F. Ackerman, and J.D. Collins.

One of the more memorable characters, Harry Winch, was described by Dennistoun as

the founder and moving spirit of the club. He bred the hounds, cared for them during the spring and summer, boiled liver and tripe for their sustenance, and kept the members on the *qui vivre* for ten months of the year with tales of promising pups and prospects for the coming season. In all

the years I hunted with him he never fired a shot, and after the novelty of killing had worn off, I followed his example.

As they searched for a better area in the late 1890s, the hunters and fishermen also tried Jack's Lake in Anstruther Township. The *Daily Examiner* of Friday 3 November, 1898 reported that the Winch Morrow party were back from the chase, "with eleven fleet-footed denizens of the forests".

Giles Stone of Lakefield was one of the "nimrods" [from the Greek mortal Nimrod, a mighty hunter and King of Shinar], the paper said. He had the rare good luck to shoot two deer. Mr. Ed Brown saw five deer but didn't shoot any, because, he claimed, "the other hunters outpaddled him". Alex Simpson of Harvey, a veteran at the business, was guide for the party, and their cook was Johnny O'Clare, who constantly kept haunches of venison roasted, suited to the Queen's taste.

The company had five canoes, four tents and ten good dogs. Three hounds were harmed – one fatally – by porcupines. Two others were poisoned

by some evil disposed individuals and one, the property of Mr. A. Paterson, died. Mr. Chowe, licence inspector, is now after the offenders who are known and will be brought to justice. All the members of the hunting party have grown quite fleshy as a result of their hunting escapade. Three of the votaries of the chase while out fishing one day spotted an otter which nearly caused the two to lapse into epileptic fits, as – although they otter know better – they mistook the amphibious monster for a genuine sea serpent. Happily no harm was done.

By 1901 the group purchased land on the east side of Lake Ketchecum and established a fishing and hunting camp with a permanent dwelling that housed up to 20 men.

Lumber companies had blazed roads into the bush of Cavendish Township, making it more accessible, though it required a canoe trip across the lake for the last part of the journey.

An advance party would leave for camp with member Robert Gibb, whose livery company operated from Queen Street



Hunters in 1906, from left to right: Harold Morrow, G.W. Morrow, Robert Stuart, G.H. Cormack (guest from Rockford, Illinois) Harry Winch, guide Alex Simpson, George Bennett, J.H. Andrews (from Akron, Ohio), R.M. Dennistoun, and guide Theodore Simpson. Roy Studio Photo, courtesy of the Ketchecum Hunt Club

in Peterborough. Two horses and a wagon, loaded with two weeks of provisions, luggage and a few club members would leave Peterborough around 9 a.m., making it to Buckhorn for lunch and to Cochrane's Landing on the west side of Lake Ketchecum by 7:30 p.m., if the weather was good.

From there the "dunnage" was loaded into canoes and paddled across the lake. It took up to four trips to move it all. Usually one trip was made on the first evening and the rest the next day.

During the hunt, the members would rise before dawn, have breakfast at 6 a.m. and leave in pairs, taking their lunches with them, when it was light enough to see. The Captain of the Hunt had assigned sites to them the previous evening. The watches had descriptive names — Pencil Creek Slide, Cadge Road, Bottle Creek, and Buckhorn Road, among them.

The worst watch for deer hunting was close to the camp off the club point. No deer were ever seen there, but that was where R.M. Dennistoun and Alex Laird, the General Manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, found

themselves positioned on the third day of the hunt one year, according to an account written by Dennistoun. It was Laird's first hunt (probably 1903), and to Dennistoun's amazement, by the end of the second day the pair had their limit of two deer each, while none of the others had even squeezed a trigger. That night the members, including Laird's brother-in-law Robert Stuart, the treasurer of Quaker Oats,

ragged dear old Alex. The chaff was furious. He was told that he was playing favourites...and that he was chasing the deer to General Managers.

Alex suggested the two stay close to home the next day, and watch off the club point, which satisfied the others, as no one had shot a deer from there.

The pair meekly accepted the decision and had a pleasant day swapping stories and drinking tea at the point, and as expected, saw no deer.

At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when the hunt was over, or, as Dennistoun claimed, it ought to have been, he suggested to an agreeable Laird that they should paddle their canoes quickly past Stuart's watch, as if pursuing something.

We paddled like mad across the entrance to Pencil Creek and were much pleased to see Stuart hustle into his canoe and paddle out to see what was up.

They went behind an island that lay in their path and

to their surprise came upon a buck quietly swimming, oblivious to the hunt.

My dear old friend Stuart came around the head of the island, very hot, very mad, and most vituperative, complaining about their encroachment on his watch. The pranksters replied that the others were asleep on the job, and didn't know the deer was even there. Stuart didn't think Laird and Dennistoun knew either.

That night, Alex Simpson, who, with the uncanny instinct of the real woodsman knew everything that took place in our

ten square miles every day, came to me and said:

"How did you know that deer was there?", and I said, for one had to be truthful with the good old scout: "Alex, we didn't, but don't let these other fellows know it for they are a jealous and suspicious bunch".

Robert Maxwell Dennistoun, hunted with the Ketchecum Club until 1906, when his family moved to Manitoba.

An occasional guest of the camp

was photographer Fred Roy, of the Roy Studio in Peterborough. He took dozens of pictures of the hunters as they relaxed or posed with their catches. In 1911 the camp journal notes that he joined the group on Wednesday 8 November, and the next day got his first deer, a buck. On Sunday evening, after a day of rain and snow, the cook Archie Jackson delivered a sermon from the book of Isaiah 51:4. A collection of \$10 was raised for the Children's Aid Society, and Fred Roy, using a flash, took a photo of the group inside.

Members of the camp each own a share which they can neither sell, transfer or bequeath, and new members can only join by being elected. It was a difficult decision for them to leave Lake Catchacoma, with all its memories, good times and history.

The new hunting lodge features a professional kitchen, a dining room that seats dozens, and a stone fireplace two storeys high with a huge hearth.

It's located near Jack's Lake, where a century before, the hunt club members stayed in tents, battled porcupines, and mistook an otter for a sea serpent.

*The Balsillie Collection of the Roy Studio Images contains over 400,000 negatives and prints made by three generations of photographers in the Roy family. They are now being catalogued and researched for the Peterborough Centennial Museum and Archives.*



An evening's entertainment, Sunday 12 November, 1911. From left to right: the cook Archie Jackson, unidentified, unidentified, Robert Gibbs, George Morrow, Harry Winch, unidentified (in shadow, behind Winch), (possibly) Dr. Angus MacPherson, guide Theodore Simpson (in front), and two more unidentified. The other men in attendance, but not matched with the photo are: R.J. Munroe, W.C. Ackerman, J.D. Collins, E.F. Mason and Max Comstock.

*Balsillie Collection of Roy Studio Images, 2000-012-000192-32*

# Winston Churchill's long forgotten visit to Peterborough

Jim Leonard, City Archivist,  
Peterborough Centennial Museum and Archives

Peterborough ushered in the 20th century with a visit New Years Day 1901 by (later Sir) Winston Spencer Churchill (1874-1965) who delivered a rousing and patriotic speech at the Bradburn Opera House on his recent experiences in South Africa during the Boer War.

As Churchill was at the very beginning of a long and distinguished career, Peterborough's historical 'brush with greatness' is almost completely forgotten today. At the time, the *Peterborough Daily Review* newspaper, believed the visit "the first day of the 20th century will long be remembered with pleasure..."

In the fall of 1899 a young Churchill landed in South Africa as a war correspondent for the *Morning Post* - a popular London newspaper. Soon after his arrival he was caught up in a gun battle when a British army train he traveled with was ambushed by the Boers. The train escaped but Churchill was captured and taken to Pretoria. He was classified as a prisoner of war. Soon the press was reporting that Churchill, cool under fire, saved dozens of British soldiers and found a way to allow the train to escape capture. Almost overnight he became famous. A few weeks after his capture he managed to escape and made his way back to the British lines. Within days of his return, the story of his daring escape made even more headlines throughout the British Empire. The press called him "the Hero of Pretoria."

Within the year Churchill, back in England, capitalized on his recent notoriety by winning by a mere 200 votes a seat in the British House of Commons. With his first of many election victories, a brilliant political career was officially launched. In this era, Members of Parliament received no salary so he supported himself with the proceeds of a very lucrative lecture series across Britain. Theatres and halls throughout the country filled to capacity to hear Churchill recount his daring exploits in South Africa.

On 8 December 1900 Winston Churchill began a lecture tour in North America with a meeting with President William McKinley in Washington, followed by a dinner with New York Governor (and Vice President-elect) Teddy Roosevelt. His New York City lecture (at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel) was introduced by Samuel L. Clemens, better known as Mark Twain.

The American tour, however, was generally disappointing. Churchill had great difficulty filling lecture halls. Many Americans sympathized with the Boers; others were utterly indifferent; and many Irish Americans were down-right hostile. Moreover, Churchill was wary of his North American promoter, Major James B. Pond, whom he described as "that vulgar Yankee impressario".

When Churchill launched the Canadian leg of his tour in Toronto, the press ran front-page stories about Churchill's displeasure with Major Pond, the possible cancellation of the lecture tour, and the suggestion that Churchill apparently went "on strike" for a few days. A scheduled stop in Brantford was cancelled.

As the Peterborough date drew near Churchill telegraphed his Peterborough contact, H.J. Grasette, Manager of the Ontario Bank that "Winston Churchill will be with you on Tuesday evening; reports of differences between him and Major Pond grossly exaggerated."

On the evening of Tuesday 1 January 1901, Churchill delivered his lecture, "The War as I Saw It,"

before a sold-out audience at Peterborough's Bradburn Opera House, adjacent to the Market Hall on George Street. The platform dignitaries were Mayor James Kendry, the Rev. J.C. Davidson of St John's Anglican Church and Lt. Col. Edwards.

The *Review* reporter described Churchill as "an extremely young man, with a boyish face and a pleasing voice." He described his trip to South Africa, his capture by the Boers, his dangerous escape, his rescue and other military

exploits in the war torn country. He ended the two-hour presentation by expressing admiration for the Canadian troops in South Africa. He even praised the valour exhibited by the Boers. The event concluded with the 57th Regiment band playing the national anthem.

That night, Churchill stayed at the home of Mr. and Mrs. H.J. Grasette, who lived in a fashionable historic stone house still standing at 273 Hunter Street West, at the corner of Stewart Street.

Churchill headed to Kingston the following morning. The lecture tour was cut short three weeks later by the death of Queen Victoria, 22 January 1901.

Churchill's career was marked with many triumphs and some disastrous failures. Churchill served 47 years in cabinet including as Home Secretary and as First Lord of the Admiralty. He did not become Prime Minister until 1940 as Britain "stood alone" against Nazi aggression in Europe. Churchill led Britain through the darkest days of the Second World War. He lost the 1945 election but again served as prime minister, 1951 to 1955. He holds a pivotal place in world history. In 2000 *Time* magazine named him the most important leader of the 20th century.

Between 1897 and 1941 appreciative Peterborough crowds greeted William Jennings Bryan, Mary Pickford, Tyrone Power, Buffalo Bill Cody, Annie Oakley, John Phillips Sousa, Tris Speaker, Ethel Barrymore, US President William Howard Taft, plus a handful of Canadian Prime Ministers. Winston Churchill was not the only famous person to visit Peterborough, but he may have been the most special.



The home of the Grasettes at 273 Hunter St. West, where Churchill stayed in 1901

# City's rich archives threatened

Michele Landsberg  
*Toronto Star*, 23 February 2003

On this day, exactly 100 years ago, Sergeant Edward Hale of the Toronto Police reported for duty at 8 a.m., inspected the cells and "found all correct." It was a quiet day in Toronto's First Division. The only unusual event recorded in Hale's angular handwriting in the big "duty book" was a fire at 237 King E. at 7:30 in the evening, when a lamp exploded and caused \$100 worth of damage.

As usual, Sergeant Hale inspected the constables who paraded before they were "marched to their beats." He noted that he "found all sober and correct." The good sergeant also recorded that he took dinner from 11:25 a.m. till 12:40, and tea from 6:15 to 7:40 p.m.

What long days at work, every bit of them to be recorded long-hand. Poring over the duty book in the fresh, airy surroundings of City of Toronto archives – a gorgeously approachable building – I daydreamed my way back into an earlier Toronto, where Sergeant Hale, entering his daily record, would have dipped his straight pen into an ink well as he stood at a high desk. I'm guessing that's how he got the black ink splotches on the edges of the pages. I could almost see him lifting the nib over the open book and perhaps cursing a little under his breath as a drop of ink fell.

Delve into your city's history this way and those lively ghosts become part of your inward narrative about the place. All the bluster about "world-class" is meaningless; it's the layers of time that accrete meaning. Your attachment deepens when you can feel the city's past as another dimension of your own life – no matter when you arrived here – the way buildings of time-weathered brick and beams live on in the exciting new uses we find for them.

When I was a kid, my family was forced to relocate from mid-town to a northern suburb. There were no alleys, no mysterious old buildings, no nooks and crannies, no bookstores, not even any surviving old trees to link past generations to

the present. Everything seemed soulless, flat and two-dimensional. There was no there there, to quote Gertrude Stein.

Now some soulless politicians would consign the city to the same kind of shallowness. Imagine a wreckers' ball gone haywire, swinging out of control. That's what the politicians remind me of as they toy with Toronto's future wellbeing. Last week, I was horrified to see in this paper that "scrapping city archives" was one possible measure to be considered if the provincial government didn't come up with more cash.

The City of Toronto Archives is a treasure trove, a magical place of time travel as well as of sober study. Walk up

to a meeting, "Charlie is hauling manure." On Monday, a "fine clear bright day though frozen hard," William will head to the mill with 13 bags of oats "for chop," post a letter to Winnipeg, "set up with father" for a while and head to town to sell two dozen eggs for \$2.80.

Every day, for years and years, William recorded the daily doings of his farm. You can go through his ledgers at the City Archives, and consider the many years of fine (or dreadful) haying weather at Eg and Duff.

Parson's ledgers are just one of the many holdings that add a graspable historic dimension to this city. Diaries, manuscripts, the very first map of Toronto Harbour ("the rocks and shoals and soundings thereof") done in delicate pen and ink and watercolour in 1792, old real estate brochures for fancy new villas, century-old battles over whether the water supply should be public or private, Goad's insurance maps of every inch of the built city... they're irresistible. In 1880, the map shows carriage builders, Citizen's Flour Mill and a lumberyard on Chestnut St., right near Osgoode Hall.

The Archives also boast thousands of brilliant photographs (how I chortled over pictures of the Star newsroom in the 1950s), some of them a visual hymn to the commerce that built this place. One advertising album consists of a series of brilliantly clear 1872 photographs by William Notman, showing the shops, hotels and banks lining downtown streets.

It would be fun to match the elaborate stonework and graceful windows to the traces that survive on the same streets today.

While I was there, a visiting Grade 3 class gazed awestruck into the Archives' glass-enclosed, three-storey Records Centre, stacked with 130,000 boxes of municipal documents. It was a typical Toronto class, with faces that reflected a dozen different homelands. All of them belong here now.

Maybe one day they'll be informed citizens, alert to the city's rich history and equipped to guard against its wanton destruction at the hands of the know-nothings.



The second horse ferry to the Island, about 1843 - 1850  
 From *Toronto's 100 Years* by Jesse Edgar Middleton, TVA Library

a block from the Dupont subway station and there you are: You could check out just what was said at City Council on a certain date and cross-check the written transcripts by viewing a videotape of the noisy debates. You could research the history of your house and perhaps even unearth the building plans drawn by some nineteenth century hand.

You could, as I did, look up your family name in an old City Directory. The one that I picked up was 1904; my grandparents had been in the city since 1894, but here was my grandfather, Abraham Landsberg, listed at 120 Edward St., and his eldest daughter, my late Aunt Sarah, listed as "finisher, T. Eaton Co."

Maybe you'll discover something amazing about your neighbourhood. Imagine it's February 23, 1888. William Abbot Parsons is at home on his farm at Eglinton and Dufferin. As usual, even though it's Sunday and William has gone

# Trent Valley Archives Projects

The Trent Valley Archives is bustling these days.

We have received the land records for Peterborough County. Teams were assembled to sort the records and bring them from their storage location. The volunteer effort was spearheaded by **Art Dainton** and **Don Willcock**, and we had terrific help from **McWilliams Moving Vans**. At some expense, we acquired new shelving to accommodate the records, and boxes for the storage of the land instruments. We had to check the records and then arrange them so that the original finding aids would remain effective. At the same time, we had to consolidate records that had been separated by many decisions over the years. We are now creating file listings for the land instruments, so that they will be accessible by chronology. We also are planning to create nominal indexes in some areas, and to consider effective ways to unlock the historical significance of these records. **Gina Martin** and **Don Cameron** have joined our land records volunteers. We wish to thank the Archives of Ontario; **Bahman Fazeli** and the Peterborough LRO; **Ann Baldwin** at the Ministry of Business and Consumer Services and others who facilitated this project.

We hosted a special open house, 14 March, to announce the receipt of the land records. We were also pleased to welcome Professor **Alan Wilson** to Peterborough. Wilson was the special guest of the Trent Valley Archives and of Trent University's History Department, Canadian Studies Program, Frost Centre and Otonabee College. For the occasion we had our premier showing of an 1882 map of Canada featuring **Sandford Fleming's** rail surveys; the Canadian Pacific route still had to go through the Selkirk Mountains of British Columbia and through rugged northern Ontario. We are very grateful to Alan Wilson, and to those who supported this initiative, and the local media who gave us super support.

On 28 April, **Diane Robnik** shared her passion for cemetery research with the local television audience and we thank **CHEX-TV** for its support and fine coverage. Please visit her website at [www.preserveourcemeteries.com](http://www.preserveourcemeteries.com). **Pat Marchen** and **Diane** had earlier represented TVA at a volunteer fair. It is very

important for us to reach out to the general community and these initiatives were especially rewarding. **Pat's** design expertise was applied to the development of new brochures which we hope our members will share with others. She has also undertaken a redesign of the look of the *Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley*.

We have consolidated the lists of books in the libraries of **Howard Pammett**, **Alex Edmison** and **Archie Tolmie** and are now addressing the storage needs of these libraries, and incorporating additional works that were received later. **Alice Mackenzie** and **Don Willcock**, working with **Diane** and **Elwood Jones**, are leading this project.

As a favour to the Cobourg Public Library, we have arranged and described the **Russell** fonds. This is an important collection documenting the business career of a newspaper publisher and media man with notable literary projects. **Neil Hill**, **Gary Chappell**, **Don Willcock** and **Elwood** handled the details of this project.

**Frank Schoales** has been sidelined lately but we expect him back at the helm very shortly. He has been working with **Alice Mackenzie** to index key aspects of the **Tolmie** fonds, which is our most informative collection related to the former Victoria county.

We have received significant acquisitions, which are being processed. We received volumes related to the Peterborough Waterworks; the original issues of the *Havelock Standard*, 1897-1990; the Electric City Collection of photographs related to Peterborough; research files from **Martha Ann Kidd**; additions to the **Delledonne** collection; the papers related to the Anson House Project which adds depth to the Anson House fonds already at TVA. As well, we have added significantly to our collection of books and periodicals; our strong history collection is getting ever more important. Special thanks to the Peterborough City Archives, **Elwood Jones**, **Bruce Dyer**, **Martha Kidd**, **André Dorfman**, and the late **Bob Delledonne**.

**Diane Robnik** has taken charge of the project to create solid fonds level descriptions of all our holdings. We will be posting some of these to the web, and we would like to use this work to publish

a guide to our holdings.

We have been doing some detective work on a painted photograph and have learned much from that. **Diane Robnik**, **Art Dainton** and **Elwood Jones** are also considering our first virtual exhibit. We would focus on a 1685 newspaper in our collection. It would help us to demonstrate that documents have several concurrent lives. We can tell the fascinating story of the coronation of James II and his queen, while also considering why some documents survive and others do not. As well, the exhibit would suggest the diversity of our holdings. One of the great features of archives is that things are saved in different contexts and we can engage in the past in very fresh ways.

At our Annual General Meeting, we reviewed our rather successful year, and **Elwood Jones** was our guest speaker. He talked about how archives can be the base for solid family and local historical research. Archives help us to define problems and issues, but also suggest how to answer the questions. His talk operated at two levels as he discussed methods while also illustrating types of material found in archives. He used the Anson House fonds and the writing of the book *Anson House: a Refuge and a Home* (Peterborough 2001). It was also great to see a digital tour of the Trent Valley Archives and exhibits of land records registers. Special thanks to **Art Dainton**, **Susan Kyle** and **Pat Marchen**.

As we look to the future, we will continue to build upon these initiatives and look for new ways to pursue our mandate of developing 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. As well, wherever possible, we will promote archives, whether regional, tied to local government, or by private businesses and individuals. Without archives, our history is lost.

We are heading towards our fifteenth anniversary, and our fifth year at Fairview. We certainly have lots to celebrate and we will consider varied ideas over the next two months. Let us know if you have suggestions.

We continue to depend upon our members and if you can support us in special ways we would be most grateful.



**RECEPTION FOR ALAN WILSON**

The visit of former Trent University professor **Alan Wilson** dovetailed nicely with the acquisition of the Peterborough County Land Records, and we took the opportunity to celebrate both with a public reception on March 12.

County Warden **Dave Nelson**, MPP **Gary Stewart**, Peterborough Mayor **Sylvia Sutherland**, and Peterborough Canoe Museum founder and member of the Order of Canada **Kirk Wipper** honoured us with their presence, as well as many TVA members and guests.

Media coverage included articles in the *Peterborough Examiner* and the *Lakefield Herald*, and **Julie Brown** of CHEX TV did a nice spot that was seen as far away as Arizona by TVA member **Keith Dinsdale**.

The evening showing of the History Television documentary "*Sir Sandford Fleming*" at Wenjack University was well attended, and Mr. Wilson followed it with a talk about the making of the show, which had a few flaws, as some members of the audience were quick to point out. By the time the mistakes were discovered it was too late to fix them, and some of Mr. Wilson's favourite parts were left on in the editing room. Nevertheless, it was an interesting, informative show.

—+—

**PETERBOROUGH COUNTY LAND RECORDS**

As previously mentioned, the Trent Valley Archives is now home to the Peterborough County Land Records. Much physical labour by volunteers was put into retrieving them from their temporary home in Lindsay, carrying them into the basement, installing shelving, sorting, and reshelving.

The books have already proved their wealth by attracting curious members of the public, and bringing in new members. The next job, and a very large one, is to transcribe each and every page so TVA members can find the information easily on a searchable database. It will be a tremendous

boon for genealogists and researchers, but won't be done until volunteers offer to help.

The work can be done by individuals, but would be more fun done in pairs. One could read out the information while the other types it. Computer skills are not necessary, although it would help if one person can type. All of the information in the records is handwritten, some of it beautifully, some of it like chicken scratch. That is when two sets of eyes are particularly helpful.

Volunteer transcribers may find the work more interesting if there is a particular township they are interested in. It will certainly be rewarding, and future generations of researchers will be very grateful.

—+—

## Find Your Ancestors

at

**Trent Valley Archives**

open  
**Tuesday to Saturday**

**10 a.m. to 5p.m.**

**567 Carnegie Ave.  
Peterborough**

## Recent Acquisitions

**FOR GOD AND FOR HUMANITY**

HISTORY OF THE NICHOLLS HOSPITAL AND  
PETERBOROUGH CIVIC HOSPITAL SCHOOLS OF  
NURSING 1891-1974

Anne M. Graham

From Lorna Whittaker, PRHC Museum & Archives

**TWENTY SEVEN YEARS IN CANADA WEST**

OR THE EXPERIENCE OF AN EARLY SETTLER

Samuel Strickland

From Nancy Bell Dorfman

**HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF ONTARIO**

1615 - 1875

Leo A. Johnson

From Nancy Bell Dorfman

**DICTIONARY OF CANADIAN BIOGRAPHY**

VOLUME I, 1000-1700 AND VOLUME III, 1741-1770

University of Toronto Press

From Martha Kidd

**THE PETERBOROUGH NEW PAPER**

JUNE 1, 1972 - APRIL 17, 1973

Bound, weekly community newspaper

From Martha Kidd

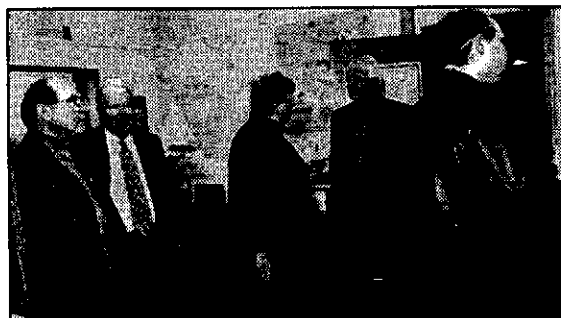
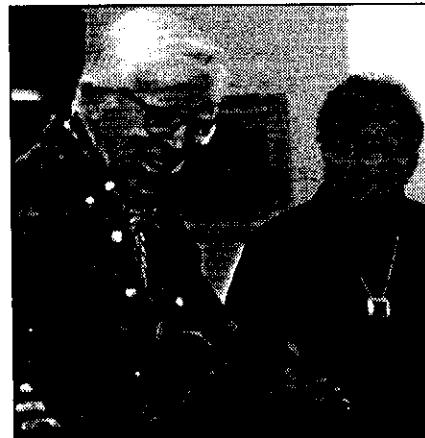
—+—

**SOUTH MONAGHAN - GARDEN OF EDEN**

Jean Murray Cole

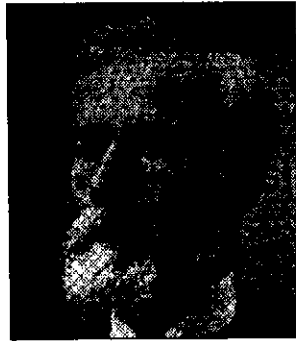
—+—

Guests at the TVA reception March 12, for Alan Wilson and the Land Records: Clockwise from right: Alan Wilson and Mayor Sylvia Sutherland; Canoe Museum founder and member of the Order of Canada Kirk Wipper chatting with Alan Wilson; County Warden Dave Nelson, Kirk Wipper, Mayor Sutherland, Wally Macht (retired CHEX TV anchor) and reporter Blair Edwards of *Peterborough This Week*



## Mystery Man - Dr. Joseph Alexander Fife?

Last year, Trent Valley Archives member Janis Armitage brought in a large photograph for us to identify. It was a colour-tinted print of a man which was mounted on lead. It was found under the floorboards of her kitchen at 663 George Street North. Our first thought was to check the 1888 Peterborough Directory and see who lived at that address. With Peterborough changing its residence



numbering system between 1888-1908, we came to a dead end. Elwood Jones thought of looking at residents who lived before it was number 663. Dr. Joseph Alexander Fife (1838-1902) lived at 631 George St. and practiced at 99 Hunter St.

We asked Dr. John Martyn, author of *The Past is Simply a Beginning* to send us some photographs of Dr. Fife, and we found pictures of him in *For God and Humanity*, (given to us by Lorna Whittaker), as well as in the Roy Studio Collection.

There are three big stories. We can recreate the history of the house, and from Martha Kidd's *Peterborough Architectural Heritage* we can identify names associated with the property. The problem is being certain we are looking at the same property, and this requires some research. Second, we can speculate on the circumstances that would lead the picture to be in this place, and whose picture that might be. It could be of a distinguished relative, for example. Or even, a distinguished neighbour. Third, there is the story of the artist or photographer. Our first guess is that the picture came from the Sproule Studios, and that would suggest the picture is from the 1880s. If we can recreate the circumstances, and establish time, place and person, then we can move to the positive identification.

Elwood Jones has asked us to explore the possibility that the picture is of a younger, c 1880s Dr. Fife (1838 - 1902) and that the house in 1888 had a lower street number. In other words, verify if Dr. Fife ever lived in the house now known as 663 George Street North. This remains to be done. Dr. Martyn and others doubt that Dr. Fife ever went through the phase of being so unkempt compared to the Dr. Fife of 1897 (see right). Some even think the mystery man is older than the Dr. Fife of 1897.

It would be helpful if we knew the clients of the Sproule Studio, or whatever studio might have produced this picture.

However, in the absence of this we ask our readers for whatever thoughts they might have. All photographs have their mysteries, and one fascination of family history is making connections to people in photos. They are truly the gateway to understanding our family histories, and are rightly treasured by our members.

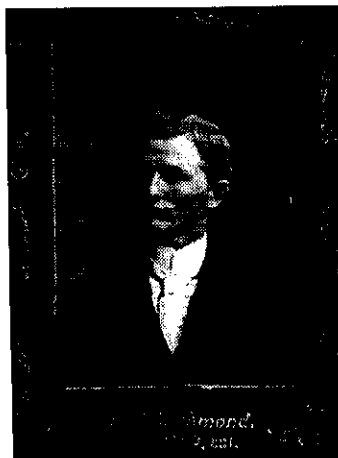
## Queries

### KASHABOG LAKE

New Trent Valley Archives members **Marina Puffer-Butland** (705-877-3059) and **Bev MacLeod** (705-745-0518) are writing a book about Kashabog Lake, in Methuen Township. They would appreciate any input, including information about hunting and trapping, fire towers, mining, geology and hydro. E-mail: [bmacleod3@cogeco.ca](mailto:bmacleod3@cogeco.ca) or [butland@sympatico.ca](mailto:butland@sympatico.ca)

### O'SULLIVAN

**Cathy O'Sullivan** has responded to our website request for photographs taken by Campbellford photographer **J.L. Richmond**. This is her grandfather, **John Joseph**



**O'Sullivan**, who was born on 19 December 1877 and lived on a farm in the Campbellford area. He was the youngest of 12 children. In the late 1800s or early 1900s he settled in Rochester, New York, and married **Agnes McKenna** of Greece, N.Y. In 1915 his only son and Cathy's father, **John Edward O'Sullivan** was born. Joseph told his children that his parents came from Ireland during the "troublesome time". Cathy's family research included a trip to the Campbellford

area, where she found distant cousins but not immediate family. If you can help her, please let us know and we will pass on the message.

### WEATHERLAKE

The name **W. Weatherlake** attracted the attention of a researcher reading the *Heritage Gazette*, November 2001 issue. The article was about the opening of hunting season, and the object of attention was a member of the Battle Creek hunting party. Please contact the TVA if you have information, and we will forward it.

### ROSZEL

A relative of George Roszel, Peterborough Police Chief from 1888 to about 1910, is anxious to obtain a picture of him. If anyone has or knows of such a picture, please contact Diane at the TVA.

### WHITNEY

*Peterborough This Week* reporter **Lance Anderson** was referred to TVA while writing an article about a tombstone found lying in the backyard of 190 Park St. North. The inscription read "**Samuel O.**, son of **E.C. and E.M. Whitney**, July 12, 1909-Feb. 27, 1910". Staff quickly scoured resources at TVA and the Peterborough Public Library. No Whitneys found seemed to fit the bill, but a search of other counties turned up Samuel O. in a Brighton cemetery with his parents, **E. Clayton Whitney** (1880-1934) and **Ethel Maude Whitney** (1884-1967). On the Brighton stone the year of his death was 1909. Another stone has turned up in the same Peterborough neighbourhood. Only the initials **F.M.H.** are currently visible. A link between the construction company that built the homes, and a local company that carved gravestones is being investigated. The name **John Coughlin** appears in both businesses.

## Bob Delledonne: Lakefield historian and collector

For more than a decade, Bob Delledonne spent much of his time gathering information and documents about the history of Lakefield. His legacy is the book, *Nelson to Lakefield*, which was published by the Lakefield Historical Society, and the research collection which he placed in the Trent Valley Archives.

We have several collections which contain information about Lakefield, and without doubt no organization has a better research base. In addition to the Delledonne collection, we have the Lakefield newspapers collection, the papers of Heritage Lakefield, the many direct references in the Edmison fonds, the land records, the census records, the Lakefield Women's Institute, the IODE, as well as several collections related to Stoney Lake and individuals with Lakefield connections.

When we noted his passing we undertook to highlight his collection in a future issue of the *Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley*.

Marianne Mackenzie knew Bob Delledonne from her days as a piano teacher. Those who worked on the book had interlocking memories, many from childhood. I had not known him as well or as long as others, but I was impressed with his sincerity and his concern to get the stories right. He believed historians had a noble calling, and they should not invent traditions or make arguments that could not stand up to the bright light of reason. He regretted that it was so difficult to keep the details in control in a growing uncatalogued collection. He asked me, for example, whether there were valid reasons to argue that PCVS was 150 years old. While I did not like the argument, it rested upon interpretations of educational policy and how one saw the transitions at key points in time. He was relieved that the argument

had a foundation. That indicates how he balanced the needs for solid research on one hand, and freedom of expression on the other. For him, details were the best foundations.

The best source of details is the newspapers. Lakefield's first newspaper was the *Katchewanooka Herald*, produced at the Strickland Farm School, and issues have survived from 1855 to 1859; these are now in the Trent University Archives. Next was the *Lakefield News*, June 1875 to August 1879. For the next 17 years, the Peterborough papers served as Lakefield's too. The *Lakefield Chronicle* ran from 17 December 1886 to 1892 when Jimmy Ridpath acquired the paper and changed its name to the *News*. The paper was sold to the weekly *Peterborough Review* in the late 1940s, and the Lakefield edition continued for another ten years. The Trent Valley Archives has a nearly complete run of post-1950 newspapers, and in the Delledonne collection there are a few copies of these early papers.

While his collection is surprisingly silent about Delledonne, we did find revealing anecdotes in his documentation of the photographs. In the late 1930s, he lived for a while at 11 Queen Street, Lakefield. In 1938, the house was quarantined for Scarlet Fever, and Delledonne spent several months in the hotel. Later, Dr. Alex and John Fraser presided while his father gave him a blood transfusion on the kitchen table. In the mid-1940s, Guy Peel ran a toy factory, Peel's Peerless Products, making children's wooden wheelbarrows, and Bob Delledonne worked there after school and during holidays. Bob sold Fuller Brushes for a while and worked for a local garage, for Peterborough Canoe and for Ajax Construction before becoming a carpenter. His family moved to 50 Bishop Street around 1940 and the house remains in the family. He had first-hand connections with many of the stories he wished to tell.

### Fonds 30 Title: Robert Delledonne Collection

Creator: Robert Delledonne

Dates of material: 1825-1991

Physical description: 4 metres

Repository: Trent Valley Archives

Reference number: Fonds 30

#### Scope and content:

Collection of Robert Delledonne consisting of voters' list, Lakefield, 1945-53; Charles Percy, Trent Canal timber charges, 1896; Women's Institute, 1907, 1927, 1930, 1960-1970s; Mavis Birch ledger, 1922, 1937; Village of Lakefield Treasurer's Book, 1875-1897; Clarice M Kidd, scrapbooks, c 1930s to c 1960s; Lakefield schools, 1889-1978, 1991; Ayotte family papers, 1830s-1980s; Lakefield, Grand Trunk Railway, 1893-1902 including freight way bills, 1893-1902, ledger, 1896-97, assessment papers, ticket stubs, daily report logs; Lakefield News, scattered issues, 1900-1954; maps, 1883, 1950s; literary manuscripts and drafts related to the Lakefield history, 1990s; research materials, scrapbooks, news clippings, photographs on varied aspects of the history of Lakefield; copies of township directories, 1857-1917, 1948; and copies of voter's lists, land deeds and wills significant to the history of Lakefield. The collection included

many local history books and Dun and Bradstreet mercantile register, Canada, 1935, 1938, 1940, 1949.

The papers are organized in the following series:

- A. Directories, 1857-1948, 1 cu ft
- B. Lakefield and Young's Point, 1856-1991, 2.2 cu ft
- C. Lakefield Women's Institute, c 1970s, .3 cu ft
- D. Scrapbooks, c 1940s to 1960s, .5 cu ft
- E. Schools, 1889-1978, 1991, 1 cu ft
- F. Ayotte family papers, 1830s-1980s, 1 cu ft
- G. Lakefield Grand Trunk Railway, 1893-1902, 1 cu ft
- H. Lakefield News, 1900-1955, and other newspapers, .5 cu ft
- I. Maps and plans, 1883, 1950s, .5 cu ft
- J. Photographs and Postcards of Lakefield People and Businesses, Calendars
- K. Mixed Items, Lakefield and Peterborough

Access Conditions: Open to researchers.

Finding aids: Available on site.

Accruals: none expected

Custodial history: Collection donated by Robert Delledonne. The final manuscript of the book, complete with illustrations, was donated to the Lakefield Historical Society, which was the driving force of the book that resulted from Delledonne's collecting. Biographical sketch / Administrative history: Robert Delledonne (1932-2002) was a local historian whose research culminated in the work, "From Nelson to Lakefield" published in 1999. This collection is rich in social and cultural history of the village of Lakefield in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

#### Access points

Lakefield history  
Railway history  
Commercial history  
Alford, Richard and Grace  
Ayotte, Joseph  
Ayotte, Peter  
Hatton, Alma Graham  
Moodie, Susanah  
Nelson family  
Sherin family  
Strickland family  
Tanner, Margaret  
Traill, Catharine Parr

We thought readers would welcome a guide to some of the photos that were annotated by Bob Delledonne and his assistants. These are all found in Volume 13, Series J

#### Lakefield Houses and Buildings – File 1&2

- House, c 1950s, which doubled at times as a tavern and the Lakefield Gospel Chapel formerly at 144
- House at 9 Burnham, formerly the home of William and Mrs. Stablers (nee Fitzgerald)
- Burleigh Falls Residents
- House, [1876] 132 Water St. associated with Dinwoodie, Hendren and Drayton families.
- Cement Company terrace on 37 Rabbit St.
- Orr Home [1876] 64 Regent St.
- Treasure Chest (15 Queen St.)
- Lakefield Travel (#11 Queen St.)
- 76 Queen St. Home, owned by Robert Kenneth Ward, was built by Abel Hendren in 1888 for James R. and Dr. John R. Fraser.
- 52 and 56 Regent Street. Homes built by James Trennum before 1875.
- 15 Albert St. [1861] owned by Alex Nichols, built by Jonathan Griffen.
- St. Andrews Presbyterian Church. The first St. Andrew's, 76 Caroline St. was built with local stone in 1863. This second church at Bridge and Caroline St. was built in 1931-3.
- On the way from the train to the boat dock (early 1900s)
- The Scriver home relocated to 39 Oxford St.
- Richard Hills Hotel, 90 Clementi at Bridge.
- Keneth Remenant at 48 Reid St. May 1941.
- Sabatino, 34-36 Albert St. Built late 1860s by Jonathan Griffin, Sabatino home, 1901-1951.
- Frank D'Arcy home, north-east corner of Bridge and Clementi Streets, built in 1860. In the Hull family from 1864 to 1940s.
- Armstrong home, [c 1900] 88 Albert St.
- Etta Balsdon and her dog on the Town Hall property, c 1890s.
- After the Power House fire (1920).
- New Hydro Power house opening in 1928 or 1929.
- Construction, 1927, of the new Hydro Power House, built from 1926-1929.
- Canada Cement Company on left, Power House on right side.
- Bailey Home, Strickland St, east of village.
- 44 Bridge, stone house built by Frank D'Arcy; later home of John Hull and family, 1860s-1945.
- Westove, [1862] 665 Smith St. home of Catharine Parr Traill.
- Francis Bowher home, [1873] 83 Strickland St.
- Dench Home, 1903, Block Road at Hwy 134.
- House of Refuge (Old Folks Home)
- Ashelworth (The Atwood Home) near the Grove School, now part of school property.
- First Payne home [1831] in Dummer.
- Jack Kelly home, 29 Caroline [1890] and Charles Crawford home, 31 Caroline [1907]
- Soleman Begley home [1873] while the family lived in a tent on the lot. In 1895, for the canal construction, the home was moved to the south-west corner of the lot.
- Erskine and Darling home, [1861] 115 Albert St. at Regent
- Blake home [c1890] 15 Queen St. (the Treasure Chest)

#### Lakefield - File 4 and 5

- Spring flood 1907-1908 looking north from Flour Mill to Nickols (Hamblin's)
- Regent St. looking north from Sam Nelson's grain elevator (1880-1904)
- Grove School in Lakefield.
- Leggott Power House, after the 1920 fire.
- Mrs. Wes Leonard's brother and sister. Far right, bottom row, Bruce Edwards.
- Ice cutting on Lake Katchewanooka by Webster's, 1920 or 1930s; right side Squib Webster Senior.
- Part of Queen West destroyed by fire in 1890.
- Ira Lennox cutting wood on Dean St. c 1930s. (left: Pete Taylor, right: Tom Hampton).
- Northcott Farm on Lake Katchewanooka with Log Boom Gang.
- Lakefield Fire Eaters 1930s. L-R (Hugh Morrison, Ted Bryant, Charles Hunter, Lawrence Charlton, Gordon Scriver, Jack Hendren, Dominic White, Allen Clarke, Bill Hamblin, Douglas Davis, Tommy Simpson).
- & 12. Methodist Church group, 1940s, on Regent St. west, present site of United Church.
- Lakefield Company at Fort Thordal Ontario during the Fenian Raid, 1866 (Alex Fitzgerald is second from left, others unidentified).
- Lakefield Curlers, late 1800s; Roland Strickland sit-

- ting second from right
- Camping at Northcott Farm, early 1900s, photo by George Douglas, campers not known.
- Lakefield Lodge group portrait, mid 1880s. Standing L-R Thomas James Bird, John Clanin, William Casement. Sitting L-R Robert Graham, John Hull, James Horner.
- Hendren Fansey show team.
- William Smith horseshoeing, early 1900s, 25 Bridge St.
- Murray St. Presbyterian Church on corner of Water and Murray around 1900.
- Lakefield Junior Hockey Team (1909). Top Row: Bill Morrison, ?, Hobby Rowe. Bottom Row: Mick Sabatino, Reg Mordith, Albert (Abbie) Graham, Mell Kidd, Joe Morin.
- One of the many boat houses built along the Otonabee.
- Grove School.
- Grove hockey team, 24 March 1923- (The Grove 8, St. Peter's 2) L to R: Little I, Massie, Gray II, James, Pedlar, Griffiths I, Shearwood, Fawcett.
- Lakefield Preparatory School
- Miss Beatrice Gorden, daughter of Thomas Gorden of Gorden's Boats.
- Pine Grove Gas Bar, early 1930s (Evelyn Allan, age 4 or 5)
- Northcott Farm, 1905.
- John Hull Cottage on Stoney Lake, July 1916.
- Lakefield Citizen's Band marching by the Lakefield House.
- Lakefield United Church group, after 1918.

#### School Photographs - files 6 to 10

- Skating at the Grove School.
- Grove School.
- The uplands in the early days when the LeFevre owned it, around 1912.
- Grove woodsmen, early 1900s.
- Grove School, Lakefield Preparatory School.
- Grove School, Lakefield Preparatory School.
- Air view of Lakefield Preparatory School
- List to the Clamour of Falling Snow. Hark to the Snowflake's Ponderous Thud school photo in winter.
- Mrs. Frank Trude (Tighe).
- Katchewanooka from the Grove School.
- Grove School from Lake Katchewanooka.
- In the centre of Buckley's Lake
- In the centre of Buckley's Lake with the Grove boys.
- Grove School with the new chapel around 1930.
- The Grove School.
- The Grove School.
- The Grove School.
- The Grove School.
- Mary MacKenzie with escorts
- The Grove School, back view.
- The Grove School Hickies, likely on the train tracks to Buckley's.
- At Buckley's Lake, Tighe's last outing.
- Sparham Sheldrake's School, Lakefield, the Grove, students left to right, (?), C.P. Band, Peplow, F. LeFevre, ?, Douglas, Harthill, ?, C. Walker, J. Seagram, J. Noble, F. Cartwright, E. Noble, ?, N. Jones, H. Proudfoot, S.W. Brand, ?, ?, ?, E. Seagram.
- Sparham Sheldrake's School, Lakefield, the Grove (1887) students left to right, Peplow (Master), F. LeFevre, J. Noble, C.P. Band, F. Cartwright, ?, Sparham Sheldrake (the Head Master), E. Noble, Con Cartwright, Hart Proudfoot, E.D. Seagram, A. Cartwright, Claud Walker, ?, G. Douglas, Joe Seagram, ?, ?, ?, Hart Hill, ?, S.W. Band, Wright, I. Irwin, Newbold Jones, ?, ?.
- Grove School and chapel 1920s
- Grove School, 1920s.
- Wadsworth House
- Sheldrake and Boys, 1887
- Sheldrake and Boys, 1887

#### Lakefield "Barber Shop" File 11

- Dave Millar Barber shop on Queen St. west, under (Barney) Earl Edward operator, Top row: Barney, Jack Ryan. Second row: Barney with Woody Morin and Alice Chappell (Mrs. Bill Atkinson). Third row: Edward Robins, ? Centre right: Edward Robins, other descriptions on envelope.

#### Young's Point File 13 to 21

- South Beach Hotel

- Lakeview House
- Mary Davidson at the McFarland Hotel (later called the Lakeview House), 1910s.
- Melody Inn on Hwy #29 and Stoney Lake Road, two pictures.
- Unidentified photo
- Margaret Connell (Mrs. Russel Little), Lakefield High teacher, 1925-1930, at Young's homestead at Young's Point, 1926.
- Margaret Connell with Jean Tanner, Lakefield Public School teacher
- Young's Point Dam in 1860 looking west.
- Young's Point Dam looking north to bridge, about 1920 or 1930.
- William McFarland, owner of the McFarland Hotel, Young's Point, c 1870s to 1890s (tin)
- St. Adain's Anglican Church [1898-99]
- Methodist Church Men's Club
- SS #12, Young's Point, Douro; teacher, Ken Madil
- Mary Tannen at Young's Point Dam, 1927.
- Towel Town, postcard.
- Chemong Floating Bridge
- Walkey's store on Sturgeon Point near Lindsay.
- Stoney Lake on other side of Chemong Lake.
- Sturgeon Point sandbar
- On Pigeon Lake waiting for the steamer
- Pleasant Point beach
- Bethel Church, Stoney Lake Road at Warsaw turn.
- Hockaday Farm File 14
- SS#8 Smith, 1924 File 15
- St. Adain's Sunday School File 16
- St. Adain's, 1989 File 17
- St. Adain's Sunday School, 1912 File 18
- Peterborough Women's Institute, 1951 File 21

#### Payne Photo Collection File 22

- Looking south from Grove School
- Picture taken around 1905-1906. Geo Payne's family home is located on the south-east corner of Rolliston and Strickland St. In 1895 this home was built by Mrs. Geo Rolliston (daughter of Robert Reid). Mrs. Rolliston was the sister of Mrs. Col Strickland. The Reids and Stewarts were the first two families to settle in Douro.
- Mr and Mrs Geo Payne.
- Unidentified.
- Unidentified.
- Geo Payne home on south-east corner of Rolliston and Strickland St. The home was built and lived in by Mrs. Rolliston, Mrs. Rolliston was the sister of Mrs. Col Strickland.
- Day outing or camping.
- Unidentified.
- Unidentified.
- Unidentified.
- William Stabler.
- Mr and Mrs Geo Payne.
- Mrs. Geo Payne.
- The Payne home around 1905-1906.

#### Churches in Lakefield File 24 to 26

##### Christ Church Anglican File 24

##### St. John the Baptist Anglican File 25

- First gospel chapel.
- Gospel Chapel, 1941
- Church postcard.
- Old Methodist Parsonage

##### Strickland File 27

- Strickland ladies at the cottage.
- Mrs. Rolliston.
- Moodie's farm, Stenner Road at Hwy 29.
- Moodie's farm.
- Moodie's farm.
- Roland Clement Strickland, and children, at cabin.
- Strickland homestead, ruins, 1913.
- Westove, Heritage Plaque ceremony, L to R: William C. Grant, Robertson Davies, Prof. T.F. McIlwraith, Miss Anne Traill, Miss Anne Atwood, Robert Boyer, MPP (Muskoka).

#### Lakefield Stores File 28 to 30, 55

- Cutting ice on Lake Katchewanooka, left to right (Squib Webster Sr, Squib Webster Jr, Ari Webster, Andy Miller, Ted Webster.)
- Cutting wood on Dean St. (left: Peter Taylor, right: Ira Lennox).
- Lakefield Farm Supply.
- John Sherin and Son store, c 1894. L to R: J. Harry Sherin, ?, John C. Sherin, Playter Sherin, ?.
- Leonard Hardware, Queen St. East. First person

- behind counter is Wes Leonard.
6. Sidewalk construction crew: William Webdale, Tony Sabatino, Squib Webster Sr.
  7. Robert Graham and Sons Clothing and Footware, [1877] Queen St. store interior, early 1900s. L to R: Robert Graham Jr., William Hamilton, William Graham, unknown, Robert Graham Sr.
  8. John Hull, newspaper photo and story Block Road looking south to River Road in Lakefield File 29
  1. 1957 Beavis Meat Market being moved to make room for building the south half of the Lakefield Clinic. The building was the original Sherin store built in 1855.
  5. Hamblin's Ice Cream Parlour and Meat Cutting, c 1976.
  6. Tom Hendren's Undertaker and Cabinet Maker wareroom, Queen St., c 1880.
  7. Lakefield Hardware, 21 Queen St. W.W. Leonard.
  - 8/9. John Hull flour mill. The only water powered mill located on the west side of the Otonabee.
  10. Mick Allen pool hall, Queen St. west, c 1920s. Cliff Galvin, Michael Allen and John Allen.
  11. Hamilton and Hamilton Building File 55

**Murduff's File 31**

1. John Murduff in a baby carriage.
  2. August 1954, plane in Lakefield Park.
  3. Willford Murduff in Driveway House at Cement Works.
  4. Ranger hound at 43 Oxford St.
- Lakefield File 46**
1. Pine Grove School.
  2. Grace Young, Lakefield Public School secretary, June 1955.
  3. Lakefield High and Public School, postcard.
  4. Outhouse Race, May 1985
  5. Orange Lodge Band, 1900.
  6. John Hull at his cottage on Stoney Lake.
  7. Looking north-east over the village, pre 1958.
  8. Looking north to the Narrows, postcard.
  9. Water St. near St. Paul's Catholic Church, 1941.
  10. Murduff home, 47 Oxford St. with Moosie Murduff and dog Ranger.
  11. Queen St. looking north, postcard.
  12. Kawartha Lunch, [1851] 58 Queen St., c 1946
  13. Regent St. looking north.
  14. In front of Spence Store 1877] at 58 Queen., 1922.

15. Looking north on Queen St.
16. Looking north on the Otonabee from Isabel Mornis Park, postcard.
17. Santa Claus parade, 1985.
18. Looking north on Queen St. Home on left is 70 Queen St. Postcard.
19. Looking north on the Otonabee from the canal bridge showing the North entrance into the canal and Lakefield Park. Postcard.
20. The outer cover of the Sherin Anniversary Souvenir.
21. The Coronation Inn at 36 Queen St.
22. 1887 Picture of Lakefield Public School (SS#10 Douro)
23. The Rural School on the Slant Rd between Selwyn and Bridgenorth. Teacher is Ken Madil, 1920. Clayton Fitzgerald is one of the students in the photo
24. Late 1890s Bicycle Race from Selwyn to Lakefield.
25. Frank Erskine's Hardware Store, Queen and Reid. Lakefield's Model T-snowmobile. In front is driver John Sabatino and Frank Erskine. Back of truck is Fred Crawford, Roy Charlton and Earl Edwards. In cutter, Herb Trucker, Judson Hull. Restaurant.



Here is Bob Delledonne's description to accompany the photograph, "On the way from the train to the boat dock."

The building on the left was the People's Christian Association Hall which was built in 1877 by the five Protestant religions: Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Bible Christian Church. On April 11, 1877 a committee was formed to oversee the construction, Isaac Garbutt (Baptist), John C. Sherin (Methodist), John Hall (Bible Christian), Joseph Nelson (Presbyterian), Robert Strickland (Anglican). At 4 pm that afternoon the ground was broken and the official cornerstone was laid by Mrs. Robert Strickland. The cornerstone was taken from the fireplace hearth from the first home built by Samuel Strickland. 18 days later (April 29th) the P.C.A. Hall was ready for use. It had been designed and built entirely by volunteers. Its location was 106 Queen St., the present site of Brewer's Retail. The structure measured 60x40 with a peak height of 22 feet. To help pay off construction costs, the committee organized an excursion which was advertised in



On the way from the train to the boat dock.

Delledonne Fonds 30/13/1/13

both the *Peterborough Examiner* and *Review*. The first meeting in the new hall was conducted by the Evangelist Katherine Charlotte Strickland, daughter of Robert, and was reported as a place for all denominations to meet. For the next several years the hall was home to a variety of religions and social events. A typical example was the concert held in January 1886 by the Barnardo Home children from Peterborough. The adult admission was 25 cents with a package including train fare from Peterborough, plus admission at 50 cents. In May 1893, Caroline Strickland purchased the hall for \$620 with the proceeds divided amongst the four remaining Protestant churches.

The Strickland Canoe Co. was formed the year before in

1892 and that following year the company suffered a great loss from a fire which damaged the factory and equipment. The exact location of the factory is not known but the paper stated that the Strickland building was located near the river (likely one of the mill-line buildings on Water St. Some of the factory employees were hired immediately at Peterborough Canoe and some waited for the Strickland Company to re-open. In July 1904, the Gordon and Strickland companies amalgamated to form the Lakefield Canoe Building and Manufacturing Company Ltd. Forty thousand shares were placed on the market at \$100 per share. The new company proposed building both boats and houses. The directors were Edward Rolleston Tate (lumberman), John E. Baptie (carpenter), John E. Richardson (boat builder, George Alexander Baptie

(carpenter), and Harry Graham Fitzgerald (hardware merchant). Once again, on December 23, 1910, fire destroyed the factory that had been enlarged to 50 x 180 feet. A larger brick building was erected by the Baptie

Brothers on the same site only much closer to the sidewalk. In May 1911, Gilbert Gordon, son of the famous boat builder Thomas Gordon was employed as company foreman. The company was now building larger motor craft. One such craft was the Elizabeth built for Mr. Russel Dodworth of Pittsburg who owned Bosch, a Stoney Lake cottage located on Dodworth's land. The *Elizabeth* was the first inboard to be built in the new brick factory. A part of the building that today is located at 98 Queen St. was built in 1911 to be used as a showroom and paint shop upstairs, today the building with its many additions is a restaurant.

# Health and Welfare: archives and the writing of history

The talk delivered by  
Elwood Jones at the  
Trent Valley Archives  
annual general meeting  
24 April 2003

When approached to write a history of Anson House, a rather special home for the aged with deep roots in Victorian Peterborough, my first response was to say that was impossible. Even with a generous time line, how could the history they wanted be researched, written and edited? How could we decide what was necessary and pertinent? Where could we begin? Then I mentioned the many things that would need to be done to make such a project feasible. Some months later I received a call saying that the committee had money for publishing a history, and they agreed to do it my way! Oh dear! What was my way!

My way is to begin with PAMOCA: the acronym that I associate with the scientific method. P is for Problem. Could we express the request for a history of Anson House in terms of historical problems requiring research, analysis and solution? Naturally, we needed to find out what was known about Anson House, and its predecessors the Peterborough Protestant Home, and the Peterborough Relief Society. What had been written? We soon developed several contexts within which to pursue a history of Anson House. It was somehow connected with Peterborough, with the story of growing old, homes for the aged, social welfare policies, attitudes toward poverty, gender roles in Victorian society, architecture, the history of hospitals, philanthropy, changing government policies toward social and medical institutions, religious organizations, volunteer movements, and a list that kept growing. What was the purpose of the organization? Why did it exist in Peterborough? What can we learn about attitudes and policies

toward poverty, social welfare, aging and growing old, medical implications, class issues, gender issues, community co-operation and support, those receiving the services, those delivering the services, or government policies and directives?

Such questions get refined in the light of research. Some turn out to be far more important than imagined; others might lack pertinence or might prove elusive. Fresh discoveries inspire fresh questions. The book evolves. It takes shape on the basis of decisions made about how to tackle the questions raised. A question raised is potentially answerable; what is to be feared is the question unasked. We can keep returning to the P for Problem. Now my mind was moving to A = Apparatus. Where were its archives, and how good were they? Could we find useful and consistent information elsewhere: in newspapers, in government reports, in histories of social welfare, for example? To what extent would we need to supplement our research with memoirs, interviews or some version of oral history? How did Anson House stories fit into the pattern of other stories? There were archives and it was agreed that they would be deposited in the Trent Valley Archives, an organization with which I had close connections, and I helped process, organize and describe the papers so that they could be used by a class of Trent University students. We needed complete co-operation with the people at Anson House. It was a great advantage having them available for making contacts (such as with our oral history experiments, our tours of the facilities, our participation in social events tied to Christmas and Valentines, and meetings with their liaison group.) As editor of the *Heritage Gazette of the Trent Valley* and as a columnist for *Prime Time* I was able to share information and seek help from the general public as well.

The Anson House fonds was a very solid archival collection. It had the minutes of board meetings and annual reports so essential to establishing chronology,

and identifying key players. It was possible, as well, to identify nearly every person who had ever lived there. The financial records were solid, and would permit us to reconstruct the ebb and flow of life at the Peterborough Protestant Home. The admission records recorded age and gender. We even had copies of rules and regulations that applied to residents and to volunteers.

As good as the papers were, we needed more information. For example, how precisely could we make links between government policies and Anson House reports? How could we get insight into events and relationships that never appear in written archives; in other words, how could we uncover its knowable oral history? As Anson House had curried close relations with the local Protestant churches, what could we learn from the archives and histories of those places? What had historians written about the bigger issues - gender, class, social welfare, poverty, aging, for example - in which we had to place our story? What information might be contained in the archives of the city, or of prominent individuals, or of commercial establishments? And how could we make effective use of newspapers?

As you can see, we are expanding our understanding of A=Apparatus. At the same time, our mind is already moving to the M, Methods. How can we use the sources to extract answers to the many questions with which we began, and to which we keep adding? History is about understanding the past; facts never speak for themselves. Methods are defined by the resources available and the significant questions. With Anson House, we chose to use a variety of methods. To recreate the early history of the organization, we had to consider the historical literature and debates on poverty, and we had to do close analysis of the language of newspaper reports. We had to identify the people who gave assistance and those who received it so that we could match this history against assumptions of gender, class and community pride. This

required some understanding of demographic history as well. With respect to the housing arrangements, we had to reconstruct community standards about charity, the role of the church, the place of doctors, and the resources available to municipal government.

Historians also use statistical analysis as a method. We had the great asset of annual reports to government that were presented in a consistent format for about eighty years. We would be able to see the changing patterns of residents, and also the changing needs and sources for financial support.

Another method that seemed pertinent was oral history. We had many volunteers, staff and residents who could share their memories of Anson House. We discovered that the reach was comparatively narrow, as people were at Anson House for only a phase of their lives. We also had to consider the various ways in which the oral evidence could be valid or useful.

The methods of policy research were also available. How had government policies changed over the years, and what had been the direct or cumulative effect of such changes? There is a strong secondary literature of social policy research, and government legislation and reports are certainly accessible, most notably at Trent University (and in Bill Domm collection at TVA). Some of the pertinent material was in the Anson House fonds, a sign that it was important. The Alex Edmison fonds, also at TVA, reflect his long interest in penal policy, and there were points of convergence. Each of the methods required considerable systematic work, and there are professional standards that one strives to meet. With respect to oral history, for example, there are pretty strict rules. People being interviewed have to know how the interviews will be used, and have the opportunity to correct errors. That means, as well, that an agreed transcript of the proceedings must be produced, with a view to being revised and corrected. Oral interviews that are not converted to transcripts are virtually inaccessible and any archives devising an oral history strategy will consider all aspects of accountability and access.

Oral interviews raise privacy issues that are more clearly raised with hospital and medical records. With the Anson House project, we needed to consider, for

example, how to use admission records and phone lists of volunteers and residents. There was also some personal information in the board minutes, usually referring to some person who had offensive habits. This was information that was very valuable to the historian, and we did have to consider how to build upon the valuable information without being needlessly offensive. Happily, we were not dealing with an institution such as jails or insane asylums where being an inmate or patient carried a social stigma. The detailed information was crucial. It allowed us to say with certainty when and how the Peterborough Protestant Home refashioned itself from a place of indoor social welfare relief, to a short stay refuge, to a near-hospital, to a place for retired individuals. Our first surprise was to learn that Anson House had not always been an old-age home. But even more surprising, it was often a chameleon.

The last three letters of the PAMOCA acronym direct us to the need to make observations of various sorts, to make conclusions, and then to realize our work was still not done. One still has to consider the significance of what has been discovered, or in the language of the scientific method, application....

Over a period of 140 years, the Peterborough Relief Society became the Protestant Home 1, 2 and 3. Anson House long a place for the destitute and aged, now became clearly a Home for the Aged. Then in competition with Fairhaven it had to become a seniors residence with on site medical assistance. The government policy to rationalize the social housing and medical policies had a ripple-down effect that gradually enveloped Anson House. Now Anson House is in transition again. In partnership with Marycrest and Sir Sandford Fleming College, Anson House will become an aspect of a new nursing home facility on the Fleming campus. Then the 1911 architectural gem will be completely redesigned into senior citizens apartments. The mix of senior social housing and medical housing will go separate ways.

Writing the history of Anson House was exciting business. We learned about all sorts of things. It never began as a house, at all. And when it did become a house it changed to meet different needs and situations. It never clearly emerged as a home for the aged until the early

twentieth century, and never became exclusively a home for the aged until government funding policies forced it to be so. The institution had people living lives within its walls, as residents or employees or visitors. A study of Anson House permitted us to learn about much more than the Peterborough Protestant Home and what it became.

Mostly we learned, provided that you have accessible archival sources, if you can pose a question historically, you can find ways and means to consider it. History is more about asking questions than being satisfied with answers. Medical history is not written in the acts of doctors alone. It is about the wider community, as well. We need to interconnect with information that can be gleaned from other historical sources. As we redesign hospitals, archives are in danger of being lost. I would favour taking a records management approach that identified those records of archival value, normally 5% in volume, and ensured they were saved. Those that are saved should be properly housed, and should be made accessible with pertinent restrictions about the publishing of information. Those restrictions should be comparatively few.

Information that is readily knowable to contemporaries should be accessible to historians. We should not assume that what is offensive to our generation will be offensive in future. But, as part of the records management process, we can put time limits suggesting when records should be destroyed, and when they should be made accessible and permanent. If we do not preserve archives, then our history of hospitals will be generic and institutional and will leave hospital history segregated from the wider community. Future generations will not understand the priorities of our culture, and the way decisions were made. We will not be able to show how diseases were conquered.

Anson House can serve as a proxy to the value of using historical methods, combined with solid archival sources, to write the history. Some of the later parts of the history of Anson House are not clear because we did not have access to recent business and medical records. But, at least we know what it takes to write solid history. [Ed note: this is a brief summary of part of the presentation. The talk may be published in other formats.]



From the Don Courneyea Collection

# NEW PHOTO GALLERY

Just Opened on Hunter Street by  
J.W. Green & Son, Formerly of Arnprior

Messrs. J.W. Green & Son have just opened a most luxuriously fitted up photograph gallery in the south side of Hunter street in the premises formerly occupied as a bank by Messrs. Mulholland and Roper. Everything in the establishment conveys the idea that no expense has been spared to equip the gallery in the most modern and up to date manner. Plate glass mirrors abound and the rich carpetings and handsomely upholstered furnishings all have a most pleasing effect.

A portion of the ground floor has been leased to Mr. G.W. Mulligan for the purpose of a piano wareroom, but one of the windows as well as the west wall has been reserved for the purpose of displaying photographs. Already work of a high quality has been shown in the window and greatly admired. In the course of a few days the large 8x10 frame, which occupies the whole of the west wall, will be adorned with more samples of the firm's work. The frame is a very handsome fixture of cherry finished in gold. The walls of the ground floor are prettily tiled in a terra cotta shade with a rich border, the woodwork being of a hardwood finish. The flooring is of rubber tile. From the centre, in the rear, a handsome staircase of polished maple leads to the next floor. On the first landing stands a magnificent plate glass mirror, and one has also been placed at the top of the second landing. The second floor is handsomely finished - the reception room being particularly cozy. The lavatory and toilet room is fitted up with all modern conveniences.

All of the apartments are heated with hot water and hot air.

The office is partitioned off from the reception room by a counter, surmounted with glass frames and curtains.

The gallery is perfectly lighted - more could not be said about it.

The instruments are of the most recent inventions known amongst the profession and are fitted with the best procurable lenses, and nothing but the highest grade of

material is kept in stock for the production of work.

The finishing room are located on the third floor, and the firm has engaged a most capable staff of assistants.

Mr. J.W. Green and his son have carried on a prosperous photographing business in Arnprior for years, but recently decided to move to a larger town in order that they might secure more scope for their abilities. They were hastened to this decision by reason of the fact that their lease of the premises occupied by them expired in March and they could not continue to occupy them unless arranging for a term of years, to which they were not agreeable. In casting around for a large centre they considered Peterborough, amongst other towns, and as the Bank of Montreal offered to provide premises, fitted up in the most modern manner, it was decided to accept the proposition.

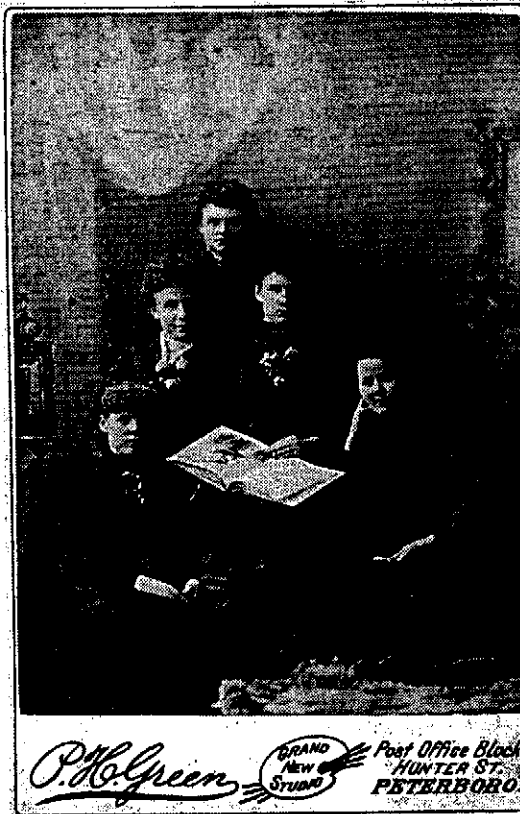
That the firm is leaving Arnprior followed by the best wishes of the community is evidenced by the following clipping from an exchange of that place: —

"On Monday next, Mr. J. Green leaves for Peterborough, Ont., where he has had fitted up one of the best equipped studios to be found anywhere in the province. During Mr. Green's sojourn in Arnprior he proved himself a worthy citizen in every way, and it is with sincere regret that the citizens are now compelled to part with one who was alive to the interests and well being of the town. As an artist Mr. Green is a master whose work requires only to be seen to be admired. Until March his son, Melvin Green, will conduct the business in Arnprior, the negatives being sent to Peterborough, where the pictures will be finished under the supervision of one of the best finishers in Canada, one who was for three years a foreman in Notman's Studio, Montreal and was demonstrator for the American Aristo Co., U.S. Any person, therefore, requiring work done can depend upon the very best, as the high order of the work executed in Arnprior will be more than maintained in Peterborough. Melvin will

be taken in as a partner in Peterborough, and the firm will be known as Green & Son. Mrs. Green will remain in town for a week or two longer. We wish the departing photographer every success in his new field of labour, and in this we voice the sentiment of the community."

The studio will be opened to the public tomorrow, when a musical programme will be rendered both morning and evening. Amongst those who will contribute are Misses N. Lewis and Mr. Brown, Mr. G.W. Mulligan and others.

Daily Examiner Monday 30 January 1899



Unknown threesome, from the Delladonne Collection



From the Don Courneyea Collection

# Arab or Pyrenean Gypsies: 1895

[Editor's note: This is an important trio of articles. This group of travelers precedes the famed Peterborough gypsies of 1909, of which we published Elwood Jones' research article [HGTV, May 2001]. We have not yet identified the travelers, although there are many internal clues, and a debate on the matter. We do not know J.W. MacMillan, but he sounds very well-informed. Yet the editor, either of the Post or the Examiner, says MacMillan is mistaken and seems to cite William Bowman as proof. This is very puzzling and engaging.]

## A CROWD OF WANDERING VAGRANTS

They are a Great Nuisance to the North Enders and are Camped at the Waterworks Station.

Daily Examiner 16 December 1895

Crowds of citizens went out to the Arabian encampment just across the river from the waterworks pump house yesterday.

There are about dozen families in camp possessing a wagon each and in this the father, mother, and from two to eight children reside. They are the filthiest lot of mortals that can be imagined and the stench from the camp ascends to high heaven.

A concert was given yesterday when the children sang the Marsellaise and After the Ball. A dog and bear fight followed and a 'couple of monks did the flip' as one of the spectators expressed it. The hat was then passed round and the children went amongst the crowd begging for everything and anything. All the youngsters as well as the women and men smoked and a more degrading sight cannot be conjured up than a visit to the camp will reveal.

Just how the members of the traveling caravans live is a question. Throughout the day the upper portion of the town is greatly harassed by them calling at the doors, day after day, begging and giving impudence if they do not get what they ask for. Our active County Constabulary should have been after them long ago and escorted them over the borders of Peterborough County, but probably the recent experience with the tramps at Curtis' Cut is still too strong in the memory of the constables to allow them to run any more such chances.

## ARABS CAN'T BE CHASED AWAY

Threats and Promises of No Avail  
They are Determined to Stay Here.

Daily Examiner 18 December 1895

The county authorities have been puzzling their brains as to what disposition to make of the wandering troop of Arabs which are established just across the river from the waterworks pump house.

County Constable Cochrane visited them the other day and ordered them to "move on" or he would have the whole outfit put into the county gaol. He was coolly informed that it would cost the county a thousand dollars to feed the members of the tribe and so there was little danger of his treat being put into execution.

The wily constable then went off on another tack and expounded on the shekels which could be raked in at Omamee and Lindsay, as bears and monkeys had never seen over there. The chief of the tribe thought this way a good suggestion, but announced that the camp would not move for some time yet.

Matters have gone so far, and the tramps have become such a nuisance to the whole country side that some of the county councilors suggested that they be given \$25.00 to cross the borders into Victoria county.

County Constable Cochrane however now has a scheme which will probably have the desired effect. The tribe will be ordered to "move on" once more, and if the members do not comply three or four of the principal men will be arrested and fined, and if the fines are not paid the bears, monkeys and curly haired pigs will be sold at auction.

## NOT ARAB, BUT PYRENEAN GYPSIES

Daily Examiner 20 January 1896

Mr. J. W. MacMillan writes as follows to the Lindsay Post:

"It appears that some interest is still kept up among us as to the band of foreigners who were recently arrested and expelled from this vicinity. Their race and circumstances seem to be so generally misunderstood that I ask leave to tell your readers the few facts

that I by a slight investigation have learned about them. In the first place, they are not "Arabs", but Gypsies. Their original home is in the Pyrenees and their readiest speech is French. In the second place, they did not come hither from Chicago, but from Cork, Ireland. In the third place, while squalid and pitiable enough, they were not destitute of either clothes or money. Their clothes and bedding were not fashionable or clean, and some of the children were not warmly clad, but they seemed to have a great quantity of clothing in their possession. If any of them were half naked it was from choice and not of necessity. In their pockets were at least \$25 given them in Peterborough as the price of their withdrawal. They belong to a class of people well enough known who unite the exhibition of performing animals with persistent and shameless begging, and retain as their strongest characteristic, the love of an idle roaming life. Their number, as nearly as I could discover, was twenty-six, consisting of six men, five women and fifteen children. Their possessions consisted of three wooden vans, each fitted with a bed and stove, drawn by two horses and a jackass, and accompanied by two bears, a baboon and a guinea pig. They had been somewhat disappointed in the vigour of our Canadian winter, and while able to warm themselves in their vans, were anxious to make their way south. They left here with the expression intention of getting to Toronto as soon as possible. Such a problem is an unusually vexed one to a community like ours. I know that some people were very kind to them. I know, also that some others were very loud in their protestations of pity, but refrained from any benevolent action. I am inclined to think that such a company, being alien tongue and habits and possessing the means of making a livelihood in a warm and well-settled country, were best helped by efforts, which were really kindly, to move them in a direction of such a place."

Mr. MacMillan is mistaken in his assertions, as the foreigners came from a small island off the southern coast of Africa and from a port where Mr. Wm. Bowman once landed when following the avocation of a sailor.

From the Don Courneyea Collection

## Lumbermen VS. Mossom Boyd & Co.

A DISPUTE AS TO THE RIGHT TO LEVY AND COLLECT TIMBER TOLLS AT LITTLE BOB

A case of importance and interest to lumbermen has been tried during the past two weeks before His Honour Judge Dean, and is now pending judgment. It is an application by Messrs Mossom Boyd & Co. under the Rivers and Streams Act, to compel all lumbermen running saw logs down the Little Bob river and over the slide there to pay tolls. The other lumbermen contend that the ownership of the Little Bob channel is in the Dominion Government, and that the stream is therefore not one of those affected by the Rivers and Streams Act, which is a provincial statute; also that the dam of Messrs Mossom Boyd & Co. is a mill dam built for milling purposes and is within the Mill Dam Act, which allows no tolls; also that the Rivers and Streams Act applies only to dams built by lumbermen in the course of their river driving expressly for the purpose of floating logs so that all using such dams for the same purpose should contribute ratably, and that this dam was not so built, but was built for an ulterior purpose namely, a mill dam and for which the applicants hold their consideration, the power to drive their mill. The lumbermen contend further that the stream was floatable with the government dam before the Boyd dam was built, and also that the Boyd dam did not improve the floatability of the stream, but rather by reason of this dam being built in the wrong place for saw-log driving, the long stretch of dead water, the slide being too narrow, and the Boyd mills occupying the greater portion of the stream - the dam is an obstruction rather than a benefit. The lumbermen contend also that the stream was floatable during freshets in a state of pasture, and that now with the stored freshets which are brought down with the drives, and in any case there being no doubt they could run the Big Bob channel, that now whereas the Government has turned them into Little Bob to keep the big river clear for navigation, they are entitled to a free right of way down the Little Bob. The lumbermen say that any dams and locks which the government has built on the main highway of these waters, while a benefit 'o' steamboat navigation, are no benefit 'o' saw-log driving. The trial occupied five days; a great deal of evidence was given by men experts at saw-log driving and men who had driven logs down the stream, some of them as long as forty years ago. Mr. A. J. Wickham appeared for Messrs Mossom Boyd & Co, Mr. Walter Cassels, Q.C. and Mr. Thomas Stewart appeared for Messrs Gilmour & Co. and the Rathbun Co, the lumbermen chiefly interested.

*Daily Examiner* 9 October 1895

## A Horrible Death - Fell Amongst a Moving Dump of Logs and Fatally Crushed

A man named Wm. Brown, employed at Howry & Co. lumbering shanty near Gooderham, met with a frightful and instantaneous death on Friday last. Information which is not very direct is to the effect that he was standing on a dump of logs that had frozen together and was chopping them loose while two men stood below watching to give him notice when the logs began to move.

Suddenly his mates called to him to jump but instead of doing so he waited long enough to give one more blow with his axe, and the delay proved fatal for the next instant he fell into the moving mass of logs and his head was caught and crushed so badly he was dead before he could get out.

Deceased, who was from Saginaw, Michigan, and had no relatives anywhere near here, was about 28 years old and unmarried. He was buried at Pine Lake on Saturday in a coffin that was sent up from Fenelon Falls by Friday's train.

*Daily Examiner* 25 February 1895

## A Pitiabale Story - A Lumberman's Alleged Abuse by the Howry Lumber Company

Joseph Galarneay, of Montreal, arrived in the village on Wednesday evening, having walked from Howry's camp.

No. 15, along the Monck road. His story is a pitiabale one. He states that he left Montreal about two months ago, with a party of 25 or 30 others who were engaged for the camp. He left a wife and two children at home and understood that he was to receive \$18 a month and that his fare to the camp would be \$8. He hoped to send his wife about \$9 a month, besides earning his fare in and home again. After being in the woods about six weeks, he was sawing a log near a skidway when a tree was fallen which struck the skid and rolled a log on to him. He was caught between the logs across the bowels. After being taken to the camp his body swelled, and in the course of a few days there was a discharge from his side. He was laid up sixteen days and being unable to work, got a settlement. He was allowed \$12 a month, instead of \$18 and charged \$12 for his railway fare. He was also charged a dollar a day for the time laid up, and was brought out in debt to the firm. That is the man's story. He arrived here without a cent, disabled, and trying to get back to his family in Montreal.

*Daily Examiner* 11 November 1895



Artwork from the cover of *Rand, McNally & Co's Lumberman's Directory Shipping Guide & Reference Book*, 1893, TVA Library

## Howard Pammett's Peterborough Irish: part thirteen

## CHAPTER ELEVEN :

# The Subsequent Progress of the Irish Settlers, And the Granting of Their Land Patents

*[The Trent Valley Archives plans to reprint Howard Pammett's 1933 Queen's thesis, the most authoritative study of the Robinson settlers from principles, recruitment, emigration, and settlement. With this chapter we complete the first part of the thesis. This has covered all aspects of the Peter Robinson migration from its origins, selection of emigrants, crossing the ocean, travelling to the Peterborough area, settling on the assigned locations, and now to the patenting of the land. The impact of the emigration was immense at least in the borderland Canadian Shield lands where they settled, and persisted. The next part of the thesis relates to the history of Peterborough from the 1840s to the 1920s, and is in character a much different work. The editors have been gratified by the support that the serialization of the work has received and will now move quickly to make the work available in its entirety.]*

*In this installment, Pammett considers the experience of the located settlers and concludes that they were generally industrious, adapted well to the new circumstances, and persevered admirably. Robinson was well rewarded for his efforts. Pammett is critical of the local gentry, of the Family Compact and of Peter Robinson and the bureaucrats who brought out many who were unsuitable or unwilling emigrants. Pammett relied heavily on Colonial Office records and seemed to have a high regard for what government could do. His solid immersion in the records makes his work of continuing importance. His love of detail and sympathy for most settlers gives his story extra appeal.*

*We thank Alice and Marianne Mackenzie whose foresight and hard work made this project feasible.]*

## Impressions of Irish Emigrants

Most observers, {319} as we have seen, who wrote or testified about the Irish emigrants conveyed mixed impressions. There was much to criticize about their location, and their idleness in the first year. However, it was observed, afterwards the majority settled down to hard work and became prosperous within a generation. Some claimed the settlers did better in townships where mixed with English and Scots than when settled among other Catholic Irish. The truth or falsehood of these observations can be more carefully judged by a study of the actual life and progress of the Irish emigrants settled in the various townships during the twenty years after November 1826, and comparison with that first year.

Strickland's encounter with several emigrants in the autumn of 1825 convinced him they were, even when receiving rations, willing to get work, although they may have had little experience and have demanded the prevailing wages when they were not worth so much. Stewart and Rubidge alleged at times that they were shiftless and drunken in this first year and would NOT take work, although labourers' wages were higher than they had ever been in the district. There were probably as in any district, plenty of examples of both sorts among the 1800 settled around Peterborough. Even the laziest of the Irish no doubt did as much or more actual work and endured more hardship than the "gentry" of the district, who hired others to do all their difficult and ungentlemanly labour. It was the height of ingratitude for these to quibble and criticize the Irish when, by their own admission, the arrival of the Irish meant all the difference in the for-

tunes of the said "gentry." Impartial travellers, such as Captain Hall, commented upon the commendable progress of the Irish settlers overcoming {320} the generations of starvation, disease, slavery and ignorance behind them, the disease and delays and unsuitable rations around them, and the difficulties before them.

During the first year, those emigrants who traded their rations for whisky were outbalanced by those who sensibly traded the excess rations for potatoes, cows and other necessities. The few idle emigrants were overwhelmingly outnumbered by those who began to clear and cultivate their lands. Some even asked Robinson and McDonell to allow them to buy more land for themselves, and for sons and relatives. Hall, visiting in 1827, painted two or three vivid pictures of such emigrant families. Cornelius Sullivan with his two sons had 20 acres under cultivation in 1827 and was preparing another 6 acres for the next season. A single emigrant who had only settled on his land in May 1827 had cleared and sown 7 acres by July. Robin Walsh, who proudly conducted Hall around his fine farm, spared a tall oak for him. The province needed more such fine settlers.

Some, naturally, preferred to ply their trades at Peterborough or in the townships among the emigrants or in other towns in Upper Canada. John Boate started a tavern and William Oakley a bakery in Peterborough in the autumn of 1825. John Sullivan, James Hurley, Timothy O'Connor and others built houses in the village and remained to work as labourers at congenial necessary trades. Cottrell Lane set up a shoemaking shop in the village, and toured the townships with his goods. Maurice Clancy set up his

blacksmith shop at the south Douro crossroads. Francis Young and his sons erected a saw and grist mill beside the rapids, to serve the settlers of northern Smith and Douro. Henry Sheehan became the first teacher in Douro, and Patrick Baragy resumed his teaching in Emily. Richard Thornhill became Robinson's clerk at the depot, and {321} went with him to York to take a position in the Commissioner of Crown Lands office. John Doody, a butcher, secured a recommendation from Surgeon Connin at Prescott and forthwith vanished.

Of those 307 heads of "families" who left Ireland, 80 were not farmers. There were 46 labourers, ten shoemakers, six weavers, five widows and other women, two nailers, two coopers, two blacksmiths, two carpenters, as well as a slater, a wheelwright, a mason, a millwright, and a tavernkeeper. Not surprisingly, then, the 54 heads of "families" not located included 19 non-farmers: five labourers, nine women (mostly widows), two nailers, a slater and a weaver. Three of the four heads of families settled in Lower Canada were labourers; also, three of the four heads of families who officially deserted were labourers. Of the 59 heads of families who were located, but did not stay on them until patented, 16 were not farmers: ten labourers, three weavers, two shoemakers, and a cooper. Thus 21 labourers, four weavers, two shoemakers, two nailers, a slater, and a cooper vanished from the expedition, before or after location, spread over the Canadas and into the United States seeking work. Some of them meant only to secure some money with which to clear their land more quickly, or to bring relatives to this land of opportunity. Others doubtless considered the passage a stepping-stone to greener pastures in

the United States, and deserted to seek friends and fortune there. Some found employment on the construction of the Welland and Rideau Canals. Others went to the factories and stores of York, Montreal, Cobourg, Kingston and other towns. Of the 227 farmer heads of families, 80 did not receive patents for their lands, because of death or desertion in the intervening 10 years. Of the 80 non-farmer heads of families, 44 did not receive patents. In sum, 82% of the farmer emigrants were located, and 65% received patents; 69% of the non- {322} farmer Irish were located, and 45% obtained patents for lands. The conclusion to be drawn from these is quite obvious.

Most of the emigrants, therefore, worked seriously and industriously on their lands, and endeavoured to save enough to add to the scanty savings brought secretly from Ireland, to buy more land for their younger sons. Some of the sons were sent away, after receiving their locations, to work elsewhere for a year or two as labourers, while the rest of the family did settlement duty on the several lots. Then the sons were expected to return home at the end of the season with their savings, not to pay the rent, as when harvesters returned from Britain to Ireland, but to buy more land in the vicinity. If the son brought back 150 or 200 dollars from a year's work at the canals or in the towns, then they could buy 150 or 200 acres more of land. The tragedy of the situation for some families was that the sons were lured away by the cities and ports, and did not return at all to their lands, even when the check was made in 1833 to issue patents. The lenient authorities (notably, Peter Robinson) gave some of these forfeited lots to younger sons, or to the head of the family intrust. Sometimes entire families after location vanished to more fruitful fields in Canada and the United States, some perhaps hoping to return later to settle upon their lots, other disliking poor lots or disheartened by the amount of toil and hardship needed to clear and cultivate backwoods farms. Probably also a number were located and remained only on their lots until rations were stopped on 24 November 1826, and then migrated onward over the border, back to Lower Canada, or into the towns where was a life more congenial.

#### Receiving Patents

Yet of the 307 heads of families brought from Ireland, 80% were located upon lots in 1825, and 60% of them received patents ten years later. These are based upon the official Robinson figures, which show that 62 heads of families did not receive locations, and another {323} 59 heads did not receive patents in 1834 and afterwards. About half of these defaulters were dead, and the others were undoubtedly deserters, although

the records are intentionally and culpably silent upon this point. This 80%, and more especially the 60%, were the real backbone of the expedition, the worthy majority who endured, toiled and prospered. They regarded Robinson as their beneficial lord and father, and in the next ten years showered him with letters and visits whenever they desired any favour or became embroiled in any dispute, trusting to his generous justice with a childlike faith, and being just as unreasonable and contrary when frustrated as the most fractious of children. The Crown Lands Papers of the several townships where they were settled are filled with hundreds of letters from the Irish emigrants to Robinson and his successors in office, in the next two decades. Peter Robinson read and heard and considered their complaints and demands patiently, and gave them what they desired if at all possible. His attitude to the Irish in this decade, and their regard for him, tell more of his character than any number of "prepared" Addresses and testimonials to officials.

#### Robinson's Reward

In the autumn of 1826, while still in Canada, Robinson received this brief note from Wilmot Horton.

W. Felton is appointed Commissioner of Crown Lands in Lower Canada and Mr. Davidson as Surveyor of Timber in the same province, and I wish to inform you that you will be recommended strongly to the Treasury for both these duties, which I consider one person can adequately perform in Upper Canada.

Evidently, the government planned no more assisted emigration from Ireland, at least under Robinson's superintendence, and as a reward for his services offered him a suitable sinecure in which he might recuperate his fortunes. It joined the offices of Crown Lands and Surveyor of Timber [later the office of Surveyor-General of Woods] which had previously been separate in Upper Canada. On 28 June 1827, Maitland recommended the appointment of Peter Robinson, James Gordon and {324} Charles Jones to the Legislative Council and Bathurst agreed before Robinson left England. Robinson was thus a member of both Executive and Legislative Councils before taking office as Commissioner. The Royal Commission making him Commissioner of Crown Lands and Surveyor-General of Woods for Upper Canada was signed on 17 July 1827. For each office, Robinson was allowed to retain one-sixth of the incoming revenues for contingent expenditures, up to £500 for each office. The Treasury directly paid his salary of £555 for each office. Although this was generous, on 20 August, Peter Robinson asked Horton for

"a stated daily allowance for contingent expenses and on 27 September applied to manage the funds arising from the sale of clergy lands. Early in 1828 Peter Robinson became Commissioner for the sale of Clergy Reserves, at an additional £500 per year, and one-sixth of revenues for expenses. Thus, with his salary of £111 per year as Executive Councillor, he made £1721 per year, a handsome reward for his service in emigration!

His brother, John Beverly Robinson, later claimed that Peter had never asked for any position!

Mr. Wilmot Horton's note was the first intimation received by my brother of the patronage which had been so kindly extended to him. The office of Commissioner for sale of Clergy Reserves was afterwards added, equally without solicitation. They were created by new arrangements made in England, and at the time when my brother was engaged here in settling the last emigrants brought out by him. So far from soliciting the appointments, he did not know that such offices existed, or that it was intended to create them, until he received from the Colonial Office [i.e. Horton] the intelligence that he had been nominated for them. The business of his offices which was in itself overwhelming for a person in his state of health, was increased very greatly by the measures taken by Sir John Colborne in 1831 and afterwards, for forming new settlements, opening roads and assisting emigrants by monies advanced from the revenues of the Crown, the superintendence of which measures he committed to my brother although they had no direct connection with his departments. It was increased also by the arrangements which were at that time made for selling, for the benefit of various tribes of Indians, large tracts of land reserved for their use, and also by the very numerous transactions which followed the first throwing open of the Clergy Reserves for sale.... My Brother's attention to the duties of these offices was close and unremitting, and without other interruption than was occasioned by ill health - Unfortunately for himself, it was the bias of his disposition to attend {325} with much more zeal to those duties of his office, which consisted in arrangements for the interest and convenience of Government and the public, than to those which were necessary for protecting himself against the possible consequences of his large pecuniary responsibility...

Obviously, these duties were onerous. As well, he had to satisfy the numerous demands and complaints of the Irish emigrants settled around Peterborough. Judging from the extant letters from June 1828 until Robinson's resignation in 1836, and even into the 1840s, the settlers had many motives: greed, suffering, injustice, carelessness, ignorance, spite, ambition, land-hunger, and industry. The letters are excessively human and reveal an interesting panorama of Irish-Canadian character, combining naivety, humour, pathos, confidence, insolence, meanness, and complaint. Only a few representative ones may be quoted here.

#### Special Requests

The three sons of Francis Young united in a petition to Robinson in the spring of 1828 when a man tried to get the lot given to Francis. Their petition reveals the destination of some of the emigrants.

The application of John, William, and Samuel Young showeth that they are the sons of Francis Young of Smith, and immigrated from Ireland with him to this country that John was located on east 1/2 of 35 in 12th Smith, William and Samuel on the 37th on 13th con. Since coming to this country they have worked with their father that they are now desirous of beginning to do something for themselves that they beg to state that their lots are very bad and they hardly think it possible to make a living on them that they are desirous of having the same exchanged for land better adapted for agricultural purposes. That many of the emigrants brought out under yr. superintendence that was located in the Smith having left their land some are gone to the untied States and not likely to return we would be glad to have some of them lots or any in the township fit for cultivation.

William remained upon his lot; John and Samuel were settled on lot 26 in 12th con. Smith.

Some quarrels resulted from various emigrants coveting the same desirable lot near their own. William Cleary wrote 29 January 1829.

I accept of lot 25 in 11th con. Otonabee, which lot I proposed for to you when I was in York and which lot you promised I should have. I am ready to pay the first instalment soon as you demand; I am sorry to tell you that Tom Condon is at present slashing {326} down trees on the lot, tho he never touched it till he understood that I had your promise of the lot....

James Condon, David Long, and John

Cleary, all emigrants, made similar claims and demands for this lot, but William Cleary obtained it by greater aggressiveness.

John Sullivan, the son of an emigrant, also in January 1829, tersely demanded a new lot, and left the region when it was not given.

I was located on no. 32 in 6th con. Otonabee which is only 80 acres and most of that a bad swamp which renders it unfit to live on therefore I hope your Honour will grant me east 1/2 of 3 in 3rd Douro now vacant a midling good lot...

Richard Andrews of Smith also drew a poor lot, which he desired exchanged.

Honourable Peter Robinson, York. Peterboro, 8 Apr. 1829. Honble. Sir, I take the liberty of writing to you [if] you are aware of the mistake in giving me the townlot here. I have given up to Mr. Tupper at a loss of \$40 less than it cost me and he has put me under \$2 a month rent while I remain on it so I expect your Honor will be so kind as to appoint me a lot here on the same terms they were given at first - as you know I am not to blame for building on a wrong one as it was Mr. Smyth's fault and I will build a frame house on it this summer, Your Humble Servt. R. Andrews. P. S. Sir, I have taken 2 men some time ago to see the land you have given me in Smithtown to do the settling duties and it was so bad that it was not worth going to any expence about it I would be thankful to you if you would exchange it for me. Your Honor may recollect that Walton Wilson gave you the number of a half lot formerly drawn by a man of the name of Reed; I believe it is the 6th lot on west side of Communication Road; I am credibly informed he died last year at the Welland Canal...

William Oakley, the baker emigrant who remained in Peterborough wrote 20 July 1829 concerning this same lot, which was being held for the widow of Reid:

According to your directions I embrace an opportunity of sending you this address concerning the land which you have promised me if I should give you the number of a decent lot and mentioned to me when you were in Peterboro to write. I have received information of one which is the 6th lot on the comm. Road in Smith located by a man one Reede who is dead and has no male issue and the duty not done. I request of all favour from your former goodness to me you

will be so kind as to give the land soon that I may begin to make some sound provision for a growing charge [i.e. children]. I thought to go to York but meeting with John Falvy [another emigrant] I hold contract that he would give your Honour this letter if you don't consider my case and grant me a lot of land I have no resource but to leave this country as I have expended all I have by my improvement at Peterboro.

Oakley gave a great deal of trouble, as revealed in his next letter written to R. Thornhill, 17 February 1836.

I promised you when in Toronto if Mr. McDonell did not {327} act honourable by me that I would write to respecting the treatment I received from the Hon. Member [McDonell was Land Agent and also Member of the Assembly]. I cannot tell you the reason he would not favour me as being an immigrant intitled to his land. I acknowledge I was located on a lot in Smith which when I went to Niagara the Hon. Peter Robinson exchanged for another lot from Samuel Young... under such circumstances I gave up holding any title in it. Mr. Rubidge got directions after to locate me in Otonabee which lot I leave to any onpegeest [unprejudiced] man to judge whether I could make a living on it with 5 young children who will flood to for address but to the Hon. P. Robinson who order his superintendancy I came from where I drew vital ear [air, i.e. Ireland] and now trust in to poverty I was the first man that ever made an improvement in Peterborough. If I had to forfeit them for debt it is no crime. Mr. McDonald [McDonell] promising me from year to year to reserve a town park(lot) for me which Mr. Robinson promised to me equally to give me land for restitution of the land given to another. I declare him to be my utter enemy (McDonell). I don't know the cause as long as I am in America I defy any respectable person to addedge anything improper to my character. All that I can incur in respect to Mr. McDonald percutins me is thus I have cleared 4 acres of land for him and has taken out several hundred feet of lumber for him wick he denied making an ample restitution for as for a vote at the time of the election that non what now am I to do he would not let me have land in any township but in Belmont or Harvey or some other back townships far from any friend which may assist me in my

poverty. I earnestly request you to do all you can for a percutied immogrant and let me know how I am to be addressed I reman your ever Humble & Sincere &c. Wm.Oakley.

This is the same Alexander McDonell who assisted in locating the emigrants in 1825, and then was appointed Immigration Agent at Peterborough. The reference to election intimidation is very significant. Thornhill, however, had become a tool of the Compact, and Oakley had to be content with a lot in Verulam township.

John Lane, whose son Cottrell located as a shoemaker in Peterborough, also had trouble, and wrote to Robinson, 22 October 1829.

I was never more surprized than to have the widow Gibbons [Maurice Gibbon dead, family unlocated] come and order me out of my house this morning she said by your Orders that you gave her the lott and ordered me to surrender Imadiately. I told her I would not that I did not believe you would be so inconsistant with reason or so ungentlemanly as to order me out of a house i built myself by your orders when she had a moare costly house built by Government and have her stay in it and that I would stay in mine till I was paid for it or at least til I hear from you...Now sir recolect you put your foot on the spot and told me build there and that it was government ground and that i could not be disturbed till it was wanting for the use of government or till it was going to be sold and then that I was entitled to preference as to building on it and that the marktett ground was just at my door then the Revd. Mr. Crowley got what you caled the marktett ground which clozed me up so that I had to build an addition {328} to make another front or entrance to my place which i can prove cost me £10 in addition to my former expence and that is not quite 1 months ago and now I am ordered out of it by a woman who is a scanda and disgraces all the women in town by her conduct It drives me to distraction almost□ I gave you as good characters as any in the Emigration and i ask you what i done since to sully them I can appeal to all the Gentlemen in this vicinity if Ocation required Gracious Heaven why should I be so abused if I get land as you promised me so that we can live on it I do not grudge the lott to whom you please as soon as we have the land fit to live on I told you there was a good deal of money due that would pay

for making a good clearance we will build a House and when the Harvest is near rips we wil go live on it We cannot go til then if you wanted it for government us or for any private use of your own if I had to build a wigwam to cover my family I would give it up this day only I am not able to travel yet after my sickness i would wait on you in person and if I dont heart from you soon as i am able i wil wait on you and til then I remain with great respect you Obdt Servt. John Lane.

Happily, poor John got more land than usual, and his son got a new lot patented, after giving his first up to make shoes.

Other settlers, such as William McDonnell, 24 March 1829, were more polite but no less greedy for land.

I take the liberty according to your directions from the conversation that took place in respect of the badness of the lot I now occupy having but little dry land on it and that same surrounded by swamps I send you this not to strengthen your memory in respect of the front part of my lot 21 in 4th Smith which was drawn about 8 yrs past and the settling duty not performed yet the old man who drew it has no family and lives in the States...

Such notes throw subtle light on Robinson's old and pronounced weakness. He would promise anything to an applicant when speaking to him, and fend him off by telling him to write or speak to him somewhere again, and half-promising him a concession which he had no intention to make. He had done this trick on dozens of applicants for emigration in Ireland, and had them following him around the district trying to get an interview. He did the same with Irish settlers in Canada, and deservedly earned many enemies. His inability to say "No!" definitely to anyone of high or low degree earned him a reputation for hypocrisy and duplicity, to add to charges of fraud and corruption and mismanagement. Still, his patience must have been often worn to the breaking-point by the endless quarrels and spiteful tale-bearing which were continually{329} inflicted upon him by his erstwhile charges. Their rapacious greed in attempting to gain more land by any means, carrying tales to Robinson and seeking to alienate his regard from others who desired or occupied the same lots, is a nauseating study.

Some emigrants wandered away to other parts. William Wall, a mason, reported from Kingston, 19 October 1833.

I take the liberty of righting to you hopong to hear of your good health for there is nothing would

give me greater pleasure. I went to Mr. Markland to pay the tackeys on my land and he told me he had no return of it and to right to you about it as there is 5 years tackeys due the lot is the 3rd, in 1st con. of Marmora I work in Govt employ, me sons says they will live on the land I would wish you right to me what I am to pay and to whom I am to pay the tackeys.

John Lane apparently had to buy a lot in Smith, and wrote illuminating letters in March and December 1833 regarding his circumstances and the conditions of settlement.

I hope you will not be offended at my troubling you as I am in a hurry before spring work beings to do my settlement duty before the people gets too busy. I have written to Mr.Talbot (clerk in McDonell's office) to pay Mr. McDonnell £4,12,10, to my credit which he can hold in part payment of any I have to pay and if you recolect you made me a present of the broken front I built on but however you know it is very backward and I hope you and Mr.McDonell is togather you will make it as cheap as possible and I wil be thankful as I expect 2 of my sons out this summer. With great respect I have farther to add that I feel head to think I as one of the oldest settlers in Peterborough built a good logg house and I think never misbehaved should now be oblidded to go take ground for a house from Squire Burham and leave the house I built all at my own expence nearly 8 years hence, but if your honr. and Mr.McDonell think proper I would feel thankful for half the lot or even the 3rd part sooner than leave the spott where I am so long established in business and you compliance would greatly serve and oblige... I would be thankful to let me know as soon as possible the lots or broken fronts 41 and 42 on which my improvements stand and 43 which is small all on the 13th conc. I have paid the taxes for 6 years on it.

On 5 December of the same year Lane wrote again about these lots.

As I am now expecting 2 of my sons here next summer I want to have some work done before them and beg leave to remind your honor that you made me a present of 3 broken lots fronts 41,42,and 43 and my improvment is on one of them, and not on the lot I drew(Verulam), I then thought it was for my guide was as blind in the bush as myself; I have 8 acres cleared and a good shanty with a cowhouse and cellar in it, and



which you saw yourself and liked, but you nor I do not know but it was on my lot; I have 20 men engaged to go work there as soon as I get your honours answer...

Apparently the shoe-making business was more profitable than the baking for Oakley. {330} Many independent emigrants, such as Denis Driscoll, 9 July 1828, 9 January 1831 wanted to purchase more lands, rather than attempt to get grants.

I am desirous of buying the east half of lot 9 in 1st conc. of Smith in county Northumberland for which I am willing to pay the sum of 6s.3d. per acre, 1/10 down and remainder in 9 equal annual payments with interest. ... Enclosed you £10 being as a payment on the east half of lot 9 in 1st Smith purchased by D. Driscoll. ...

Robinson replied, 27 July 1832. Sir, I herewith enclose you receipt for £9.16.10 the 2nd and 3rd instalments of east 1/2 of 9 in 1st Smith; the money received in your letter of the 19th inst. was £10— balance due you 3/2 which Mr. McDonnell will pay you. The series was closed by a bill of sale, dated 18 August 1839, for east half of lot 9 in 1st Smith, to Joseph Kelsoof Smith, for £43.15s. Thus Driscoll made a profit of about £12 on his purchased lot. Pat Tobin, another emigrant, began negotiations on 9 July 1828 and bought the west half of the same lot on the same terms.

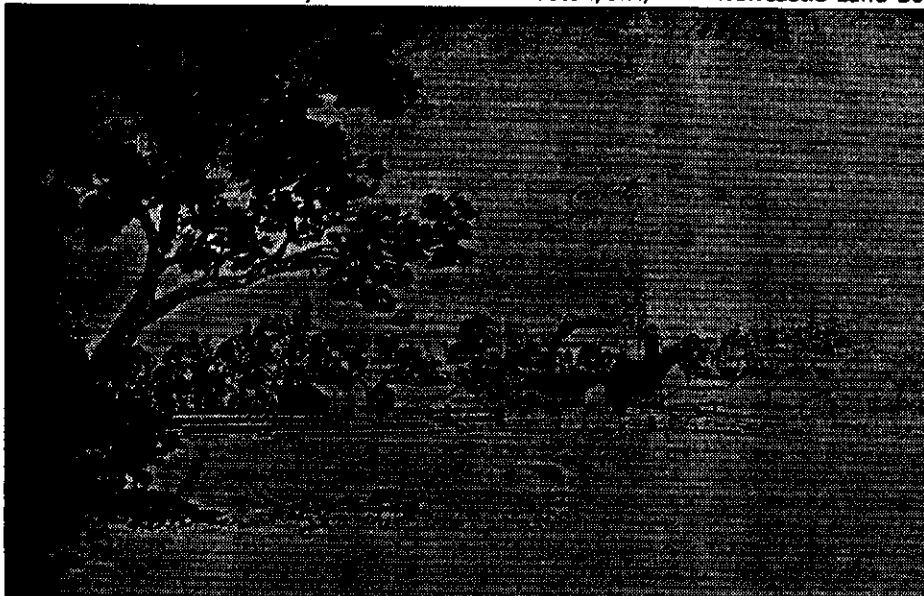
Even before he had obtained his patent for the lot, one Irish emigrant, Andrew Ormsby, traded his lot to David Thornton, a Scottish settler.

**ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT** made and entered this 3rd day of Jan. 1832, between David Thornton of Emily and Andrew Ormsby of the same place, as follows— David Thornton of the first part promises and agrees to give up feasible possession of the southeast quarter of lot 9 in 4th con. Emily in or before the 1st day of Oct. next, saving and excepting the crop of wheat now on the ground, and also agrees to deliver all in same order it is at present, necessary ware excepted. And the said Andrew Ormsby agrees with

the said David Thornton to give him possession of the west half of lot 3 in 5th conc. on the 4th day of Jan. inst. and he the said Andrew Ormsby agrees to pasture 15 sheep for and during the pasturing of sheep for the year 1832 and 1833 for him, the said David Thornton. And in case of failure the parties bind themselves each in the other in the sum of £50 which they fix and liquidate as the amount of damages to be paid by the failing party for his non-performance. In witness whereof the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year aforesaid, and further David Thornton agrees to give possession vir privilege to work repair fences on the southeast quarter of 9th lot in 4th conc. Emily form 4th day of Jan. 1832. John Huston, J.P.,

When I herd their was one sent to Browns shop in this place, for the purpose of getting signatures, I amediately went up to see if any of the emigrants signed it, and I am sorry to inform you that I saw several of them add their names to it. I spoke to several of them and explained the nature of the Memorial to the Governor; they all told me they had done it thro ignorance, as the paper was only partly read to them. Several of them went and scratched their names out, others they would not allow as a great many of the emigrants are veary much in their debt. They have got papers I am informed in all parts of this district, for signatures...

Fothergill had been dismissed from the Newcastle Land Board in 1825, probably



Peterborough, 1839. Sketch by Edward Caddy, surveyor

Electric City Collection 1.123

for his radical opinions. Brown, after 1827, owned the large store in Peterborough, Scott's mill, and several lots in the town. Brown could "persuade" emigrants to sign his petition if they were in struggling circumstances, owed him for credit or depended upon him to buy their grain. Many, moreover, who could not read or write could be easily duped. A. McDonnell later told Robinson on 16 January 1829, "...The very busily circulated document in the back townships of which

Witness. David Thornton, Andrew Ormsby. {331}

It is not difficult to discern that Scotland defeated Ireland in that engagement; yet the Irishman as usual had the last laugh, because the fiat for the lot was granted 21 April 1834 to Andrew Ormsby for having cleared 18 acres on his lot!

#### Radical Tendencies

While many Addresses stressed the great gratitude and loyalty of the emigrants to the King, the British Government and the Family Compact, there are several hints of radical tendencies by responsible persons in the district. Wesley Richey of Peterborough, an assistant to McDonnell in provisioning the emigrants, reported to Robinson on 20 December 1828.

Sir: Fothergill, Brown, and others of Port Hope has got a memorial drawn out, doing all in their power to remove the Executive Council.

the enclosed is a part is said not to have been written by Charles Fothergill, but by young Boswell..." {332}

In 1833, perhaps in connection with an election, there was similar trouble in Port Hope, which at the time seems to have been a radical stronghold. One Soper sent a letter to Goderich on 28 January 1833, accusing John Brown, a magistrate and member of the Assembly, of inciting various criminal acts, including a riot. Soper enclosed an accusation by one Davidson that Brown had instigated a man in his employ to assassinate Davidson's brother as well as a memorial of the people of Hope township complaining that Brown incited riots at Port Hope. The Governor requested the magistrates to hold an investigation at the next quarter-sessions at Port Hope. On 6 April, one Fowkes of Port Hope sent a copy of the petition directly to Joseph

Hume, the British MP, because there was no confidence that the Governor would act. "The example of Port Hope in meeting was followed by other places but not with equal success, many of the meetings being attacked by desperadoes, so that many were deterred from signing the petitions. The opposition was shown in various ways to the petitioners." From these we can glimpse what Soper and Fowkes meant. The radicals were drawing up petitions against the Family Compact, and the Tories, under Brown, disrupted the meetings and started riots. When the magistrates, friends of Brown, investigated, they did not even mention Brown. Instead, they reported that the Soper memorial was a forgery, sworn by Soper before Wallis and another magistrate, and sent an affidavit from Fowkes that "he did not make use of the expression attributed to him", and the whole matter was thus hushed up.

#### Robinson's Visits to Peterborough

Apparently Robinson was expected to visit Peterborough and go on to the Bathurst District in 1828, and was still being expected in 1830, on the same or a later visit. In March 1828, he wrote about the necessity of attending to the locations. Should you not visit Peterborough for some time, would you advise my going up to make a few necessary alterations in the location, as some of the people talk of going up (to York) themselves; I could explain matters better than they... A few months later, 10 July, McDonell wrote: {333}

On your visiting this place I have no doubt you will find that the settlement still continues to improve, and the emigrants generally enjoying a fair prospect of becoming good and wealthy farmers, with an exception or two, their conduct has been such as could be desired since you left us... Should you not visit Peterborough for some time, I should be happy to see you in York, as there are some alterations in a few of our locations to be made, from mistakes, however not originating with us, and which I have necessarily put off for your return.

In January 1829, James Crosby told Surveyor-General Ridout: "I am waiting for the arrival of Mr. Robinson here in 15 days by whose assistance I'll select my lands in Ops..." McDonell wrote Robinson on 21 July 1829 suggesting that he come in September or October to review the settlements at Ops, for duckshooting and fishing; "I am informed that it is intended to celebrate the Peterboro anniversary about the latter end of September and that you are to have due notice thereof..." On 18 December 1830, Stewart wrote from Douro:

...I hope you will visit Peterboro

this winter; I am sure you will be pleased with the progress since you last saw it, our society is in a rapid advance, and at the same rate in two years we will rival Cobourg. As I should wish to hold some little property in Peterborough and having the honor of being the first who put their name on a lot, I should wish that it might be held over for some time longer... I suppose you received the resolution of the Peterboro Society we had our first meeting yesterday to take into consideration the circular about the trade...

Adam Shouldess, an emigrant, wrote on 16 September 1832: "We all expected your coming down last May or June on the purpose of selling some lands close by..." Probably, however, Robinson left most of this work to McDonell, as the emigrants would besiege him day and night if he came into their vicinity.

Rubidge, Inspector of settlement duty in Otonabee, helped Robinson relocate emigrants in 1829.

It is desirable that I should be informed in the event of not finding vacant land fit to locate persons on when directed, whether on my ascertaining by inspection of forfeited lots there is no settlement duty done, I am permitted to settle the parties on them. I observe there is a vacant lot no. 21 in the 6th con. marked as a millseat...

A month later, on 24 December 1829, Rubidge wrote again:

I have got through the examination of vacant and forfeited lots in this township, fresh returns of which I send herewith. You will observe I have made a separate list of such {334} lots as are owned either by absentees or land speculators, but even this number will be reduced ere long as THE PARTIES HAVE TAKEN THE ALARM... In my rounds I have had many applications urged upon me for your consideration... the application of William Cleary for 100 acres of reserve 25 in 11th conc., I think he will deserve your indulgence and I can assure you the land he is on is nearly all swamp... Dennis Callahan and John Clancy wish each to get 100 acres of land the former for a bad lot he has and the latter for his services. According to your desire I have assigned the west half of 24 in 4th conc. to Wm. Oakley and the east half of 16 in the 15th to John O'Brien. I have received yours of the 4th inst. relative to Wm. Watson [a former settler] and David Long [an emigrant] and

have no doubt but the business may be amicably settled. I have sent the letter inclosed for Long sealed to him, and when I see him will make you acquainted with the result of our meeting; he has no claim, as to my knowledge he did no settlement duty. In my round through Otonabee I was greatly surprised to observe how rapidly the township is getting on and the excellent quality of the land... I was sorry to find 300 acres of land drawn by Major Rogers on which the deed has been granted without a stick cut on them...

This hints at favouritism, and trouble.

On 5 October 1829, Richard Birdsall wrote from Asphodel

...your unremitting attention and perseverance in encouraging emigration and particularly to this district... We have plenty of vacant land in Dummer, some in Douro, Otonabee and Asphodel... I send this by Patrick Quinlan of the Elizabeth who is desirous of seeing you respecting some land; he has done very well on his land remarkably so and conducted him very well since he came here.

#### Quarrels Over Land

We need to consider a few of the troubles resulting from quarrels over land, chiefly, insofar as Irishmen need a cause for a good fight at any time. McDonell, Robinson's careful watchdog in the Peterborough region, reported two of them, the first on 1 July 1828:

In my visit to Emily I was much pleased to find the people in good spirits with prospect of an abundant crop; they have considerably increased their improvements which look very neat; a few however are likely to give the ensuing quarter-sessions some business: Collins, Lyne and Sullivan have long been at variance, which has at last ended in a battle, and parties at instance of Collins (the long man at King's Wharf) who is a troublesome fellow, have all been bound over. I made every enquiry into the matter, and proposed a plan to them of settling their difficulties, to which they agreed. I had consequently written to the Magistrates before whom they were taken, of the circumstances, who approved of the measure, but to my astonishment Collins has this moment appeared and says that nothing but the law will satisfy him, consequently several poor families will have to attend at Hamilton (Cobourg) from the interior of Emily.

On 21 July 1828, he reported from Douro:



That unfortunate man Armstrong has this morning found one of his oxen lying dead in a swamp, suspects the Sweeney's [Sullivans] having caused him to mire there, for the purpose of ascertaining this he had them brot before Mr. Stewart, and one of the boys has confessed that such was the case. {335}

They had misfortunes as well, as this Report of a Coroner's Jury in 1835 shows:

NEWCASTLE DISTRICT TO WIT: Taken in the house of Alexander Mc.O'Donnells in township of Ennismore in Co. Northumberland in district aforesaid, on the 7th day of April, 1835, before me, John Huston, Esq., one of the Coroners of our Lord the King, Upon the view of the body of John, William and Thomas Foley [three brothers] all of the said township, then and there lying dead, Upon the oath of Dennis Shanahan, foreman, John Pope, Daniel Foley, Wm. Fitzgerald, Eugene McCarthy, Pat Shanahan, Daniel Shanahan, Pat Trihey, and Pat Collins, all good and true men of Ennismore, and three men of the next township, to wit James Boate, John Boate and Pat Lee Sr.; who being duly sworn and charged to explain on the part of our said Lord the King, when, why, how and in what manner the said John, William and Thomas Foley came to their death, do say upon their oath that they, the said John, William and Thomas Foley in crossing Mud [Chemong] Lake, it happened accidentally casually and by misfortune, they the said John, William and Thomas Foley broke through the ice and got into the waters of the said lake, and then suffocated and drowned; of which suffocation the said John, William and Thomas Foley on the 3rd day of April instantly died...

Rather more humorous is the following Warrant, in Ops township, when the disputants were not Irish of 1825, but later settlers therein:

To William English, Constable, Newcastle District, to with Forasmuch as James Shields of the township of Ops, hath this day been charged before me, Richard Wright Marmion, one of H.M. Justice of the Peace, on the oath of a credible witness, for that he on the 22 day of August last at the township of Ops did bite off part of the nose of the said witness Abraham Hartley the younger, and also bite him on his face in several places, and also threatened to take out the eyes of the said Abraham Hartley and put them in

his pocket. These are therefore in His Majesty's name, forthwith to apprehend and bring before me, or some other of H.M. Justice of the Peace, the body of the said James Shields, to answer unto the said charge and to be further dealt with according to law. Herein fail not. Given under my had and seal at Emily in the said district, 23rd Aug. 1838 R.W. Marion, J.P. James Shields the above named offender, has been committed to Gaol on the above complaint. R.W. Marmion, J.P.

#### Marriage Twists

Mrs. Traill, writing in 1837, told two amusing stories about the early Irish settlers of the district.

The wedding party duly assembled at the church, where the clergyman was already waiting to receive them. At the door the bride-elect was met by a former lover, who prevailed upon her to marry him instead of his rival. How the difficulty was got over regarding the change of name in the license I know not, but they manage these things here among the Irish differently than elsewhere. At any rate, it seems the bride carried matters with a high hand, and managed everything her own way. The bride's sister was there, and the clergyman boldly proposed to the crestfallen bridegroom to offer his hand and what remained of his heart to the pretty bridesmaid. The young Irishman, nothing loath at such a public opportunity to show his indifference and contempt for the slight that had been put upon him, professed his readiness to take the younger sister of his false love. The clergyman at once made the offer in form for the young man. After a few blushes and {336} faint denials, the girl gave assent, and all parties left the church in excellent humour...

She capped this story with an even more romantic one:

Somewhat of a similar nature took place some time ago in the township of..... A needy avaricious settler had a pretty young daughter, who was attached to the son of a neighbouring farmer and as long as no better suitor offered the old man had no objection to their walking together and 'keeping company' as they call it. It happened that a neighbour's wife died leaving her husband, a sour hard-dispositioned middle-aged man, at liberty to choose a second. He had home and land, cattle, sheep, and pigs, and a barn full of grain and hay. The father of the young girl considered this a famous specula-

tion for his daughter, and forthwith made overtures to the disconsolate widower, who was at a loss what to do with the cows, fowls, and wool of the sheep, now the old woman was gone, and he was easily made to see that it would be a great saving to marry pretty Ellen. Now Ellen knew it was useless to remonstrate, so she said 'If it must be, it must'. But she told her father that she would need some wedding clothes, as she did not choose to ask her wooer to buy any, and she was in want of almost everything. The father was so pleased at her dutiful conduct that he gave her leave to go to the store and get all she wanted. So she contrived to make quite a handsome trousseau. The wedding day came and with it a large cavalcade of young and old men, wives, maids and widows; a fine breakfast was set out and everybody praised the pretty bride-elect, who seemed in capital spirits and shewed no reluctance to the match. As the roads were broken up, and the church was 10 or more miles away, instead of sleighs the party were obliged to ride either in wagons or on horseback, which most of the young men and women preferred to do. And it was arranged that while the bridegroom drove the father of the bride and some of the old women, the bride should ride on with the bridesmaids, her brothers, and several other young people. When they had reached a crossroads, a few miles from home, who should come forward well-mounted on a good horse, but Ellen's old sweetheart, Dennis O'Brien. The bride at a sign from her lover gave a slashing cut to her horse, and away they went, stopping for no obstacle. The shouts of those behind only made them go the faster. They reached the church half an hour sooner than the discomfited bridegroom and his friends, who had the mortification of meeting the young couple coming out the door as man and wife. The young folks said it was 'fine fun and the older ones said it was 'quite right', so they all returned to the bride's home, and a merry feast ended the runaway wedding.

Strickland told another such yarn about the naming of Lovesick Lake in the Kawarthas:

An Indian named Richard Fawn became much enamoured of an Irish girl, Kathleen O'Donohue, who had no desire for a life of wigwams and the manufacture of moccasins, baskets, and brooms, and so scorned him. He retired to

an island in this lake and pined away, but was rescued by some of his friends and sought consolation with an Indian girl.

#### Land Certificates

Some reference has already been made to the laxity of settlement duty enforcement, especially with the Irish emigrants, although Rubidge's letters to Robinson seemed to imply stricter enforcement after 1829. Not until 1833 was any serious effort made to ascertain {337} how many still remained on their locations and had performed their settlement duties. Actually, any proof of residence on the Irish lots was accepted to prove eligibility for ownership, since other settlement duties had been mostly abolished years before. Much more consideration and extension of time was accorded the Irish emigrants by Robinson, and even numbers of those who had left their locations soon after 1825 were now given the patents for them when they or some relative proved that they were residing on the lots in 1833 when McDonell arrived, and had a few acres cleared; the letters of Wall and others quoted prove this. In the summer of 1833, McDonell was instructed by Robinson to make a survey of the families located in 1825, to compile a list of those still located on their lands, with the number in their families and the acreage cleared. McDonell's returns, although not complete, are a valuable index of the industry and perseverance of the Irish emigrants, both in townships wherein they were first settlers, and in townships among English and Scots.

There are only about 184 of these certificates extant among the Crown Lands papers of the various townships of the Newcastle District, which may prove everything or nothing. Although incomplete, these returns suggest, as Rubidge, Strickland and Stewart had claimed, that the Irish were not as industrious in Irish townships as when mixed among English and Scots. The average acreage cleared was highest in Asphodel and Otonabee, two townships with mixed nationalities {338} settled before the Irish came in 1825. Strangely, Smith, the other township settled before 1825, had the most English and Scottish settlers, and yet was one of the lowest in acreage cleared. On the other hand, Douro, predominantly Irish, had the high average of 33.9 acres cleared. Perhaps the character of the soil and the distance from the

lakefront markets were more important than the character of the earlier settlers.

The industry of the settlers in clearing land varied directly with the fertility of the soil and worth of the land, and inversely with the distance from markets and from Peterborough. Thus Douro had a high average, while the other three Irish townships, Ennismore, Emily and Ops, which were grouped to the west far from lakefront and Peterborough markets, had low averages. Smith also had low averages. At all events, the Irish in general can be cleared from all stigma of idleness and shiftlessness; those who remained on their lots up until 1833 had cleared an average of 30.6 acres per lot, which was surely equal with that of any other settlers for an equal period of eight years. In general, the heads of emigrant families were able to clear much more land than the younger men, their sons; but this was natural, since they usually had more

September and October 1833, and quickly began issuing flats for the lands. The first 178 flats were passed by Order-in-Council of 21 April 1834, and given the Attorney-General's Seal between 24 April and 1 May 1834. The Treasury was demanding Robinson's Accounts about the same time. Ten more were issued on 16 June, and 28 more on 9 July 1834, and seven more before the end of the year. In 1835 one man was given a fiat; in 1836 another 45 flats were issued; in 1837 11; in 1838 2; in 1839 3; in 1840 20; in 1841 1; in 1842 2; in 1843 17; in 1844 1; in 1845 5; in 1846 8; in 1847 10; in 1848 10; in 1850 1; in 1851 2; in 1852 3; in 1853 2; in 1855 3; in 1862 1. The final fiat, 37 years after location, was granted in 1862 to John Calagher of whom no trace is given in the lists. The total of these flats was 371, but some of these were duplicates, and a few were rescinded after issuance; the actual number of authoritative patents issued

for Irish locations between 1834 and 1862 was 351: 175 heads of original emigrant families, 133 sons and other relatives, 11 widows of locatees, 32 other persons who were non-emigrants but were given lands by Robinson and his successors.

A few persons were given two patents for one lot; two were even given three patents for their one lot! Four persons

were given scrip certificates for land, besides the 351 flats listed above; one emigrant family head, two emigrant sons, and one stranger were favoured for no known reason. With these 16 extra flats plus four scrip certificates, the total is 371.

#### Observations

Several observations are in order. First, 62 of those located in 1825 were transferred to more suitable lots before given patents, 10 soon after 1825 and the others before flats issued. Of these, 32 were emigrant heads, 25 were sons, and five were strangers. Second, 183 of the persons patented were designated as having done the settlement duty, out of 371 flats for patents and scrip issued: 110 emigrant heads, 60 emigrant sons, one widow and ten strangers. Clearly settlement duties were not enforced before most emigrants and strangers were given flats; this was the final gesture of assistance to the "experiment" in assisted emigration. Third, the decrease in all



Robinson Settlement House, erected in 1825

Electric City Collection 1.005

assistance from the children than had the young unmarried men. The sons, moreover, were often sent away to find work by the head of the family, who cleared only the 3 or 4 acres on his sons' lots necessary to retain possession, and installed one or more of his other children thereon to establish residence for the absent one. John Reardon of Asphodel had the honour of the largest acreage cleared, 70 acres, followed by 6 others with 60 acres cleared, all heads of families: Pat Quinlan of Asphodel, Daniel Sheehan and John Armstrong of Douro, and James Handlan, Thomas Hallahan, and John Sargent Sr. of Otonabee. The doubtful honour of having least acreage cleared belonged to James Crowley of Otonabee with {339} 3 acres, followed by 6 others with 6 acres cleared: John Bolster, John Keleher and Pat Murphy of Ennismore, Dan Donoghue Jr., James Hurley and Denis Donoghue of Emily township.

McDonell made out these certificates in

classes between location and patenting substantiates the claim that many Irish emigrants remained on their land only until rations were discontinued. Others unable to get transfers from poor lots deserted later. Of 232 Irish emigrant heads of families located in 1825, and of four who had not been located in 1825, 175 obtained fiats. Of 143 emigrant sons given locations in 1825 or later, 133 received fiats, including 31 probably away working who were not located in 1825. No widows of emigrants were located in 1825; 11 widows were given fiats later. Of 38 strangers given illegal locations in 1825 or later, 32 received {341} fiats. Thus, in conclusion, there were 420 locations in 1825 including at least 45 illegal ones (boys below 17 yrs, and strangers given locations with the Irish); there were 351 regular patents issued, including at least 71 fraudulent ones (those given fiats without being located in 1825, boys under 17 yrs, and strangers). The 375 regular locations contrasts strangely with the total of 280 regular legal patents issued. While many of the 95 absentees had died in the long interval between location and patenting, many others had actually deserted, either when rations discontinued, because of poor lots, or because of more attractive employment. An estimated half of the absentees had died between location and patenting; the rest deserted. The claims were given to 11 widows, and others to sons, brothers, fathers, and other relatives who came out later. Some of these relatives, especially younger sons, proved worthy industrious actual settlers. Those who deserted usually forfeited the lands to the Crown; apparently there were few relatives, and these received little support from Robinson.

Except for comparing their acreage cleared and general industry in 1847 with that shown by the certificates in 1833, we can now finally wind up the official affairs of the Irish emigrants, determining their perseverance as we have already shown their industry and their adaptation to their new conditions of life. The 307 heads of emigrant families brought from Ireland dwindled down to 226 by the {342} time of location, and down to 175 by the time of patenting. That all credit for their perseverance, industry and adaptability should be given to these 175, is as certain as that strong criticism and condemnation should be given to those in authority who ordered the emigration of the approximate 65 (the other half having died) who did not remain on their lands until they received their patents, some of whom were discontented from the first and had emigrated under duress, and others of whom were given poor swampy distant lots unfitted for them. One predominant and important commendation should be mentioned for the group who received

patents for their lands; their extreme love of their lands, and absence of land strife and transfer. Among the Crown Lands papers of the various townships, while there are usually bundles of legal documents and bills, mortgages, seizures, etc., under most of the ordinary lots, settled in the vicinity by other settlers, it is only in rare cases that there is anything but the first settlement certificate and the grant under the lots given to the Irish assisted emigrants. This proves the fact that they retained and added to their lands rather than buying and selling them in speculation; it also proves that they settled their land troubles out of court, and assisted each other financially when a loan was needed; no doubt the parish priests were largely instrumental in the absence of legal strife, if not of hand-to-hand combat! At any rate it is abundantly proved that the Irish emigrant settlers who remained in the Peterborough district had the eager desire for owning and improving land which has made that district one of the most prosperous farming sections of the province a century later.

#### Mackenzie and Bond Head

Mackenzie bore no very good name in the Peterborough settlement after his attack upon the Irish settlers in December 1825. Although a few Irish had signed the radical petitions of 1828-34, doubtless, all the ties bound them to the Family Compact, the Tory party, and {343} the British Crown. The influence of Robinson, McDonell, Stewart, Rubidge and other "gentry" gave the District a predominantly Tory atmosphere, resulting as we shall see in making it a sure Tory seat in the Assembly, a character it has retained almost continually since. The indignant letter from one Irishman claiming that McDonell tried to buy his vote is a hint of the method used, all too common at the time. When the news came in December 1837, therefore, that the Rebels under Mackenzie were gathering to capture York, and that the Governor was calling out the loyal militia to oppose them, the Irish were able to show in practice the loyalty which they had repeatedly and loudly asserted for 12 years. It will suffice to relate here the part which the Irish took in that affair, and leave a general account of its effect upon the Peterborough district until the next chapter. Horton in his 1838 pamphlet undertook to drag in their part in the march of Peterborough militia to York, as a proof of their complete loyalty. He wrote 21 May 1838 to Sir Francis Bond Head, who had been speedily brought back to England, quoting from the exaggerated expressions of loyalty contained in the 1826 Addresses of the Irish:

When I endeavoured to point out to parties adverse to emigration these passages so redolent of gratitude and loyalty, I was told that they were addresses hatched

up by persons not really representing the emigrants; that the project of converting miserable and destitute paupers in Ireland was a senseless and dangerous project; and that if the day should arrive when, either from a rupture with America or a conflict with the French-Canadians, their loyalty and gratitude would be put to the test, they would be found miserably wanting. I now beg to know whether the emigrants known in Canada as Robinson's emigrants were or were not at the period of the late crisis in Canada, in the exercise of that loyalty which they professed in 1826?

Bond-Head's answers, 21 May 1838, to this leading question were dutifully affirmative.

I have just received your letter of this day, in which you inquire whether certain emigrants to whom you have alluded 'were or were not at the period of the late crisis in Upper Canada, in the exercise of that loyalty which they professed in 1826?' My reply to your question is in the affirmative. On receiving intelligence that Toronto had been attacked by a band of rebels, the settlers to whom you have alluded were among those who at once marched from the Newcastle District in the depth of winter nearly 100 miles to support Government. {344} On finding a body of the Hon. Peter Robinson's settlers self-assembled in line before Government House (in York), I went out and thanked them; to which they replied that they were doing well in the world; that they felt grateful to the British Government; and that they had come to fight for the British Constitution...

Eight years later, Head had expanded this tale in his own book.

The next morning regiments of tired farmers and leg-weary yeomen flocked in from all directions. On their arrival, I of course went out and thanked them, and then told those who had no fowling-pieces that they should immediately receive musket and ammunition. 'If your Honor will but give us arms', exclaimed a voice in a broad Irish brogue from the ranks, 'the rebels will find legs!'

J.B. Robinson wrote to Horton later: I am glad it occurred to you to inquire of Sir F. Head what had been the conduct of the Irish settlers during the late unhappy tumults in Upper Canada. There was something remarkable and

most honourable in the whole bearing of the Irish population throughout these troubles. There were numerous examples of men of every origin – English, Scotch, and natives of the province, and some who had come from the United States – doing everything that could be done in defence of their country; but I think it was universally felt throughout the province that the conduct of the Irish was pre-eminently good. They seemed not only to acknowledge their obligation to support their Government and the laws promptly, but they discharged their duty with an eager forwardness, and a fine hearty warmth of feeling, that it was really quite affecting to witness. It did honour to Ireland, and it showed that whatever may be the vices and errors of the Irish peasantry, hatred to their Sovereign and ingratitude to their Government are not among the number. You may safely entertain the persuasion that there is not one public object which the people of Upper Canada and the Legislature feel a stronger desire to promote than an extensive emigration from the mother country. It adds at once to the value of property in the province, furnishes employment to mechanics, provides labourers for the farmers, and infuses life and activity into every department.

It is not possible to prove or disprove these sweeping commendations. After the 1828 incident, one might be pardoned for doubting whether many Irish trudged to Toronto with the ideal of loyalty to Bond Head as a guiding flame before them. Some might have gone out of deference to Robinson (retired by then), or from gratitude to the Government. Head in May 1836 had sent 31 loyal addresses to Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, including about four from the Newcastle District. In July 1836, James Buchanan, Emigration Agent and Consul at New York, sent Stephen in London the returns of the recent election in {345} Upper Canada, commenting smugly that he was "glad to see that the Irish are all loyal as I was the means of sending them. Thousands in New York rejoice to see radicalism defeated in Upper Canada." Alexander McDonnell, a Member of the House of Assembly from the Newcastle District in 1836-7, probably influenced the Irish. The officers of these Northumberland militia companies which marched to Toronto were exclusively "gentry", and their leadership would not attract many of the shrewd Irish, unless those who were eager for a fight (and a musket) which would not end up before a justice of the peace. The Northumberland mili-

tia, 350 strong, was later called upon to disperse the rebels upon Navy Island, but there is no record of their progress past Toronto, where they were reviewed by Bond Head, as he mentioned. The officers of this detachment were: Colonel Brown, Colonel McDonnell, Major Cowall, Colonel Crawford, and others of lower rank such as Samuel Strickland, George Caddy, Thomas Need, George Hall, Charles Rubidge, J.G. Armour, Surgeon Hutchison, and Richard Birdsall: the only qualification of most of these was the "Gentleman" which they presumed to write after their signatures. Several recorded incidents verify the suspicion that their desire for authority and local fame far exceeded their desire for battle; their chief glory was to arrest 12 innocent farmers, labourers, and merchants of radical opinions, who were speedily released by the more intelligent and less opinionated magistrates.

#### Peter Robinson

Peter Robinson died on 8 July 1838, in the city of Toronto, at the age of 53, still unmarried, and was buried in the family plot at Newmarket. From 1827-8 on, he was Commissioner of Crown Lands, Surveyor-General of Woods, Commissioner for the sale of Clergy Reserves and a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils up to 1836. He {346} issued a "Summary of Rules for the Disposal of Lands 1 December 1831. He was closely connected with Talbot and Colborne in their settlement schemes from 1829 to 1834 especially, and although a very busy man, occasionally visited the Irish settlements. Judging from the number of letters and visits which were showered upon him during his term in office, he was no doubt kept busy handling the complaints and demands of the Irish and "gentry" of the Newcastle District. There was no indication that his character changed in the slightest, and we can expect his accounts had deficits.

His habit of promising everything without meaning to carry out his promises got him into trouble several times. From January to May 1836, his promises led one Browne of Baltimore, Maryland, connected with the Adelaide Association, to complain of Robinson that "so much duplicity and evasion are not probably to be found in any other documents." Glenelg refused to subject Robinson to "the necessity of answering such a vague imputation", especially as charges against Robinson's public acts were mixed with charges against his private character. However, others had made similar charges.

Only in 1834 did he get his Accounts cleared up and paid up for the emigrations of 1823-5, and began their patenting, which continued for 30 years after. In September 1835, Colborne forwarded to Glenelg documents in which Robinson

explained his negligence regarding the balances in his hands for 1833-5. "The method of keeping accounts having the appearance of large balances in the hands of the Surveyor-General of Woods, he has changed system to show true state of affairs as regards balances. He had delayed his accounts for 1833-4 "in hope of Shirreff obtaining payment and remitting", but would send them immediately. Previously, in July 1835, Robinson, reporting through Glenelg, had had to explain to Colborne why 58515 acres of land were granted in 1834, after such grants were cut off. The Assembly Committee under Mackenzie went into the Lands Department {347} records quite certain that they would find plenty of abuses and corruption to incorporate in their famous "Seventh Report on Grievances." On 6 April 1835, the committee examined intensively Peter Robinson and his clerks, Thomas Baines and Richard Thornhill. Robinson declined answering most questions. When asked: "Has not the present system of government in Upper Canada a tendency to discourage emigration of the more wealthy and enterprising class of emigrants into the Province?" he answered in true Compact style: "I do not think it has." When asked "What is your opinion of the vote by ballot?" he answered: "I have always been opposed to the vote by ballot... on the ground of its not being in accordance with the practice in the parent state, and from the conviction I feel that vote by ballot does not afford any additional protection to the individual in the exercise of his right, as it is notorious that it is always well known to which party he gives his vote and interest."

The Committee published his salaries since July 1827, estimated at £12,587 for his various offices, and hinted "and there might have been other payments". His clerk Baines got £500 per annum, and "Alderman Richard Thornhill" got £200 per annum. They exposed his payments for emigration 1831-4 were excessive. The total expenditure "stated to have been laid out in aid of immigration," was £31,728,18s,11d and the committee criticized especially the involved and vague accounts of Rubidge, McDonnell and Richey, which left much room for fraud. The tone of the inquisition was completed by citing from Mackenzie's August 1832 Memoir to Goderich in which it was claimed that because of the administration, and especially "the Colonial Office-Bearers [i.e. Robinsons, Strachan, &c] who have made so many voyages between Upper Canada, and Downing St. of late years in search of pensions, places, offices and appointments," Upper Canada had suffered. There was not "a more economical management of its land resources", and its debt was greater than that of the United States. {348}

#### Bond Head's Complaints

Head arrived early in 1836, to find an

Executive Council of only three, including Peter Robinson. These numbers were increased when, much to the surprise of all, Head appointed three Reformers: Baldwin, Rolph and Dunn. However, the Governor proceeded to govern according to his own will, offending both factions. They all remonstrated in writing, and the Governor dismissed them. Glenelg accepted "the resignations of Robinson, Markland and Wells, but in respect to Baldwin, Dunn and Rolph there is room for more favourable interpretation..." Robinson had offered his resignations from the offices of Commissioner of Crown Lands and Commissioner of Clergy Reserves. However, he wished to retain the office of Surveyor-General of Woods for the time being.

I have reported to His Excellency the Lieut. Governor that by the 1st of next March I shall be prepared to close the accounts, and hand over the books and papers, and I have prayed to be relieved in the meantime from any further superintendence over responsibility in respect to the current business, as my health does not permit of my attending at present in the office. My health has for some years been very indifferent - During my superintendence of the Irish emigration in 1825 I contracted an illness from exposure to heat, and from other causes which left me in a very debilitated state - I have never fully recovered, and on the 23rd day of June last, I experienced a sudden and very severe attack of illness in consequence (I believe) of an accident that occurred the previous day; and altho I may possibly be restored to the same degree of health as before this attack, yet my recovery must be gradual, and I doubt whether should ever be equal to the exertion and anxiety attending these offices, which involve numerous details, and a heavy pecuniary responsibility. Under these circumstances I felt it proper to retire without delay that the offices in question might be effectually attended to...

Head forwarded a copy to the Colonial Office on 27 July 1836 with the remark "The only grievance of the Assembly I can discover is in the land-granting department." Head was trying to force in his henchman Sullivan over the more eligible Baldwin in order to get control of the land-granting department, with which to "buy" the election of 1836. He succeeded temporarily, over the opposition of the Colonial Office due to the slowness of the mails, bringing rebellion in 1837. {349} John Beverly Robinson reported that Peter Robinson had "contracted a fever in consequence, which impaired his constitution; his strength

never returned, and after a long continuance of ill-health, he suffered a paralytic attack June 23, 1838, from which he did not recover. He died 8 July 1838. At the time of his dismissal from the Executive Council and his resignation from the Commissionerships, Peter Robinson was under a cloud. Peter Robinson, the Commissioner, was just as muddleheaded, careless and inefficient as had been Peter Robinson,

Emigration Superintendent, in 1823-5. As we have seen, these deficits were partly revealed by the Assembly Committee in 1835, and were denounced by the Durham Commission in 1838. Durham attacked the whole fraudulent and corrupt land system for its careless surveys, hindering reserves, "red tape" delays in patenting, and large grants to speculators and favourites. A Royal Commission, requested by the Upper Canada Assembly, examined the Public Departments in 1839, and hesitated, principally because the new Commissioner of Crown Lands, Sullivan, was the chairman of the Royal Commission of Investigation, to report the degree of corruption and poor accountancy in the Crown Lands and Woods offices. They did report about the Crown Lands Office and the Woods Office, however, that the "Instructions of the Lords of the Treasury have been wholly neglected." It faulted Robinson for allowing Sherrieff, Timber Agent on the Ottawa, to "borrow" £600 from the Timber funds when he went in debt due to speculation, followed by large defalcations. In all three offices it censured the "same faulty system of book-keeping", "confused and irregular system of accounts", and "large deficiencies [which] have been discovered to exist." Thornhill also was indicted for persuading Robinson to advance him loans from the Crown funds. {350}

#### John Beverly Robinson

As usual, John Beverley was the apologist for his erring brother.

The business of his offices which was in itself overwhelming for a person in his state of health, was increased very greatly by the measures taken by Sir John Colborne in 1831 and afterwards [really 1829 on] for forming new settlements, opening new roads, and assisting emigrants by monies advanced from the revenues of the Crown, the superintendence of which measures he committed to my brother altho they had no direct connection with his department. It was increased also by the arrangements which were at that time made for selling for the benefit of various tribes of Indians, large tracts of land reserved for their use; and also by the very numerous transactions which followed the first throwing open of the Clergy Reserves for sale... In 1836, he first communicated to

me the intelligence that there were large apparent balances against him on his account and I gave such assistance as I could, which from my entire ignorance of all that pertained to his offices could not be very effective, in having his accounts brought to a close...

It would be a picture worthy of being painted by a Jeffreys, to see the two brothers sitting far into the night in the office of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, endeavouring to trace the complicated figures of the ledgers, poring by candlelight into the massive tomes, with the intelligent and honourable John Beverley trying to extract information from the sickly and befuddled Peter!

These balances have been at length discharged by the sale of the most valuable portions of his estate, acquired by the active exertions of his youth, and which he had possessed long before he was in any way connected with the public services - Thus it has unhappily occurred that what was kindly meant by Government to promote my brother's welfare, in reward for services of which they acknowledged the value [i.e. emigration], proved the source to him of fatal anxiety and injury...

Yet the Commission found "a system of partiality, favouritism and corruption, begun at an early date and continuing with few interruptions up to the present time... the Hon. Peter Robinson had not managed the one office of Crown Lands as efficiently as could be desired, and it had been anything but good policy to incorporate it with the office of Surveyor-General (of Forests)."

A more convincing proof of his innocence of fraud while in office, both as Emigrant Superintendent and as Crown Lands Commissioner, is in the Memorandum of his Lands on 25 July 1837. He had only 7592 acres of land, even less than the amount given to Legislative Councillors earlier, and four small lots in the city of Toronto. It is very significant that none of his lands by 1837 were anywhere {351} near the Peterborough or Ottawa districts where he had settled the Irish, and could have made a fortune by speculating in lands. "Tiny 1600 acres, Pickering 1550, Innisfil 900, Flor 736, West Guillimsbury 537 1/2 acres, East Guillimsbury 457, York 200, Whitechurch 288, Whitby 200, Thorah 200, Manvers 200, Murray 233, Scott 100, and claims for land 400 acres." The best of these were sold after 1838 to satisfy the deficiency in his accounts.

#### Remembering Peter Robinson

It is extremely unfortunate that the only memorial to Robinson is the one in St. James Cathedral, Toronto, to Christopher Robinson and his children, including

Peter, and erected by the grandchildren of Christopher. It indicates excessive inexcusable lack of gratitude that the only mark of his foundation of Peterborough in that city is the naming of a small street in Ashburnham after him, and one sketch hung in the Public Library by Mr. F. DeLaFosse, librarian and ardent local historian. It is worthy of record, therefore, that the leading citizens were not always so backward in marking their appreciation of the city's founder. When J. B. Robinson visited Peterborough on 7 October 1843, an Address was presented to him, signed by several hundred citizens, headed by Charles Rubidge, Thomas Stewart, Robert Reid, Alexander McDonell and Samuel Strickland. It read:

Sir, We, the inhabitants of this town and vicinity, feel ourselves called upon to address you, not only as this is the first occasion upon which the highest legal functionary [Chief Justice] had visited us... but as one whose interest in the welfare of the place is of long duration, and as the representative of him to whom our flourishing town owes its foundation and its name. It will, we are convinced, gratify you to witness our growing prosperity and to remark the rapid advancement made by the surrounding country since the period when your lamented brother conducted the hardy emigrants to the untrodden plains where Peterborough now stands, as an abiding monument to his untiring zeal and enterprise... There is only a rough draft of Robinson's reply. Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in viewing your friendly tribute to the memory of my late brother, and your acknowledgement of his faithful services in conducting the emigration to which you refer, and in laying the foundation of the town of Peterborough, which I have now for the first time had occasion to visit since it became the capital of this fertile and extensive (Colborne) District—From the circumstances which you have kindly advanced I shall ever feel great {352} interest in observing the continued advancement of this town and the surrounding County, containing so many whom my lamented brother was instrumental in conducting to Canada, and containing also, as I well know, very subsequential and benevolent Gentlemen whose exertions were added to his in making provision for the comfort of those hardy and loyal emigrants...

It seems just to allow his brother also to write the most fitting epitaph for Peter.

No person could have conducted the business intrusted to my

brother in a more just spirit than he did, as regarded the claims and interests of all with whom he had to deal; and that no person could have been more perfectly exempt than he was throughout from any imputations of deriving advantage either directly or indirectly from the opportunities which the direction of such offices afforded, as regarded the disposal of the lands of the Crown. There was in his disposition an utter repugnance to any practice of that nature, as all those must well know who were connected with him either in public business or in the intercourse of private life...

Robinson's failings were weaknesses rather than intentional wrongs or faults. Both in control of emigrants and of Lands and Forests, rather than any gross corruption or unfaithfulness to his trust, Robinson lacked executive ability and financial capacity. His brother unwittingly noted Peter's anxiety never to offend anyone with whom he was in contact, a "reduction ad absurdum" of J. B. Robinson's own polished courtesy. He was no match for suave aristocratic landlords in Ireland, who had rebels and other undesirable tenants of whom they wished to be rid. Robinson was overawed by their titles and intimidated by their hints of influence in Parliament, and he easily succumbed to their mingled charm and threats, probably against his better judgment as far as settlement in Upper Canada was concerned. He was no match for the wily Navy Board and Military Commissariat, who were prejudiced against any but military settlements under their own control, from whose expenses they themselves could make sufficient graft. He was no match for the fanatical Horton, who unscrupulously twisted Robinson's Reports and evidence and accounts to suit his purpose at the time. {353} He was no match for the greedy parasitical speculators of Cobourg, York, and the Newcastle District in particular, who used their friendship with him and their positions upon Land Boards and Councils to get large grants fraudulently, and proceeded to criticize his expeditions sneeringly behind his back after getting lands and offices with his aid. He was least of all a match for the Irish settlers themselves, who wanted everything in rations, land, supplies, and preference which they could persuade a bountiful Providence of a Government, through their saviour Robinson, to bestow upon them between April 1823 and July 1838.

#### Conclusion

Peter Robinson was essentially a weak man, indecisive and kindly, inefficient and extravagant, indulging his heart instead of using his head. He should not have been placed in serious and important posts, either as Emigration

Superintendent or as Commissioner of Lands and Forests. Horton deserves the blame for the failure of the "experiments" and the shortages of accounts. Robinson muddled through the two Irish expeditions. Yet perhaps he was a happy choice in the fact that his love of athletics and popularity gave him a hold over worshipping Irishmen which a cold efficient accountant could never have attained, and enabled him to settle them comfortably and contentedly upon their lands, thereby giving Upper Canada a valuable increase in population. His honest inefficiency proved not so valuable to Horton's "experiments" as would the dishonest efficiency of a clever schemer, perhaps, but it was more valuable to the Irish themselves and to the district which they settled. The love he inspired is well shown in John Beverley's repeated justifications {354} of his blundering elder brother, good-natured, well-meaning, pleasant and obliging, a man who should never have left his backwoods Newmarket village store for a world of official politics and corruption and fawning and favouritism.

We have already noticed the Return of Assessed Values of Lands of 1825 Emigrants in 1847, as sent to Grey by Elgin for the House of Commons; a few conclusions and comparisons might be drawn from it at this point, especially in comparison with the 1833 returns. The Irish settlers held a small proportion of lands in Ops, Smith, Otonabee and Asphodel by 1847, where speculators flourished abundantly. The highest proportion of Irish located received patents in Otonabee, followed by Emily, Douro, Smith and Ennismore. So their industry did not depend essentially upon being settled among English and Scots for the proportion of Irish to total assessment in the townships was quite even, apparently a stable force and fairly industrious despite location. The Irish settlers who settled down in the Peterborough district to clear and cultivate their lands DID work and progress. Their contribution to the progress of the district cannot readily be distinguished from that of other English and Scottish settlers of the first decades. There is no real merit in trying to prove clearly that Irish or English or Scottish settlers did excel in industry, {355} sobriety, morality, and courage in facing the great hardships of clearing the forest, and turning the backwoods into a prosperous farming district around an expanding manufacturing city. As the Irish had about 30% of the acreage and assessment, and the English and Scots shared the rest, the district was not even predominantly Irish. While we may be sure that until the downfall of the Family Compact system 90% of the influence and authority was in the hands of a few favoured gentry, they all worked together with remarkably little racial, religious or class bitterness.



### The expanding future of the PCMA

Peterborough City Council approved a proposal developed by the Peterborough Centennial Museum and Archives [PCMA] to engage Lundholm Associates Architects to prepare a consultant's report by 31 March 2004 on how to expand the museum. PCMA has needed to expand for some time. This became most evident when it became the host for the Sir Sandford Fleming College Museum Studies Program. The Balsillie Collection of Roy Studio Images has been housed at the Peterborough Public Library. The feasibility study will be done at arm's length and will explore what space and resources would be necessary to meet local expectations.

When the City accepted the Roy Studio collection, it knew that there would be costs. This was a great investment no matter how viewed. The fair market value of the collection would rise in direct proportion with conservation and maintenance expenses. As the collection became researched and accessible, it would be possible for university students, historical researchers, and taxpayers to learn a great deal about Peterborough that was otherwise mute. The Trent Valley Archives has urged for fifteen years that Peterborough deserves a state-of-the-art archival facility coupled with more extensive and comprehensive holdings, more accessible to researchers and users. This may be a good opportunity to review the levels of co-operation with the county, Trent University and Fleming College. As well, it would be great to see public bodies such as the Utilities Commission, the Police and the Fire Department developing clear records policies that linked to PCMA archives. As well, our major corporations and key individuals should work at long last with PCMA to ensure that there is a future for the study of Peterborough's history. Let's hope that the terms of reference for the consultants have not been too tightly drawn. It was very encouraging to see that Trent, Fleming and the Peterborough Regional Health Centre have contributed to the costs of the feasibility study.

This is great news for the heritage community, and we applaud from the roof-tops.

### Roy Studio Photos in the Examiner

We have been very pleased with the *Peterborough Examiner's* weekly feature on Roy Studio photographs. The selec-

tion has been quite diverse and several have sparked additional research. Two are worth extra note. When Mackenzie King visited Peterborough in 1924, Fred Roy captured G.N. Gordon MP leading a tour of the canal. Ed Arnold later reported that Peter Duffus recognized his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. J.J. Duffus in the central party. This time we were given a generous format (23cm x 16 cm) and made me long for the day when the series is published with large format pictures.

The second picture reminds us that some pictures require detailed captions, and maybe even deserve stories. One photo, identified as being taken in the bowling alley in the top of the Bradburn Opera Building, raised my eyebrows. Roy Pitchford had told me that the picture in question was taken at the Bowling Alley on Water Street, just north of Simcoe. However, solid research by Frank van Horssen and Jim Leonard reveals that the photo [Roy Studio View Register 643] of the Peterborough Bowling Club was taken in the Bradburn Opera Building in April 1909; the city directories for 1908 to 1912 list the Peterborough Bowling Club at that address. With the photo in hand, Jim says the lanes ran north / south, and the room in that layout was 104' long. My mind boggled at how the bowling lanes, which in 1904 standards required 80 feet plus circulation space could fit in a room that was only 45 feet from front to back. After the opening of the Grand Opera House in 1905, the Bradburn Opera House had to be recycled, and surprisingly to me, for a few years at least it was a bowling alley. This is a terrific story, and just a small example of the ways that the Roy Studio photos can unlock the past. It is also a reminder that dogged research makes history live. Congratulations to the dogged Roy Studio researchers.

A third picture published in the *Examiner* shows the Duffus Bowling Alley which opened 10 May 1920 on top of the Duffus Motors Building at Charlotte and Water. This still leaves me wondering about the history of the bowling alley that was on Water Street, north of Simcoe.

### Hank Blade Sr (1920-2003)

Ed Arnold's column, *Peterborough Examiner*, 17 February 2003, featured a superb tribute to Hank Blade Sr, a star with Kansas City in the old American Hockey League, and was with the Peterborough team that won the Allan Cup in 1942. Hank Blade, born in

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Hastings, grew up in East City, which is also identified with other hockey greats such as Dit Clapper, Bob Gainey and George Sullivan. During summers, he worked for the Conklin midways, and later ran his own amusement rides at fairs around North America. Hank Blade and his father were mentioned in my history of the Peterborough Exhibition, *Winners: 150 years of the Peterborough Exhibition* (Peterborough Agricultural Society 1995). Hank was Conklin's lot manager for setting up the Peterborough midway in 1960. His father, Arthur Blade, was for many years the official starter for the horse races and the grandstand announcer for many fairs between here and Ottawa. The Blade family ran greenhouses, and the Williamses who ran Peterborough Florists are connected.

### The replica of the Jeanie Johnston

The *Jeanie Johnston*, a ship built in Quebec City, carried 2,500 Irish emigrants to Quebec, New York and Baltimore, between 1848 and 1855. None died even though the ship sank in 1858 while carrying timber from Quebec City to Hull, England. The *Toronto Star* is asking descendants of those emigrants to contact Bill Taylor, a features writer: wtaylor@thestar.ca. Its maiden voyage sailed 24 April 1848 with 193 passengers. The comparatively small vessel was about 135 feet long, and 25 feet wide. The *Jeanie Johnston* replica crossed the Atlantic in February and is sailing from Florida to Montreal, where it is scheduled to be by late summer.

### When Cricket Ruled in Peterborough

Don Barrie's weekly column is a must-read for history buffs. In his column, *Peterborough Examiner*, 22 February 2003, Don tells the history of cricket in Peterborough, from 1825 to about 1890. By the 1840s, cricket practices were held on the Court House green. He doesn't give the date for the interesting match that Peterborough won 96-95 over Metcalfe (Omeme) followed by a meal at the Perkins Hotel, and a rematch. The cricket

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grounds moved to Ashburnham in 1859 and lasted to the end of the century, when the field was converted to the houses of Cricket Place. Don does not mention that cricket had a revival at Trent University in the 1970s. He notes the very successful team of 1889 won 11 of its 14 matches; members of that era were Sam Ray, C.J. Logan, D.W. Dumble, W. J. Montgomery, W.D. Parker, W.A. Stratton, Max Hamilton, G.W. Hatton, and Dr George Burnham.

## How the computer threatens future archives

*[There are many reasons to be concerned about whether we will have archives in future. The Trent Valley Archives has been concerned about rescuing materials that are old. We have also fought for easier public access to records. This letter raises the prospect that in future historians will have no archives, not because of explicit policies but because of administrative practice.]*

The federal system for maintaining records has in many agencies — indeed in every agency with which I am familiar — collapsed utterly. [...] The basic reason for the collapse of record keeping is that the computer and electronic records were introduced into the federal workplace in the 1980s in a fashion that destroyed the old system with which I presume most readers of H-DIPLO are familiar. Before the computer every office had a typing pool. The typists made copies of their work — first carbons, then photocopies. These were collected and filed according to the agency's rules and ultimately retired to the Archives. With the computer almost all officials became responsible for their own typing. Out went the typing pool and no other system for collecting documents took its place, whatever the regulations may say. The appearance of electronic mail has only compounded the problem in ways too obvious to require mention. In the Department of the Air Force virtually no records are saved except for what passes over the desk of

the Secretary and the Chief of Staff and what the historians of my office manage to save for an annual history of the Air Staff. (A history which, I should add, we have resumed writing only this year since abandoning it in 1993.) So far as I have been able to observe a similar situation exists throughout the Department of Defense. In 1990-1991 I wrote a history of the invasion of Panama, which remains classified. I began my research within weeks of the operation and found that many electronic records had already been purged from computers — not from calculation or malice but because the culture of record-keeping had even then so broken down that the staff officers involved had no idea at all that they were supposed to preserve records. In the years since then several other agencies — I should prefer not to name them — have approached me to see if I had copies of various records of theirs relating to Panama and others matters, they having lost all their own copies. I will mince no words. It will be impossible to write the history of recent diplomatic and military history as we have written about

World War II and the early Cold War. Too many records are gone. Think of Villon's haunting refrain, "*Ou sont les neiges d'antan?*" and weep. I have long since grown weary of historians who forever and anon bleat about access to still classified records from the 1950s but who remain obstinately deaf when told of the daily hecatomb of contemporary records. When in decades hence they go to the Archives and find decades compressed into single boxes they will not be able to claim they were not warned. History as we have known it is dying, and with it the public accountability of government and rational public administration.

*[Richard G. Davis, Eduard Mark  
Department of the Air Force  
DavisRG@usfk.korea.army.mil]*

## Peterborough Historical Society Heritage Awards

At its regular monthly meeting on Tuesday, 15 April 2003, the Peterborough Historical Society presented its Annual Heritage Awards for the year 2002. With Graham Hart as master of ceremonies, groups and individuals were honoured for their contributions to the preservation and sharing of local history. But these awards are also about a value the PHS places on keeping the past alive and relevant to our

present.

The George A. Cox Award had two winners this year. For their efforts in restoring and making accessible to the community the photographic history contained within the Balsillie Collection of Roy Studio Images, the Roy Studio Collection Volunteers were honoured. For preserving and restoring the historic Hope Mill building and its machinery (near Keene), the Hope Mill Restoration Volunteers received recognition. Both groups had many of their members in attendance for the evening.

Jim Leonard received the F.H. Dobbin Award, for his unique illustrated publication: *A Property Owner's Guide to Heritage Designation*. Jim's publication outlines the process, responsibilities, and benefits of designating a building as historic. The book also documents the built heritage of Peterborough.

Some of the same architectural heritage discussed in *A Property Owner's Guide* was, for a one day event last 4 October, made accessible to the public by a group known as Doors Open 2002 Committee. The committee members were awarded the J. Hampden Burnham Award for their efforts in arranging public visitation in 21 public and private Peterborough buildings of architectural and historic significance.

And by no means last, the Samuel Armour Award was presented to a secondary school educator for her efforts in bringing local history to her students. Mindy Poley was honoured for developing a museum studies program which combines English and History credits. Each year her Kenner Collegiate students use the local archival resources of Peterborough and produce a professional museum exhibit.

There were no nominees this year for the Charlotte Nicholls Award for outstanding financial contributions to benefit Peterborough area heritage causes.

The PHS Annual Heritage Awards is a programme to honour volunteers (individuals and groups) who contribute significantly to preserving, promoting, and teaching Peterborough city and county history. These are special awards, because the suggestions come from fellow members of the community in which those winners do their outstanding heritage work.

*Paul Armstrong, PHS Awards Chair  
Don Willcock, PHS President.*





**HUTCHISON HOUSE MUSEUM** is celebrating its 25th anniversary at 2 p.m. on Saturday 24 May, in the garden. Refreshments will be served and everyone is welcome. Hutchison House is at 270 Brock St., Peterborough.

The **Galway, Cavendish & Harvey Heritage and Archive Centre** is officially opening on May 24, from 1 – 4 p.m. The centre is located in the office of the Township Road Works, one kilometre north of Bobcaygeon, 110 County Road 49. Refreshments will be served. The centre has the original minute books from 1874 to 1885 for the area, and the original assessment and collector rolls for Galway and Cavendish Townships.

Organizers of the **PETERBOROUGH LIFTLOCK CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION**, are looking for ancestors of the people who helped build the Liftlock. A three day festival will be held from July 9 – 11, 2004. If you are a descendant contact Mark Doherty, Chair of the Peterborough Liftlock Centennial Celebration at (705) 750-4815 or e-mail [info@ftsw.com](mailto:info@ftsw.com)

#### THE WALL OF HONOUR

The courageous men and women of the Peterborough area who enlisted in the armed forces during WWI, WWII and the Korean War are being remembered by having their names put on two walls of honour. In keeping with the times, a "virtual wall" is on a website dedicated to those heroes at [www.wallofhonour.com](http://www.wallofhonour.com). The website features a picture of each honouree. Meanwhile, funds are being raised to erect an actual wall in Confederation Park.

There are a few qualifications. The person must be born in, lived in or enlisted in Peterborough County, or moved here after discharge. The cost is \$25. If you have a name you would like to submit, or if you would like to financially support this cause, please contact David Edgerton at 705-745-9083 or e-mail [dr\\_edgerton@hotmail.com](mailto:dr_edgerton@hotmail.com)

# E vents

## Where did your family come from?



Maggie Sanderson, daughter of Michael.  
Married to Percy Spence • 19/1/001 Dyer Fonds

Where did they live, work, and worship? At Trent Valley Archives, you can research your family history.

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e-mail:  
[info@trentvalleyarchives.com](mailto:info@trentvalleyarchives.com)

#### HERITAGE PAVILION STAGE

*Crossing Over* by Ed Schroeter

A desperate Irish tenant farmer who becomes his landlord's rent collector in 1825 is pitted against family, friends, and neighbors, some of whom are driven to emigrate with Peter Robinson, crossing over to Canada. A limited number of tickets are sold for one public performance on Thursday evening, 29 May, at 7:00 p.m. at the Heritage Pavilion stage next to the Peterborough Centennial Museum and Archives. Admission is \$10 for adults; \$7.00 for seniors and students. Pick up tickets at the museum weekdays between 9:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. or weekends from noon to 5:00 p.m., or call 743-5180 for VISA or Mastercard orders.

#### FOURTH LINE THEATRE

Fourth Line Theatre has three plays this season. *Cavan Casanova* (by Rob Winslow music and lyrics by Susan Newman and Rob Fortin) follows the exploits of the Millbrook United Church choir in 1953 as it is staged and toured a 1920s American operetta entitled *The Belle of Barcelona*. *Cavan Casanova* explores the importance of community arts to small town life at the dawn of television age. Scenes interweave with songs and dances to convey both the journey of the characters and the story of the operetta itself. Themes of love, longing and redemption are highlighted. Runs from 4 July to 3 August, 6 pm.

*For Home and Country* (by Leanna Brodie), back by popular demand, chronicles the life of Judy and Lorna, who develop a rewarding relationship despite their city versus country attitudes. Through a combination of comedy, song and drama, *For Home and Country* explores community and belonging, while uncovering the dynamic and interesting history of the Women's Institute of Canada. Runs 6 to 17 August, 6 pm, Wednesday to Sunday.

*Attrition* (by Ryan Kerr) examines the effects of the First World War on Peterborough, Ontario families. The play's main character Maude goes through major life changes as she waits for her fiancée's return from the war. Her support for the war and its increasing carnage diminishes and she comes of age as a free-thinking, independent individual who believes less and less in the war effort and its propaganda. This production sheds a fresh light on the experiences of our forebears. Runs: 21 to 31 August, beginning at 5:30 pm.