HISTORICAL REVIEW 9

1990-1991

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Cover Illustration:

The graduating class of the Cobourg Model School, Cobourg, Ontario, 1890.
Principal, Mr Barber. (photograph courtesy: Archives, Cobourg and District Historical Society).

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROGRAMME 1990-1991

History, Ecology and the Sense of Place

John Henry Wadland

"The common theme throughout this strategy for sustainable development is the need to integrate economic and ecological considerations in decision making .... The law alone cannot enforce the common interest. It principally needs community knowledge and support, which entails greater public participation in the decisions that affect the environment. This is best secured by decentralizing the management of resources upon which local communities depend, and giving these communities an effective say over the use of these resources. It will also require promoting citizens' initiatives, empowering people's organizations, and strengthening local democracy."

World Commission on Environment and Development, Our Common Future. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987, pp.62-63.

A central concern of opponents of the Meech Lake Accord was, and remains, the issue of balkanization or decentralization implicit in the distribution of increased power to the provinces. The fear is that the central government in Ottawa will be emasculated and that the provinces (particularly Quebec as a "distinct society") will become progressively more independent of the whole, governing themselves in their own interests. There is a tacit assumption that a "united Canada" cannot exist if the self-defined concerns of its parts are given undue weight. This fear is a reflection of our entrapment in a nineteenth century conception of the nation state. It says that we are intimidated by change; it ignores the political wind blowing in from eastern Europe; it fails to acknowledge the requirements of our increasingly pluralistic society (to which, as Margaret Atwood reminds us, "we are all immigrants"). Most notably, it denies the implications of the environmental movement which, despite the efforts of many political and business leaders to manipulate in the interests of preserving the status quo, is well on the way to revolutionizing our sense of self, of region, of nation and of earth.

The constraints of time prevent a discursive analysis of all, save the last, of these points, but the language with which I have chosen to introduce them should suggest that pluralism, decentralization, regional or local preoccupations need not be viewed as objects of fear. They might rather be seen to provide frameworks for the redefinition of the Canadian federation, a redefinition which will finally accept and officially recognize our nation as the relationship of its diversities. It will celebrate these differences - not only because each is an intrinsic virtue in itself, but because a dynamic, growing culture must be likened to a tree of many branches, with individual leaves to take and create the elements of air, with myriad roots to drink deep from soil and water. No branches, no leaves, no roots - no tree. No trees - no forest.1

This environmental metaphor is intended to presage what follows. My purpose - in the light of global recommendations posed by the *Brundtland Report* - is partially to ask how historians, and particularly local historians, might contribute usefully to the resolution of international ecological problems within a known context. But there is another agenda - a deeply felt personal hope that the lessons drawn will provide a parable (for those with a spiritual nature), or a paradigm (for those more scientifically disposed), to assist us all in meeting the challenge of diversity posed in the debate over our constitution.2

Our subject is ecology and local history. I suspect that all of you are, in greater or lesser degrees, practitioners of the latter. And the overwhelming richness of the history of this region could keep all of you busy for years to come without any help from me. But all that I can do in what follows is to enlarge your enterprise by introducing some new, or more accurately, hitherto undervalued variables, subsumed by the word "nature", which might recast the questions to be asked of the documentary evidence routinely encountered in your work. I will also suggest that you explore evidence that has not traditionally attracted historians.

In an earlier study I argued that:

> Because it focusses solely on the works of [humans], history denies the whole reality. In spite of protestations to the contrary, written history is still [essentially] a whiggish chronicle of man's "conquest" of the wilderness ... of his techological "achievements", and of the "development" of his

> sophisticated political and economic contrivances. In short, the discipline of history is the method by which [human] affairs are measured, mixed and blended. Theoretically it should explain our present. More often than not, however, it is used to justify modernity, to state ... that whatever is, if it is not best, is the inevitable conclusion of what was. This perspective, while it may satisfy the historian, contributes nothing whatever to [human] understanding of [our] relationship with nature. For most of a growing body of radical ecologists, history and [human] - centered notions of progress are responsible, [in the words of Murray Bookchin], for "undoing the work of organic evolution."3

Although more than ten years have passed since those words were published, and although in other countries a considerable scholarship has emerged to address the issues they raise, virtually no analytical writing in Canada has been committed to an ecological interpretation of history. Given the immensity of the country, given its dependence upon a natural resource economy, and given its long communitarian tradition, this is puzzling indeed.

What, after all, is ecology? In the first place, it is nothing new. In the West the word was first used in the organic sense we now understand by Ernst Haeckel, a German zoologist and science popularizer, in his *Generelle Morphologie* in 1866. Ecology (or *oekologie*) is derived from the Greek word *oikos*, signifying "dwelling" or "home" and means, literally, "the knowledge of home." Haeckel defined ecology as "the science of relations between organisms and their environment." As early as the 1920's other scholars noticed that the word "economy" (or *oekonomie*) grew from the same Greek root.

> As used by Aristotle [oekonomie] originally meant the proper functioning of a household unit .... A soundly organised working household was the basis of a viable state. It was as self-sufficient as possible. It husbanded its resources, and avoided waste and disorder. It was not a methodologically individualist concept, but implied a self-contained group; the nation, the tribe, the organism.4

Traditionally ecology has been treated as a branch or subdiscipline of biology. Biology, like all other sciences, is reductionist, taking bits from the whole and analyzing them under microscopes. The emphasis is on the individual, "on fragmentary parts of larger home-systems or ecosystems. But home is more than

the creatures in it .... And the study of home involves more than the study of its inhabitants." Therefore, to quote J. Stan Rowe, a plant ecologist at the University of Saskatchewan, "biology, rightly understood, is a subdiscipline of ecology." In other words, "organisms do not stand on their own; they evolve and exist in the context of ecological systems that confer those properties called life said of every discipline. History without its ecological context should also be considered dead.

In any discussion of ecology certain words, by their very repetition, leap from the page. Context is such a word. An organism may never be viewed accurately, or completely, outside its environment. This is true whether we are discussing wolves or human societies. Everything is communication; there is always a message in circuit between the organism and its environment. The organism acts upon environment which acts upon the organism which acts upon environment. In short, context describes change as circular causation. This non-linear notion of change poses vexing problems for orthodox historians.

Relationship is another important word. Seen in terms of context,

> relations are `prior to' the things related, and the systematic wholes woven from these relations are prior to their component parts. Ecosystemic wholes are logically prior to their component species because the nature of the part is determined by its relationship to the whole. That is, ... a species has the particular characteristics that it has because those characteristics result from its adaptation to a niche in an ecosystem.6

Therefore, if we were to define a hierarchy ecologically, we would have to replace anthropocentric notions of power with relationships of levels: "the level that includes more complexity functions as environment in relation to the level that contains less."7 The individual organism is apparently more dependent than the environment that contains it. But the environment is all the organisms it contains. An environment without organisms is dead and a single organism, in and of itself, cannot constitute both itself and its environment. In an ecosystem, organisms exist within a mutually dependent web of relationships. When one looks at a set of Chinese boxes, does one say that the largest box contains or "environs" the structure of the smallest? Or does one say that the smallest determines the structure of the largest? The answer, of course, is that both are

true; the largest box and the smallest box are not opposed to one another. The pattern implicit in the model of the Chinese boxes led my Trent colleague, Sean Kane, to observe that

> The shape of the containing box is mutely present in the shape of the contained box, and vice versa. But ... this redundancy of the [environment] with the [organism] is what allows the visionary to intuit whole worlds within worlds, the greatest universal wholeness proposed by the smallest detail of existence, the most grand and apparently remote context dwelling in the overlooked particular ...."8

For Kane this brings to mind lines from William Blake's famous poem, "*Auguries of Innocence*":

> To see the World in a Grain of Sand
> And a Heaven in a Wild Flower
> To hold Infinity in the palm of your hand
> And Eternity in an hour.

In a complex ecosystem of dependent hierarchies we may only attempt to ascertain "higher" and "lower" levels of dependency. Again following Kane, if we take three orders of reality - the individual, society and nature - acting in history, we know that nature provides the context for society and the individual and that nature and society provide the context for the individual. Yet in liberal, capitalist democracies we always place the individual before either society or nature. This is what systems theorists call a "tangled hierarchy." It results from our tendency to split ecosystems, to oppose organism to environment, indeed to posit whole series of polarities (man vs woman; art vs science; reason vs instinct; civilized vs primitive; mind vs body; province vs nation, etc).9 Our prediliction for false opposites is explored tellingly by the protagonist in Margaret Atwood's novel, *Surfacing*:

> I'm not against the body or the head either: only the neck, which creates the illusion that they are separate. The language is wrong, it shouldn't have different words for them. If the head extended directly into the shoulders like a worm's or a frog's without that constriction, that lie, they wouldn't be able to look down at their bodies and move them around as

> if they were robots or puppets; they would have to realize that if the head is detached from the body both of them will die.10

Ecology then is not merely a science; it constitutes a way of looking at the world. In addition to context and relationship, ecology implies the diversity of life-forms which they describe and contain and without which they cease to exist. Ecology means complex systems of interacting and interdependent constituents, the alteration or elimination of one of which may set in motion whole chain reactions of unimagined change to which the human organism, like all others, must adapt or die.

What does all of this mean for local history? We might begin with Donald Worster's premise that the responsibility of history "is to discover why modern people have been so determined to escape the restraints of nature and what the ecological effects of that desire have been."11 A growing body of literature suggests that the best place to begin this exercise is in the microregion or bioregion we know best - our own immediate oikos, or home, the ecosystem in which we as individuals are practising participants. If earth is to be understood as our environment, those who are the stewards of its component organisms have a responsibility to articulate a sense of place which mirrors their collective love and understanding of it. This task requires that we understand science as part of the mystery of lived culture, not the measured preserve of "experts":

> The kinds of soils and rocks under our feet; the source of the waters we drink; the meaning of the different kinds of winds; the common insects, birds, mammals, plants, and trees; the particular cycles of the seasons; the times to plant and harvest and forage - these are things that are necessary to know. The limits of resources; the carrying capacities of its lands and waters; the places where it must not be stressed; the places where its bounties can best be developed; the treasures it holds and ... withholds - these are the things that must be understood. And the cultures of the people, of the populations native to the land and of those who have grown up with it, the human social and economic arrangements shaped by and adapted to the geomorphic ones, in both urban and rural settings - these are the things that must be appreciated.12

Plants are at the centre of ecological history. If we understand, for example, that a simple weed like the dandelion is not indigenous to North America, but was imported by immigrants in seeds deposited with the faeces of their livestock, can we imagine a native ecosystem without dandelions?13 And how does our own culture cope with this "noxious pest"? Is it not ironic that we legitimize both the use of polluting chemicals and the business enterprises that apply them while at the same time lamenting the loss of potable water? What is it about our sense of a garden that finds a manicured European lawn more hospitable, more "civilized", than a Canadian wilderness? Similarly, what are the ecological costs of our present sense of peace, order and good government?

Do we know, from documentary evidence, how the people of Hamilton township have dealt with such apparently innocuous problems as soil depletion and climate change? Have imported pathogens or micro-organisms that cause disease in humans and animals been examined in the record? What has been the long-term impact of imported domestic and wild animals and birds?

Humans are distinguished from all other animals by their unique, reasoning intelligence. This intelligence has given us the capacity to create material culture - technologies which are extensions of human faculties. What distinguished the birchbark canoe from the railroad? Both are extensions of the foot, transportation tools, yet the native technology did not disrupt the equilibrium, or homeostasis, of its environment. While we know a good deal about the political and economic implications of the Cobourg to Peterborough Railway, have we even guessed at its ecological legacy? All technologies have significance for modes of social organization and for the capacity of ecosystems to sustain them. Each new food gathering technology sets in motion a cycle of circular causation which will impact differently on the environments of Peterborough and Haliburton counties over time - suggesting that comparative local studies will also prove useful. As Donald Worster writes:

> Capitalists devise a social and technological order that makes them rich and elevates them to power. They set up factories for mass production. They drive the earth to the point of breakdown with their technology, their management of the labouring class, and their appetites. Subsistence gets redefined as endless want, endless consumption, endless competing for status. The system eventually self destructs

> and a new one takes its place .... In all these instances and more, the environmental historian wants to know what role nature had in shaping the productive methods and, conversely, what impact those methods had on nature.14

All technologies constitute tools for manipulating the environment. In the words of the British novelist, John Fowles, tools make us dependent on themselves and "addict us to purpose," compelling us "to seek explanation of the outside world by purpose, to justify our seeking by purpose." Our historical preoccupation with "finding a reason, a function, a quantifiable yield" has become "synonymous with pleasure. The modern version of hell," says Fowles, "is purposelessness." When we extend this logic to nature we assume that its only purpose is "being and surviving," a purpose we are not kindly disposed to accept as legitimate.15 Untransformed nature is dismissed as wasteland, unused, awaiting redemption through the imposition of human purpose. The ecological interpretation of history asks us to challenge this logic of tools, drawing inspiration from ethical thinkers like Aldo Leopold, who argued that "A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise." 16 This statement can be translated into a general historical question such as this: Did the settlers of this country adapt themselves to nature, or did they adapt nature to themselves? With what long term effects?

Ozone depletion is living history, as much (or more) a part of our cultural inheritance as the log house, Sir John A. Macdonald and the motor car. Ozone depletion is the culmination of 250 years of the Industrial Revolution. It is the emblem of entropy; it is nature's condemnation of myopic materialist economic theories premised on growth. Ozone depletion is a new heritage site, a metaphor for the culture passed on to us by previous generations, refined and perpetuated by our own. But this heritage site visits us, not we it. The history of our time will be about this visitation. Ultra-violet radiation and skin cancer will join toxic waste, acid rain and forest dieback in the language of our trade. At the level of local history will we understand these as symptoms or will we merely treat them as the disease?

If material culture is important to the environment, so too is non- material culture - the ideas, images and values that emerge from our literature, art,

music, science, folklore and religion. Many of our political heroes are immortalized in statuary and biography - yet seen against the priorities of ecology the "greatness" we have found in their good works might well be opened to scrutiny. Similarly many early prophets - take, for example, Charles Fothergill or Ernest Thompson Seton - are often dismissed as sensitive, idealistic, but fundamentally irrelevant naturalists, despite the fact that their environmental insights and extrapolations, had they found favour at the time they were advanced, might well have spared us much of the degradation to which the purposes of their detractors have since condemned us.

Landscape paintings are non-verbal documents which can tell us much about our ecological history - often as much by what they omit from, as by what they include in, their subject matter. They explain the environmental perceptions of the artists who painted them and, by extension, of the patrons who purchased the work. The raw landscape itself, divided historically into grids, according to the geometric dictates of "Gunter's chain," lives on to remind us that local ecosystems have often been forced to accommodate uniform British and American conceptions of order which ignore species diversity, relationships and context in the interest of purely human priorities. In this sense early maps may be treated as landscape paintings which record nature as it was encountered by the first surveyors.17

But the main objective, according to Worster, must be "to discover how a whole culture, rather than exceptional individuals in it, perceived and valued nature," understanding that, at least to this point in time, "no culture has ever really wanted to live in total harmony with its surroundings."18 This task is best accomplished, and the "whole culture" defined, within local or regional boundaries known well to the historian conducting the investigation. What the project loses in the spatial range of its analysis it more than recovers in the number of detailed sources - from census data and meteorological reports to botanical and geological surveys - that it must explore to determine environmental context and relationships. This regional enterprise, far from being parochial and inward, is the sine qua non of a truly national history which is a composite of its parts. It is quite literally a grassroots history, seen from the ground up, rather than from the top down. It is a history meant to be guided by a felt sense of place, attuned to the subtleties and nuances of the particular,

skeptical of large theoretical generalizations which, through a contrived selectivity of evidence, serve no more useful purpose than to mirror the ideological predispositions of their authors. On the ground, and at the root, is the environment of the place. To paraphrase (and re-contextualize) Frederick Jackson Turner, the land is not merely the stage on which the human drama is enacted. It is the leading player in the play. No cultural activity can take place exclusive of the environment required to sustain it.

To return to Meech Lake, let me conclude with the following quotation from an essay published by Wayland Drew as long ago as 1973: The only context in which Canadian nationalism can be acceptable is in the service of the ecological conscience, as a decentralist and anti-statist movement. If it can be conceived as a responsibility to the land, then the term nationalism would transcend its connotations and acquire significance as a means rather than as an end.19

Canada is the sum of myriad communities sharing a defined geopolitical space. Historically we have been committed to justice for all - and despite past failings we remain spiritually, atavistically united in that commitment. Those who would treat as aberrations the qualities of uniqueness that distinguish one community from another seek only to homogenize and rule us. Those who accept and build upon them understand that now we must marry ecology to our conception of nationhood.

The world watches and waits for us to decide again for justice.

Notes

1 See Lionel Rubinoff, "Nationalism and Celebration," *Queen's Quarterly* 82 (April, 1975), 1-13.

2 I take the idea of the parable from my colleague and friend, Robert Campbell, "The Meech Lake Fiasco." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 24 (Winter, 1989-90), 3-4, but do not wish to suggest that he shares the conclusions of this paper.

3 John Henry Wadland, *Ernest Thompson Seton: Man in Nature and the Progressive Era, 1880-1915*. (New York: Arno, 1978), pp.5-6.

4 Anna Bramwell, *Ecology in the Twentieth Century: A History*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p.41.

5 J. Stan Rowe, "The Importance of Conserving Systems." in *Endangered Spaces: The Future for Canada's Wilderness*. ed by Monte Hummel. (Toronto: Key, Porter, 1989), p.229.

6 J. Baird Callicott, *In Defence of the Land Ethic: Essays in Environmental Philosophy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 110-111.

7 Sean Kane, *Ecological Reasoning* (Peterborough: Trent University, 1989),p.19. Unpublished Manuscript.

8 Ibid. pp.22-23.

9 Ibid. pp.24-31. Kane is deeply influenced by the work of Gregory Bateson and Anthony Wilden.

10 Margaret Atwood, *Surfacing* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), p.76.

11 Donald Worster, "Doing Environmental History," in *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History*, ed. by Donald Worster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.306.

12 Kirkpatrick Sale, *Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1985), p.42.

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Church and Cathedral - A Thousand Years in England

G.K. Eoll

Introduction to The Slide Presentation

Christian churches and cathedrals in Europe derived from Greek and Roman temples and often occupied the same site. Churches first appeared in Britain during the early 4th century A.D. In 325, the Roman emperor Constantine proclaimed Christianity the official religion in the Roman Empire. Christianity spread rapidly through the south and east of Britain - the well Romanized part of the island. But by 410 the legions were gone and the forces of barbarism swept across western and southern Europe, including Britain. Rome was plundered and the light of learning and civilization, as the ancient world knew it, flickered out over much of the old Empire. But by some strange combination of tradition and memory, Rome remained the focal point of the former Roman territories, not headed by an Emperor, but by the Dark Ages, the Church kept together what was left of society and civilization in numberless small islands of order and relative peace and each centred on a cathedral, a parish, a church or on a monastic community. Missionary zeal sent St. Patrick to Ireland in about 432. Irish monks brought Christianity to Cornwall, Wales and south-west Scotland about the year 500. Then in 597 Christianity was re- introduced in old Roman Britain by St. Augustine. The descendants of the Anglo-Saxon invaders, of almost two hundred years before, accepted Christianity. Ange-land became England.

The authority of the church centering on Rome, remained more or less constant for another nine hundred years. The spirit of the age crystallized in an outburst of church and cathedral building, an outpouring of resources and artistic skills the like of which had not been seen since the great days of Greece and Rome. The great age of cathedral and church construction in England began about 1100 and had passed its peak by 1550.

A renewal of the Greek and Roman classic style of church architecture swept Italy and France with the intellectual renaissance and spread into England in the mid 1600's. The Great Fire of London in 1666 required the replacement of dozens of churches during the next several decades.

Church and cathedral construction have continued through the centuries since. Many such building in this century have made almost a complete break with the past in startling modern design of the contemporary movement.

Architectural Periods in England:

1. Saxon - about 600 to 1066
2. Norman - 1066 to about 1190
3. Gothic - 1190 to about 1600
4. Renaissance or Classical - about 1600 to about 1910
5. Modern or Contemporary - post 1910

Description of Architecture in each Period with Examples:

1. Saxon (no cathedrals extant) - small rounded windows and arches, crude stonework, squat proportions, thick walls, dark interiors.

   - Worth Church, Bosham Church (Sussex)

2. Norman - massive walls and towers, good proportions, rounded arches and windows, ribbed vaulting, chevron ornamentation.

   - Durham Cathedral, Steyning Church (Sussex)

3. Gothic - pointed arches, larger windows, lights, airy, soaring in lines, high fan-vaulted ceilings, tall spires, stained glass. plain to elaborate ornamentation.

   - Salisbury Cathedral, Sherborne Abbey (Dorset)

4. Renaissance or Classical - horizontal and rectilinear lines, colonnades or pillars, Grecian capitals, domes, square windows.

   - St. Paul's Cathedral, Wardour Chapel (Wiltshire)

5. Modern or Contemporary -varied styles, neo-Gothic, neo-Classical, mixture of styles, many revolutionary in design and use of materials.

- Coventry Cathedral, Buckfast Abbey (Devon)

(The presentation included a total of 80 slides taken over a period of thirty-two years and twelve holidays in England.)

Barnum House Museum Restoration Project

Cyndie Paul-Girdwood

Introduction

Thank you for the kind invitation to speak to your active organization. Past collaboration and support between Barnum House and the Cobourg and District Historical Society has been fruitful.

Brief History of Barnum House as a Residence

In 1784 Eliakim Barnum was born somewhere in Vermont. He arrived in Upper Canada in 1806. It is believed that he settled first in Grover's Tavern as a result of his close friendship with Benjamin Ewing. In 1811 Barnum married Hannah Ewing and they raised four children. The Barnum's purchased Norris property near Grafton in 1812 and established a distillery, shops and a tavern licence by 1816. Later a grist mill was built.

The old Norris home burned in 1813 and Barnum House was constructed between the years 1819 and 1820.

Eliakim Barnum was active in the local area. He was Justice of the Peace, aided in the founding of Grafton's first school. Barnum was the first chairman of the Haldimand Constitution Society. He was Lt Colonel of the 3rd Northumberland Militia.

Eliakim Barnum died at the age of 94. His son James began to sell off the property to meet daily expenses. He died in 1907. The property was sold to James Prentice in 1917.

In 1925 architectural historian, Eric Arthur first saw Barnum House. In 1932 the Architectural Conservancy of Ontario (ACO) was established. The ACO purchased Barnum House and 97 acres of property in 1939 for $4,500. Between February and August 1940, the ACO raised some $8,000 and the house was opened as a period house museum in August 1940. In the 1950's the house was used as an antique store. In 1954 fire damaged the east addition and interior

partitions of the kitchen. The ACO sold the house and property to the County of Haldimand in 1957 and the house remained a museum. In 1982 the Ontario Heritage Foundation, a non-profit agency of the Ministry of Culture and Communications, (OHF) received ownership of Barnum House. Now, the County of Northumberland has become an operating partner.

Barnum House is now under complete restoration. Phase one - the exterior restoration took place between the fall of 1989 and the spring of 1990. Phase two - the interior restoration, plus an addition to the rear of the house is in progress. The project is expected to be complete by the Spring of 1992. While this work has been underway, the museum collection has been relocated and intense research evaluation of the collection is now taking place.

Recently from the Ontario Heritage Foundation (March 1991) ....

Craters and Ghost Marks at Barnum House Museum

A number of exciting discoveries at Barnum House Museum will enable the Ontario Heritage Foundation to provide answers about the past use of the house and the finished within each room.

The Ontario Heritage Foundation, is committed to preserving, protecting and promoting Ontario's archaeological, cultural, historical and natural heritage for the enjoyment and benefit of present and future generations of Canadians. Part of its mandate is to acquire important heritage properties and work with community to restore them for the benefit of the residents and people of Ontario.

Denis Heroux, of the Property Restoration Unit at the Foundation, has used a number of building analysis techniques which assist in telling the true story of the 1819 building.

One such technique is the "crater system". This system involves using fine sandpaper and removing paint layers, one at a time, from an area the size of an egg. By conducting this investigation throughout the house, the sequence of colour applications over the years is then determined. A great deal can then be surmised about the taste and level of affluence of Eliakim Barnum's family.

The "crater system" confirmed that the central staircase railing is original to the construction of the house in the early 19th century. It had been assumed that the simplicity of the railing meant that it was a later addition; the "crater system" proved its earlier fabrication.

The decorating taste of Hannah Barnum is brought to light by this analysis. Different shades of beige were used to paint the woodwork throughout the house, while dark browns were used as floor colours. Only in the study and upstairs bedrooms is there evidence of a dark gray and the main hall floor appears to be beige colour. As well, the wealth of the Barnum family is proven by the fact that the doors in the main hall and second floor hall were originally wood grained to imitate walnut - a fashion typical of the best houses of the period.

Another technique used in building analysis at Barnum House Museum was the "ghost marks system". When the raised floor in the period kitchen was removed, sections of the original 1820's floor were still intact. After 50 years of dirt was removed, "ghost marks" appeared. Unpainted strips on the floor indicated the location of early walls. Interruptions in the unpainted strips showed doorways and, by looking carefully at the direction of the wear marks left by years of people walking through these doorways, the direction the doors swung in could be easily determined.

With the evidence of the ghost marks and wear marks in Barnum House kitchen, the Ontario Heritage Foundation will be reconstructing the scullery, pantry and servant's bed chamber that were in the house over 50 years ago.

History of S.S. #23, Haldimand

Carol Dewey

Introduction

On June 30, 1966, the doors of S.S. #23, Haldimand, commonly known as "The Gully School", closed for the last time, having served the educational needs of the youngsters in the community for eighty- three years. This paper tells some of the story of the history of this school, some, because lost records prohibit a complete account.

During its long history, the school saw its way through years of plenty, lean years and even years of special recognition. Throughout these years, the names of one particular family is evident, as pupil, as trustee, as parent and as secretary-treasurer of the school board. The Hoskin family, like other families in many rural school areas, is a continuous thread throughout the history of S.S. #23, Haldimand. This account also relates the significant role of this particular family in the life of "The Gully School".

The Community

School Section #23 was located in the southwest quadrant of Haldimand Township in the County of Northumberland. Northumberland County is on the north shore of Lake Ontario approximately half-way between Toronto and Kingston. A county of rolling hills and beautiful forests, Northumberland's arable land attracted farmers and many related industries.

Haldimand was settled early. It was surveyed in part in 1797 and again in 1822. Many descendants of these early settlers still reside in the township. Some families came to Haldimand after the American War of Independence. Known as United Empire Loyalists, these colonists chose to remain loyal to the British Crown and as a result, moved to Canada.

The Gully area of Haldimand was so named as a direct consequence of a big rain storm. Originally, to the north of the school, there was a small lake. During the storm, the lake washed away and formed a gully, hence the name by which S.S.

#23 was commonly known and the surrounding area as well. The *Cobourg World,* a local newspaper, published news from the area under the heading "The Gully".

The Gully School section was made up of farms, most of them dating back to the early 1800's when the township was settled. In many cases, farms were handed down from generation to generation - even sectioned off to accommodate more than one son in the family.

The nearest village was Grafton, originally called Haldimand. The *Tweedsmuir Village History,* compiled by the Womens' Institute, reveals that Grafton had important ties with commerce and travel in its early years. It was the halfway mark of the three-day coach ride between Kingston and York. Spalding's Inn, then known as the "halfway house", still stands on a curve in the highway just west of the village.

The *Cobourg Star,* dated July 29, 1842, reported on the completion of the Grafton harbour, "which for the beauty of position and stability of workmanship stands second to none in the province and which when finished will afford facilities for shipments of produce which will soon call into operation the several surrounding mills". The harbour once boosted a flour mill, plaster mill, cooper shop and blacksmith shop, three lodging houses, a store, a school, a custom's house and many houses. The building of the Grand Trunk Railway in the 1880's considerably lessened the trade at the harbour.

The School

S.S. #23, Haldimand, was built in 1883 on land given to the school board by Thomas Hoskin. No record exists describing the original structure. An 1885 edition of *Acts and Regulations Respecting High and Public School, Province of Ontario* includes sections in the regulations portion giving some direction with regard to the school site and the building itself. Separate outdoor toilets were required, one for the girls and one for the boys, with screened entrances and "suitable walks" from the school house. The school room itself had to be at least twelve square feet on the floor and had to have separate entrances and cloakrooms for the boys and girls. Other sections of the regulation referred to

heating, ventilation, windows and furniture. It was not until 1909 that the Ontario Department of Education published *Plans for Rural School Buildings*, which included fairly specific directions for school size and layout.

With minimal guidelines from the province then, the one room schools reflected the financial resources of the school section and the attitude towards education of the people in the community, in particular, the trustees. While regulations may have existed at the time of the building of the Gully School, similar to those described above, local autonomy was more of a determining factor in what was built.

Accounts of similar schools in other parts of Ontario provide a picture of what the school was probably like. Mildred Young Hubbert, in *The Little School of Grey*, writes that "most of the early schools were well designed buildings with high windows down each side". At the front of the room was a platform on which stood the teacher's desk. Facilities at the school followed the same progression as they did at home, so outdoor toilets were the order of the day and water was fetched from nearby springs. Storage for wood for the stove, the sole source of heat for the school room, was in an outdoor building.

The Gully School was typical of these one room schools described by Hubbert. The school had no basement, no running water and no electricity. Account books for the school board record repairs, renovations and additional purchases over the years. The following is a description of the school as recorded by teacher J.E. Carruthers in January 1943, at the back of the General Register for 1934-1943:

"The present school, built 1883, is of brick. The old blackboards were at the south of the room. Slate boards were later put on the north wall."

"In December 1940 electricity was installed in the school building. In the summer of 1941 running water had been put in the school. The pipes were there previously, but had been out of repair for a long time."

Another teacher noted that a new oil burner was installed in 1956 and in 1957, the platform was removed, new side boards added and book shelves put in at front.

Some of the work was done by volunteers from the community. For example, Douglas Hoskin, in an interview, reported that he and his father, Bertram, built a new woodshed to the rear of the building and replaced the wooden steps at the front with concrete ones. The amount of work done each year depended on the diligence of the trustees in maintaining the building and on the demands of the current teacher. Financial resources were also a determining factor. In the early 1930's when provincial grants to local school boards were reduced, less than twenty dollars was spent on repairs over a five year period. By the time the author taught at the school in 1965-1966, the school had indoor toilets, running water, electricity, blackboards, bulletin boards and relatively modern desks. The platform for the teacher's desk was gone but not the antique "jelly roll" duplicator.

At the urging of the school inspector, A.A. Martin, in 1945, S.S. #23 amalgamated with three other schools in Haldimand Township - Wicklow, Grafton, Hares - to form the South Haldimand School Area. In 1947 Academy Hill joined this new school board, as by this time they had their school paid for. Further amalgamation took place in 1965 with the formation of the Haldimand-Alnwick Township School Board. At this time an addition was built onto the senior school in Grafton to accommodate all the students from the one-room school in Haldimand. In 1969 with the formation of the county school boards, S.S. #23 was sold to William McKay of Toronto.

The Hoskin Family

The Hoskin Family originally settled in the Gully area in 1846 on land that went from the Crown to King's College and for a brief period, to a previous owner, Daniel Massey, before being purchased by Thomas Hoskin. The family homestead is located to the north of the school and is currently owned by Thomas's great, great, great grandson, Gaye. It was Thomas's son, Thomas, who donated the land for the Gully School. The land was part of the farm owned by Thomas Hoskin. The house in which he lived is located to the west of the school. Currently it is owned by a retired high school teacher and is rumoured to have ghosts.

Thomas's son, Bertram, served as trustee from 1910-1916 and 1939-1945 on the School Board of S.S. #23, Haldimand and from 1945-1947 on the South Haldimand School Board. Bertram's brother, W.A. Hoskin, also served as secretary-treasurer of the board. While Bertram's son, Douglas, never served on the school board, he was auditor for several years and his wife, Evelyn, served as secretary-treasurer to the board from 1945-1969. Evelyn then worked as school secretary at Grafton Public School, (the consolidated school built when all the township one-room schools were closed), until her retirement. Currently, Evelyn goes into the school twice a week as a volunteer, helping out in the library.

The Gully School had its beginnings as a result of the donation of land from one of the Hoskins and during all the years of its history there was a Hoskin on the school board or at the school as a pupil or serving on the board. After almost one hundred and fifty years, the Hoskin family still lives in the Gully area, the younger generation farming the family homestead and the older generation providing a wealth of information on the history of the area. Douglas (D.C.) Hoskin still helps out with the farm and Evelyn is very active in the community.

The Students

The earliest information that could be obtained about students at S.S. #23, Haldimand was located in the *Cobourg World*, April 5, 1895. "The Gully School" listed the pupils' academic standing in order of merit for the first three months of the year. The report was submitted by the teacher, Jennie E. Johnston, a practice that was common at the time. The pupils are listed from 5th form on down to 1st form. One student was in 5th form at this time, the equivalent of first and second year of high school.

Altogether there were twenty-six pupils listed in the report: one in 5th, three in senior 4th, four in junior 4th, four in senior 3rd, five in 2nd, three in senior part 2nd, three in junior part 2nd and three in 1st form. Included in the list, in junior 4th is Bertram Hoskin, whose father had donated the land for the school and who later went on to serve on the school board for many years. The few number of students in the older grades was a reflection of compulsory school age at that time of only thirteen years.

A similar report in the *Cobourg World*, April 12, 1901, by teacher Agnes C. McEwen, shows an enrolment of twenty-seven. Listed is the name of Thomas Hoskin, younger brother of Bertram. Again, there is one pupil listed in 5th form and only three pupils in grade eight or senior 4th.

The earliest Daily Register that could be located for S.S. #23, Haldimand, is for the calendar year 1907. In January of that year the school had twenty-eight pupils. The students ranged in age from five years to fifteen years. Three of the grade eights left school in March.

In the thirty years for which school registers were located, 1934- 1964, the enrolment at the school ranged from a low of 11 in 1938- 1939 (grades 1,3,6,7,8) to a high of 32 in 1962-1963 (grades 1-7). As the enrolment began to increase in the 1960's, the crowding at the school was alleviated by sending the grade seven-eights to a senior school that was built in the village of Grafton.

Douglas D.C. Hoskin attended the Gully School 1912-1920. He recalls his father Bertram, telling him about the days that he, Bert, attended the Gully School. In those days "grown men came to school in the winter time - they worked on the farms in summer - and the younger kids would be afraid to go outside for recess." It was not unusual for attendance to be a problem in the rural schools but it was less a problem than in urban areas as the students were working and not on the street or getting into trouble.

At the time that Douglas attended school, a big box stove was the only source of heat and he recalls sitting around the stove until warm. Reading, writing, spelling literature and geography were covered by "going through the book". Discipline was not much of a problem. When it was, the teacher used the strap. In 1920 Douglas travelled to Cobourg to write the entrance - three days of exams. He never thought he would pass. Long noon hours and long recesses meant that the work was not covered. Douglas did pass but went to work on the farm rather than go on to high school, although his sister did. She lived in a room in a house across from the high school, taking her food for a week, from home after each weekend. Some high school students walked to the railway station in Grafton and took the train to Cobourg then back each night. Bus service did not start until the 1930's.

Douglas's son, Doug, attended the Gully School 1954-1961. Young Doug recalled being strapped the first day of school in grade one for fighting with his older brother Gaye. This punishment was followed up with a similar experience at home. As far as school work was concerned, Doug remembers it as being the "three R's". The big kids kept the little kids in line, both inside and out. Recesses in the winter were enjoyed across the road from the school skating and tobogganing in the gravel pit. A highlight one year was a bus trip to Ottawa with the students from the Eddystone School. The Bell Tower, the RCMP Headquarters and the War Memorial were "impressive" to this young man from rural Ontario.

Special Events and Special Recognition

The March 2, 1906 edition of the *Cobourg World*, in the community news, report, "The Gully", includes a report of a concert held at the school. The importance of such events is attested to by Robert M. Stamp, in *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*:

> "The one-room country school was a central feature of the rural landscape and was often the centre of activities for the community it served. Here residents met to discuss the issues of the day, heard addresses by political office speakers, held community dances and often worshipped on Sunday. Nor were the activities of the pupil divorced from the life of the community....A good concert was often a guarantee that the teacher's contract would be renewed for another year, a poor performance could lead to dismissal."

Usually these concerts were held at Christmas, but, in this case it was held in late February. The paper describes it as a "very successful concert....long before the time to commence the building was filled." The chairman for the evening was Thomas Hoskin. The programme included recitations, drills, solos, duets, dialogues and a five act play. The number of presentations ensured that every pupil participated in the event. At this particular concert, a former pupil, Annie Hoskin, who was at the time attending the Cobourg Collegiate Institute, served as accompanist and also did an exhibition of club swinging accompanied by music. The proceeds raised from the event went towards the school library.

In December of the same year the *Cobourg World* reported on the Christmas concert held at the school. The Christmas concert was very popular and was one of the things former pupils and teachers most remembered about being at the school. Jean Usborne, who taught at the school 1949-1951, recalls that the kids got excited and that most of December was spent getting ready. Doug Hoskin, who attended the school 1954-1961, enjoyed the Christmas concert because you got out of work. He remembers the school was always full the night of the concert. Very often people from the community helped. The *Cobourg World* report of the 1906 concert tells about this event:

> The school was beautifully decorated with bunting and evergreens. Mr Thomas Hoskin acted as chairman. The program which opened with "Welcome Song" sung by the boys of the school, was lengthy and very well carried out, principally by school children and young people of the section, assisted by the Misses Calder, Shelter Valley; Mr Max. Creighton, Eddystone; and Mr Robin Mallory, Front Road East. The receipts amounted to about twenty dollars.

The reference to the receipts indicates a practice that was common in rural one-room schools at special events like the Christmas concert. Usually it was in the form of a silver collection and the money went towards books or equipment for the school.

Another event that the students looked forward to was the school picnic. This might be held right on the school grounds or at a nearby area of suitable size. While the picnic itself was greatly anticipated, the races were the main excitement. This was the last big event of the school year and was held at the end of June, usually on the last day of school. The *Cobourg World*, July 12, 1907, reported the Gully School picnic, which also marked the departure of their teacher, Miss Wimbles, who was leaving the teaching profession to go into nursing. After a day filled with games, food and races, the students made a presentation to Miss Wimbles of a "handsome signet ring and two morocco bound copies of Scott's and Longfellow's poems".

In 1939-1940 the school won first place for the Northumberland School Improvement Contest and third place for the Ontario School Improvement Contest. This improvement of the school grounds consisted of levelling and

seeding the grounds, caring for the lawn later, preparing and planting two beds of shrubs beside the school and planting trees around the grounds. The work was carried on by the pupils under the direction of the teacher, Miss Mann. They were assisted by the school board "who drew the good earth for the beds and helped level the ground".

The Gully School continued to participate in the School Improvement Contest. In the fall of 1945 the school board authorized extensive repairs and renovations to the school, including painting inside and out, a new fence, window blinds and jackets for the stove. Trees were planted on the north and west sides of the school, grass seed sown, shrubs trimmed and playground equipment added. In the spring, a night meeting was held in which Mr Martin, the school inspector, presented the pupils with the Ontario Horticultural Certificate in recognition of outstanding work done in care of school grounds for 1944-1945.

S.S. #23, Haldimand won the Carter Trophy for 1945-1946 for Provincial School Ground Improvement, the teacher at that time being Miss Isabel Campbell of Colborne, Ontario. This trophy was presented at a Horticultural Convention at Niagara Falls by Mr Carter. On October 17, 1947, this trophy was presented by Mr Carter to the school. Mr Carter gave a very interesting address on conservation of our forests and lands for our children.

The school also participated in the Northumberland County Music Festival. Music was first taught by a music supervisor, Miss Ina Rosevear, in 1938. The school won second place for a double trio in 1940 and third place for a unison chorus in 1942.

References were also found in the Log Book section of the school's General Register to participation in school fairs. J.E. Carruthers recorded in 1943 that the school first took part in school fairs in 1914, when Hamilton and Haldimand Townships held a joint fair in Baltimore. Another reference notes that in

September 1946, a school fair was held with all pupils participating. Hare's School pupils were visitors for the day. Prizes were awarded in recognition of best efforts by the pupils.

The Teachers

Like other schools of its kind in Ontario, S.S. #23, Haldimand saw many teachers come and go. Over its eighty-three years of existence, the school had at least forty teachers, only five of them male. The average length of stay was about two years. In many cases the teacher was a young woman who came to teach at the school then moved back home to get married or moved because a position came up closer to home. Some teachers, like Miss Nellie Richards in 1912, stayed only a few months. The longest staying teacher was Lorene Mann, who was at the school from September 1932 to June 1940, a total of eight years.

D.C. Hoskin, a student at the school from 1912-1920 recalls some of his teachers. One, a story of controversy, involved Miss Lonny Lawless, who taught at the Gully School from 1913 to 1916. Miss Lawless was a Catholic. One day she strapped one of the students, a Lapp boy, for being late for school. Mrs Lapp's father was a Methodist minister. Whether or not there was any connection between these two facts, the Lapp boy never returned to the Gully School as long as Miss Lawless was teacher. He walked several miles east to Academy School.

Mr Hoskin also recalled an incident involving Miss Katie Hare, who was teacher at the school from January 1917 to December 1918. Miss Hare lived to the south of the school and one day on her way to the school as she walked through the woods between her home and the school building, she was attacked by an owl or a hawk.

Teacher salaries varied according to the qualifications and experience of the teacher and the board's ability to pay. In 1909 Mr Doxsee was paid $400. This figure increased each year until 1928 when it was up to $1,000. The next year it went down to $900 with the new teacher hired and continued to go down until 1937 to a low of $600. A study of the board's revenue shows a decline in this time period. This came at a time of economic depression in Ontario. As jobs in business and industry were limited, the teaching profession attracted many people and teachers were underbidding one another for jobs while boards were slashing their budgets. In 1935 the province stepped in to ensure teachers a minimum yearly salary of $500.

Jean Usborne, who taught at the school from 1949 to 1951, recalls that it "was a job I had to do, I didn't think much about it". The inspector came in, observed and made suggestions. Jean remembers that the inspector always made her nervous. The kids were prepared by telling them that the inspector was coming to see their work. While this was the case, the work of the teacher was really what was being examined: the keeping of the daily register, the temperature of the room, the blackboard work.

The last year the school was open, 1965-1966, the author taught at the Gully School at a salary of approximately $3,300. The objective was to successfully complete the second year of teaching in order to obtain the Permanent Teacher's Certificate. The autonomy of the working situation is best recalled. The inspector, Gordon Nelson, visited once or twice during the year but the remainder of the time the teacher was on her own. The students were cooperative and hard working. In the end, the objective was achieved.

The Trustees

Minute books for the school board date only back to 1909, so the names of trustees before this time are not available. Existing records show that all trustees were male. Since 1908 at least six of the trustees served for ten years or more. Two of these, Bertram and W.A. Hoskin, were students at the school, hence would know and appreciate what it is like at the school.

The trustees usually met at the school but sometimes met at the home of one of the trustees. The minute books show that some years they met only once - immediately following the annual meeting of the ratepayers. The usual order of business dealt with the purchasing of wood for the stove in the schoolroom and the amount of money to be levied each year. The hiring of the teacher and the salary to be paid was also recorded in the minutes. While some years there are no minutes recorded for trustee meetings, there was always a ratepayers meeting. In March 1926, the trustees expelled two students, something that was well within their authority but was seldom used, since there are no other references to expulsions in the minutes.

While there is not a lot of information in the minutes of the board meetings, there is no doubt that the trustees were of significant importance in the life of the school. Problems at the school were more apt to be dealt with by a trustee in response to a parent complaint than by the inspector. In the same way, a word from a trustee to the parent of a recalcitrant youth often made life easier for the teacher and the other students.

Conclusion

S.S. #23, Haldimand, the Gully School, was not unlike many other one-room schools in rural Ontario during its time. While it received special recognition for its efforts in improving the school grounds, it was no more special than any other school. The main order of business was education - the teachers taught and the students learned. There were no frills. Special treats, like the school picnic and a school trip, were earned.

To the author's knowledge, none of the students went on to "make a name for themselves" in any significant way, but still live in the area and many have fond memories of their years at the school. The closing of its doors in 1966 was the ending of an era in education in Haldimand Township and in the province of Ontario.

Roseneath Carousel Update

Suzanne Atkinson

Let me preface my remarks about the carousel project by saying what a delight it is for me personally to speak to the Society tonight. When I covered your meetings for all those years (as a reported with the *Cobourg Star),* I never dreamed that I would one day have something to speak to you about.

The Roseneath Carousel is safe! It will not be sold. Twenty-six of the forty horses on the carousel have been "adopted" - most by local families. When all forty horses have been "adopted", some $200,000 will have been pledged toward the restoration. Let me say now, if you are considering adopting a horse, you'd best get your pledge in right away. With the number of families and service clubs I've heard are considering it, we expect all the horses to be gone very soon.

The Ontario Heritage Foundation (OHF) has recently announced an additional $11,000 that it will assist us. The additional money is to cover the cost of restoring the Wurlitzer player organ which provides sound for the carousel. The OHF will give us in total, $71,000. Part of that funding has to be used to hire a conservator to oversee the project.

The Carousel committee has not placed a ceiling on how much money it would like to raise because a trust fund has been set up to ensure that once restored, the carousel will never again fall into such a state of disrepair. Our estimate is that it will take $200,000 to fully restore the carousel. Once restored it would be a shame to put it back into the old 16-sided barn which was built for it in 1932. The carousel building as it stands, is not weather-proof.

Long term plans for the carousel at this point are still speculative, depending on how much money is raised. We would like to build a weather-proof attraction which could act as sort of museum. People could visit it during the summer months, buy souvenirs, ride the carousel, see a display about its history and restoration and then learn about the country's agricultural heritage.

The Northumberland County Model School in Cobourg

Douglas C.D. Sifton

At the beginning of the present century in the "old west" acouple of amiable outlaws known as Butch Cassidy and The Sundance Kid plied their trade. As the law closed in on them, Miss Etta Place, who asked to accompany them to Ecuador said, "Why not?" I'm twenty-six and I'm single and a school teacher and that's the bottom of the bit." Considering the circumstances of education a century ago, there were probably many other young women inclined to feel the same way about their lives. Such was the society of the times which provided the context in which the training of teachers occurred.

The first central public school in Cobourg with four elementary classrooms was opened in 1875. Two years later, a program for teachers-in-training was added to allow candidates to qualify for a third class certificate. The building is now owned by Triangle Plumbing (designated heritage building).

In this modern age, families are generally two generations detached from the farm. They do not understand what farming is all about and they do not understand how the impact that the pricing of agricultural commodities could have in their futures. Once that carousel is restored, the agricultural community will have a vehicle for educating the public.

The carousel is not just important for its potential. It has a wonderful history as well. The carousel was bought second-hand in 1932 apparently from Mohawk Park in Brantford. A sum of $675 was paid for it. The Agricultural Society had just built a new barn a year earlier and it was used as an indoor skating rink in winter.

Imagine for a minute, Roseneath in 1932 - the middle of the Great Depression, and people still had the confidence in their community to go out and build themselves an indoor skating rink. You can almost feel the pride they must have had in themselves and in the community, when you read through portions of old minute books on the subject. Virtually the only full page ads in the *Cobourg Star* from about 1929 to 1933, were booked by the Roseneath Agricultural Society advertising the fair. These people were ready for something great!

For many, the carousel has been what going to the Roseneath Fair was all about. People grew up on the carousel, people proposed there, they brought their children to the carousel. Now it must be restored so that their grand children can come too. I think that is why so many local families are saying that, "yes, even in this time of economic restraint, we will dig into their pockets for that $5,000". If you take $5,000, divide it by four years, then again divide it among the number of people in your family, it comes out to a realistic donation and it means that people who even have moved away, can still feel Roseneath is home.

We hope to have the carousel operating and restored at the 1992 fair; if this happens, I have a feeling the fair will be the greatest homecoming reunion the community has ever seen. In a time when the very unity of Canada is being questioned, people need that kind of stability.

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Essential to the appreciation of the model school teacher training plan is a brief history of teacher training in Upper Canada. The Cobourg Model School commenced its work in 1877 but formal teacher training in this province began thirty years earlier. What were the circumstances of the time? The time- frame of this study centres on the year 1877 looking backward 30 years to the commencement of teacher training in the Normal School and looking ahead 30 years to the conclusion of the model school plan.

It must be kept in mind that the investigation of local history is always subject to the hazard of subjective bias. Those who are loyal to the communities in which they live are often tempted to project into the future or extend the present into the past. Such may have been the case when the author of a Township of Hope history wrote in 1967, "the Township was fortunate that among the early settlers there were men with good educations who appreciated the value of learning and when the need arose, teaching was provided. Of the forty-three Wardens, Path Masters and Pound Keepers sworn in 1839, all could sign their names legibly".

The historian, of course, did not include reference to the incident reported by Robert Stamp at S.S. #1, Hope Township in 1876. There, a school trustee in conflict with a teacher resorted to horsewhipping. The offence cost him six dollars in court. In fact, during the 19th century some elected officials of the District of Newcastle (later the United Counties of Northumberland and Durham) demonstrated a rather careless attitude toward education.

Perhaps the *Cobourg Star* which responded to a Kingston boast about the number of professional men in the town showed more local bias than objectivity when it said, "The Whig need not crow so loudly; in Poor Young Cobourg, with a population of about 3,000 we have ten lawyers, five doctors and about a dozen preachers exclusive of regular clergymen; and as for schools, we've lashings of them, and to spare!"

The country model school were a compromise. They provided a practical program of training, the details of which will be explained later. The regular professional training program was offered at the normal school where theoretical studies gave teacher preparation a more professional air. This history of teacher training in Ontario has a strong Cobourg connection.

It began with the man who built the Ontario education system, Egerton Ryerson. The first President of Victoria University, Cobourg, he was appointed as the first Chief Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada, a position he held until 1876.

Ryerson became Chief Superintendent in 1844 and presented his *Report on a System of Public Elementary Education for Upper Canada* in 1846. That year a comprehensive school act was passed by the legislature that put into effect most of his proposals. One was the establishment of a normal school.

Ryerson had some first hand knowledge of the need for trained teachers. In 1843 as President of the University, he had sat on an examination panel in Cobourg along with Rev. Alexander Bethune and Rev. Thomas Alexander. Only two of the six candidates were apparently considered worthy of continuation of their positions. One, a Mr Edward Henley was disqualified and another, a Mr Charles Pomeray who was considered inadequate in spelling refused to be examined in English grammar.

As Chief Superintendent, Ryerson had previously written to each of the twenty districts in Upper Canada encouraging them to employ teachers who qualified by attending the five month training program at the Toronto Normal School. There were those who felt that such as facility was not required. The class reply came from the Gore District (Hamilton area) which criticized the entire act and specifically objected to the Normal School.

> ...nor do Your Memorialists hope to provide qualified Teachers by any other means, in the present circumstances of the Country, than by securing, as heretofore, the services of those, whose Physical Disabilities, from age, render this mode of obtaining a livelihood the only one suited to their Decaying Energies, or by employing such of the newly arrived Emigrants, as are qualified, for Common School Teachers, year by year as they come amongst us, and who will adopt this as a means of temporary support, until their characters and abilities are known, and turned to better account for themselves.

How did the councils respond to the circulation of this memorial? Most gave it quasi endorsement or felt it represented an extreme view, according to Hodgins, who wrote an educational history of the period some sixty years later.

The Colborne District Council, in nearby Peterborough said that the Gore District's view concerning the Normal and Model Schools "is an opinion in which your (Colborne) Committee are, so far from concurring, that they believe it is from these sources must mainly arise the instrumentality through which the friends of Education can alone hope for the first considerable amelioration of the evils they lament, "the Council went on to deplore placing their children in the hands of those with decaying energies or of unknown character.

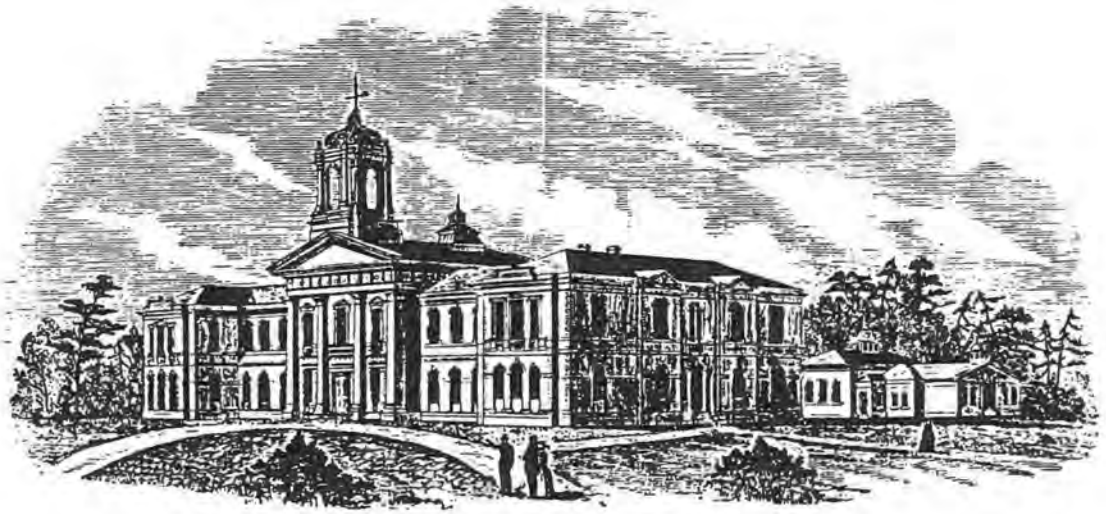
Mr Henry S. Reid, Warden of Newcastle, issued a circular to the other districts on 27th of September, 1847 asking for support in petitioning the Legislature and inviting them to unite in obtaining the entire abolition of the Act of 1846. Egerton Ryerson responded to the criticisms and singled out the Gore District and the Newcastle District in his annual report to the Legislature. By the following February 8th, still defiant, Henry Reid could relate to the Council support from only the Western District and the Gore District.

Nevertheless, Warden Reid was a well respected politician locally. In the fall of 1848, the *Cobourg Star* noted, "by law Councils have a right to grant a salary to their Warden and as it has been acted upon in two instances, we think that our Council could not do better than follow so good an example. No person in the District has worked harder or with more effect than our present Warden as his excellent compilation of laws will show". In November he was granted £50 by the District Council which re- elected him to his post the next year.

Benjamin Hayter also encountered difficulties with the District Council. As Superintendent of Schools his oversight diverted money collected for Common School purposes into the municipal treasury. He realized his mistake but the District Council, far from correcting the situation, requested the release of additional school money. When Hayter refused to do so, he was dismissed. His complaint to Egerton Ryerson brought a response that indicated he was unable to right the wrong and concluded, "I sympathize with you in the lose to which your fidelity to the law and the school interests of your charge has subjected you; but it is the more desirable to suffer in such a case than to be a party to the misapplication of school money."

Although the quotation appears to bear the stamp of a Methodist minister, it should be noted that Ryerson was determined to follow a policy stressing local initiative and responsibility. Central control or remediation of such issues would certainly have undermined his plan.

The first Normal School was opened in Toronto November 1, 1847 in the old Government House of Upper Canada. A new building was designed and the cornerstone laid in 1851. Ryerson's offices were here and some of the facade of the original building can still be viewed inside the quadrangle of the Ryerson Institute of Technology on Gerrard Street.



THE NORMAL AND MODEL SCHOOL BUILDINGS, TORONTO, ERECTED IN 1851.

There were two sessions a year, each of five months duration. In his report of 1848, Ryerson pointed out, "Upwards of 250 Teachers, (seven-eights of whom had previously taught School),..." had received instruction in the Normal School. It included 20 female teachers in the class of 118. The Chief Superintendent had provided a Model School for girl and one for boys next to the Normal School so teachers-in-training could see approved teaching methods and practice their own teaching skills. In his report to the Governor-General-in-Council, Ryerson stated, "The last semi-annual examination of both the Normal School and Model School afforded unqualified satisfaction to the numerous visitors present". Undoubtedly, the satisfaction of those present could be

obtained by playing to the gallery because a statement in 1858 issued by the Council of Public Instruction was not so confident:

> ...the majority of those received as student-in-training, are so deficient in scholastic attainments, that it is found necessary to include in its course of instruction, not merely the discussions on the principles of education and methods of teaching, but also the actual teaching of most, or all, the branches of the Public School study...and as more than nine- tenths of those who apply for admission to the Normal School do not possess anything like that amount of information and general knowledge...,the Normal School Masters are compelled to supplement...the early training or want of training of those who enter its walls.

The provision for superannuated teachers, another initiative of Ryerson's, was mentioned in his report to the Legislature, "The number of worn-out Teachers who received aid in 1860 was 150...The average period of service is 21 1/2 years and their average age in 1860 is 66 1/2 years". Those worn-out teachers appear to have taught in the latter part of their careers.

The year 1871 was a special landmark in the development of education in Ontario. The grammar schools became high schools and every county was to have a collegiate to offer classics. The common schools were now required to offer free education to their elementary school pupils. Cobourg was by no means in the fore front of this movement. Prior to this date, of 4400 school sections in the province, 4244 had begun to accept pupils without fees or without rate bills. Cobourg was one of the 166 exceptions.

Five of the six school districts in Cobourg operated schools although most of them were in rented houses. Districts #3 and #5 were combined in the new central school on which construction was begun in 1874. The school opened in 1875 and this report was carried in the *Cobourg Sentinel*:

"The last touches of the painter's brush are now being put upon the framework of the new school building on Seminary Street, the latest effort of our Trustees in the way of building for the accommodation of the school children in Cobourg. It is if the last, perhaps the very best of their labours, and is one of the most attractive and useful school buildings we have ever seen either in Cobourg or elsewhere".

"In the outset, the Trustees have been careful to provide a very spacious site, comprising nearly two acres of dry, level and slightly elevated land, affording abundant play-ground as the school will accommodate. It includes what was the orchard of the late Rev. J. Beatty, which will not render the grounds less attractive for the boys, but will in a few years probably be a good deal defaced."

"The building has a very imposing aspect, facing Seminary Street, and is constructed of red brick, and we think looks prettier and more attractive than if made of the sober white which is generally preferred for private dwellings. It is, of two stories in height, and here we think a slight error has been made and that considering the very trifling additional cost, it would have been better to have added another story, for although that additional story is not now required and probably will not be for many years, yet it will be very much required as the town grows in population, and then its absence will be a matter of regret. Under the guidance of one of the Trustees we first entered the primary department on the lower story, when the first thing that attracted our attention was the long and excellent blackboard fixed in the wall, and which forms one of the most pleasing and useful features of every room, agreeably to the appreciation of the improved system of teaching by object lessons, and by combined responses and recitations by the children, which experience has shown is by far the best mode of securing the undivided attention of the younger, and obtaining rapid and easy advancement in rudimentary education".

"The rooms upstairs are very neat and attractive. We specially admired the new and improved desks and seats, manufactured by Mr Crossen, and which are after a late American model. These seats are substituted for the chairs formerly used and are we think a great improvement. They are very easy for the backs of the children being made to fit to the back, and not so rigidly and uneasily straight as the old chair backs which seemed to be the invention of some straight backed soldier of the old school, or someone who had admired the customs of the aborigines and would like to see our babies strapped on a straightboard. The seats are firmly fixed are quite immovable. Another improvement is in the insertion of a glass inkstand in each desk, beneath the surface, also a fixture and having a moveable metallic covering, which will keep out flies, dust and other extraneous substances...The blackboards here extend about half the size of the room. The cloak and hat rooms adjoining them are quite roomy and suitable in every way..."

As the school neared completion in June 1875, the Board appointed George Edgecumbe as principal but he submitted his resignation in August whereupon the following resolution was passed, "that Mr David Johnston be appointed as Head Master of the new school provided that he satisfy the Board that he is capable of teaching the higher branches required by the public school curriculum."

Mr Johnston declined the position under the term offered. In September he requested a certificate as the time of service, character, ability and efficiency as a Public School Teacher. Usually a signal that an employee is contemplating making application for a position elsewhere, the request probably presented the Chairman with a dilemna faced by many a senior official. How can a recommendation be truthful about past problems and still encourage a prospective employer to hire the candidate? Mr Johnston returned to the Board meeting in November with testimonials, objecting to the wording of the resolution by which he was offered the position in August. Another resolution was passed blotting out the question implied concerning his scholarship. But the minutes remained unaltered.

The *Cobourg Sentinel* had been quite unstinted in its praise of Mr Johnston's work three years earlier at the Bagot Street School where he and two assistants ministered to 170 pupils. They wrote, "Mr Johnston has always enjoyed a high reputation as a systematic teacher and a tough disciplinarian..."

The public tribute did not quite match the one accorded Mr Francis Lynch at the Ball Street Roman Catholic Separate School. "...a highly accomplished scholar...average attendance 74 in a grade school and amongst classical students, he could not fail to distinguish himself...he could undoubtedly work to better advantage in any of the higher educational institutions of the country than in a common school."

It is also necessary to reflect on the description of the school which both reflects and ignores some of the mainstream currents of educational thought at the time. Construction of a "gallery" which elevates the teacher at the front of the classroom was entirely consistent with a strong rational approach to teaching which stressed the acquisition of information. The great German scholar, Herbart, was in ascendancy at the time and few questioned his methods and the moral purpose of education.

But dissent did exist. In Europe Freidrich Froebel devised an educational plan and an accompanying revolutionary philosophy which resulted in his kindergarten being outlawed in 1852 by Prussian authorities. "To learn a thing

in life and through doing is much more developing, cultivating and strengthening than through verbal communication of ideas,"" asserted Froebel but his opponents charged, "Socialistic, atheistic!"

In 1874, the year that construction started on the new central school, James Hughes was appointed as public school inspector in Toronto. He also described a visit to a private kindergarten in Boston, "I saw an educational process that was intended to develop vital centres of power and skill and character, instead of merely storing the memory and giving an abstract training in reasoning." But not until 1883 was the first public kindergarten in Canada established in Toronto.

So child centred education had to wait. The central school opened in 1875 with overfilled classrooms and the need which the Cobourg SENTINEL had foreseen for accommodation in the distant future became imminent.

A number of events in sequence set the stage for the new development in the training of teachers. The Reverend Dr. Ryerson retired after more than 32 years as Chief Superintendent. His assistant, Dr Hodgins succeeded him, becoming the first Deputy Minister of Education. Ryerson had pressed the government to appoint a Minister of Education responsible to the Legislature, in fact had hand picked the appointee, the Hon. Adam Crooks. (The significance of the move was that the government would establish policy on education in place of past practice by which the Legislature had sought to keep party politics out of education.

Crooks visited Cobourg to attend the local teachers' convention in the fall of 1876. He related the difficulties of providing a sufficient number of teachers for the schools of the province. At that meeting in the presence of the Minister, Mr David Johnston pointed out the harsh realities as he saw them. Of 5700 teachers only 215 held first class certificates and 875 had second class certificates. That left over 3500 untrained teachers. He suggested that the Normal School in Toronto with the newly opened one in Ottawa would require 30 years to produce enough teachers for half of the schools. An eight point resolution was passed unanimously calling for the Province to establish teacher training facilities in each inspectoral division and requiring that an existing public school in each district be designated as a model school which should have three trained teachers and a principal with a first class certificate.

After 1871, attendance was compulsory for children aged 6 to 13, and schools were free although few pupils, especially rural ones, attended beyond the third book (grade six). Nevertheless an increased enrolment required an enlarged supply of teachers.

In 1877 the system of county model schools was established and the central school on Seminary Street in Cobourg was so designated. A thirteen week course turned out teachers with a third class certificate which were valid for three years.

ATTENDANCE AT COUNTY MODEL SCHOOLS

YEAR	SCHOOLS	TEACHERS ATTEND.	No. PASSED
1877	50	1237	1146
1882	46	882	837
1887	55	1491	1375
1892	59	1283	1225

It is clear that the model schools were graduating more than enough third class certificate teachers to staff all of the classrooms in the province of Ontario every four years.

The Model School teacher training schedule was an ambitious programme of thirteen weeks commencing the second Tuesday of September. The regulations required one room in addition to those needed for ordinary school purposes. It was necessary for the principal to hold a first class certificate and three assistants to possess second class certificates. All these positions were advertised in the *Globe*, presumably because none of the existing staff held the requisite certification.

The schedule was set out as follows:

2 weeks	Lectures from inspector and principal, demonstration lessons for student observation.
3 weeks	Observation and class teaching.

7 weeks Teaching with criticism.

1 week Review and lectures.

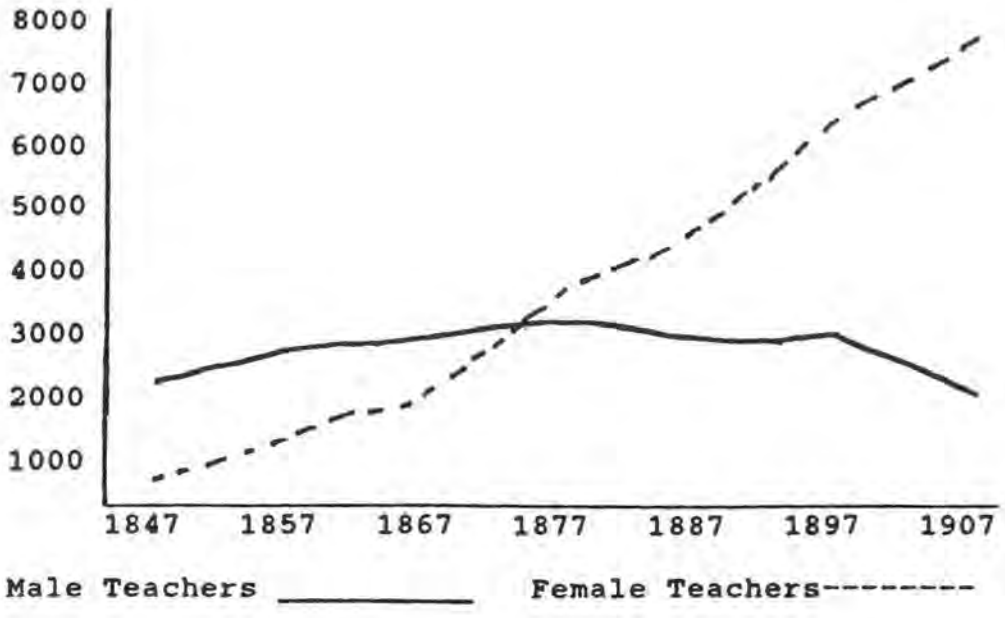
The content dealt with five areas:

1. Principles of education.
2. Physiology and hygiene.
3. Music, Drawing and Calisthenics.
4. School Law.

During the thirty years beginning with 1877, 36,000 elementary school teacher received training. Although some went on to raise their qualification to second class or first class certificates, many left teaching to marry or moved on to other fields of endeavour. In his history of Canadian education Phillips stated that two thirds of those who attended model school training left teaching by the end of the third year. In Northumberland, one young man, Earnest Brown, failed his course at the model school but was granted a temporary certificate for two years. He requested that it be extended for another year because he had committed himself, "to teach the upper room at Roseneath" and following that he planned to enter the study of medicine. The County Board of Examiners held a special meeting, examined him and extended his certificate.

The first session of the Cobourg Model School recorded four women and sixteen men although records for later sessions show that there were approximately the same number of each for the next ten years. Subsequently, the women outnumbered the men. In the United States, the increase in proportion of women teachers had occurred much earlier.

MALE AND FEMALE TEACHERS IN ONTARIO



In Cobourg, the Model School was certainly held up as a model. The *Cobourg Sentinel* reported on July 13, 1878, "the examinations of No.s. 1, 2 and 4 were conducted on Thursday forenoon and afternoon, and on Friday afternoon, in order to allow all the teachers and pupils of the other schools the privilege of attending the examination of the Model School on Friday afternoon." Principle Sprague was in charge.

The attendance of dignitaries at examinations and closing exercises was a common practice. One year earlier, those attending at the #3 School included, C.C. Field, chairman of the Board, Dr Powell, Secretary, Thos. Gillbard, Treasurer, F. Reynolds, Trustee, Mayor George Guillet, E. Scarlett, local Inspector of Schools, Councillor Mulholland, Thos. Dumble, Rev. Mr Pedley, Wm E. Bartlett of the Collegiate Institute, P. Boyle, seperate school teacher, D. McAllister, chairman of the Seperate School Board, David Johnston, Principal School #2, C.M. Dorland, former headmaster of School #3 (who had been hired at the Model School adjoining the Toronto Normal School), A. Black, chairman of the Collegiate

Institute Board, Dr Wood, etc., etc., Reverend Ryerson had always considered the system of school visitors and attendance at public examinations as a key element of public support for education.

The conduct of school boards generally accepted the most blatant discrimination against women. At the Cobourg Public School Trustees meeting of November 14, 1873, a resolution was passed to continue all teachers except two in their employment during the year 1874 at the same salaries. At the next meeting, Trustee McCallum "protested in strong terms against the action of the Board at the last meeting in the reappointment of Mr William Scarlett at a salary of Five Hundred Dollars to do a work which a Female Teacher would do as effectively at a salary of Three Hundred, thus entailing a loss of Two Hundred Dollars for the year."

The oversupply of teachers encouraged the depression of wages and a great many abuses in the hiring of teachers. In his report to the Legislature of 1877, the Minister of Education stated, "I am not judging either trustees or ratepayers harshly when I say that the teacher as a rule is more the victim of caprice than almost any public officer." A notable example follows.

The Department of Education had acted on behalf of teachers to require that school boards should issue contracts of employment to the teachers they hired. Those contracts were supposed to be signed by the Board. In this particular case, the teacher, Samuel Acheson was denied his salary by the Board because the contract was not legally signed, i.e. the individual trustees had signed it but not while the Board was in session. Judge Reynolds found in favour of the teacher so the Bastard school trustees were forced to pay up.

Another practice which jeopardized the quality of education involved the promotion of teachers in the urban schools. In 1883, in Hamilton, Inspector W.H. Ballard, after whom a school there is named, complained of the promotion of teachers, a common procedure which continued until the present century. If a grade five teacher left, the grade four teacher filled the vacancy, others moved up and a new grade one teacher was hired. In general, a $25 annual salary differential was recognized for each grade and these promotions were of course published in the newspapers.

Pupils attending Ontario schools in the late 19th century were certainly handicapped by the calibre of teaching staff provided by school boards. However the trend toward improved qualifications began during this period.

TEACHING CERTIFICATES IN ONTARIO

CLASS	1877	1887	1897	1907
1st	250	252	343	689
2nd	1304	2465	3386	4007
3rd	3926	3677	4465	3254

The decrease in the number of third class certificate teachers and the increase in the second class certificated teachers began during the period of the model schools. But the number of teachers with poor academic background was not the only hazard for schools. In 1878 an Ontario County (now Durham Region) inspector reported to the Department of Education that the wave (of progress) is greatly diminished as it strikes against the rock of frequent change of teachers..." Another described teachers as the Arabs of Ontario, here this year, there the next and nowhere the third. No doubt teachers, poorly paid and exploited in rural schools went in perpetual search of situations where they might be better paid and treated fairly.

At the turn of the century, the staff of the Cobourg schools seemed relatively stable. Salaries were regularly adjusted and compared reasonably with other areas. Provincial statistics show that the salaries of women were little better than half those of men. Of course women were not considered for promotion to principalships except at girls' schools. Salaries were highest in the cities, lower in towns and villages and lowest in the country schools. Partly because men filled the head master positions, their salaries in the towns were about forty percent above the provincial average of male teachers while female teachers in the towns were comparable to the provincial average.

Education in Cobourg seemed to proceed generally as the people expected. The court house school was closed because the wall was caving in and the nearby residents of Hamilton township were upset that they could not continue to send their children free of charge. The well drained ground at the Central School on Seminary Street acquired a huge puddle which was eventually drained and there were caretaker problems. But there was some public dissatisfaction which bubbled over in controversy which prompted the Board to pass the following resolution on December 7, 1897:

> Whereas it is the bounded duty of this Board to maintain as high as possible the standard of efficiency in the teaching staff of the Public Schools and in the view of the strong recommendation of the Inspector of Schools in his last report to this Board. Therefore be it resolved that as far as circumstances will permit it should be the policy of this board for the future to engage only teachers holding first and second class certificates of qualification for the various forms and departments in the Cobourg Public Schools.

The new policy did not forestall additional criticism, particularly an anonymous article in the *Sentinel Star* which offered the opinion that "the educational institutions of Cobourg, and particularly its Public Schools, are regarded as comparatively from ten to fifteen years behind the times, not only in equipment alone but in discipline and efficiency." The Board condemned this "slanderous insult".

Otherwise, the Chairman of the Public School Board, Thos. Gillbard seemed to have everything in hand. In 1903, he retired. There was the reading of a flowery tribute at a meeting in March and everyone adjourned for dinner at the British Hotel. The last chapter in the history of the Northumberland County Model School on Seminary Street really began in July 1905, when the Public School Board received a letter signed by Thomas Gillbard offering $10,000 to build a new school.

A committee recommended to the Board that the existing central school should be altered and enlarged but following a meeting of ratepayers at the Town Hall, the Board commenced its search for a new site.

The new school was built but not without pain. In addition to the $10,000 gift, a debenture of $20,000 was issued to finance the project and when trustees realized that a further debenture of $6,500 was required, some nasty words were exchanged by the Town Council and the School Board. Mr Gillbard who watched over every phase of construction died on August 28, 1907 - just before the opening of the new school.

The old school was closed but the issue was not settled easily. Neither attempts by the trustees locally to reach private deals nor advertisements placed in the *Toronto Globe* were successful in finding a buyer.

T.S. Eliot said in *The Waste Land*, "...this is the way the world ends, not with a bang but a whimper." So it was with the old Model School. Eventually the empty building was boarded up and the Board transferred the title to the Town of Cobourg in return for a reduction of $3500 in their debenture debt. Eventually the Town sold the building to Lydia Pinkham's the makers of a vegetable compound which claimed curative powers for female distress of various types.

Meanwhile the Province had also been reacting to public demand. Forty of the county model schools were closed leaving only those in more remote areas. Aware of impending decisions concerning the location of new normal schools, various communities touted their advantages. On July 13, 1906 the announcement was made to add Hamilton, Stratford, North Bay and Peterborough to the three already operating in Toronto, Ottawa and London. The Peterborough Normal School produced new teachers with first and second class certificates for some sixty years until it was closed when teacher education was taken over by the universities. The building was acquired and modified to provide offices for the Peterborough County Board of Education.

The model schools fulfilled a need at a time of growth when new schools were established as a result of local initiative. For thirty years, the third class certificates permitted teachers who were prepared to tackle their teaching responsibilities with minimal qualifications and to work for very limited salaries. Not until parents along with business and industry demanded higher quality education would the Province and boards of education take the necessary

steps to provide teachers with higher academic standards and improved professional training.

The qualifications of teachers have improved dramatically in the past quarter century. Thirty years ago, routes for entrance to elementary school teaching included emergency summer programmes and two year training programmes beyond grade 12, but most teachers-in-training had entered from grade 13, a few from university.

In 1969, after the largest county boards were organized, 5% of elementary school teachers employed by the Northumberland and Durham Board of Education held university degrees. In 1990, more than three-quarters of Northumberland and Newcastle elementary teachers held university degrees. The road to adequate teacher preparation has been a long one entailing struggles by teachers to obtain satisfactory learning conditions for pupils and to achieve respect along with a reasonable living wage for themselves.

An excerpt from: "The Broken Twig, An Illustration of Belmont Township"

Robert Watson

Blairton Iron Mines

The Blairton Iron Mines forms a solid link in the chin of discovery in the history of Belmont Township. The War of 1812 prompted a series of explorations carried out by the Royal Engineers in search of a safe inland route from Ottawa to Georgian Bay. Their surveys necessitated detailed mapping of Ontario's rivers and it was thought that the Crowe River system was explored by an Englishman Captain William Fitzgerald Owen. His map entitled *Lake Ontario and the Back Communication with Lake Huron* held the first definite markings of mineral wealth of the Crowe Valley: "Crowe River flows from NNE from a lake to the Northward. The shores of this river and Crowes Upper Lake abound with Iron and other metals." (*P.A.O. Capt. W.F. Owen map 1815-1816 Lake Ontario and Black Communications with Lake Huron*).

It was only a few years later that Reuben Sherwood found his way into the Crowe River system. Sherwood (1775-1851) worked in the southern part of the Crowe Valley in the 1800's fighting mosquitoes, swamps and thick forest to produce the first township surveys.

In 1819 Sherwood wrote to Thomas Ridout, the Surveyor-General reporting what he had found.

> The Crowe River's water black and disagreeable. Plenty of white pine and some large oak but the principal timber is brush maple, cedar and hemlock. By Mr Ryder's diary (surveyor of Marmora Township) I find he met with magnetic attractions, plenty behind Crowe Lake being obligated to these lines with pockets-abounds with Iron Ore of the best quality and the great ore bed is much spoken of, on the south side of the lake outside of this township in the front of Lot No 8. (*Natural Resources, Surveyors Letter* Vol. 33 No 119).

At about this same time Mr Charles Hayes arrived from Dublin, Ireland seeking iron deposits for the firm of W. & R. Hayes. It is known that a blast furnace was

erected on the Crowe River about 1820 on the West side on land now owned by the Crowe Valley Conservation Authority. It is also known that Mr Hayes lost heavily in this venture. (As reported in the *Royal Commission on the Mineral Resources of Ontario,* 1890).

However, these iron deposits impressed Hayes for he quickly made the arrangements to build an iron works at Marmora to melt the hard magnetic ores. Hayes obtained a contract for the delivery of pig iron ballast to the British Navy's dockyard in Kingston. In those days, the pig iron was used as for warships, for which purpose it was cast into lengths of about 3 feet, with a hole at each end through which a cable was slipped to make an easily shifted weight. It is at this time that Hayes petitioned the government through an Order in Council to resume for himself part of the township about to be surveyed "to the North of Seymour tended to be called "Mora" (Belmont) as it will include the iron ore bed continuous to the lake and the iron ore bed situated near the rapids about five miles further up the river..." (*Legislative Assembly, Orders-in-Council,* Book No. 5, p. 357-8).

It is reported that his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor with the advice of the council "is pleased to order and direct that the Surveyor-General do contract with Mr Hayes on the terms proposed for the survey of the said townships (*ibid, p. 357-8*). Hayes surveys were nearly completed by the summer of 1823. Henry Ewing was the actual surveyor of Belmont Township and one can only imagine the reaction of Hayes when he wrote to Ridout explaining that he had lost some of his field notes in the Crowe River.

Upon receiving the surveys, Hayes requested all his percentage be located in Belmont Township as the Great body of ore upon which he relied was within that township. Hayes at this time dreamed of a scheme to cut at some future period a canal to connect it (the iron works) with the river Trent, which would be of great importance in transporting iron to Rice Lake and vice versa, and it would be very beneficial to the public. (*Memorial to His Excellency Sir P. Maitland*. June 14, 1823).

The canal was to be from the S.W. corner of Crowe Lake to the Narrows at Trent River. On June 11, 1823 Hayes petitioned for a patent on the 120 acres originally

promised "the conditions of the grant now being fulfilled". He was awarded this tract as well as acreage for fuel. He also received his patent in July of 1824 covering 8,534 acres in Belmont Township, his fee for the survey of the three townships. Included in this grant was lot 8 in concession 1 where the famous "Big Ore Bed" (later known as the town of Blairton was located).

This huge mound of ore was five miles from the works (Marmora) but is from this mine that most of the ore smelted at the works was taken.

One can only imagine how many boat loads of ore now rest at the bottom of Crowe Lake. The 8,534 acres of forest land granted to Hayes was used to fuel the timber converted to charcoal for use in the furnaces.

WANTED
MINERS & LABOURERS,

At high wages, and passage paid, to work in the

Blairton Iron Mines, Ontario, Canada.

To sail on the 11th instant.

Apply at once to

J. L. AUNGER,

At the LONDON INN, REDRUTH, on the 5th,

AND AT THE

WHITE HART, CAMBORNE, on the 6th inst.

TREGASKIS, PRINTER, REDRUTH.

This advertisement was for workers to come to Canada, Blairton, Ontario to work at the Iron mines. Workers were sought as far as the British Isles. J.L. Aunger was the "overseer" of the mine.

In April of 1822, the Marmora Iron Works requested tenders to transport 750 tons of cast iron ballast to the Naval dock yard in Kingston.

Along with the iron ballast, Hayes' venture included potash kettles, cooler, 40 gallon cauldrons, sugar kettles, single and double stores, post and bake ovens, dog iron, sleigh shoes, cart and wagon boxes, fanning mill, Irons and mill and bar iron for sale. (*Kingston Chronicle,* November 7, 1823).

The problem of transporting the iron products through rugged terrain and numerous rapids finally took its toll and Hayes was required to seek more government assistance and private financial backers. For added information Susanna Moodie travelled to Marmora and made a water colour of the first mine in Ontario in 1823. This water colour is located in the Public Archives of Canada. 1830 saw the arrival of the Lieutenant Governor Sir John Colborne to Marmora to view the iron works. It is not known if he visited Blairton at this time, but chances are he did.

In 1837 the attention of Upper Canada was again diverted to Marmora as the Government considered a scheme to move the penitentiary from Kingston to Marmora using convict labour to run the iron work operation. Whether the high cost of moving the penitentiary or the outbreak of the Rebellion of 1837, the scheme lost momentum and did not materialize. The Marmora iron works then faded into the background to await the next industrious capitalist to be tempted by its resources.

After a period of 10 years (1847) Joseph Van Norman bought the Marmora iron works and began repairing the abandoned machinery and fixing the furnaces. Realizing the 32 mile journey to Belleville was a contributing factor to the demise of the iron works he decided to build a new mine road from the ore bed (Blairton) to Healey's Falls. From the Trent River, a steamer carried the pig iron to Rice Lake from where it was carted the 12 miles to the docks at Cobourg. Although the ore had to be reloaded three times along the way, this route made the process more profitable and decreased the time of transportation. For a short time Van Norman sold his wares at $30 to $35 per ton but he too was fated to follow the route of his predecessors.

The construction of the St Lawrence Canal brought British Iron at $16.00 a ton in the Country which created a financial strain and thus Van Norman abandoned his foundry, losing everything.

In 1853 the Marmora Foundry Company re-emerged as the Marmora Iron Company with an amended charter and a capital of 80,000 pounds.

Included in the board of directors were Alexander Simpson, William C. Evans, James Rhodes and Edward Burstall of Quebec, Robert Gillespie of London and W.A. Mathews of Sheffield England. Included in the impressive list was Peter McGill of Montreal and A.T. Galt, who later became one of the Fathers of Confederation.

By 1856 the company had started operations and they applied to purchase 20,000 acres of land for a fuel reserve at 30 cents an acre.

However, once again the cost of transportation proved to be an almost insurmountable obstacle. In an attempt to keep the venture alive the Iron Company amalgamated with the Cobourg and Peterborough Railway Company and with the aid of American investors became known as "The Cobourg, Peterborough and Marmora Railway and Mining Company". Pittsburgh residents supplied $430,000 in capital and Edward Burstall of Quebec put up $130,000. The following year mining operations resumed at the "Big Ore Bed" and for the next decade the focus shifted from Marmora to the emerging town of Blairton.

The big ore bed had been renamed "Blairton" by the new company after a Scotsman and pioneer of the area named Blair.

This new company which was largely American had a short but energetic history. Its prime financiers and organizers were from Pittsburgh and Rochester. Realizing that the smelting part of the process had been unprofitable, they erected a smelting furnace in Rochester to smelt the Blairton ore. The ore was mined and sorted by hand and then transported by the company owned railroad from the ore beds to the narrows on the Trent River (Hamlet of Trent River). The ore was then taken by steamer and barge to the Harwood Station on Rice Lake and again reloaded into rail cars for Cobourg where it was placed on scows and sent across Lake Ontario to the American smelter.

This company expanded a large amount of money reviewing the Old Cobourg Railroad in hopes that the notoriously rough route by road would be forgotten and expenditures lessened by using the railroad. This railroad built with a narrow gauge track formed part of the route over which the first engine to operate in Canada travelled. The locomotive known as the "Pioneer" had been shipped by water to Cobourg from Nova Scotia. (*Globe and Mail*, Tuesday, November 8, 1938).

The *Belleville Intelligencer* gives us another glimpse of the story of the Blairton mine at this time:

> We learn from a trustworthy source that the greatest activity now prevails along the Belmont portion of this new route [Cobourg and Marmora Railway]. Forty men are engaged in providing material and frame work or the wharf on the River Trent just above the narrows. Gangs of men are to be found at intervals along the track cutting out the railway or preparing ties, while eighty men are at work at the ore bed, removing the surface earth and preparing the approach for the track to the deposit of ore. It is said that 400 men will be required permanently to work in getting out the ore, loading the cars, etc., and as these men and their families will reside at the ore bed, the place will be one of considerable bustle and business during the approaching season. Already the adjacent property has been surveyed into village lots, and engraved plans of which is being prepared in which intending residents are already making investments. (*Belleville Intelligencer*, March 18, 1867).

Hopes and aspirations had again reached pinnacles of optimism as all eyes were focused on Blairton. The Belleville paper proclaimed Belmont Township most fortunate in "having such market provided at its very door, and still more fortunate in the possession of so much valuable treasure, which it is hoped will prove as inexhaustible as it is rich..." (*ibid*).

The activity centred around the ore beds themselves described by Sir William Logan, Director of Geology of Canada in 1863 as magnetic oxide (ore), very rich three tons yielding one ton of iron. Excellent cast can be made from this ore; the toughness and ductibility of what has been made there giving it a preference to the best iron. (*Sir William Logan, Geology of Canada*, 1863, p. 676).

The only paying ore beds were said to be the "Big Ore Bed", the others reportedly were filled with iron or copper pyrites and talanium. The main pit covered about one acre and was approximately 125' deep.

When work in the mine began, the village grew rapidly and the company built forty cottages for its employees. The business section was laid out in a big "H" which contained no less than seven general stores, two bakeshops, four hotels one of which was the Purdy House, Two Saloons, two boarding houses, a post office operated by Roger Bates, a school, a railway station, numerous liveries and blacksmith shops. (*Globe and Mail*, Tuesday November 8, 1938). The mine reached its peak from 1868 to 1873 with its most productive year being 1869 when 15,000 tons of ore were shipped to the United States. All the machinery used in the mining operation was steam powered. The mine manager at this time was John Aunger who made frequent trips to England in search of able bodied labourers to operate the mine, as enough local persons could not be obtained.

A directory of 1869 described Blairton as being 40 miles east of Peterborough and having a population of 500. Some of the residents at that time were: Roger Bates, first postmaster and agent of the C.P. and M.R.R.; W.W. Armstrong, baker, father of W.J. Armstrong of Campbellford and S.R. Armstrong of Peterborough; Thomas Bell, carpenter; Dr J. Brown; William Duff, shoemaker; Thomas Featherston, cabinet maker; Mrs Given, grocer; Rev. William Halstead of the Wesleyan Methodist Church; William Leach, butcher; Thomas R. Learmouth, general merchant; Andrew McBride, grocer; James Meikle, general merchant; Edmund Powell, butcher; Miss Mary Powell, teacher; Miss Elizabeth Rea, teacher; D.D. Scott, livery stable; William Shaw, clothier; Robert Sloan, general merchant; John Turner, general merchant; Gilbert Weller, hotel keeper; Levi Whitmarsh, livery stable; Dr. D. Wilson; William Wynn, builder.

The population of Blairton reached over 700 including more than 300 miners. In the summer of 1874 Blairton attracted such notable visitors as Earl Dufferin, Governor-General and Lady Dufferin who were guests of Colonel Chambliss. The couple were no doubt impressed as they toured the mining centre,

inspecting its working and visiting with some of the residents. It should also be noted that samples of Pig Iron made from the ores of Belmont by the Marmora Iron Company found their way and were shown to the world at the World's Fair in London, England in 1852.

Robert Unwin Harwood

Presented by, Henry Harwood

Robert Unwin Harwood was born in Sheffield, England in 1798 and came to Canada in the early 1820's to open a branch of the family business on St. Paul Street, Montreal. The business was known as William Harwood and Sons; merchants in cutlery, hardware, etc.

Louise Josephte Chartier de Lotbiniere, eldest daughter of Alain Chartier de Lotbiniere and Robert Unwin were married on 15th December 1823 by John Bethune, Rector of Christ Church, Montreal. She was twenty years old at the time and was seigneuresse de Vaudreuil but was not allowed to claim this inheritance until she reached the age of 25 years.

Robert Unwin Harwood had petitioned Lord Dalhousie for 200 acres of land in the Eastern Townships, but this marriage nullified the claim as the administration and development of the seigneury of Vaudreuil would be more than enough to handle. They lived in Montreal and in the Manor House in Vaudreuil. However, prior to taking over the stewardship here, Robert Unwin Harwood purchased various lots of land in Upper Canada which he later sold to his brother. One of these areas, Harwood, on Rice Lake, was named after him in 1855.

In 1829, as seigneur, he relieved Andre Dominique Pambrun of his duties as administrator and acted in his place. He met, at the notary's office, each one of his "censitaires" (there were 377 tenants from Cascades to Fief Cavagnal), and renewed all leases; none were increased but payment of arrears was demanded. In all, this amounted to about £2000. This being done, he was now assured of an annual minimum revenue of roughly £700 from his seigneury. That year he built a new Manor House made of stone, three stories high and measuring about 100 x 40 feet; this was surrounded by elm and linden trees as was the first manoir. It was situated near the Church in the area that is now known as Cite des Jeunes. This property was sold in the late 1860's and whilst being converted into a hotel it was destroyed by fire, another stone manoir was built behind the church and

cemetery, almost in line with the above mentioned. It housed his son's family (Robert William Harwood). This also succumbed to flames in the 1950's.

Robert Unwin Harwood was named Lieutenant Colonel of the Vaudreuil Militia which was rather an honourary title. His interests consisted of education, agriculture and communications of all kinds. Appointed to the Legislative Council of Lower Canada in 1832, he was probably instrumental, three years later, for the opening of the Post Offices in Rigaud and Vaudreuil. Member of the Improvement on Internal Navigation in the Province, he evidently impressed Lord Aylmer with his suggestion that a canal with locks be built at Ste Anne de Bellevue. About this time, plans were incorporated by Robert Unwin Harwood and others for a railway to run from Montreal to Pointe au Beaudet, but the unsettled political situation about 1837-38 put this and many other projects "on hold". People were skeptical when he had predicted that a railroad would pass through his seigneury to Upper Canada but this became a reality in 1854. He, with other, petitioned the Legislative Assembly for help to build a road from Vaudreuil-Ile Perrot ferry to Montreal. A Committee was formed to study roads on the western part of the Island of Montreal and when Robert Unwin Harwood was called upon, he strongly suggested a road through the centre of the Island, bridges at Ste Anne's and Vaudreuil, then continuing through his seigneury to Coteau, which was accomplished about one hundred years later - the 2/20 and the Trans-Canada Highway!

He was appointed to the Commission Respecting the Division Line between Upper and Lower Canada but resigned, due to the fact that his lands were situated on the very Line in question.

During the 1837-38 events Robert Unwin Harwood no doubt was opposed to the patriotes and as a member of the Legislative Council there was nothing else he could do. To his credit, he remained very "low key" but in a state of alert. According to anonymous notes in the possession of R.L. Seguin of Rigaud, we find: "all the Harwood children sleep with their clothes on, coats and hats close at hand, mother with her pistol handy and horse and carriage in the stable ready at all times to bring the family close to the troops stationed at Ste Anne's". At the peak of the agitation, people of Vaudreuil said that the Seigneuresse would not attend mass on Sunday but "Proud as she was, she ordered her carriage and

was driven to church, armed with her pistol. A group of patriotes are standing at the front of the church, she strides past and no attempt is made to stop her and nothing is said". The author concludes that even though she did not share the same political views, her censitaires could not but admire her courage. Robert Unwin Harwood was probably not a favourite among the strong headed patriotes or hard headed Tories, but his reputation remained unblemished.

Tales from the old old days also relate that during the days of the Rebellion, British troops stayed at the manoir for several days and that at another time, Charlebois, one of the head patriots, took refuge there and was hidden from the troops searching for him.

In 1839, Robert Unwin Harwood was appointed to the Special Council, replacing the Legislature and voted for the union of Upper and Lower Canada. During this period he devoted much of his time to road transportation and proposed many amendments to the highway laws.

Having learned that the Government intended to build a plank road between Cascades and Upper Canada, a distance of about 15 miles and being the sole proprietor on all the mill rights in Vaudreuil, he built a very large saw mill and a grist mill at Cascades. He also owned, at the site of the old Manoir, the "Moulin Banal", but the water power at the spot would not have been sufficient in summertime.

Also during that time Robert Unwin Harwood reported to Lord Durham that education needed some improvement. A school house was built in Vaudreuil (now the Musee Regional Vaudreuil-Soulanges), a lovely structure, two stories high that was a gift of George Moffat, a wealthy merchant from Montreal and a former colleague of Robert Unwin Harwood on the Legislative and Special Councils. No one seems to know why a Tory gentleman, who owned property locally, decided to open a school in these parts - did Robert Unwin Harwood have anything to do with this? Quite possibly. It was more like an Academy than a school, not Protestant, yet it was not staffed by Catholic priests. It was a great asset to the community.

The cornerstone of St James Church, the first Anglican church in the seigneury was laid on 24th August, 1842. Hon. Robert Unwin Harwood was present and made a fine speech to mark this special occasion and ended by a presentation of £10 for the Building Fund, this "in addition to his former liberal and generous subscription". The Harwood's generosity did not stop there. The Roman Catholic church was also greatly assisted. When "La Congregation des Soeurs de Ste-Anne" was founded in Vaudreuil in 1848, the family contributed financially as well as ceding a parcel of land upon which the first convent was erected around the 1850's. The former site is now a small park with lovely trees and a wrought iron fence all around it and in the centre is a plaque in memory of Esther Blondin, the founder of the Order.

In 1843, Robert Unwin Harwood was nominated Vice-President of the Anglican Church Society and a Member of the Central Board. He also belonged to a Masonic Lodge but was not very active.

His political life was varied. Unsuccessful in Vaudreuil elections in 1845, 1851, and 1854, he finally won in 1858 and was elected to the Assembly as Member for Vaudreuil. He resigned in 1860 and was elected by acclamation to the Legislative Council of United Canada for Rigaud. He was one of the few who could boast to have been a Member of the Legislative Council prior to the Rebellion. He finally accepted the position of Justice of the Peace, having declined this on at least three previous occasions.

From the end of 1846 to 1853 the Seigneuresse and her husband decided to commute the Seigneury of Vaudreuil into free and common soccage under the provisions of the Imperial Acts. The Seigniorial Tenure Bill was passed in 1854.

On April 12th 1863, in the Legislative Council, the Honourable Speaker having been advised of the death of the Hon. Robert Unwin Harwood resolved that out of respect to his memory, "That the House, do now adjourn". Motion was carried.

The next generation of Harwoods carried on in its father's footsteps, Lieutenant Colonel Antoine was MLA in 1863 and a member of the Provincial House of

Assembly in the years 1867-71. Robert William was in the Federal Parliament in 1872 and 1874 as well as being mayor of the Parish of Vaudreuil from 1864 to 1870.

Henry S. was postmaster for Montreal and in the Federal Government in 1891 and 1893, member of the House of Commons in 1896 and 1900 and was also the mayor of the Parish of Vaudreuil from 1870 to 1882.

One of Robert William's sons Charles A. de L. Harwood, Q.C. and his family lived in Vaudreuil and was followed by his son Henry who is now a permanent resident. Three of the latter's children also inhabit the area, Suzanne, Henri and Carol Harwood Farkas. The latest leaf on the family tree is Katherine Harwood Farkas who attends l'Ecole primaire Harwood (Lakeshore School Board) in Dorion Gardens, so named in honour of her great-great-great grandfather, Honourable Robert Unwin Harwood, the last seigneur of Vaudreuil.

(Note: Text from *Hudson Historical Society, Pioneer Families, Volume V, pages 22-29*).

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Bob Watson, is the author of "The Broken Twig" a history of Belmont Township. Some members may have heard him talking on CBC Radio recently about the closure of the Codrington Fish Hatchery.

Suzanne Ambrose-Atkinson, has worked at the *Saturday Morning Post*. She has also worked as a reporter at the *Cobourg Daily Star*.

Henry Harwood of Vaudreuil, Quebec, is a descendant of Robert Unwin Harwood, who purchased lots on Rice Lake in the 1820's. He is a founder of the Historical Society of Vaudreuil and is a current member of the Historical Society of Hudson, Quebec.