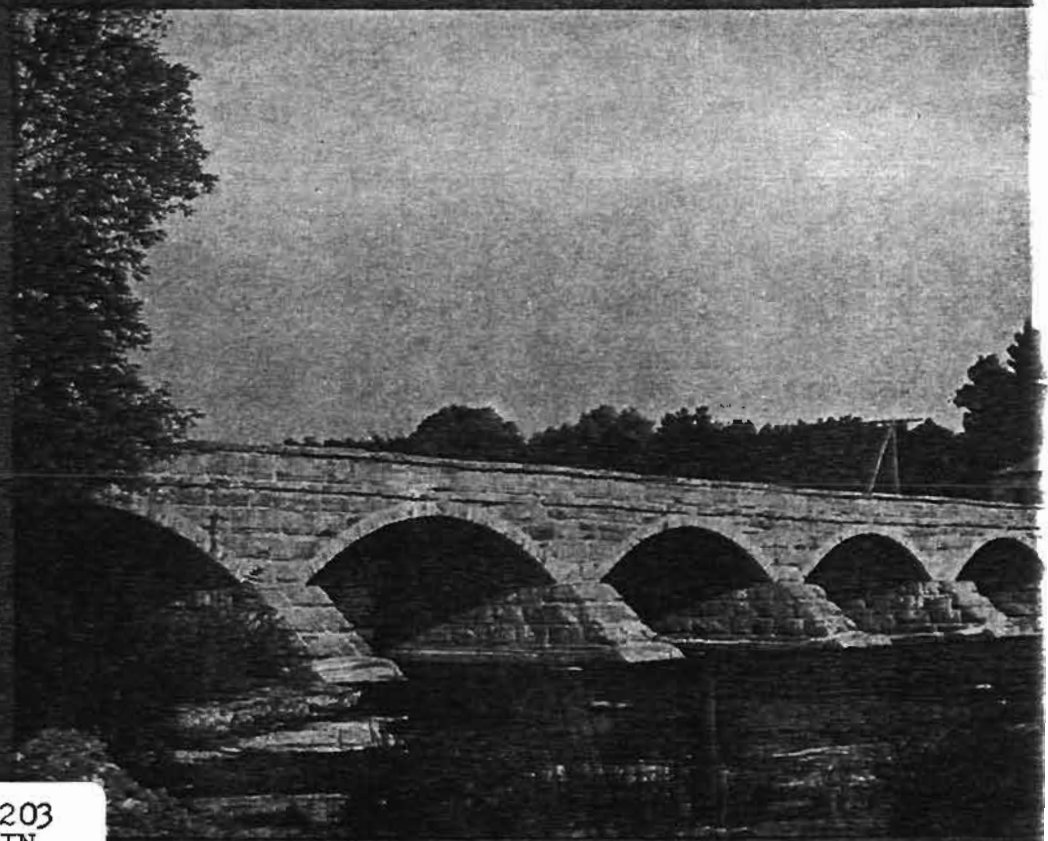
PAKENHAM 1823-1860

1823-1860



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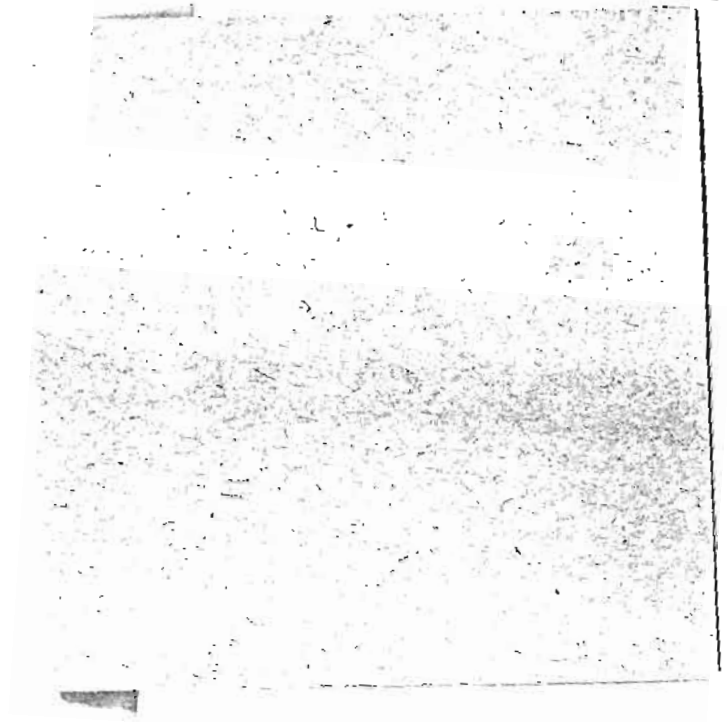

the Shield. By now, in those settlements with sufficient agricultural land of good quality, the settler had become firmly established. Clearings grew to the stature of farms; herds of cattle and flocks of sheep multiplied; the horse replaced the ox as a beast of burden. Farmer and village tradesman became increasingly interdependent, and the future of the villages seemed assured.

But once again change swept the Valley. The tributaries of the Ottawa, their banks shorn of the best of the big timbers, were no longer choked with logs. Instead, the waterfalls were powering full-blown factories that turned out quantities of yard goods, tools, implements, and home furnishings, supplanting the work of the small craftsmen. Some of the villages grew with their new industries to become prosperous towns. In others, craftsmen were crowded out; tradesmen vanished; mills fell silent, crumbled, and disappeared. But sometimes the villages remained.

Pakenham, on the Mississippi River, is one of these. Its history is the story of the changing way of life in the Upper Ottawa Valley throughout the years when the villages remained the focal points of the rural areas around them.

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THE RUNGE PRESS LIMITED
OTTAWA

MISSISSIPPI PUBLISHERS

OTTAWA VALLEY VILLAGE

Throughout the Upper Ottawa Valley the infant villages of Upper Canada established where waterfalls provided suitable sites were profoundly affected by the presence and character of the Canadian Shield. For, along the Mississippi, the Madawaska, the Bonnechere, and the Petawawa rivers, one of the limiting factors to settlement and growth was the great horseshoe of rock that fans out from Hudson Bay.

At first these lonely outposts had only a sawmill or a gristmill, a trader's cabin, and perhaps a tavern. Here the simple needs of the early settler were met and, as his clearings grew, he became more and more dependent upon the little settlement.

The Shield was rich in timber and often the villages became the homes of the great lumber barons. The tempo of life increased. Through the slides at the falls plunged great sticks of timber on their long, hazardous journey to Quebec. Woodsmen and rivermen had to be fed, clothed, and provided with tools; settlers became shanty-farmers supplying the lumber camps not only with seasonal labour but with food and fodder. To take care of the increasing demands of lumberer, shantyman, and settler, the villages grew and attracted more and more tradesmen and a variety of craftsmen—joiners, cabinet makers, wagon makers, coopers, tinsmiths, saddlers, blacksmiths, weavers, tailors, and shoemakers.

As the years passed, the lumberman moved farther and farther up

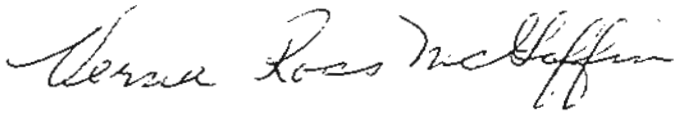
PRICE: $5.00

PAKENHAM

Ottawa Valley Village

1823-1860

VERNA ROSS McGIFFIN



MISSISSIPPI PUBLISHERS

PAKENHAM, ONTARIO

1963

First Printing
June 1963

"he who builds a village, if not a greater, is at least a *better* man than he who destroys an empire." Thomas Macqueen, 1847.

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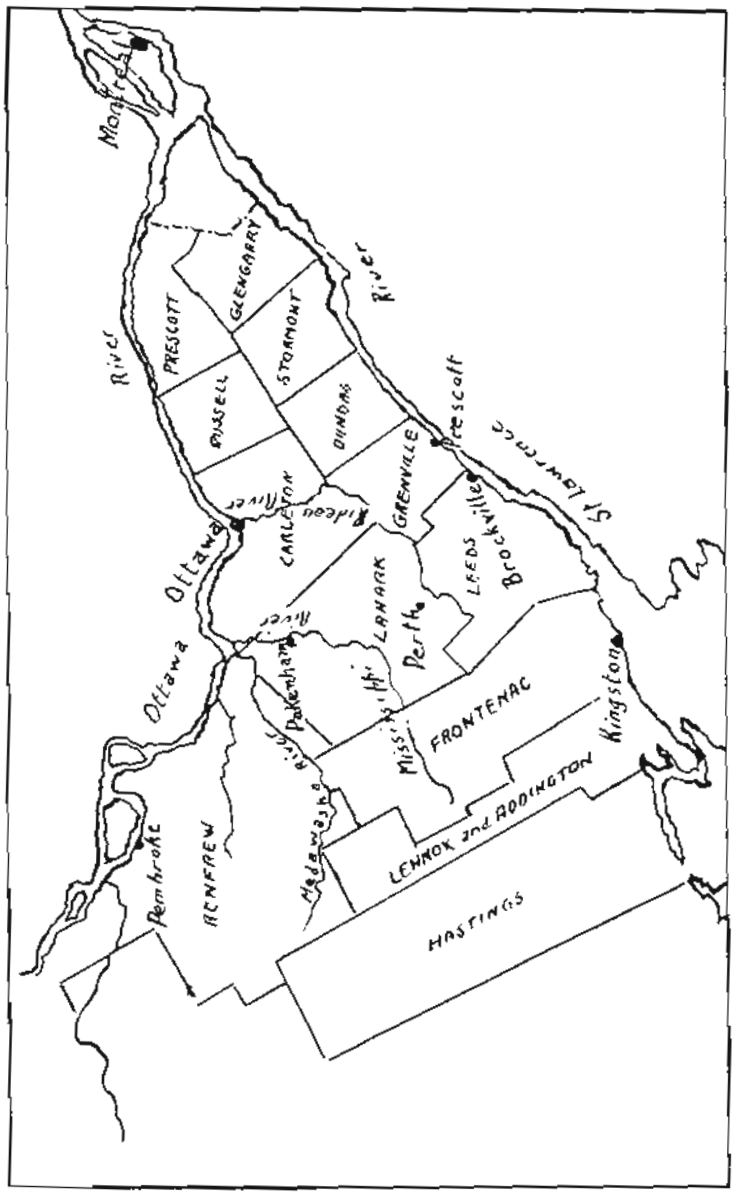

PAKENHAM IS IN THE NORTH CORNER OF LANARK COUNTY, ONTARIO. Most of the early settlers came to Pakenham Township by way of the St. Lawrence, travelling overland from Prescott and Brockville to the Mississippi River and down that stream. The alternative route was up the Ottawa River to the mouth of the Mississippi and thence up that river to Pakenham.

PREFACE

This account of the early days of Pakenham Village is based on a study of original documents in various archives and libraries. (Where the story is concerned with other than the Pakenham area, I have relied on secondary sources when these were available.) Newspapers of the periods concerned and letters, diaries, journals, and books written by individuals who actually lived in the times of which they wrote, were consulted. Records of a century ago are at best fragmentary, however, and it is difficult to weave from them a balanced story. If it appears that undue attention has been given to some individuals and institutions, to the neglect of others equally deserving, it is simply because in the one case information was available and in the other it was not.

Much time and effort has been spent in trying to locate material that might broaden the scope of the study. Some families, however, have little interest in their forebears and historically valuable documents have consequently been lost. Other families, and fortunately the descendants of Andrew Dickson are among them, have cherished a wealth of records, photographs, and mementos. These they have generously shared, to the great enrichment of this history. Similarly some institutions have carefully preserved documents relating to their past; others have not.

But regardless of its existence, source material cannot, of course, be made available without the assistance of archivists, librarians, and other skilled keepers of records. I am deeply indebted, therefore, to the staffs of the Public Archives of Canada, the Ontario Archives, various universities, many departments of Government, the National Library and other libraries in Ottawa, and the Douglas Library of Queen's University, Kingston. County, township, and church officials, as well as private citizens in Pakenham and elsewhere in Ontario, have been equally helpful and their cooperation is gratefully acknowledged.

I owe a special debt to Dr. Alice E. Wilson, who supplied the information from which the section on the geology of the township was prepared, and to Mr. J. V. Wright who provided the basic material for the section on the archaeology of the area.

Most of the quoted material has been taken from handwritten documents or from newspapers of the times. Discrepancies, particularly in the spelling of names, were so common that errors in names, spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been reproduced in this history just as I found them, without comment except where the possibility of misinterpretation existed. No doubt there are also errors of my own making and, if so, I would be pleased to have these drawn to my attention.

June, 1963

V. McG.

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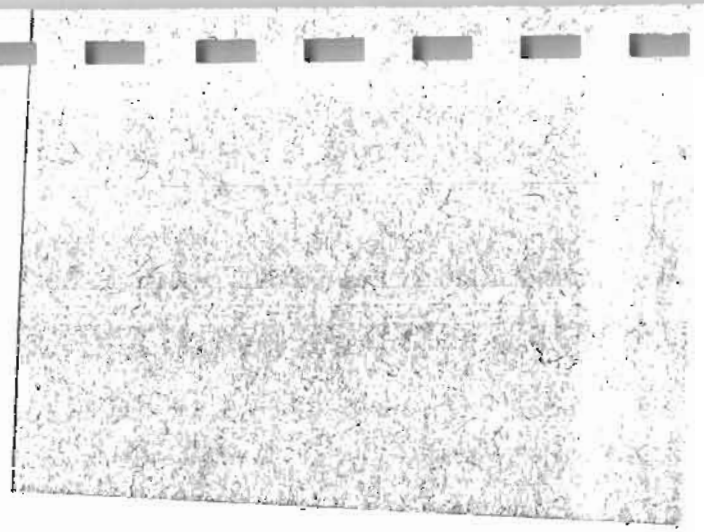


PAKENHAM

Ottawa Valley Village

1823-1860

I

PRELUDE TO SETTLEMENT

1: *The Village Pattern*

Pakenham Village is on the Mississippi River near the edge of the Canadian Shield,[1] in a township whose land mass is largely of unyielding Precambrian rock and partly of agricultural lowland. In this situation it was bound to be affected by the character of the Shield as were so many villages of the Upper Ottawa Valley. For, along the Mississippi, the Madawaska, the Bonnechere, and the Petawawa rivers, one of the limiting factors to settlement and growth was the great horseshoe of rock that fans out from Hudson Bay.

Not all villages felt the impact of the Shield to the same degree. Some, sustained for a time by settlers who had been deceived by the magnificent pine forests, sparkling lakes, and turbulent streams, were deserted when these same settlers admitted defeat and abandoned their unproductive holdings. Other villages, spawned by the timber trade, perished with its decline. Some, inland from the rivers, could not compete in the factory era. Still others, like Pakenham, supported by sufficient agricultural land to bridge the lean years between the boom days of the timber trade and the advent of water-powered factories, survived to a serene maturity.

In the early 1800's, when the rivers were the only highways, it was natural that where waterfalls provided suitable sites enterprising pioneers should establish tiny centres of industry and trade. These lonely outposts, with a gristmill or a sawmill, a trader's cabin, and perhaps a tavern, filled an urgent need. Where once grain had been ground in primitive fashion, the settler now carried it on his back to the mill at the falls, leaving a portion in payment for the few articles he could not make. As his clearings grew and his needs increased in variety and quantity, he became more and more dependent upon the little settlement.

The Canadian Shield was rich in timber, and the village by the waterfall frequently became headquarters for one or more of the great lumber barons. Wherever they established homes the tempo of of life increased, for their presence and their activities stimulated the infant economy. Through the slide at the falls plunged the great sticks of timber on their long, hazardous journey to Quebec. The

shantymen and rivermen responsible for their hewing and driving had to be fed, clad, and supplied with tools; when they came out of the woods and up from the rivers they spend money recklessly. The settler, too, contributed to the new prosperity. He could now supplement his income by working in the bush in the off seasons; he could dispose of his farm produce to the shanties.

As a natural outgrowth of the needs of lumberer, shantyman, and settler the villages grew and attracted a variety of craftsmen. The screaming sawmill supplied lumber to the village carpenter, the cabinet maker, wagon maker, and cooper to be made into homes, furniture, sturdy machines, and a multitude of wooden containers —barrels, firkins, buckets—that were in constant demand. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and axe makers brought in raw materials and plied their trades along the muddy roads or beside the river bank. Where before the humble homes of the settlers had served, churches and schools now provided the meeting places.

As the years passed, the lumberman moved farther and farther up the Shield. But by now, in those settlements with sufficient agricultural land of good quality, the settler had become firmly established. Clearings grew to the stature of farms; herds of cattle and flocks of sheep multiplied; the horse replaced the ox as a beast of burden. Farmer and village tradesman became increasingly interdependent, and the future of the villages seemed assured. The tradesman relied on the farmer to purchase his wares, to supply staples of food for himself and his family, and to provide some of the raw materials of his trade. The farmer, in turn, looked to the tradesman to relieve him of tasks once performed in his own cabin. The village tanner transformed his cowhides into leather; the saddler and the shoemaker shaped the leather into harness and shoes. The village carding mill and the fulling mill took over the wool from his flocks, and weavers, tailors, and seamstresses manufactured clothing for the farm family.

But once again change swept the Valley. The tributaries of the Ottawa, their banks shorn of the best of the big timbers, were no longer choked with logs. Instead, at every waterfall, these streams were powering full-blown factories that turned out countless yards of cloth, hundreds of tools and implements, and a variety of home furnishings, supplanting the work of the small craftsmen. Some of the villages, of course, grew with their industries to become prosperous towns; others did not. In some, the craftsmen were crowded out never to return; the tradesmen vanished one by one; the mills

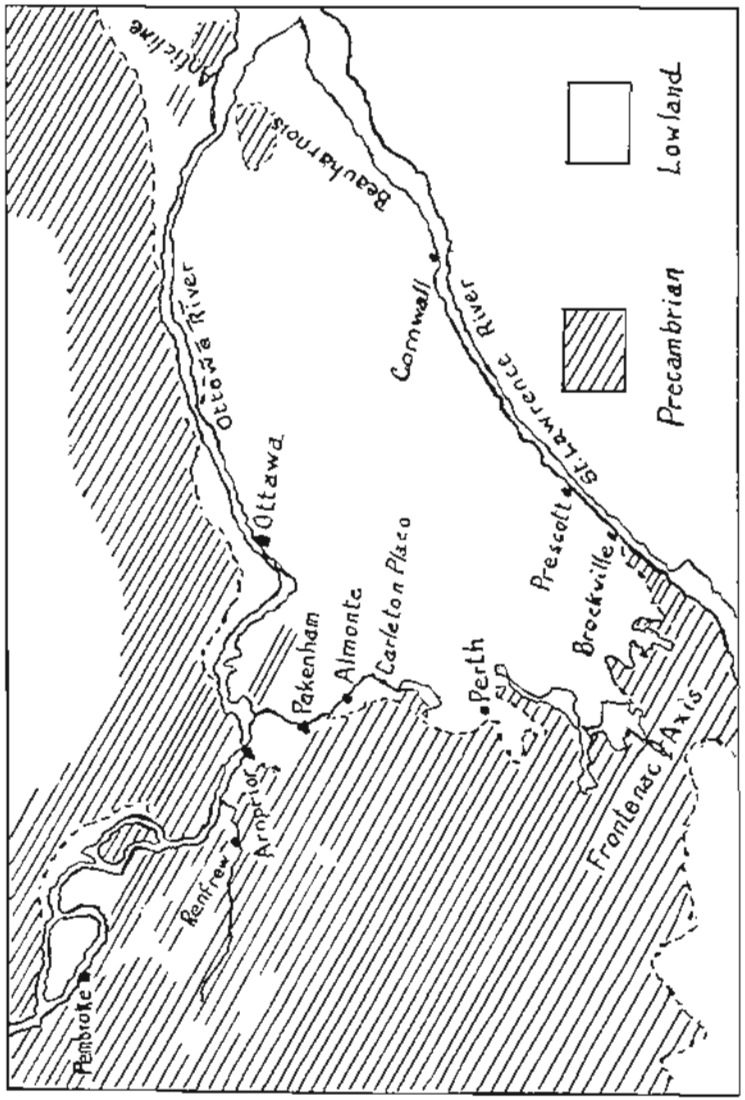
fell silent, crumbled, and disappeared. But sometimes the villages remained. Pakenham on the Mississippi is one of these. Its history is the story of the changing way of life in the Upper Ottawa Valley throughout the years when the villages remained the focal points of the rural areas around them.

2: *Physical Features of Pakenham Township*

Pakenham Township, in which Pakenham is the only village, is said to have been named for Sir Edward Michael Pakenham, a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington. It was surveyed in 1822 by John Booth under the direction of Reuben Sherwood, and is ten miles square, with the four corners pointing almost directly west, south, east, and north; the north corner is less than three miles from the Ottawa River. The township is bordered on the northwest by McNab Township, of Renfrew County; on the southwest and southeast by Darling and Ramsay, of Lanark County; and on the northeast by Fitzroy, of Carleton County. Cornering it are Bagot, of Renfrew County, on the west; Lanark, of Lanark County, on the south; and Huntley, of Carleton County, on the east. At one time Pakenham Township was part of the old District of Bathurst, but on modern maps it appears in the north corner of Lanark County.

The early surveyors retained the Indian names of the waterways. They noted the large irregular bay of Wa-ba-lak (White Lake)[1] that isolates a few hundred acres in the west corner of the township. They sketched in Wa-ba-lak's River (Waba Creek) flowing from the main body of the lake and entering the township midway on its northwestern border to form an arc across the north corner. They saw that the Madawaska River also took a tiny bite from the north corner before gathering in the waters of Wa-ba-lak's River on its way to the Grand (Ottawa). They charted, too, the course of the Mississippi River, entering the township from the southeast, crossing the east corner, and flowing out midway on the northeast border through Fitzroy to ultimately join the Grand some three miles below the mouth of the Madawaska. They probably explored the many tributary brooks of the Indian River (Indian Creek),* some draining the south part of the township and others

*Throughout this history the names Indian Creek and Indian River are synonymous and refer to the stream that flows through Pakenham Township, except where otherwise noted.



THE OTTAWA-ST. LAWRENCE LOWLAND IN RELATION TO THE CANADIAN SHIELD. Pakenham Village is in the Lowland near the edge of the Shield. The first invasion of the sea came into the area over the Beauharnois Anticline, the third over the Frontenac Axis.

reaching into northwest Pakenham. And they no doubt exclaimed at the precipitous plunge of the main stream of the Indian River over the ledges of limestone a half mile from its mouth on the Mississippi.

As they dragged their chains over rocky hills and through the valleys the surveyors were probably unaware that they were treading the oldest rocks in the world. But they could not fail to note the extent of this high ridge of rough land (Pakenham Mountain)[2] covering as it does much of the central and southwestern portions and stretching in a broad diagonal from west to east across more than three quarters of the township. They may, too, have stumbled on the outcrop of sandstone along the Mississippi, midway between the mouth of the Indian River and the falls a few miles downstream, little dreaming that they were encountering an ancient seashore. And they must have had difficulty in establishing their markers in the limestone along the Indian River, around the falls on the Mississippi, and in northwest Pakenham, no doubt unaware that here, too, was evidence of an ancient sea.

3: *Geological History of the Area*[1]

The pattern of hills, valleys, and streams that the surveyors found in Pakenham Township was established and modified by a number of major events covering thousands of millions of years. The Pakenham Mountain with its ancient Precambrian rocks is the oldest feature of the landscape and its formation was the first great event. Stupendous forces were expended in its creation. Invasions of the sea, great upheavals and settlings of the earth's surface, as well as violent volcanic eruptions, contributed. Next came a long erosional period, lasting hundreds of millions of years, during which the Precambrian rocks were being worn down. Following this, the Ottawa-St. Lawrence Lowland, in which most of the fertile soil of Pakenham Township lies, was formed between the Adirondacks and the eastern Canadian Shield. As part of this great Shield, Pakenham Mountain forms a section of the western boundary of the Lowland.

There followed seven invasions of the sea into the Lowland and at least two, the first and the third, partially inundated Pakenham Township. The first invasion came in from the east between 450 and 550 million years ago. It dissolved the solubles of the Lowland and deposited the insoluble sand along its west-

ward-advancing shore. It left the ridge of sandstone near the west shore of the Mississippi River midway between Indian Creek and the present Pakenham Village. The third invasion, more than 300 million years ago, is thought to have come in from the southwest and it, too, left unmistakable marks. It deposited the limestone (Leray beds) of the quarry near the bridge at Pakenham Village, laid down the limestone rocks along the Mississippi River and Indian Creek, and formed the great beds of limestone that lie exposed on the border of Pakenham and McNab townships.

After the seventh invasion the Lowland again rose slowly above sea level and the waters receded. The erosional period that followed altered the whole face of the Lowland more than once during some 300 million years. Strains and stresses of the earth's crust caused great cracks; sections of the land dropped far out of their original positions; weathering wore down the peaks of the mountains and eroded sedimentary rocks; rivers carved out valleys; and volcanoes erupted close enough to the basin of the Lowland to disturb and alter its character.

The next dramatic change came when glaciers moved over the north of the continent. The peaks of the Pakenham Mountain, eroded through several hundreds of millions of years, were gouged off, broken up, and carried southward, so that only the cores and roots of the old mountains remain. In some places the glaciers were a mile thick, and this great weight depressed the northern part of the continent. So, once again, some 30 to 40 thousand years ago, the sea came in. It advanced up the St. Lawrence Valley, spread southward into the Champlain Valley, and northward into the Ottawa-St. Lawrence Lowland. This invasion reached far into Pakenham Township; when the waters retreated they left deposits of sand among the hills, marking the boundaries of the Champlain Sea.

The geological character of the area was thus determined; the greater part of what was to become Pakenham Township lay on the inhospitable Canadian Shield, the remainder in the fertile Ottawa-St. Lawrence Lowland.

4: *The Aborigines*[1]

The first inhabitants of whom there is any trace in the area were probably of the Indian groups designated "Archaic" and were represented in the Ottawa Valley (about 2500 B.C. to 1000 B.C.)

by the Laurentian Culture. These people did no farming; they had no pottery; and they probably lived in bark houses. Nomadic by nature, they made their living by fishing, hunting, and food-gathering and, of necessity, made maximum use of their environment. They used the atlatl, a throwing board with a notch in the end, to project their flint-tipped wooden spears.

Next came the Early, Middle, and Late Woodland groups. Early Woodland groups were rare in Ontario, and no evidence of their culture has been found in the area surrounding the present Pakenham Township. The Middle Woodland group was represented in the Ottawa Valley by the Point Peninsula Culture (about 400 B.C. to A.D. 600). The people of this culture were similar to the Archaic groups, but their tools were different. They made pottery in many designs, and their weapons were the atlatl and the bow and arrow. It is thought that the living pattern of these peoples was like that of the historic Algonquins in that they lived in family bands in winter and in groups of family bands in summer. Year after year a group of the same family bands, comprising probably 30 or 40 people, would assemble each spring at the same spot, usually near a waterfall where fish could be speared easily. Here, until winter, the group led a communal life, fishing, hunting, food-gathering, contracting marriages, and burying their dead. With the approach of winter, they dispersed into small family bands that might include a father, his two sons, and their families. The father controlled the band.

The margin of the Canadian Shield, of course, runs through Pakenham Township and in the Late Woodland period, up to the coming of the white man, this area was probably the dividing line between the Algonquins of the Shield and the Onondaga tribe of the Iroquois on the more fertile land to the south. No doubt the Algonquins on the Shield continued to be hunters, trappers, and food-gatherers, while those closer to their southern neighbours perhaps learned the agricultural pursuits of the Iroquois.

From 1600 onward Pakenham Township was definitely a part of the huge area that was thinly populated by the Algonquins; the Iroquois, who were farmers, could not exist on the Shield. The township may indeed have been a No-Man's-Land with the Algonquins living in their small bark houses in the bush to the north, the Iroquois in their longhouses in pallisaded villages to the south.

Some of the Algonquins may have been building larger houses in imitation of their neighbours; certainly they borrowed some of their pottery patterns from the Iroquois. Some, too, following the example of the Iroquois, became incipient farmers, growing corn on pockets of land that were fit for agriculture, while continuing to trap, hunt, and gather food. All engaged in the fur trade. They used the bow and arrow, bark and skin vessels for cooking and storage, and, of course, the birch bark canoe. By the 1820's, when the first settlers moved into Pakenham Township, most of these Algonquin families had disappeared from the area.

II

DAYS OF SETTLEMENT

1: *The Background of Settlement*[1]

Not far from the point where the Mississippi River flows through the northeast border of Pakenham Township there is a modest waterfall. Here, in 1823, on the site of the future village of Pakenham, Robert Harvey,[2] Gentleman, erected mills and a potash works. But it was in the political, economic, and social conditions of the early years of the 19th Century and in the colonial policies of the British Government following the turbulent years of the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812-14, that the village really had its genesis.

For generations the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes had been a busy thoroughfare carrying fur-trader, explorer, gentleman adventurer, and missionary, but prior to 1783 the region that was to become Upper Canada was virtually empty except for a few Indians. By 1812, however, it contained some seventy or eighty thousand inhabitants. These settlers were strung along "the Front;" few early farms were far from the great waterway. Between Montreal and Kingston the area had been settled by United Empire Loyalists, Glengarry Highlanders, and American citizens. A host of others, chiefly Americans, had established taverns, schools, shops, and businesses in the centres of population, while still others became wandering shoemakers, pedlars, or preachers. The mass migration from beyond the seas was to begin later and flow up the St. Lawrence and out into the back settlements. Until mid-century it was to bring increasing numbers of settlers—a few hundreds in 1820, in 1825 a few thousand, some 28,000 in 1830, a peak of 52,000 in 1832, and, after considerable ebb and flow in the tide, a second peak of 100,000 in 1846.[3]

The stage for this unprecedented emigration had been set by the Industrial Revolution, famine, and war. The Napoleonic Wars and the attendant blockades, in forcing Britain to rely on her North American colonies for timber, had made available a tremendous potential of space in ships returning empty to the St. Lawrence. The successful prosecution of the War of 1812-14 had preserved for Britain almost unlimited acreages of land for settlement. These

basic requirements of transportation and land made emigration possible. The motives that impelled the players across the broad and exciting stage were distilled of many varied and complex factors.

In the 1800's emigration fever was in the very air.[4] Public speakers, newspapers, and letters from earlier immigrants eloquently described British North America as the land of prosperity where every man might be his own master. The prospect was a bright dream to the depressed and downtrodden thousands who struggled hopelessly, against conditions created by the Industrial Revolution, to provide a decent social position for themselves and an assured future for their children. Unemployment aggravated by scores of disbanded troops following the wars, widespread hunger in the wake of crop failures, and religious persecutions fanned the dream of escape into an obsession and sent thousands to the seaports to swell the return cargo of the timber ships. Shipping companies, seaport towns, and carrying companies, swift to capitalize on the possibility of gain, added their efforts to speed the emigrants from Britain's shores.

Stage managers in this great drama of emigration were the officials who shaped the colonial policies of the British Government and the men, both in England and Canada, who administered them.[5] Among these, in England, in the 1820's were Lord Bathurst, who prior to 1828 was Secretary for War and the Colonies, and Sir Robert John Wilmot Horton, who in 1821 was appointed Under Secretary of State in the same administration. Horton, in particular, was a proponent of emigration to the Canadas at this period feeling, as he did, that it would serve to relieve poverty and unemployment at home and provide labour in the colonies. In Canada, from 1819 to 1828, Lord Dalhousie as Governor-in-Chief of the colonies, and for almost the same period (1818-1828) Sir Peregrine Maitland as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, were equally concerned, not only with emigration but with the general administration of the Canadas. And with Maitland at York was Major Hillier, his secretary, upon whose shoulders fell many of the problems of the early settlers.

Among the Upper Canada officials few were better known during the days of settlement in Pakenham Township than the Honourable Peter Robinson. Robinson was born in New Brunswick in 1785, but his parents came to Upper Canada in 1792, settling first at Kingston and in 1798 at York. He had distinguished himself in the War of 1812-14, and in 1817 was elected to the Legislative

Assembly of Upper Canada for the east riding of York. In 1823, 1824, and 1825 he was charged with carrying out the emigration schemes of the British Government. In 1827 he was appointed Commissioner of Crown Lands with a seat in the Executive and Legislative Councils, where he continued until 1836.

Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Cockburn, as assistant Quartermaster-General at Quebec, was also well known to incoming emigrants. So, too, were the local administrators—William Marshall, Superintendent of the Military Settlement at Lanark; George T. Burke, who held the corresponding position at Richmond; and John H. Powell of the Bathurst District Land Board at Perth.

2: *The Military Settlements*[1]

After the War of 1812-14 two pressing problems facing the authorities were to secure the vulnerable Front from further attack and to make some disposition of troops no longer required on active service. To achieve these objectives it was considered advisable to establish a second line of defence at a safe distance inland from the St. Lawrence. This second line was to be comprised of disbanded soldiers and other loyal settlers who could be depended upon to provision the troops with the produce of their farms, or could be called upon as reinforcements in the event of an outbreak of hostilities. To this end Military Settlements were located at what seemed strategic points in the hinterlands of Upper Canada.

The first of these was established in 1816 at Perth, on the Tay River. Many of the settlers who made Perth their home came from Scotland in answer to an offer made by His Majesty's Government in 1815. Upon the deposit of £16 for persons above 16 years of age, and two guineas for wives, applicants of good character were to receive free passage from Scotland, a grant of 100 acres of land, rations for some months after their arrival at their locations, and certain other concessions by way of implements, seed, and bedding.

According to the *Quebec Gazette,* September 7, 1815, three shiploads of Scottish settlers arrived at Quebec on September 4. The ship *Atlas,* which had sailed from Greenock on July 11, carried 245 men, women, and children; the *Dorothy* sailing the next day brought 202 settlers; and the *Baltic Merchant,* which left Greenock on July 14, carried 144. A fourth vessel, the *Eliza,* whose sailing had been delayed until August 6, arrived at Quebec on October 1 with 123 passengers (*Quebec Gazette,* October 5, 1815).

From Quebec the Scottish settlers travelled by steamboat to Montreal, where a number remained; by wagon to Lachine; and by bateau up the St. Lawrence. Some did not proceed beyond Cornwall; others went on to Kingston; but many remained at Brockville, where, since the season was far advanced, they spent the winter. In the spring the survey of the new townships that were to be their home was commenced, and the settlers, together with discharged soldiers and sleighloads of stores and supplies, were moved inland in March to the depot at Perth on the Tay. In the years that followed, their numbers were augmented by other disbanded soldiers, further influxes of settlers, and private individuals and their families, coming, as did the Reverend William Bell, first Presbyterian minister at Perth, on special missions.

Since there was as yet no settlement between the new townships and the Ottawa River, incoming settlers continued to use the St. Lawrence route, some treking many miles overland toward the Ottawa in search of their lands, carrying their supplies from the depot at Perth. The need for another depot was obvious—preferably one closer to the Ottawa so that it would be feasible to bring in settlers by that waterway. This need was emphasized by the intention of the military authorities to demobilize one of the regiments stationed at Quebec and offer its men lands in the Rideau River country. Although, like the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa had for centuries been well known to Indian, fur-trader, explorer, and missionary, it was remote from the main stream of traffic and few settlers had used this route. A notable exception was Philemon Wright,[2] who came up river at the beginning of the century and established himself and his followers not far from the Chaudiere Falls. The landing below these falls was now to be the debarkation point for the second Military Settlement to be established inland on the River Jock. This settlement was to be named for the Duke of Richmond who was soon to take over the office of Governor General of the Canadas.

The depot had still to be established when the regiment was demobilized, and the soldiers and their families waited at Lachine while a small party proceeded to the site of the new settlement. Late in the summer of 1818 the main body of settlers came up the Ottawa to Richmond Landing at the foot of the Chaudiere Falls. Here the wives and families remained encamped while the men proceeded to cut roads, transport supplies, and complete the establishment at Richmond. Like the settlers at Perth, those at Richmond

received grants of land and free transport to their locations. They also received army rations for the first twelve months, and certain tools and supplies. Thus the Ottawa route to the new settlement was established, and Philemon Wright with his men and teams enjoyed an extensive carrying business from Richmond Landing over the route of the present Richmond Road.

Meanwhile in Scotland the plight of the weavers, particularly of Glasgow, was becoming acute. Discharged soldiers returning from the wars had taken up their former occupations, greatly increasing the number of weavers, and at the same time the demand for their products had dwindled. Representations were made from the Scottish counties of Lanark and Renfrew for assistance in emigrating to Upper Canada. As a result, sponsored by Scottish societies and assisted by the Government, a group of settlers sailed in 1820 on the *Commerce*, the *Prompt*, and the *Broke*. They travelled up the St. Lawrence from Quebec to Prescott and overland to Perth. Here some remained over winter but others went on into the forests beyond to found the third Military Settlement, Lanark. In the following year, the ships *George Canning, Earl of Buckinghamshire, Commerce*, and *David of London* sailed for the new land with 1,883 settlers, many of them destined for Lanark. They, too, travelled over the traditional St. Lawrence route, and in July 1821 the Reverend William Bell noted in his journal that wagons and settlers were constantly passing through Perth on their way to Lanark.

During the period between the establishment of the Military Settlements of Perth and Richmond, several enterprising citizens had located along the west side of the Ottawa River a considerable distance above Philemon Wright's settlement. Charles Shirreff,[3] a man of some means, had taken his family to a spot near the mouth of the Carp River. Many of the early settlers who subsequently came to Fitzroy Township were dependent upon the Shirreff operations during their pioneering years. Farther down the Ottawa,[4] a group of army and navy half-pay officers who, according to an old account, were more concerned with a fine landscape and good hunting grounds than with the fertility of the soil, established a colony. Hamnett Pinhey, an English merchant, was also attracted by the beautiful scenery and settled in the area. Pinhey, like Shirreff, was a man of means, and his industry and enterprise stimulated settlement not only in March, the township in which he had settled, but also in the neighbouring townships of Torbolton and Fitzroy.

3: *Early Travellers and Settlers*

By 1822, therefore, settlement was inching its way from the Ottawa River on the north, and the Military Settlements on the south and east, toward the unsurveyed lands that were to become Pakenham Township. As yet, however, much of the area was an empty wilderness. An account of an early expedition made by the sons of Charles Shirreff of Fitzroy states that "In the winter of 1821-22 his two sons, having heard of a military colony being settled in Lanark, procured the company of two brothers . . . who were half-breeds, and sons of an officer in charge of the Nor'-West Fur Co.'s trading post situated at Indian's Point, on the North Shore, and started on an exploring expedition to discover them. They traversed Fitzroy and several adjoining Townships in the County of Lanark, particularly Ramsay, without finding a solitary settler, or any evidence of a white man ever having preceded them in any of the localities visited, though they explored the country thoroughly, and were absent over a week."[1]

Another report of this period indicates that in spite of the fruitless search made by the Shirreffs, there was some activity in the area. In the autumn of 1822 Colonel William Marshall, then superintendent of the Lanark Military Settlement, made a trip down the Mississippi River from Lanark through the older townships and the new township of Pakenham. In his own words:

> "I made a trip lately to the mouths of the Mississippi, the main one joins the grand river immediately above the Châts rapids, and the smaller branch or chenail below, near to Mr. Sherrifs, whom I visited. The distance from the north edge of Ramsay to the Ottawa is about 15 miles and the whole distance from this 50 by water.
>
> "The following is a note of the falls which in some degree interrupt the navigation, the rapids can be no hindrance, notwithstanding these difficulties a boat 24 feet long built by the Settlers at Shepherds Falls in Ramsay went from that place to Lachine in 5 days & returned in 7, the people in that quarter are in high spirits at the idea of the navigation passing that way to Montreal."[2]

Marshall goes on to name the falls along the Mississippi. In Ramsay he mentions Apple Tree Falls (Appleton), Shepherds Falls (Shipman's Mills, Ramsayville, Almonte), Norway Pine Falls (Blakeney), and in the new surveys the first one mentioned is Little Falls (Pakenham). Having accounted for the falls down to the Chaudiere on the Ottawa River, he adds a comment applicable to the section of Pakenham Township through which the Mississippi

passes: "It is a very fine tract of Land from Ramsay to the Châts. . . ."

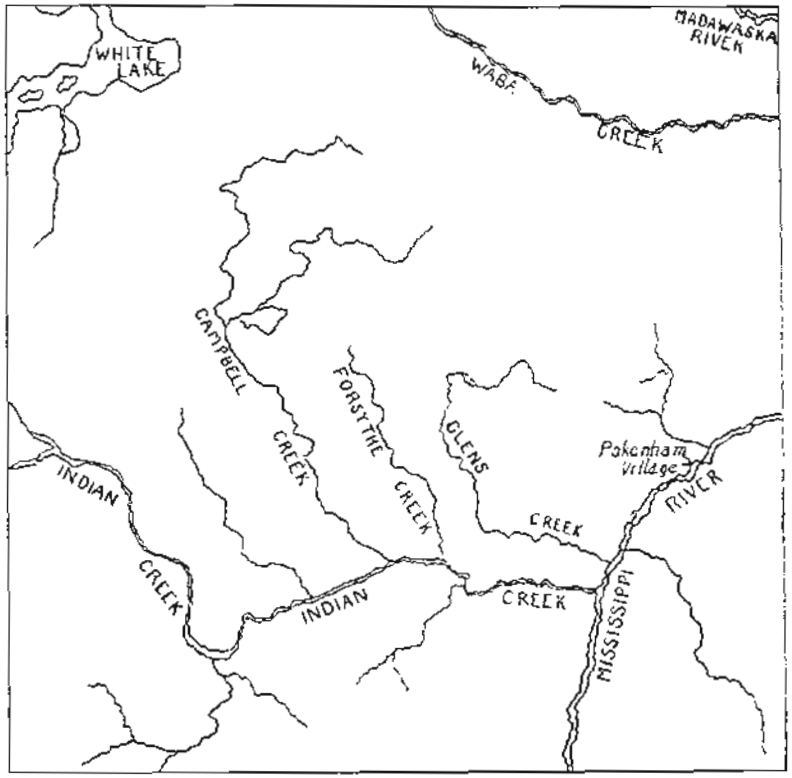
Marshall made his trip in the fall of 1822, and in February 1823 the first land was granted in the newly surveyed Pakenham Township. The lands in the new township were subject, of course, to the usual provisions—one seventh of the land granted was to be set aside for the Clergy Reserves and another seventh for the Crown.[3] In addition, the surveyors might claim land in payment of their fees; and other officials, friends of Government, or individuals who intended to bring in settlers, might manage to secure outright gifts of hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of acres. It was also within the bounty of Government to award to ex-servicemen grants varying in size with the recipient's rank. When these various claims had been satisfied the ordinary emigrant settler, after agreeing to pay set fees, clear a specified number of acres and a section of road allowance, and erect a house of given dimensions, might secure a hundred acres of land for which he would be issued a "Location Ticket" and instructions as to how to reach his lot.

Under these conditions it is not surprising that the first land grant for Pakenham Township as recorded in the Secretary of State Papers for the Johnstown and Bathurst Districts, 1810-1835, reads:

"February 28: Billa Flint of Brockville, Merch. as assignee of Reuben Sherwood, Dept. Surv. 228 acres. Reserv. all navigable Waters within the same being the E. part of Lot No 1 & the . . . Lot no 27 in 12 Con of Pakenham. Reserve 32 4/7 Acres in Lots no 2 & 9 in 1 Con of Pakenham."

Within a few days additional parcels of land in Concessions 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, and 12, amounting to 1,692 acres, were granted to the same owner. Appended to each entry was the notation: "March 8: Regs. of 1804 Mines of Gold & Silver & White Pine reserved."[4]

Many of those securing land in the Johnstown and Bathurst districts in this period described themselves simply as "emigrant settler." A fair proportion, however, had served in the British forces during the wars. Among these were privates, corporals, sergeants, and captains of various regiments—foot regiments, light infantry, cavalry troops, dragoon guards, life guards, sappers, and miners. There was, too, a fair sprinkling of officers and seamen of the Royal Navy. This was the heterogeneous group of trained soldiers, skilled artisans, and plain emigrants who were pressing toward the new township. They had come chiefly from England, Scotland, and Ireland.



THE MAIN WATERWAYS OF PAKENHAM TOWNSHIP. (Adapted from Belden's Illustrated Atlas (Lanark County) 1879.) In the early days of settlement the waterways provided routes to individual locations. Many of the settlers assigned to lots in the southeastern part of the Township may have followed the Mississippi River—some turning east to their locations, others proceeding up Indian Creek and from that stream northward or southward to their lots. Settlers destined for northwest Pakenham may have gone up the Madawaska, branching off at Waba Creek and following it inland. Later, the waterways carried immense quantities of timber. Logs from along Indian Creek poured into the Mississippi—a river already carrying a heavy freight from its upper reaches. Timbers from the fabulous pineries of the upper Madawaska country passed through the north corner of Pakenham Township by way of the Madawaska River. This mass of timber converged on the Ottawa to be carried—with the great rafts from the Upper Ottawa—to the Quebec market.

No doubt some of the first settlers in Pakenham Township had lived in the Military Settlements or in the settled portions along the Ottawa River and had moved either because they were dissatisfied with their present holdings, or simply in answer to a pioneering urge. Others were elder sons leaving the cramped parental clearing to make homes for themselves. These seasoned settlers were accustomed to life in the bush and thoroughly conversant with the problems and opportunities that confronted them. Others, like Robert Harvey, who established himself at Little Falls on the E.½ Lot 11, Concession 11,[5] land on which part of the present village of Pakenham is located, apparently had some knowledge of conditions in the area.

The majority of the first settlers in Pakenham Township, however, appear to have been new emigrants from the British Isles, belonging to the Church of England and Ireland, the Church of Scotland, and the Methodist persuasion. They had suffered the disruptions of the industrial and agrarian revolutions; knew hunger and hardship; and had survived the dangers and indignities of overcrowded timber ships on voyages that lasted anywhere from 25 days to 4 months. Set ashore at Montreal they could come to Pakenham Township either by way of the Ottawa River or the St. Lawrence. However, since forwarding companies were well established on the older and longer route, most of them came that way, braving the perils of the rapids on the journey up the St. Lawrence. As they neared the end of their ordeal on the great river they again had two choices. They might come ashore at Prescott and proceed overland to the Mississippi at Shepherds Falls. Or they might go in by way of Brockville through Perth to the Mississippi and thence down the river as Marshall had done in 1822. In either case travel was hazardous and exhausting. Roads, where they existed, were mere trails roughly causewayed over the swamps; on the Mississippi, falls and rapids necessitated difficult portaging; and in the new township there were no roads.

In spite of the many difficulties a surprising number of settlers reached the township in the summer of 1823, settling chiefly along the Mississippi near the present village of Pakenham and along the border of Ramsay Township. Subsequent newcomers had, of necessity, to go farther inland. Among those holding land or employed by land owners during the first years were Christopher Bell, Michael Cavanagh, William Connery, Robert Dickson, Joseph Dobson, Billa Flint, Robert F. Ormsby, Richard Frizell, John

Griffith, the Reverend Michael Harris, Jonas Jones, Charles Leary, Samuel Lowe, Thomas Lynch, William McAdam, Thomas and William McGibbon, Barnard, Brian, and Michael Mulligan, Samuel Needham, John Powell, Owen Quinn, Josias and Wesley Richey, Charles Henry Sache, William Scott, James and John Steen, Josias Taylor, John Timmons, and George Wilson. Some, of course, though holding land, were not actually resident in Pakenham Township; the Reverend Michael Harris, for instance, was stationed at Perth, and Billa Flint was a merchant at Brockville.[6] Of the resident settlers, Wesley Richey, Owen Quinn, and William McAdam were closest to Little Falls.[7]

4: *The Settlement Around Little Falls*

If Robert Harvey came by way of the Mississippi River in the spring of 1823 his last great obstacle before reaching his location was the turbulent Norway Pine Falls. When this had been negotiated he had some five miles of uninterrupted waterway before reaching the series of small rapids near his mill site. Above these rapids the stream flowed over flat rock and provided a shallow fording place. Below them the river widened appreciably making an excellent holding basin for timber before it narrowed again and turned slightly eastward. Here two small islands, usually flooded in high water, constricted the river into a narrow channel. Below the narrows were the main rapids, ending in a fall of some fifteen feet. Beyond the falls another enlargement of the river provided a second ideal basin for assembling timber.

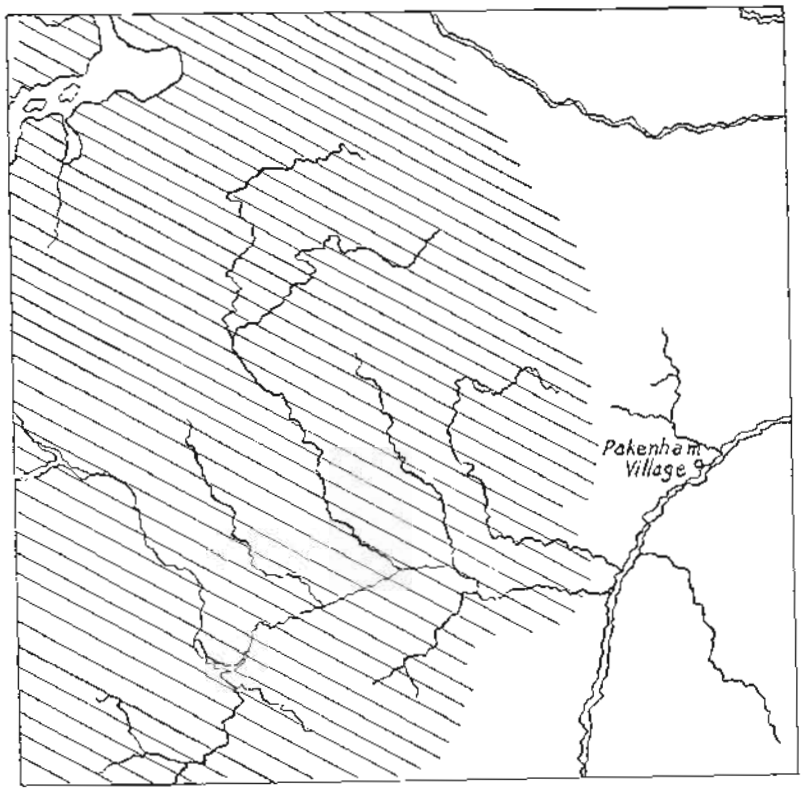
Here at Marshall's "Little Falls" Harvey, in partnership with John Powell, son of J. H. Powell of the Bathurst Land Board at Perth, proceeded to make a small clearing in the forest of white pines and erect a shanty, mills, and a potash works.[1] The first shanties in any settlement were usually little more than rude shelters. Logs felled on the spot were rough hewn, and shaped at the ends to make a building with fitted corners. The walls were chinked with wedges of wood and strips of moss to keep out the wind and the rain. The typical shanty roof was the type described by Catharine Parr Traill: "composed of logs split and hollowed with the axe, and placed side by side, so that the edges rest on each other; the concave and convex surfaces being alternately uppermost, every other log forms a channel to carry off the rain and melting snow."[2]

Cooking utensils were scarce, and a single pot would serve for the outdoor cooking during the summer. In winter the pot would be suspended over an open fire indoors, with the smoke escaping through an opening cut in one of the top logs above the hearth. In the shanty-type habitation there were frequently no windows; an open doorway served to let in the light. A rough-hewn table, a bed of evergreen boughs, and stools made from sections of log would serve as furnishings.

Harvey's activities in the summer of 1823 presuppose a thorough familiarity with the pioneer economy in its simplest form. He undoubtedly knew that the settler's first crop would be the ashes from the trees he would burn in making his clearing. The potashery would provide a market for the ashes, a commodity the settler could use for barter and trade until he cleared sufficient land to produce grain crops. Harvey may himself have been engaged in taking timber to Quebec where there was a ready market for potash, or possibly he was in a position to make his shipments on the timber cribs of other operators on the Mississippi. Certainly square timber was moving down the Mississippi to the Ottawa, and in no other way could the 500-pound barrels of potash be transported at this period in Pakenham's history.

In a pioneer village the first mill was usually a sawmill or a gristmill. Since the settlement around the falls had just been established there would be no demand for a gristmill in the first season, so in all probability the first mill was a sawmill, perhaps established as much for Harvey's own use as for his neighbours'. The gristmill would follow shortly when the first crops had been harvested and the need for it arose.

It appears that in the little settlement there was a trader's cabin also. An early account states that: "One Hume came with or very closely followed Harvey and Powell, and he also built a log cabin, into which he put a small stock of goods, and kept a little store."[3] There may, too, have been a tavern in the vicinity of the falls. Certainly one of the early settlers was the keeper of an inn described by J. H. Powell as "of the lowest description."[4] Mrs. Jameson, an early traveller in the Canadas, came upon one of these pioneer inns and noted that it "presented the usual aspect of these forest inns; that is, a rude log hut, with one window and one room, answering all purposes, a lodging or sleeping place being divided off at one end by a few planks; outside, a shed of bark and boughs for the



PAKENHAM TOWNSHIP, WITH THE HATCHED AREA SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE EXTENT OF THE CANADIAN SHIELD. (On a map of this scale it is, of course, impossible to define the boundary of the Shield with any degree of accuracy.) The Shield, covering the greater part of the Township, was rich in timber and the Lowland had fertile soil waiting only to be cleared. In the heyday of the timber trade, Pakenham Village enjoyed a prosperity based on the interdependence of the farming and lumbering interests. The farmers could work in the woods in the off seasons; they could sell the produce of their farms to the shanties. The lumbermen depended upon the farmers for seasonal labour, and for food supplies for their men, oxen, and horses. The village at the falls, conveniently situated near the edge of the Shield, profited from the ensuing activity.

horses, and a hollow trunk of a tree disposed as a trough."[6] The early inn at the falls probably did not rise even to this standard for it would need no accommodation for beasts; it would, however, have a supply of rum for thirsty humans.

Such was the clearing at the falls in the early years—a few shanties, a potash works, a sawmill, a gristmill, and perhaps a tavern. Off in the surrounding area were the settlers, struggling, like Harvey, to make a dent in the unbroken forest. Trees had to be felled, underbrush cleared, shanties built, and tiny clearings established. Logs had to be chopped into manageable lengths, some for immediate building, others to be logged up for later burning. Removing the stumps was too difficult for the beginner; they would be left to decay—at best a slow process.

During that first season in the bush the settlers would live much as had the aborigines. Throughout the summer they were probably able to procure wild berries—raspberries, strawberries, blueberries, and cherries. They may also have supplemented their rations with the wild pigeons that J. L. Gourlay says "came thick as clouds in the spring and summer, rendering the air vocal with the action of their wings."[6] No doubt, too, like the Indians before them, they did some hunting, trapping, and fishing. In the spring the land around the stumps would be cultivated with the tools the settler had carried in on his back; and the corn and potatoes would be planted in anticipation of a first crop. After the winter of privation, as the seed fell perhaps "the children cried for the potatoes—too precious to be given to satisfy hunger. . . ."[7]

Ill-defined, swampy trails led from the tiny clearings to the mills at the falls. In that first year the settlers "backed" ashes to the potashery, setting the wheels of the primitive economy in halting motion. Ashes would be legal tender in the settlement. They would be exchanged for small goods at the trader's; for a few sawn boards for door frames and window sashes at the sawmill; for a dipperful of gin at the tavern. There would be little excitement in the settlement except the bustle of felling, hewing, and building. As yet there would be scant sunshine in the tiny clearings and darkness would fall early. At the inn there would be the occasional drunken roistering as a homesick settler tried to drown his weariness and frustration. Above the falls the shouts of rivermen would now and then announce the arrival of the great sticks of timber from up

river. There would be the brief excitement of getting the sticks through the falls; the delay while cribs were put together in the bay below; another pause for loading potash from the mill; and then the river would fall silent again.

If the new settlement at Little Falls was to survive it needed more people to keep its infant industries alive. It needed settlers to cut down the forests and bring more ashes to the potash works; settlers' wives demanding new houses with doors, windows, and floors, to keep the saws in motion. It needed crops to provide grist for the mill. Settlers, even while Harvey was establishing his mills, were on the way. The new group was entirely different from any that had come before. All of them paupers, some differing in religion from those already in the township, and few with any experience in the ways of the woods, they started with much against them. And they little knew that in coming to Pakenham Township many of them would face a new antagonist—the Canadian Shield.

III

THE ROBINSON SETTLERS[1]

1: *Choosing the Settlers*

"I have the honor to report to you for the information of the Right Honorable Lord Bathurst that having received directions from His Majesty's Government to proceed to Ireland for the purpose of superintending a limited emigration to the Province of Upper Canada, I left Liverpool on the 18th, and arrived at Fermoy in the County of Cork on the 20th of May 1823." Thus began the Honourable Peter Robinson's report on the assisted emigration from Ireland in the summer of 1823. Of the 182 heads of families who reached Upper Canada with Robinson, 29 were assigned locations in Pakenham Township.

The 1823 emigration had a two-fold purpose: first, to supply Canada with urgently needed settlers, and, second, to help reduce Ireland's excessive population in areas where the people were subsisting in almost unbelievable poverty and privation. It was hoped that if some of the unemployed in the troubled sections were removed, the unrest, suffering, and lawlessness might be mitigated. The emigration was to be an experiment that, if successful, was to be followed by others on a similar plan. To carry out its purposes the British Government had chosen the Honourable Peter Robinson, who was familiar with conditions in Upper Canada. He was to decide who should be accepted, and would accompany the emigrants on their journey and settle them on their lands.

In discharging the first of his duties Robinson made his headquarters at Fermoy. One of his first acts was to distribute, in Fermoy and the neighbouring villages, several hundred copies of the memorandum containing the terms of emigration. The noblemen and the magistrates in the different centres agreed to take the names of persons wishing to emigrate so that from these lists Robinson might make a final selection. In addition, Robinson undertook to answer all questions put to him concerning the emigration. In his own words: "I was able to set before them the length of the journey, the obstacles in their way, and the means

of removing them—I explained the manner of clearing lands and cultivating the virgin soil—I dissipated their apprehensions concerning wild beasts & the danger of being lost in the woods."

Lack of funds was no bar to emigration, nor was the character of the prospective settlers. This emigration was to be a true test of the ability of settlers without means to succeed in the Canadas. Accordingly only those who could properly be called paupers were chosen. If these could be comfortably and happily established, it was thought that others with some property might be encouraged to emigrate since they would have ample evidence that industry and determination could ensure success. Robinson made no particular enquiry into the former conduct of those who applied. He was convinced that when his settlers were removed from their sordid surroundings and became proprietors of their own land, the dramatic change in their circumstances would cure their discontent. Moreover, it had seemed expedient to the Government to take some of the more fiery spirits out of the troubled districts in the hope that those left behind might find steady employment and perhaps live in greater peace and harmony.

Evidently the optimistic tone of the memorandum and Robinson's explanations of the conditions to be expected, combined to create a favourable impression on prospective emigrants. It was not until June 2 that Robinson began to circulate his memorandum, and before the end of the month he had distributed "Tickets for embarkation" to 600. However, he rightly assumed that many who had agreed to go would have second thoughts about the venture. Actually by July 1 only 460 were embarked but Robinson was able the next day to select 111 more, making a total of 571.

The terms under which the Government agreed to convey the settlers from Ireland to Upper Canada were as follows:

> "Such Emigrants as the Superintendent shall accept shall be conveyed from the place of embarkation, in Ireland, to their lands in Upper Canada, wholly at the Public charge, and provisions shall be furnished them during their voyage, and for one whole year after their location upon their respective lots.
>
> "Such farming utensils as are absolutely necessary to a New Settler shall also be found for each head of a family, or person receiving a grant of land.
>
> "No person above the age of 45 years shall be conveyed to Upper Canada at the public Expense, unless under particular circumstances, in the discretion of the Superintendent, and no person above that age shall receive a grant of land on his arrival in the Colony.

> "Every male about* 18 years of age and not exceeding 45 years to whom a certificate shall have been given by the Superintendent that he was accepted by him as an Emigrant Settler to receive lands in Upper Canada, shall on his arrival receive a location ticket, or order for 70 Acres of land in such part of the Province as the Lieutenant Governor or Person administering the Government shall assign—And in order that such emigrants as shall be industrious and prudent may have the opportunity of extending their possessions and providing for the respectable maintenance of their Children, an additional tract of 30 Acres adjoining every such Grant of 70 Acres, shall be reserved by the Crown ungranted for the space of ten years after the location of the lot of 70 Acres, to afford an opportunity to the proprietor of such larger tract of purchasing the same within the period, by paying the moderate sum of £10 sterling.
>
> "The order or location ticket for 70 acres to be given to the Emigrant upon his arrival shall express certain duties of Settlement, and cultivation, the same in proportion as are required by the government to be performed on lands granted in Upper Canada to other Settlers, and the period to be allowed for the performance of such duties shall be also expressed in the order.
>
> "So soon as the Settlement duties shall have been performed, the party may obtain his patent, on paying the expense of preparing the same, which, it is supposed will not exceed £2 10s 0d Sterling on each grant.
>
> "Each Tract of 70 Acres so granted shall be subject to the payment of an annual quit rent to the Crown of two pence pr Acre, to be paid half yearly, in such manner, and subject to such penalties and forfeitures, in the case of failure, as shall be expressed in the patent, and the same quit rent shall be charged also upon the grants of 30 Acres—It shall however in every case be in the option of the Proprietor to redeem the quit rent at any time on payment of 20 years purchase, and with respect to the original locations of 70 Acres no quit rent shall be chargeable until 5 years have expired from the time of the location.
>
> "As it is intended that all persons who shall be thus assisted by the Government in removing to Upper Canada shall be actual Settlers, in the Province, it is necessary it should be clearly understood, that if the conditions of cultivation & improvement to be specified in the location ticket, shall not be performed within the period prescribed, or if the person locating any lot under the present system, shall before receiving his patent for the same, withdraw from Upper Canada, and remain absent for the space of 6 months without sufficient cause to be allowed by the Lieutenant Governor of the Province, the land so assigned to such person may be given to another applicant."

*Other documents read *above* 18 years of age.

2: *The Ocean Voyage*

While Robinson was choosing his settlers, two vessels, the *Hebe* and the *Stakesby*, each of about 500 tons, were being fitted out to carry the emigrants from Cork to Quebec. According to Robinson the ships were comfortable, convenient, safe, well provisioned, and the stores had been strictly inspected. Two experienced medical men were to accompany the emigrants, Surgeon Dickson on the *Hebe* and Surgeon Hamilton on the *Stakesby*. Peter Robinson was to travel on the *Stakesby*. Messengers were sent out to warn the settlers of the arrival of the ships, and to give them notice of the day of sailing.

At Cork a steamboat was engaged to embark the settlers, and some hint of the confusion prevailing is conveyed in the note sent from attending Surgeon Dickson of the *Hebe* reporting to Robinson: "Enclosed I sent you a correct list of the names of the Settlers embarked in the *Hebe*, with their places of residence in this Country and whether above or under 14 years . . . . and I think I can with great confidence Say that we are not one out in our calculations. There is however a great probability of persons finding their way into the Ship, which must be attended to by a general muster prior to our Sailing—the Settlers being on Shore at all hours, it is impossible to distinguish them from others."

The settlers were eight weeks making the crossing to Quebec. In the early 1800's most voyages of this duration were veritable nightmares; if the passage were a stormy one the misery was unspeakable. The difficulties of maintaining supplies of food and drinking water were at times insurmountable; hunger and sickness were the common lot; uncleanliness and filth were inevitable in emigrant vessels that were frequently overcrowded; mortality was usually high; and sometimes the ships officers were brutally inhuman.

Judged by the standards of the times, Robinson's emigrants appear to have had a singularly uneventful journey. The ships were no doubt superior to the usual emigrant vessels, the rations were plentiful, and medicines were available. In addition, each ship had, of course, its skilled medical supervisor. Their ministrations may indeed have averted catastrophe, for Robinson, in emphasizing the good health of the passengers, makes the revealing comment that "only one woman and eight children died on the passage, and these from the small pox, which had unfortunately got into both ships. . . ."

In describing the voyage Robinson remarks on the characteristic fondness of the Irish for potatoes. He says that "the men preferred them to the cocoa, which they refused for several days to taste till they saw the Officers of the ship repeatedly breakfasting upon it." When the children were ill they cried for potatoes and refused arrow root and other foods that might have been more suitable. Such was the high standard of rations supplied that "plumb" pudding was served for Sunday dinners, but the Irish could not be persuaded to eat it. Nor were they fond of the "best english cheese;" this delicacy they commonly threw overboard. These evidences of plenty and even of prodigality aboard the *Stakesby* and the *Hebe* are surprising. On many vessels of the times the rations were no doubt adequate and wholesome, but on others the passengers complained bitterly of rotten potatoes, mouldy sea-biscuits, putrid beef, oatmeal "partly alive," and filthy drinking water.

The *Hebe* had been in port two days when the *Stakesby*, carrying Robinson, arrived at Quebec on September 2. After a delay of two days, Robinson transferred his settlers to steamboats without landing them. Since he makes no comment concerning the trip to Montreal, it may be assumed that the weather was favourable and that his people were spared the discomfort of making this part of their journey on the open deck in a drenching rain—the fate of many a settler before them. Meanwhile His Excellency Lord Dalhousie had given orders to the Quartermaster-General to find provisions and transport for the group as far as Prescott. When Robinson reached Montreal on September 6, therefore, arrangements for transportation to Lachine, ten miles away, had been made and he was able to proceed immediately to that point.

3: *Lachine to Ramsay*

Lachine had seen a variety of travellers—fur-traders, soldiers, and government officials. The Scottish settlers had embarked at Lachine on their journey to Perth; here the disbanded soldiers had waited while Richmond was being established; the Glasgow weavers had gone this way to Lanark. Now Robinson's settlers prepared for the long, arduous journey. Provisions for the trip, 59 cart loads of baggage, 415 adults, and 163 children had to be accommodated.

Yet in two days the 22 large bateaux, with an additional 5 bateaux laden with provisions, were heading up river toward Prescott. The emigrants themselves manned the bateaux, but each boat had two experienced Canadians to guide and steer.

Ascending the St. Lawrence was a prodigious task. The river foamed with dangerous rapids and the settlers were completely unskilled in handling the boats. No wonder Robinson, like many another, considered this the most tedious and difficult part of the whole journey. Fortunately the two surgeons had offered to accompany the settlers as far as Prescott. Robinson considered that to them he owed the good behaviour and good health of his people on the journey up river. If Robinson's group endured the hardships typical of the St. Lawrence route they slept in the open at night, cooked their food over campfires, walked where the going was too difficult for loaded bateaux, and dragged the boats up the lesser rapids. The route led from Lachine across Lake St. Louis, usually navigated with the aid of sails. At the Cascades there was a particularly difficult series of rapids and here the bateaux had to be unloaded and the baggage carted to the Cedars. Thus it went all along the route with the river reaching a peak of turbulence at the Long Sault.

A statement of accounts for the journey up the St. Lawrence gives some idea of the magnitude of the undertaking and the innumerable details to be attended to. Provisions included 19,525 pounds of flour, 1,860 pounds of bread, 2,767 pounds of biscuits, 15,430 pounds of salt pork, and 1,106 pounds of Irish beef. Other items of expense between Quebec and Prescott were: steamboat passage from Quebec to Montreal for 578 settlers and various officials; cartage from Montreal to Lachine of the 59 loads of baggage; navigating 22 bateaux of settlers and 5 of provisions from Lachine to Prescott; transport over the carrying place between Cascades and the Cedars; and the expenses of Surgeons Dickson and Hamilton, of Peter Robinson, and other officials issuing provisions.

At Prescott, Robinson parted with the two surgeons and proceeded to make arrangements for the last lap of the journey. Roads of the period were wretched in the extreme and the problems of transporting his large group must have been enormous, yet Robinson disposes of the trip inland with characteristic brevity: "On the 18th I left Prescott & proceeded across the Country in Waggons to

the Mississippi River, a distance of about sixty miles and arrived on the 22nd. Here I found that orders had already been given by His Excellency Sir P. Maitland to afford me every possible facility in placing my people on such lands as were vacant & grantable in this neighbourhood. His Excellency also had the goodness to place at my disposal many articles useful to Settlers which remained in the King's Stores & took a very warm interest in the success of the undertaking."

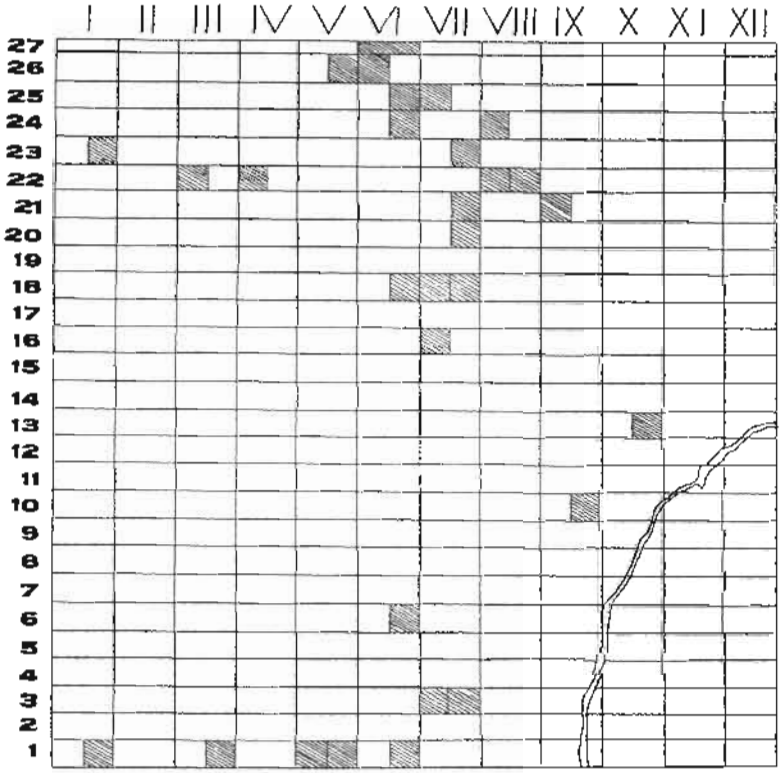
When Robinson reached the Mississippi he found that more than half the lots had been settled by the Scottish settlers from the neighbourhood of Glasgow. The adjoining townships of Huntley, Goulbourn, and Pakenham had also been partially settled by weavers and disbanded soldiers. Robinson was particularly anxious to place his people as close to each other as possible. Undaunted, he set out to examine the remaining lands and finally found a sufficient number that he considered fit for settlement.

> "I therefore," he states, "located in the Township of Ramsay eighty two heads of families in Pakenham twenty nine, in Bathurst one, in Lanark two, in Beckwith five, in Goulbourn twenty six, in Darling three, and in Huntley thirty four—making in all one hundred and eighty two—As there were no barracks or Government buildings in the neighbourhood and the whole party without shelter, my first care was to provide log houses for them and that on their respective lots—Fortunately the Autumn was unusually dry and warm and I completed this object by the first of November.
>
> "To do this I was obliged to go to some additional expense, as the Settlers were not sufficiently acquainted with the use of the axe to put up log buildings themselves. However I feel well assured nothing tends so much to fix the attention of the emigrant to his newly acquired property, and to ensure his becoming a permanent Settler as a little care and attention in placing him on his land."

Robinson listed the expenses of conveying the settlers from Prescott to the Mississippi and placing them on their lands as follows:

"Transport of provisions & baggage from Prescott to Ramsay 450

Provisions until the 1st January 1824		883		
Do	from 1st Jan to the 1st June	1766	5	
Do	for the remainder of the year	1766	5	
Farming utensils		229	13	5
Assistance in putting up a log building on ea. lot		450		



LOCATIONS OF ROBINSON'S SETTLERS IN 1823. Only a few members of this group were on the Lowland; most were assigned to lots wholly within the Canadian Shield. In consequence many abandoned their unproductive holdings; others indulged in frustrating lot-trading in an effort to better their circumstances. Eventually the majority fled the township to seek lots in more favoured areas or to engage in other occupations.

Guides to shew the land	150
Houses to lodge in, & stores for a depôt	200
182 Cows at £4 10 each	819
Seed corn & potatoes for planting	364
Clerk & Servants to issue provisions including their subsistence	400
Transport of provisions	300
Medical advice & Medicines	100
Shoes & flannel	150
Provincial Currency	8023 : 3 : 5"

The Honourable Peter Robinson remained "in the woods" with his settlers from September 22 to December 6, and then after a trip to York he left Ramsay for New York from thence he sailed for Liverpool. He reached England in April 1824 satisfied that his emigration was an unqualified success and that his settlers were in good health and happy in their new homes.

4: *Robinson's Settlers in the Township*

Of Robinson's settlers located in Pakenham Township, a number were assigned to lots bordering on, or near the border of, Ramsay Township but more than half held location tickets for lots in the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth concessions in northwest Pakenham. Three others were near the west corner of the township and two were fairly close to Robert Harvey's settlement at the falls. Almost all of the lots assigned to the group were entirely within the Canadian Shield; only a few were wholly beyond its limits.

The group numbered 30 men, 18 women, and 28 children. Fourteen men were unmarried and one was a widower; of the women, fifteen were wives, two were sisters of settlers, and one was the mother of the widower. Among the children were four girls over twelve; all the other children for whom ages are given were ten or under. In the latter group at least eight were infants in arms for five children had been born during the sojourn in Ramsay and three in the first months in Pakenham Township. Mrs. Margarette Clahan, the mother of Timothy Clahan, was the oldest of the group and probably the only one over forty-five.

The following are detailed statistics concerning the group:

Head of Family	Wife	Children (ages)	Other Relatives	Location
1. John Ahern	Mary	Thomas		E.½ 20, Con. 7
2. Thomas Boyle	Mary	William (9) Mary (7) Charles (4) Esther (2) Child *born in Ramsay*		W.½ 18, Con. 7
Henry Boyle (19 years old)				E.½ 18, Con. 6
3. Denis Clahan	Jude	Mary (1)		E.½ 3, Con. 7
4. Timothy Clahan		Joanna (18) Catharine (15)	Margarette (mother)	W.½ 3, Con. 7
5. Annever Cusick				E.½ 1, Con. 5
6. Denis Daley				E.½ 23, Con. 1
7. John Dohorthy[1]	Jude	Pat (10) Edward (6) Daniel (3) Michael *born in Ramsay*		E.½ 23, Con. 7
8. Morris Fitzgerald	Margaret			W.½ 22, Con. 3
9. John French	Mary	Child *born in Ramsay*		E.½ 13, Con. 10
10. Busted Green			Anne (sister)	W.½ 22, Con. 8
11. George Green				E.½ 6, Con. 6
12. John Green, Sr.	Catharine	Child *born in Pakenham*		E.½ 22, Con. 8
13. John Green, Jr.	Rose	Samuel *born in Ramsay*		E.½ 21, Con. 7
14. Thomas Green				W.½ 21, Con. 9
15. William Green				E.½ 1, Con. 6
16. Michael Gregg				E.½ 24, Con. 6
17. William Gregg	Francis	William (6) Mary (4) Child *born in Pakenham*		E.½ 25, Con. 6
18. George Hanniver				W.½ 26, Con. 6
19. Timothy Kennedy				W.½ 1, Con. 5
20. William Lahie				E.½ 1, Con. 3
21. Michael Lynch	Julia	Thomas	Catharine (sister)	E.½ 18, Con. 7
22. Henry Mahony	Bridget	Child *born in Pakenham*		Lot 27, Con. 6
23. James Mantle (19 years old)				W.½ 25, Con. 7
24. Cornelius Roche	Bridget	John Dennis		E.½ 10, Con. 9
25. James Sayward				E.½ 26, Con. 5
26. Denis Shanahan	Abby			W.½ 24, Con. 8

Head of Family	Wife	Children (ages)	Other Relatives	Location
27. Patrick Slattery	Ellen	Catharine (14) Mary (12) Pat (8) Child *born in Ramsay*		E.½ 1, Con. 1
28. John Sullivan				W.½ 16, Con. 7
29. Patrick Sullivan	Mary	Mary (2)		W.½ 22, Con. 4

NOTE: Robinson stated that he located twenty-nine families in Pakenham Township, although thirty parcels of land were granted to his Irish settlers. He evidently regarded nineteen-year-old Henry Boyle a member of the Thomas Boyle family. Henry and Thomas were brothers, and Henry received his supplies with his brother's family. On the other hand, James Mantle, another nineteen-year-old, was evidently considered a "head of family." James Mantle's father, John Mantle, had been located for a lot in Huntley Township.

The location tickets issued to Robinson's settlers were somewhat different from those issued to other emigrants. John Dougherty's read as follows:

"Whereas *John Dohorthy* born at *Churchtown in the County of Cork, Ireland* of the age of *Forty one* years has been conveyed to this Country at the Public charge under the superintendence of the Hon. Peter Robinson, and has produced a Certificate of his being accepted as an Emigrant Settler to receive Land in Upper Canada, and has taken the Oath of Allegiance.

"We do assign him Seventy Acres of Land, being the *East* part of Lot Number *Twenty three* in the *Seventh* Concession of the Township of *Pakenham* in the District of *Bathurst* for which, having cleared half the width of the Concession Road bounding the said Seventy Acres, and having cleared and fenced Three Acres and a half within the said Location and erected a Dwelling-House thereon of at least Sixteen Feet by Twenty within Two Years from the date hereof, he will be entitled to receive a Grant free of any other expense other than the usual fee of . . . for the Patent.

"An additional Tract of Thirty Acres adjoining the said Seventy Acres will be reserved for the space of Ten Years to commence from this date, which the said *John Dohorthy* will be entitled to receive a Grant for, upon paying the sum of Ten Pounds Sterling.

"The said several Tracts of Land to be liable to a Quit Rent of two pence per Acre, payable at such time and in such manner as set forth in the Memorandum published by the authority of the British Government for the information of the said emigrants."

Robinson's settlers had come to Pakenham Township under very favourable auspices. They had been reasonably comfortable

on their journey judged by the standards of the times; they had been escorted to their destinations; baggage and supplies had been transported for them to homes already constructed in the woods. According to Robinson's accounts they were assured free rations from the date of their location in the fall of 1823 to the end of December 1824. Two letters written by the settlers to relatives at "home," in the winter of 1823-24, indicate that they were aware of their good fortune.

Both letters begin on a note of thankfulness, one with the words: "I take the opportunity of writing you these few lines hoping to find you & the rest of the family in as good health as I am at present, thanks be to God." They spoke of the favourable voyage and the excellent treatment they had received. Already it was known that Robinson intended to bring out more settlers and the writers urged their families in Ireland to take advantage of an opportunity they might never have again. They stressed the necessity of bringing plenty of clothes both "for bed and body" and "all the pots, pans, earthenware & other cooking utensils that you have." They held high hopes of their prospects in a "delightful" country and assured their countrymen that if a man were willing to work he could live in plenty in the new land. They stated that the wages for men were from ten to twelve dollars per month "and found" or two shillings and sixpence to three shillings by the day; for women six dollars. One writer, however, was reluctant to encourage her brother to come unless he could keep from drink for "rum is very cheap four shillings and sixpence pr Gallon and a great many of the Settlers likes it too well which may prove their ruin, for a drunkard will not do well here any more than at home."

One of the writers, after a brief account of the journey from Cork to Ramsay gives interesting details of the actual locating of their lands.

> "The whole crew of Settlers," he says, "which came in both ships were sent out from this place in squads in numbers from 6 to 30 in a number to look for their lands with a pilot to shew them their respective lots and it was on Thursday last I made out my own farm which was 23rd of October and as to my own judgment I take it to be as good a farm as any in the Country. Mr. Robinson our Superintendent is uncommonly humane & good to us all. He at first served us out bedding & blankets & all kinds of Carpenter's tools and farming utensils and sending people which are in the habit of building houses with the whole of us & each man's house is built in the course of two days. And Mr. Robinson promises us a Cow to the head of every family next spring & several other things which I have not mentioned now. Since we came on Shore each man is served out in the day with one pound of bread or flour and one pound of beef or pork and each woman boy and girl the same."

Robinson's settlers, in spite of their poverty, had evidently brought a considerable number of possessions with them from Ireland, witness the cart loads of baggage that had been a bill of expense throughout the journey. It would be a formidable task to transport to their respective lots these personal belongings, not to mention the daily rations, and the tools, bedding, and seed issued at Ramsay. The issue of tools to each head of family was fairly uniform; the number of blankets and the amount of seed were obviously scaled to the size of the family. The lists of items supplied to the various families throw considerable light on the conditions and activities in the pioneer settlement.

John Ahern, his wife, and son, located in northwest Pakenham on the E.½ Lot 20, Concession 7, were to receive the following:

2 blankets	1 bill hook	1 pick axe
1 pair moccasins	1 drawing knife	1 spade
1 pair shoes	1 file	2 pounds nails
1 frying pan	1 gimlet	7 bushels potatoes (seed)
1 kettle	1 handsaw	5 quarts corn (seed)
1 auger	1 hammer	1 cow
1 axe	1 hoe	

The supplies issued to the Boyles in the same part of the township were for a family of eight—Thomas Boyle and his wife and five children, and Henry Boyle, his brother.

7 blankets	1 drawing knife	2 spades
5 pair shoes	4 files	2 wedges
1 iron pot	3 gimlets	6 pounds nails
1 kettle	1 handsaw	9 quarts corn (seed)
1 pan	1 hammer	15 bushels potatoes (seed)
1 auger	2 hoes	20 bushels potatoes (extra)
2 axes	2 pick axes	2 cows (one for Henry)
1 bill hook	1 scythe	
1 X cut saw	2 sickles	

The lists for the two Clahan families located near the border of Ramsay Township closely resembled each other.

Timothy Clahan, his two daughters and his mother	*Denis Clahan, his wife and infant daughter*
5 blankets	2 blankets
4 pair shoes	2 pair shoes
1 kettle	1 iron pot
1 pan	1 auger
1 auger	1 axe
4 axes	1 English axe
1 bill hook	1 bill hook
1 file	1 file
1 gimlet	1 gimlet
1 hammer	2 hammers
1 hoe	1 hoe
1 pick axe	1 pick axe
1 saw	1 saw
1 sickle	1 sickle
1 spade	1 spade
2 pounds nails	6 quarts corn
8 quarts corn	5 bushels potatoes
14 bushels potatoes	1 cow
20 bushels potatoes (extra)	
1 cow	

Annever Cusick, a single man on the border of Ramsay Township, E.½ Lot 1, Concession 5, received supplies differing only slightly from the others.

2 blankets	1 file	1 sickle
1 pair moccasins	1 gimlet	1 spade
1 bake pan	1 hammer	2 pounds nails
1 auger	1 hoe	6 quarts corn
1 axe	1 pick axe	5 bushels potatoes
2 English axes	1 saw	1 cow

With these possessions the Irish settlers were to conquer the unbroken forests of Pakenham Township. On their progress the prosperity of the mills at the falls would, in part, depend.

5: *Trouble with Robinson's Settlers*

In spite of the optimistic letters sent home to Ireland, and Robinson's own glowing accounts, all was not well with the settlers in Ramsay during the spring and summer of 1824. Shortly after Robinson's departure from the settlement incidents occurred that

threw his people into ill repute and threatened to prejudice his hopes of bringing out other groups. The unrest in Ramsay[1] is understandable. Many of the earlier settlers had been loyal soldiers in the Napoleonic wars and had richly deserved their grants of land. Others had come to Upper Canada of their own volition and at their own expense; unaided they had found their locations and built their first log shanties. Still others were proud craftsmen who, through no fault of their own, had lost their means of livelihood in the Old Land. These independent pioneers had struggled against the forest to harvest their first meagre crops and now were beginning to look with some satisfaction on their achievements. Suddenly in their midst were Robinson's poverty-stricken Irish waiting in relative idleness for the spring, their needs anticipated by Peter Robinson and a benevolent government. No wonder the old settlers resented their presence, deplored their ways, and considered them unworthy of the largesse handed out to them so freely.

Doubtless, as happened when Robinson brought his second emigration to Upper Canada in 1825, the settlers already in the townships had been called upon to assist in cutting trails to the new lots, in transporting baggage and supplies, and in building the 20 by 12-foot log houses on each lot. True, they would earn welcome ready cash for their efforts, but they would also be in a position to see for themselves that the newcomers had been supplied with tools, bedding, food, and even homes. If, as probably happened, some of the Irish abandoned their locations and returned to the Depot at Ramsay, trading rations for whiskey, the old settlers would be further incensed.[2] Apparently, however, there was more serious cause for complaint, for, in spite of Robinson's hopes, some at least of the Irish emigrants had reverted to former habits of lawlessness.

However, unlike the other officials, Major Hillier, Maitland's secretary at York, took an extremely lenient view of the trouble and in October 1824 he wrote reassuringly to Robinson:

> "You will be happy to hear that the trials at the Perth assizes proved that the little disturbance among the Irish Settlers in that District was quite unimportant, tho' at the time fearfully exaggerated.
>
> "It resulted in the conviction of four persons for riot, who were sentenced to two months imprisonment and a fine of ten pounds each, which last has been remitted on the strong recommendation of both judge and jury. The former Mr. Justice Campbell gives the best hopes of a restoration of entire tranquility and good feeling amongst

these people and their neighbours the old Settlers. All this it may not be uninteresting to you to know and to be enabled to communicate not only to Mr. Wilmot Horton but also to that part of the Country whence the poor people came, as I perceive very absurdly exaggerated accounts of the business have appeared in some of the public prints at home."

During the troubled spring and summer of 1824, Robinson had proceeded resolutely with his plans for a second emigration and stoutly maintained his belief in the success of the first. That even he may have had some slight reservations, however, is evidenced by his reference to his settlers in northwest Pakenham when the proposed emigration of the Laird of McNab was under discussion. Maitland writing to Bathurst on May 14, 1824, commented:

"Mr. Robinson on his return acquainted me that though McNabs petition, and my dispatch officially transmitting it, had not arrived, the intended application was known at the Colonial Office before his departure, and had been the subject of conversations between Mr. Wilmot Horton and himself; and that it appeared to him there was by no means a disposition, so far as regarded the project generally, to discourage the Chiefs enterprise, but rather on the contrary, a willingness to favor it, as the description of Settlers he proposed to introduce would be undoubtedly a valuable acquisition and might be advantageously placed in the neighbourhood of the Emigrants from Ireland to whom their example would be beneficial."[3]

IV

THE LAIRD OF McNAB'S SETTLERS

In 1823, while Peter Robinson was carrying out his emigration, Archibald McNab, a highland chieftain of the house of Kinnell, was seeking permission to settle a group of his clansmen in a township in the Canadas. According to Alexander Fraser, author of *The Last Laird of MacNab*,[1] the Laird had fallen upon evil days in Scotland; his estates were so heavily mortgaged that his only hope of eluding arrest was to flee the country. In his flight he was aided by his cousin, Dr. Hamilton Buchanan, of the ancient house of Arnprior.

The plan, as conceived by the cousins, was that McNab "should start for America from an English port, found a settlement, retrieve his lost fortunes, and return to his native land in better times."[2] With the help of Buchanan and two faithful servants, Peter McIntyre and John Buchan, both of whom later came to Upper Canada, the Laird was able to outwit his creditors. Eventually he arrived safely at Quebec and later visited Glengarry where he obtained valuable information on the Highland settlement there. He then proceeded to York and approached the Government with the proposal that he settle a township with his clansmen and others from the Highlands of Scotland.

The Government was kindly disposed toward the scheme and recommended that McNab's plan be adopted and that a township be set apart on the Ottawa River, next to the township of Fitzroy. This township, named McNab for the Laird, was to remain under his superintendency for 18 months, and then the Government would decide whether to extend the period. At the expiration of 18 months the Laird was to give an accounting of his superintendency.

The Order in Council placing the township under the Laird's direction was dated November 5, 1823, but it was not until September 1824 that McNab Township, bordering Pakenham Township on the northwest, was reported surveyed. This delayed the Laird almost a year in making his arrangements. However, in the spring of 1825, he was able at last to announce the safe arrival of the first group of his people.[3]

Articles of Agreement between McNab and the settlers he was to bring to Upper Canada set forth the conditions under which the emigration was to be carried out. McNab agreed to convey the settlers from Scotland to the lands reserved for them in Upper Canada, and to assign 100 acres to each head of a family and each male who was 21 years old at the time of his arrival. As soon as the settlers performed the settling duties and cultivation required of all settlers granted lands by the Crown in Upper Canada, McNab agreed to procure title to the land for them, provided they paid the charges for the patents. In return each settler signed an agreement to pay to the Laird certain fixed sums to cover the costs of transport for himself, his wife and children, and of the rations provided for them.[4]

Fraser states that the McNab settlers left Greenock in April 1825 and that they had a speedy journey to Montreal, where they were met by the Chief. Like the Robinson settlers they embarked in bateaux at Lachine, but unlike them they came by the Ottawa River route. At Pointe Fortune a Mr. McLachlin was engaged to bring the baggage to Hawkesbury in ox carts; the settlers walked. At Hawkesbury they were taken on board the steamboat *Union*, plying between there and Hull—a journey of two days and a night. From Hull upwards the trip proved exceedingly arduous; the settlers endured much hardship, and finally at the Chats transported their baggage up the rapids with great difficulty. On the banks of the Ottawa at the site of the future Arnprior, the Chief had erected a log house, which he called Kinnell Lodge. He threw the Lodge open to as many of the settlers as could be accommodated; the others pitched their camps nearby. From the Lodge they reached their locations by blazed pathways through the woods and there erected crude shanties.[5]

Of his journey up the Ottawa the Laird commented "taking emigrants up the Ottawa is triple the expense of the St. Lawrence transport, their being no public conveyance farther than Hull, of course all beyond is at very great expense, and no competition to Hull their charges are extravagant."[6]

The settlers were already bound to the Chief by the bond they had signed agreeing to reimburse him for the expenses of the journey. McNab now further assured their dependence upon him by requiring them to sign location tickets with the following ominous clause: "you will *yearly thereafter* [after three years] pay to me, *my heirs and successors for ever* one bushel of wheat or Indian corn,

or oats of like value, for every cleared acre upon the said Lot of Land in name of *Quit Rent* for the same, in month of January in each year."[7]

These, then, were the Scottish neighbours of the Irish settlers in northwest Pakenham of whom it had been suggested that they might be "placed in the neighbourhood of the Emigrants from Ireland to whom their example would be beneficial."[8] Unfortunately the settlers of McNab Township were for many years too harassed by problems of their own to be an example to anyone. If they looked to their Irish neighbours at all, it was probably to envy them their freedom from the bondage and persecution of the Laird.

V

DAYS OF ADJUSTMENT

1: *Problems in the Young Settlement*

During the 1820's transportation was the paramount problem. The early settlers assigned lots in the southeastern end of Pakenham Township had probably reached their locations over rough trails, carrying their few possessions on their backs from Ramsay. Or, they may have followed the Mississippi River to Indian Creek and turned from that stream northward and southward to their lots. Settlers destined for northwest Pakenham and those with lots near the border of McNab Township may have gone up the Madawaska from its mouth on the Ottawa, branching off at Waba Creek and following it inland to their locations. A few, among them at least some of Robinson's settlers, likely came down the Mississippi in crude boats as far as Harvey's mills and from there followed creeks, valleys, or swampy trails to their destinations.

Certainly early in the twenties travel within the township was fairly general, with Harvey's mills the focal point. In summer the canoe was the simplest means of transportation, for those fortunate enough to have access to the waterways. In winter these same waterways provided unobstructed pathways over frozen surfaces and no doubt were generally used. In summer, trails were all but impassable, but in spite of this cattle were somehow driven to even the most remote clearings in the Pakenham Mountain. The task of persuading these reluctant beasts through miles of swamp and forest must have tried the patience and endurance of the stoutest hearted. There remained the further difficulty of providing forage and shelter, and even if forage were available, of preventing the animals from straying off to be lost in the woods.

Within the clearings the most pressing needs were food and shelter for the family. Providing these necessities led, of course, to the settler's main goal—the completion of his settlement duties so that he might secure title to his land. To qualify for a deed the settler must clear a certain acreage, build a house, and clear half the width of the concession road fronting his property. In the case of Robinson's settlers the house was to be 16 by 20 feet; the clearing 3½ acres.

To enlarge his clearing was of course the settler's major concern, since upon this activity the survival of the family depended. To this end he spent his winters chopping and clearing. It is doubtful if in the first springtimes in the new land he had time to harvest the native crop from the maple trees. But if he did, the method used would not differ radically from that of the Indians. First he bored a hole into each tree with an auger, then inserted a wooden spout and placed a wooden trough beneath it. In the spring, as the sap rose, the spout carried the drops into the trough. The sap was collected and boiled down in a kettle over an open fire until it was sufficiently concentrated to be poured off and allowed to solidify into sugar.

In these activities in the clearings the women worked side by side with the men, chopping, sap-gathering, tending fires and syrup kettles, and husbanding the ashes for Robert Harvey's potashery. The children, too, were always busy, carrying wood, clearing away brush, and herding the animals—in spring to keep them from drinking from the sap troughs and in summer to protect young crops from their foraging. In the heavy work of logging, oxen were needed to haul the logs into piles if they were to be burned, to the nearest navigable stream if they were destined for Quebec, or to the site of a new house or fence. The settlement duties required that clearings be fenced, and the first fences, like the first homes, were of logs.

In the second year, wheat, turnips, and sometimes clover supplemented the initial crops of potatoes and Indian corn. At first the settler used his hoe to plant corn and potatoes; other crops he scattered by hand, often over the unstirred soil. During the work of clearing and planting he would be plagued by biting insects against which he had no defence. William Bell, for many years Presbyterian minister at Perth, described his trials in 1816: "The day being hot, I was attacked by swarms of mosquitoes, which stung me so unmercifully that, in a short time, my hands and face were covered with hard swellings. My cranium was so covered with bumps, that a phrenologist would have been at no loss to discover the bump of anything you please."[1]

His clearing completed, the settler might now give thought to a house to replace his first shanty. House building was usually a communal activity in which neighbours willingly participated, for these bees provided rare opportunities for social gatherings. Mrs. Moodie, referring to accounts of such bees appearing in propaganda literature in the Old Land, notes with considerable heat that "They

talked of log houses to be raised in a single day, by the generous exertions of friends and neighbours, but they never ventured upon a picture of the disgusting scenes of riot and low debauchery exhibited during the raising, or upon a description of the dwellings when raised—dens of dirt and misery, which would, in many instances, be shamed by an English pig-sty."[2] Walls were, indeed, raised with surprising speed; completion of the house took somewhat longer. In the early homes, the roof was covered with bark or hand-split shingles, the floor was of rough-hewn planks, and spaces between the logs of the walls were filled with wood and plastered with clay. Stones were used for the back of the fireplace and for the chimney.

In the settler's home the generous hearth that permitted roaring fires to be built was probably the secret of survival. It accommodated logs of such a size that it was possible to keep them constantly burning. This was extremely important. To strike a flint for a new fire was not easy and the alternative—to visit a neighbour and bring back live coals—was frequently impractical in sparsely populated settlements. Furniture was usually homemade, with perhaps a cherished piece brought at great effort from "home." According to the Lizars, furnishings were likely to be "A bedstead roughly hewn out with a felling-axe, the sides, posts and ends held together in screeching trepidation by strips of basswood bark; a bed of fine field feathers, a table like a butcher's chopping block, four or five benches of rude mechanism, a sap-trough for the baby's cradle. . . ."[3]

The settler must next turn his attention to road building, an exceedingly exhausting and frustrating activity in pioneer communities. Swampland presented particular problems and was usually bridged by laying logs side by side to form a rough "corduroy" surface. Each settler was required to clear half the road allowance in front of his own property. Frequently, however, adjoining lots were held by absentee owners, the Clergy, or the Crown, or they were ungranted. This meant that even if a settler could have maintained his own section of road, which is doubtful, it might lead nowhere except to the borders of his own lot. In Pakenham Township the Canadian Shield was a further barrier to road building. Since the roughest part of the Pakenham Mountain runs diagonally through the township, all roads either ended at the foot of the hills or, by a circuitous route, rambled around them. In the centre of the township it was never feasible to build roads across the mountain.

This situation had serious implications in the early development of the settlement at Little Falls. Not only did the mountain limit the number of farms close to the Falls, but it diverted to other trading centres settlers living on the other side. Moreover the fertile pockets of the Shield, where settlers were attempting to establish clearings, were often widely separated by ranges of hills, rocks, and marshland. These natural barriers tended to isolate the pioneers from one another, and increase the distance between them and Harvey's mills.

2: *Pakenham Settlers Petition the Governor*

The purely domestic problems of land clearing, housebuilding, and roadmaking were common to all pioneers. The severity of their trials depended upon their financial circumstances. Those fortunate enough to enter Pakenham Township in relative affluence were able to provide at least minimum comforts for their families, but some, like Robinson's settlers, plumbed the depths of frustration and loneliness. Many of their most crushing difficulties were not of their making but were inherent in the shortsightedness of the Government of Upper Canada in 1823.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 had made provision for an elective assembly; but it had also provided for a Legislative Council appointed by the governor, thus making possible an official oligarchy. Bright young men who secured seats in the Legislative Assembly might, if they voted on the side of power, be advanced to the Legislative Council and then to the Executive Council, the non-statutory body comprising the governor's close advisors. Members of this ruling clique—the so-called Family Compact—chiefly Old Country Anglicans with ultra-royalist leanings, were in a position "to secure for themselves, their relatives and their church almost a monopoly of political patronage and public office, along with a huge proportion of the best land in the province."[1]

"It was the spectable [sic] of a privileged group, whose title to privilege no one could ascertain, that irked, even more than the privileges themselves,"[2] declares Lower. Nevertheless to the ordinary settler in Upper Canada it was the clique's mismanagement of land that struck closest. Grants to church, Crown, and friends of Government left great tracts of country unoccupied, made construction of roads difficult, and unnecessarily isolated the early

settlers. In addition, property lines were often ill-defined and conditions under which the settlers had secured their lands were far from uniform. Almost five years before Pakenham Township was surveyed, Robert Gourlay had found, through his famous questionnaire, that settlers of Upper Canada resented most of all the difficulty of securing clear title to their holdings. In the District of Bathurst, the Land Board had its offices at Perth, 40 miles from Harvey's mills; distance impeded redress of grievances and enhanced the possibility of miscarriage of justice.

Another sore point was the lack of a system of local government that truly represented the people. Administration of "roads, bridges, drains, dams, the peace and institutions of correction"[8] rested with the Board of Quarter Sessions, also at Perth. This body was comprised of the magistrates of the District, who were appointed, and it frequently became a mere local extension of the Family Compact. Since there was no proper provision for the building of local roads, bridges, drains, and dams, these were too often neglected. Justice, too, was sometimes long delayed—a particularly trying circumstance in a day when lists of recognized crimes were long and penalties severe.

Under these conditions it was inevitable that difficulties and disputes should arise over fees, trespassing, land titles, and convictions for crime. Nor is it surprising that, having failed to secure satisfaction through the Land Board or the magistrates, recourse should frequently be made to the Lieutenant-Governor at distant York. Such was the case when Robert Harvey and a number of other settlers petitioned Sir Peregrine Maitland asking for a reduction of their fees. Fees charged on grants of land in Upper Canada had been changed a number of times, and Pakenham settlers who had been unfortunate enough to take up land when fees were high felt themselves discriminated against. Their sense of injustice may have been heightened by the knowledge that Robinson's settlers had been granted land free of charge. Their petition was, however, a straightforward statement of the facts:

> "We the undersigned Petitioners in the Townships of Pakenham & Torbolton in the District of Bathurst, do humbly beg leave to represent to His Excellency the Lt. Governor in Council that we were located for our lands when the Fees were at the high rates vis £30 for 200 & £12 for 100 acres and that the first payment has been made & we expect daily to be called upon for the second.

> "But the Petitioners are fully aware that a very considerable reduction has taken place on the Fees. & that a number of settlers have been located in the same Townships at the present rates. The Petitioners do therefore hope that His Excellency the Lt. Governor in Council will be graciously pleased to take this petition into consideration & be kindly pleased to order that we may be allowed to receive our respective grants of land on as advantageous terms as those lately located.
>
> "And the Petitioners will ever pray as in duty bound.
> Perth District of Bathurst
> 1st August 1825
>
> (Signed) Robert Hervey Jr
> Wm. McAdam
> Thos. Lynch
> Owen Quinn D.S.
> James Steen Pakenham
> Joseph Dobson
> William McRibon
> Thos. McRibon
> John Griffith
> Samuel Lowe
> James McCaron Torbolton
> 160 acres No 25 in second conn."[9]

Thos. Ridout, the Surveyor General, noted on the petition that:

> "This office is not informed what quantity of land has been located by the Land Board to the Petitioners, nor of the amount of the first instalment paid by them. If the quantity located to each person does not exceed 100 acres and the first instalment of the fees on the Grant, £4 has been paid, the further sum of £2.18.8 Sterling only, to the Land granting office will be required under your Excellencys Order in Council of 2nd December 1824. No General Order has been made for reduction of the fees on grants of 200 acres on which the first instalment is £10, But your Excellency has been pleased on special application to exempt the grantee from further payment than the sum of £6.17.6 Sterling, to make up the sum of £16.17.6 Sterling being the Fees under Regulations 5th January 1819."

This courteously phrased bit of advice apparently had its effect for the following judgment was handed down:

> "In Council 14 March 1826
>
> "The Council having taken into consideration the representations set forth in this Petition, as well as how far it would be proper to afford partial relief whilst there are so many other locatees under

similar circumstances with the Petitioners, respectfully beg leave to recommend:

"1st That in all cases where the 1st Instalment £4 in Sterling has been paid on 100 Acres, the Patent may issue on payment of the further sum of £2.18.8 Sterling to remunerate the Officers of the Land Granting Department.

"2nd That in all cases where the 1st Instalment £10 in Sterling has been paid on 200 Acres, the Patent may issue on payment of the further sum of £6.17.6 Sterling which will bring the Grant under the Regulations 5th January 1819.

"3rd That in all cases where the 1st Instalment £10 Sterling has been paid on 200 Acres, by a Person having a Wife and five Children the Patent may issue on payment of the further sum of £2.18.8 Sterling to remunerate the Officers as aforesaid."

3: *The Harvey—Frizell Land Dispute*

Early in 1825 Robert Harvey had been accused of cutting pine trees on the neighbouring property, Lot 10, Concession 11, and a lengthy controversy had ensued in which both sides referred their grievances to Major Hillier at York for the consideration of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor. Harvey freely admitted the trespass, which he declared had been "committed contrary to our orders & without our knowledge,"[1] and offered to have the damage assessed by independent referees. Nevertheless to settle the matter involved his making a trip to Perth, 40 miles away through the woods; numerous communications to York; and the submission of various statements from the surveyors. Even while Harvey was engaged in this controversy more trouble was brewing, and later in the year his right to possession of the W.½ Lot 12, Concession 12, adjacent to the lot on which his mills stood, was disputed. Documents in the Public Archives of Canada and the Ontario Archives give an illuminating picture of the manner in which such disputes were arbitrated.

The trouble involved three brothers, the Frizells, who had emigrated from Ireland to the Perth area in 1821. Sometime between 1821 and 1823 the eldest of the three returned to Ireland, but the two younger brothers, Sutton and Richard, remained and took up land a few miles from Perth. According to the chairman of the Land Board there, Sutton had been located for the S.W.½ Lot 19, Concession 11, South Sherbrooke, and Richard for the N.E.½ of the same lot. Both had drawn their implements from the Public Store.

In the spring of 1823 Richard Frizell had applied to the Land Board for 50 acres of Lot 12, Concession 12, in the new township of Pakenham. He had evidently made a trip to Little Falls and had liked what he saw, for he told Colonel Powell, chairman of the Board, that the lot was a very good one. Colonel Powell was impressed with Frizell, whom he considered "an excellent industrious young man whose interest I would be glad to promote,"[2] and advised him to take it. Powell offered to pay the fees for Richard on the understanding that he might repay at his convenience. Frizell was pleased to accept the offer, and the Board issued the following bon:

"Good to Richard Frizell for a Location Ticket for 136 Acres being Lot No 12 in the 12 Concession of Packenham.

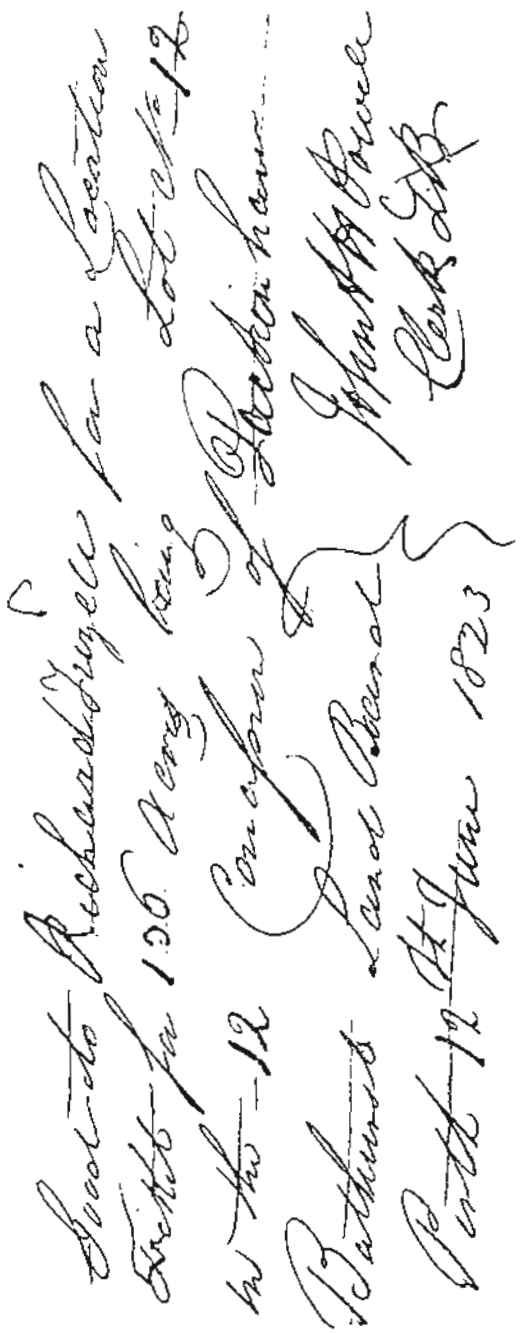
John A. H. Powell
Clerk, L. B.

Bathurst Land Board
Perth 12th June 1823"[3]

Twelve days later Richard Frizell was drowned when his canoe overturned in the rapids of the Mississippi River at Pakenham.

Meanwhile, in Ireland, the father of the Frizell brothers had died. Shortly before Richard's death, therefore, Sutton Frizell had returned to Ireland to investigate matters, settle his affairs, and bring the family to Canada.

After Richard's death the Land Board at Perth was under some pressure to regrant his Pakenham lot. Several settlers, among them Robert Harvey, had applied for it, but the chairman thought that if it could be given to Sutton Frizell, it should be retained until he returned from Ireland. Colonel Powell was willing to make the payments for Sutton as he had agreed to do for Richard. He was hopeful that this course could be followed for he had heard that, previous to Sutton's departure, he and Richard had made wills, each bequeathing his possessions to the other. A Mr. Dobson, of Drummond, the settler at whose house Richard had lived, was said to have "the case of his effects."[4] Powell therefore went to Mr. Dobson to enquire. He found, however, that Mr. Dobson had not been given a will, nor was he aware that the deceased had ever made one. This meant that Richard's heir was the eldest brother, Joseph, in Ireland. Colonel Powell had no desire to make payments on a lot for the unknown eldest brother and he agreed with the other members of the Board that Richard's lot in Pakenham ought to be regranted.



The "Bon" for a location ticket issued to Richard Frizell in 1823. (Courtesy Public Archives of Canada.) It was on this scrap of paper that Richard Frizell's heirs, in 1825, based their claim to Lot 12, Concession 12, in Pakenham Township. A lengthy controversy between Sutton Frizell and Robert Harvey over the ownership of the land ensued.

By now, Robert Harvey had applied for the W.½ Lot 12 a second time and when the Land Board met on September 1, 1823, with Colonel Powell, Mr. Henry Graham, and Doctor Reade present, his application was considered with others. For a number of reasons Harvey seemed to have the strongest claim. For one thing he had proved himself a valuable citizen; because of his mills and potash works and the money and energy he had expended a settlement had been formed. In addition he and his partner had been sufficiently progressive to clear a considerable acreage of their original holdings. More important still, Lot 12, Concession 12, covered with pine trees and considered unfit for cultivation, was, because of its proximity to Harvey's mills, of more use to him than to anyone else. As for the other applicants, there were many lots to be had in Pakenham that were thought to be more desirable. A location ticket for the W.½ Lot 12, Concession 12, was therefore issued to Harvey, and he proceeded to clear his new acreage. Meanwhile Owen Quinn had, prior to Harvey's securing the W.½, been granted the E.½ Lot 12, Concession 12.

On January 19, 1825, William Morris, who had been present at the Land Board meeting when Richard Frizell had been issued a bon for the disputed lot but who had been absent from the meeting at which the lot was regranted, addressed the following communication to Major Hillier:

> "As a member of the Bathurst District Land Board I have to report for the information of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor that a Young Man from Ireland of the name of Frisell in the service of Mr. John Powell of Packenham was unfortunately drowned in the River Mississippi, that he had been Located by the above Board for a Lot of Land in Packenham, and had sent for his friends in Ireland to join him, that on their arrival they found the Land in possession of a Mr. Harvey and I am told by the Chairman that the location of their deceased brother was cancelled. The Brother who applied to me for relief has the original Location Ticket, and altho' not the eldest of the family, states; that the proper heir (in Ireland) will authorise him to claim the Land.
>
> "Captain Marshall a Member of the Board, desires me to state; that he joins me in the above representation."[5]

As Mr. Morris had intimated, Sutton Frizell forwarded his petition to York laying claim to Lot 12, Concession 12, on the

strength of the bon issued to Richard. In Council on March 17, 1825, it was pointed out that:

> "Petitioner has every reason to suppose that the Fees required at that time were regularly paid, as Colonel Powell pledged himself to the Members of the Board that he would pay the fees for him, and Petitioner's Brother was located accordingly, that Petitioner waited on the Land Board and asked for the Land, offering to Colonel Powell the fees that he promised to pay for Petitioner's Brother, that he, Colonel Powell, to Petitioner's surprise, told Petitioner that the Land had been located to a Mr. Harvey (a Partner in a Mill concern, Petitioner understands with Colonel Powell's son) in about two months after Petitioner's Brother was drowned. That Petitioner has been told that his Brother's Location is valuable it lying close to Mr. Powell's and Mr. Harvey's joint property. . . ."[6]

The facts presented were considered, together with a statement from the Surveyor General to the effect that "The Broken Lot No 12 in the 12th Concession of Packenham contained 163 Acres, and was transmitted as vacant and grantable with other Lots in that Township to Lieut Colonel Powell, as Chairman of the Land Board for Bathurst 2nd May 1823, but it does not appear that any Person has been Returned for a Location thereof to his Office."[7] Thereupon Council ruled that: "In order that the Original Location may be sustained, if not duly forfeited, it is ordered that the Land be Claimed by Frizell's Heir."[8]

When, late in May, Colonel Powell learned that Sutton Frizell had petitioned the Governor through Mr. Morris, he immediately wrote to Major Hillier. In an indignant and lengthy epistle he hastened to present his side of the case. Scenting trouble for his son and Robert Harvey, he attempted to counter any unfavourable impressions that Frizell's petition might make; he set forth the circumstances under which the lot had been regranted; and stoutly defended his own actions.

> "Tho' conscious of the rectitude of my own conduct and that I was guided in the occasion by those principles that have and ever shall govern my actions, and I feel myself called upon to say, that I never in my life committed an act of tyranny or injustice and that no man would be further from being accessory in depriving another of his right, and that I have in repeated instances given to settlers, when good land became scarce, lots that have been selected for myself, rather than see a settler with a family go away disappointed or dissatisfied and have taken swamp land unfit for settlement to complete my locations."[9]

Powell was, nevertheless, aware of the strong opposition of William Morris and William Marshall and that he was under suspicion of favouritism, for he continued:

> "I must remark too in the present instance that if any other person than Mr. Harvey, or he, if unconnected with my son had got the lot alluded to in the petition we should not have ever heard an expression of dissatisfaction on the subject."[10]

By now Robert Harvey had learned of Sutton Frizell's action, and on June 26 sent his own petition applying for patent on the disputed lot. This document began:

> "To His Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, K. C. B. Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Upper Canada
>
> In Council
>
> "The Petition of Robert Hervey the Younger of Packenham in the Bathurst District, gentleman,
>
> "Sheweth
>
> "That your Petitioner was located on the first of September 1823 by the land board of this District for the West half of lot No 12 in the 12th Concession of Pakenham and having paid the fees and performed the settlement duties according to the terms of his location is anxious to obtain the Patent for the Same. That your Petitioner has heard that one Sutton Frezell has made application for the said lot as heir to one Richard Frezell deceased, whose name was first entered for this lot. And as your Petitioner has much improved the part granted him and would be severely injured should his Location not be confirmed respectfully submits for the consideration of your Excellency the following statement of the matter, which has come to the knowledge of your Petitioner."[11]

Harvey made a strong case for himself. He refuted the first Frizell's claim on the grounds that: Richard Frizell had paid no fees; he had not improved his lot; and at his death he had no relative in the province. Moreover, he had obtained the Pakenham lot on the supposition that he had surrendered his original location in South Sherbrooke, but this he had not done. Nor did Harvey think that Sutton Frizell had any legal claim to the lot. Sutton, he declared, was not the heir of the deceased; he had not been in the province since his brother's death; and he had failed to pay any fees or improve the lot. If he had been empowered to act for his brother it was only recently and subsequent to the expiration of the time allowed for the performance of the settlement duties.

On the other hand, Harvey contended that his own claim to the lot was a just one. He had paid the fees; cleared a considerable acreage; and because he had erected mills on the adjoining lot, had made the contested property still more valuable, particularly to himself. And to further substantiate his own claim he reminded the Lieutenant-Governor that: "in the month of July following [Frizell's death] one Owen Quinn, applied for, and obtained by unanimous consent of the following members of the land board then present, J. H. Powell, Wm. Marshall, Henry Graham and G. H. Reade, Esquires, the East part of the said lot."[12]

The usual delays and exchange of correspondence followed. A "Minute of Proceedings" dated at Perth on May 30, 1825, explained to officialdom at York why the Bathurst District Land Board had issued a bon for a location ticket to Richard Frizell on June 12, 1823:

> "Upon the application of Sutton Frizell, Emigrant from Ireland, brother of the late Richard Frizell who was drowned in the Mississippi River on the 24th June 1823, The Board have to State that on the day that the deceased was located for Lot No. 12 in the 12th Concession of Packenham, the Clerk had not received Blank Location Tickets, and therefore gave an obligation to each applicant similar to the one produced by the said Sutton Frizell, and which the Board consider as valid as the usual Ticket and was given by the Board as a valid Location Ticket. The deceased was located on the 12th of June 1823, and the Lot relocated on the first day of September following.
>
> (Signed) William Marshall
> Henry Graham
> William Morris
>
> Members present"[13]

The bon had read "136 Acres being Lot No 12 in the 12 Concession of Packenham." Since lots ordinarily contained 200 acres and 100 acres was the usual grant, Colonel Powell attempted to explain this discrepancy in a Minute of Proceedings dated June 16, 1825:

> "When the Bon for a Location Ticket for Lot No. 12 in the 12th Concession Packenham was given to the late Richard Frizell it was expressly stated in presence of the Members Captain Marshall and Mr. Graham that the Board could only grant 100 acres, but that his name should be put down for the whole untill [sic] it was ascertained whether the excess of 42 acres could be included in the grant to him,

> but as the Board was informed by a Gentleman who stated a case in point that the excess would not be obtained, they deemed it unnecessary to make a reference on the Subject and had Frizell lived the Board would have cancelled the Bon and given him a Location Ticket for one hundred acres only, as they had done to William McAdam in the adjoining Lot similarly circumstanced.
>
> "The excess in both Lots was given to Deputy Surveyor Quinn as one hundred acres, and the fees paid by him accordingly.
>
> (Signed) J. H. Powell
> Chairman"[14]

Major Hillier next wanted to know the circumstances under which the lot had been regranted to Robert Harvey, but his letter of enquiry was almost a month reaching the chairman of the Land Board. Colonel Powell had been at Point Nepean for nearly three weeks attending his son who was dangerously ill. The day after his return to Perth he dispatched the requested statement:

> "We certify that at a Meeting of the Board held at the Land Board Office Perth, on the first day of September 1823, an application was made by Robert Harvey Esqr. for the West part of Lot No. 12 in the twelfth Concession of the Township of Packenham, and the Board being unanimously of opinion that under existing circumstances the same was open for location, granted the applicant the Lot required and located him accordingly.
>
> (Signed) J. H. Powell, Chairman
> H. Graham"[15]

But now Dr. Reade, the third member of the Board who had been present when the lot was regranted, was absent "he being attached to Mr. Robinson's Settlers"[16] and a similar certificate had to be sent to him for his signature. This Dr. Reade signed and forwarded to York.

The officials had now heard all sides of the dispute, but another six months passed before the problem was finally resolved. The document closing the case read:

> "In Council 15 March 1826
>
> "Upon the Petition of Sutton Frizell, it is Ordered that the Order in Council of the 17th March 1825 on his Petition shall be rescinded and that Two hundred Acres shall be located in Horton, in the Name of Joseph Frizell as prayed for to close all claim to Lot No 12 in the 12th Concession, of Packenham, on the part of Richard Frizelle's Heir."[17]

This settled the matter so far as the Frizells were concerned, but no mention had been made of Harvey's title to the land. Typical of the exasperating delays to which settlers were subjected in this period, it was not until six years later that Robert Harvey was at last granted a land patent for the W.½ Lot 12, Concession 12, in Pakenham Township.[18]

Note: The acreage of the disputed Lot 12, Concession 12, was given in the Bon as 136 acres and in other documents as 136, 142, and 163. This lot actually contains 164 acres.

4: *Judith Dougherty's Petition*

The lot of the pioneer women, particularly those at locations deep in the Pakenham Mountain, was undeniably hard. Debarred by distance and impenetrable forests from mingling with their neighbours, they could not be other than desperately lonely. Fear, too, must have been an almost daily companion. Accidents to early settlers were common—an ill-directed axe blow, a falling tree, a blinding blizzard, a wrong turning in the trail, an unskilled shift of the paddle, a swollen spring freshet—all these could spell death and desolation. And when, as often happened, the head of the house had to be absent for long periods, a double burden of worry, loneliness, and fear fell upon the woman pioneer. Many a settler's wife, alone in the Pakenham bush, must have cringed in terror in the night at the howling of the wind, the hissing of snows in the pines, the awesome hoot of an owl, or a sick child's laboured breathing.

There were other types of disaster that sometimes overtook the pioneer women and inspired despairing pleas to the authorities at York. Such a cry for help came in 1825 from Judith Dougherty to Sir Peregrine Maitland.

"The Petition of Judith Dougherty

"Most Humbly Sheweth

"That your Petitioner is at present one of the most wretched Women on Earth, with five children, in a Strange Land in the very poorest of circumstances, and to complete my misery my husband (John Dougherty) is at present confined in the Goal at Perth, under Sentence of *death*; thus situated, having no other earthly hope, your Petitioner trusts that the miseries of a wretched family will be permited [sic] thus to approach your Excellency.

"Your Petitioner prays your Excellency in the most supplicating manner, that you will be graciously pleased to permit her husband to return to, and live again in the World, to be the help and Support of his unfortunate family. Your Petitioner begs and intreats your Excellency in the name of *Him* who wills not the death of a Sinner; Your Excellency's general character for humanity inspires your Petitioner with hope, that, when you view me and my poor wretched children, standing on the very brink of destruction, your Excellency will be induced to prevent the impending *Catastrophe*, and restore to my arms the husband of my most tender affections, and to his children a fond and loving father, And Petitioner with her little children shall incessantly pray to the Father of all Mercies, that when the Messenger of death, shall approach your Excellency, to Summon you to appear at the Tribunal of the King of Kings, the reward of a great and mercifull [sic] act, may cancel the charge of human frailties, and verify that Beatitude, Blessed are the Merciful for they shall obtain mercy.

"With impatient anxiety, and trembling hope, your Petitioner remains your Excellency's unhappy Petitioner.

her
Judith X Dougherty
mark

Pakenham Township
22nd September 1825."[1]

It must be remembered that in the early 1800's human life was held less sacred than it is today; penalties for crimes were severe and often physically painful. Among the more barbarous punishments sometimes meted out were a thousand lashes, branding of the body or burning of the hands, and standing in the pillory for a stated number of hours. Until 1833[2] a surprising number of crimes drew the death penalty, but in that year an Act was passed to reduce the number of cases for which capital punishment could be inflicted. This enlightened legislation still included robbery and burglary among the crimes punishable by death. But in 1825 the law had been even less lenient; John Dougherty's crime had been "maliciously maiming a cow."[3]

5: *The Plight of Robinson's Settlers*

"Having resided in the immediate vicinity of the Townships wherein the first Emigrants under the superintendence of the Honourable Peter Robinson were located in 1823, I have great satisfaction in bearing testimony to the industry contentment and very

general good conduct so conspicuous amongst them as also to the gratitude which they uniformly express for the kind and benevolent treatment which they have experienced and from which they are now enjoying every comfort."[1] Thus wrote George T. Burke of the Richmond Military Settlement in November 1826.

This rather glowing account is at variance with that written by Alexander Fraser describing conditions in McNab Township in the early years of settlement. The plight of Robinson's settlers, particularly in northwest Pakenham on the border of McNab, must have been very similar, for by 1826 they were coming to grips with the Canadian Shield. Fraser states that during 1825, 1826, and 1827 the settlers in McNab were reduced to dire necessity. They were, he says "compelled to leave off the clearing of their lands and go out to work for provisions; consequently some went to a Mr. Thos. Burns, of Fitzroy, and worked with him at haying and harvest and potato digging, and earned provisions—others went to Beckwith and hired out—others purchased provisions on credit in Beckwith."[2]

Fraser goes on to describe the difficulties of transporting provisions to the section of McNab lying beyond Robinson's settlers. "There were no roads, but merely a pathway from Mr. Snedden's in Ramsay to Beckwith; the remainder of the route to the Township of McNab was down the Mississippi to the mouth, then up the Chats Lake to the mouth of the Madawaska, thence up the Madawaska River to the Flat Rapid Settlement; and to other places by land on blazed paths through the bush. Boats knocked together in rough fashion, and canoes rudely manufactured, were improvised for the occasion, and small loads were brought . . . in this manner to McNab. From Beckwith to the present 'Carleton Place' and even to Snedden's, loads were transferred on the settlers' backs."[3] Such was the destitution that the wives and children "were kept alive by potatoes alone, with a little salt as a relish. . . ."[4]

Understandably, not all of Robinson's settlers remained to face such conditions; a number speedily fled the township. By 1826,[5] 12 of the 30 lots assigned in 1823 had been abandoned. Of the 18 settlers remaining, at least 7 had worked away from their locations during part of the time, and by 1830[6] some of these had given up the struggle. A study of the fate of this group that attempted to conquer the Shield gives some inkling of the difficulties of other settlers similarly situated. It explains, too, why some of the Shield villages could not survive.

The March 14, 1826, "Return of Irish Emigrants, settled in the District of Bathurst in the year 1823" does not account for *John Ahern*. A second inspection report made about 1830, apparently in answer to complaints made by settlers, has this to say about him: "This unfortunate man after working on this lot [E.½ Lot 20, Concession 7] for some time had to throw it up, and then commenced his migrations, occupying each rejected lot in succession as the other settlers fled the township always thinking the last was best. When in Pakenham last month I found him working hard on the W.½ of 22 in 4 con. of that Township on which he had cleared 4 acres lately altho' not on my list as it had formerly been given to Patrick Sullivan, who never returned from the United States, whither he went in 1824-25. I have granted Aherne a certificate for it, if I have done wrong I shall correct it at once."

Annever Cusick was reported in 1826 to be "Absent without leave, but at work in Canada" and a further note added that he was "at work in the country but will return to his land." *Denis Daley* also absent without leave was said to be a "Mason at Perth." *Morris Fitzgerald* is unaccounted for and *John French* is listed as "drowned at Kingston Upper Canada, October 1825." *William Lahie,* like Fitzgerald, is unaccounted for and *Michael Lynch,* a "millwright by trade," is "supposed to have gone to the United States." *Cornelius Roche* is reported to be a "Blacksmith at Montreal," and *James Sayward* a "Shoemaker at Perth." *Patrick Slattery* was unaccounted for in the Pakenham Township return, but a Patrick Slattery, with a family of six, is recorded at Lot 17, Concession 8, in Ramsay Township. In 1826 *John Sullivan* is said to be a "schoolmaster, in the country" and the report of 1830 states that he "was murdered 2 years ago in Huntley." *Patrick Sullivan* is said to be, in 1826, a "Labourer at work at Montreal," although the 1830 report states that he went to the United States before that date and did not return.

These were the settlers who were no longer in the township, but 18 of Robinson's original group still held lots in Pakenham in 1826. Prior to that date they had been joined by one of his settlers from Huntley,[7] John Mantle, father of James, bringing the total to 19. The Return of 1826 showed the number of members in each of these families, the births and deaths from 1823 to March 14, 1826, acreage cleared on each lot, crops raised since the arrival of the settlers, and the number of cattle and hogs in their possession.

It is interesting to note that John Dougherty is listed among the settlers in 1826. Apparently Judith Dougherty's petition had the desired effect on Sir Peregrine Maitland.

STATEMENT COMPILED FROM RETURN OF IRISH IMMIGRANTS
1826 PAKENHAM TOWNSHIP

NAME	Lot	Con.	Families			Acres Cleared	Crops Since Arrival		Livestock		REMARKS
			No.	Births	Deaths		Grain	Potatoes	Turnips	Cattle	Hogs	
Thomas Boyle	18	7	6	1	1	7	14	100	100	7	3	
Henry Boyle	25	6	S							1		Residing with his brother
Denis Clahan	3	7	S			7½				2		Residing with his brother
Timothy Clahan	3	7	6			8	65	220	150	4		
John Doherty	23	7	6	1		8			20	2		
Busted Green	22	8	2			7	5			1		Worked out at his trade, shoemaker
George Green	3	5	S							2		Worked nearly 1 year at Brockville
John Green (Sr.)	22	8	4	2		4		130	20	3		
John Green (Jr.)	21	7	4	1		5	4	60	20	1		
Thomas Green	21	9	S			4				4		
William Green	1	6	2			6	40	100	50	2		
Michael Gregg	24	6	3	1		6½						Working for the last year at his trade, blacksmith
William Gregg	25	6	5	1		8	15	240		3	1	
George "Hanlver"	25	5	S									Worked out at the Grand River
Timothy Kennedy	1	5	5			6	20	40	16			Worked out at Brockville
Henry Mahony	27	6	2	1	1	3	10					Worked at his trade, saddler
James Manile	25	5	S									Residing with his father
John Manile	25	7	6	1		6	22	210	110	4	1	
Dennis Shanahan	24	8	3	1		5						Worked last year on the Ottawa, but is now on his land.
			56	10	2	91	195	1100	486	36	5	

Note that in 1824: Henry Boyle was on E.½ 18, Con. 6; George Green was on E.½ 6, Con. 6; George Hanniver was on W.½ 26, Con. 6; James Manile was on W.½ 25, Con. 7, now held by John Manile, his father.

According to the Return there were now only 56 in the group, a loss of 20 in little more than two years, and this in spite of a net gain of eight in births over deaths. Four of the settlers had cleared no land; the other fifteen had a total of 91 acres, an average of a little more than six acres each. This represented some 27 months' effort. Potatoes were the main crop, lending credence to Fraser's contention that this was the staple diet. The absence of seven settlers from their lots also substantiates the claim that many of them were unable to support their families from the produce of the farms. Of all the settlers, the Clahans with 15½ acres cleared, 65 bushels of grain, 220 of potatoes, 150 of turnips, and 6 cows, appear to have made the greatest progress. The reports of 1823 and 1826 differ as to the composition of the Clahan families, but the fact that in each case the total of individuals is seven suggests that Denis Clahan's wife and child were counted with Timothy's family in 1826 and Denis erroneously classed as single. If this is the case, the relatively large labour force of the Clahans—two men, Denis Clahan's wife, Timothy's two grown-up daughters, and Margarette Clahan—may explain their progress.

Unfortunately, in the next few years, the Robinson settlers were to be further depleted; this time the Clahans were among the casualties. The Inspection Report of 1830 says of Dennis:

> "Died in 1828, about 14 acres cleared, and occupied by his mother who is assisted by her sons-in-law on the farm. Thro a mistake the most of this clearing, the dwelling house, and barn are on the rear of Timothy's lot, I have been told the man who occupied this lot, that if he did not disturb the widow, during the time she wished to occupy the lot, that I would do nothing that would retard his effecting the purchase of it from the Govt, but that if he took advantage of her destitute situation I would recommend it to Mr. Robinson that the Widow Clahan should get a deed of this lot in trust for her grandchildren on account of her deceased son."

Meanwhile *Timothy Clahan* had sold his lot and gone to the United States.[8] By 1840[9] the Clahan name had been so completely forgotten that other settlers were given as the original locatees of Lot 3, Concession 7.

In 1826 *Henry Boyle*, finding Lot 25, Concession 6, unfit for cultivation, received a lot in Huntley.[10] He was followed some years later by his brother *Thomas Boyle*.[11] No mention is made in the Inspection Report of 1830 of *John Dougherty* but Francis Allan's Inspection Report of Bathurst District, 1840, lists his lot as

unoccupied. The Greens indulged in considerable lot trading and their movements are difficult to trace. *Busted Green,* however, remained in the township at least until 1836 when he received his land patent.[12]

In May 1826 Robert Harvey wrote a letter to the authorities on *George Green's* behalf. It read: "The Br. George Green who was Located for the East of 3 in the 5th of Pakenham [his location in 1826, but he had been located for E. ½ Lot 6, Concession 6, in 1823] finds it to be unfit for settlement per the undernoted certificate & as I understand Mantle has left his Lot East of 25 in 5th of Pakenham Green wishes to get it in place of the one he now has. May I suggest you will exchange it for him upon his producing to you Mantles resignation of the above Lot originally located by you to him." The "undernoted certificate" was signed by Owen Quinn and read: "I certify the interior of the East half of Lot No three on the fifth Conn of Pakenham to be bad and unfit for settlement. May 1826."[13] In the report of 1830 George Green was mentioned as "always well conducted, never left the Settlement," but in Allan's report of 1840 his lot is not listed.

Both *John Green, Jr.,* on the E. ½ Lot 21, Concession 7, and *John Green, Sr.,* on the E. ½ Lot 22, Concession 8, were granted land patents on May 30, 1836,[14] and remained in the township for some years. *Thomas Green* was not mentioned in 1830 and in 1840 his lot was listed as unoccupied. *William Green,* who claimed that he switched lots with George Hanniver, completed the settlement duties on Hanniver's original location and on July 18, 1839, petitioned for a land patent.[15] This was granted in September of that year.[16] The Report of 1830 says that *Michael Gregg,* of the E.½ Lot 24, Concession 6, "Made a large clearing on this lot but altho working on it for two years like the rest of the settlers had to reject it, . . . has remained in the settlement since he was married. I consider that he would make a good settler, if he had land on which he could live." Subsequently, Michael Gregg exchanged his lot for a lot in Huntley.[17] Of *William Gregg* there is no record in the Reports of 1830 and 1840.

George Hanniver, who was involved in an exchange of lots with William Green, had evidently moved more than once, for in the Report of 1826 his location is given as Lot 25, Concession 5. His name appears in the 1842 Census records for E. ½ Lot 1, Concession 6,[18] William Green's original location. *Timothy Kennedy,* who was reported to be working out at Brockville in 1826, is not

accounted for in the Reports of 1830 and 1840. *Henry Mahony* was listed in the Return of 1826 but was "working at his trade." The Report of 1830 says of him that he "Cleared a few acres on this lot in 23-24 after that he left the land, I am informed that he never returned since, also that he now follows his trade (sadler) in Montreal. . . ." *John Mantle* and his son *James Mantle* had also left the township in the 1820's. In the Report of 1830, the note concerning James Mantle reads: "Rejected long since, having gone with his father to Huntley merely keeping possession of this [W.½ Lot 25, Concession 7] for the sake of the little hay they had off their large clearing on this lot, residing now on 27-10 Huntly."

Denis Shanahan remained in the township,[19] although it is evident that he, too, attempted to escape. The comments concerning him reveal all too clearly the disappointment of the settlers in their locations, their frustrations in trying to better the situation, and the impotent anger they felt toward the authorities responsible for their settlement. "15 acres cleared," reads the Report of 1830, "insisted on getting a certificate for 21 on 9 Con Huntly (E.½) 'tis a lot I know nothing about, he said Mr. Robinson had promised it to him was very abusive, I granted him a certificate for the lot on which he lives, as he insisted on getting one, which I believe he tore up. In truth the land he is on is wretched bad."

Surprisingly, two of the settlers, *Annever Cusick* and *James Sayward,* who had been absent when the return of 1826 was made, returned to the township and were granted patents on their original locations.[20]

It would be as unfair to suggest that the Shield was responsible for all the difficulties of Robinson's settlers as it would be unwise to generalize on the soil conditions in Pakenham Township on the basis of their experience. Even on the Shield there are many pockets of fertile soil, although these are sometimes widely separated. In addition, conditions today are far different from those of 1823 when the forests masked rock and fertile soil alike, and marshes that have since been tamed by drainage abounded. As the years passed, settlers made terms with the Shield, capitalizing on the timber and grazing possibilities of the rougher sections and cultivating the fertile valleys. Crop rotations, fertilization, and improved drainage have increased the productive capacity of its agricultural areas. Nevertheless the greater part of the Shield area of the township is unfit for settlement.

VI

EARLY MISSIONARIES IN PAKENHAM TOWNSHIP

1: *Social and Religious Climate in Upper Canada*

Early missionaries in Pakenham Township in the 1820's and 1830's represented the Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic faiths. Many of the adherents of these churches had brought with them from their homelands memories of bitter religious persecutions, long-standing enmities, and deeply rooted prejudices. In addition, differences in tradition, temperament, and the educational qualifications of their clergy separated the denominations.[1] The ritual of the Roman Catholic Church and the recited prayers of the Anglicans were in sharp contrast with the extemporaneous praying and the absence of liturgy in Methodist and Presbyterian chapels. The Presbyterian service with its stern simplicity, dignified preaching, and solemn psalm-singing was far removed from the emotional atmosphere, fervent discourses, and sprightly hymns of Methodist gatherings. Anglicans and Presbyterians disagreed over forms of service, but both insisted on a well-educated clergy and they had a common disdain for Methodists, who laid less emphasis on this requirement.

Conditions in Upper Canada did little to reduce the many frictions among the churches, and even added a few new sources of resentment. Chief among these was the vexing question of the Clergy Reserves. The Reserves had been set up as a grant to the Protestant clergy. This provision, of course, disregarded the Roman Catholic Church, but in practice it discriminated as seriously against protestant denominations other than the Anglican Church. The phrase "Protestant Clergy" was "interpreted by authority to mean the Anglican ministers without question and ministers of the Church of Scotland grudgingly."[2] The Anglican Church was attempting to become the established church in Canada, and because it was supported by many members of the Family Compact it was in a position to press its claims. Among its prohibitions none was more galling than its refusal to allow the clergy of some other denominations to solemnize marriages.

Within the churches there was a certain amount of strife also. Amongst the Anglicans, differences existed between high church and low church; American Methodism, which had come in by way of the United States, was in conflict with Wesleyan Methodism from England; various other branches of Presbyterianism were at odds with the Established Church of Scotland. With this background it is not surprising that on the mission fields of the Bathurst District extremes in attitudes, practices, and behaviour should be apparent. Nowhere was fanaticism more marked than in districts where north of Ireland Protestants came in contact with south of Ireland Roman Catholics.

Life in the clearings to which the early missionaries came was full of vivid contrasts. For many of the settlers it was lusty, robust, and cruel. In wretched taverns men fought with bared fists and heavy boots over their women, their fences, their politics, and their religion. For others, the new land wore a gentler aspect; it provided a better way of life and freedom of worship. Settlers who valued these gifts crowded log cabins and tiny shops for the rare services; walked miles to have their children baptized; flocked to outdoor camp-meetings; and religiously observed family worship in their rude homes.

The back townships of the Bathurst District were a young man's country; most settlers were bachelors or young men with wives and small children. The family was self-contained and self-sufficient. In the home, the farm-grown food was prepared; clothing was manufactured; the few elderly and the sick were cared for. Illness was to be feared and fought with homespun cures or the primitive weapon of superstition. The death of a child was to be lamented, that of a wife deeply deplored, but the death of a husband was an utter catastrophe. The widow who had the opportunity to remarry speedily, no matter how unsuitable the match, was indeed fortunate. The unthinkable alternative was to apprentice her children and become the household "slave" in a home that could afford such a luxury. Few women had the means or the opportunity to do otherwise.

Children for apprenticeship were in demand in the young settlements where every pair of hands, no matter how small, could be useful. Innis and Lower, in *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History,* 1783-1885, quote an early writer as saying that "Children, whose parents are unable to support them, may be

provided for by binding them until they become of age, as apprentices to farmers, with whom they are generally brought up as one of the family; and a cow, a sheep, and some seed, is usually given to them when they leave, to begin with on a farm. In this manner, orphans are generally taken care of. It rarely happens, that a man who has a family finds it necessary to bind any of his children to others; and he who has the most numerous offspring, is considered to have the best opportunity of prospering, in a country where land is abundant, and in which the price of labour is high."[3]

Orphaned children were not always brought up "as one of the family" however. There were frequent notices in the Press offering one penny reward for the apprehension of young apprentices. Adams in *Grandfather Stories*[4] intimates that in Upper New York State two cents and a bucket of ashes was the usual reward for an apprentice his master did not consider valuable enough to have returned. Around the mills in Pakenham Township the corresponding price put on the heads of these unhappy and unwanted waifs was no doubt the "one penny" offered in the advertisements of the day.

There were, as today, those with marital difficulties. Even in this period revealing notices often appeared in the Press: "My wife . . . has left my bed and board without any just cause, I hereby forbid any person harbouring or trusting her on my account, as I will not be answerable for any debt she may contract."[5] Sometimes there would be a sequel when the hard conditions of the times and dire necessity brought the woman to terms: "My wife . . . having Returned to her former residence, she is again restored to all the rights and privileges of a dutiful and faithful wife."[6]

Practical jokes, a favourite type of amusement, were often cruel or painful, depending upon whether the prankster was moved by malice or a perverted sense of humour. There were those who could mutilate animals by cutting off tails or slitting ears. Or those who could put a bristling porcupine in a barrel in a dark corner and then send each unsuspecting victim to the barrel for nails so that they might have the sport of seeing him draw out a hand painfully festooned with quills.[7] There were lawbreakers, like the one described in 1835 who escaped through a window of "Busteed" Green's tavern while he was being escorted to the Perth Gaol: "about 18 years of age—5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, fair hair, inclined to sandy with a squint in one eye. He wore an old straw hat, a grey coarse coat with short skirts and blue vest, all in bad trim."[8]

Such were the social conditions in the first 15 years of the township's history. There were no doctors, no organized charities to care for the destitute, few schools, and, until close to the end of the period, no churches. Drunkenness was widespread; loneliness and frustration the common lot. On the northwestern border of the township were Robinson's settlers fighting a losing battle with the Shield, and beyond them the harassed and deeply troubled settlers of McNab. Across the whole of Upper Canada dissatisfactions over the Clergy Reserves and the autocracy of the Family Compact were simmering and were soon to boil over in the Rebellion of 1837. It was under these conditions that the first missionaries worked. Like many of the early settlers, they came into Pakenham Township by way of the Military Settlements of Perth and Richmond.

2: *The Coming of the Methodists*

In *The First Century of Methodism in Canada* J. E. Sanderson recreates, in phrases rich in imagery, the type of primitive Methodism brought to Upper Canada by the first missionaries. "Revival meetings, protracted services, open-air exercises, camp-meetings, etc., were," he says "means employed by the ministries . . . plain, simple, earnest preaching . . . succeeded by short, fervent praying and vehement responses produced marvellous results. Men who went to mock remained to pray. Profligate sinners were preached to their knees and prayed to their feet again. Strong men fell to the ground as if from a rifle shot. Women shrieked in their agony of soul. People lay as if dead upon the ground. . . . Whole congregations were swept down under the divine power. Communities were shaken as a forest in a winter gale. . . ."[1] It was a religion highly charged with emotionalism and as such it had a strong appeal for many of the lonely settlers on the well-organized Methodist circuits of Upper Canada.

During the first year of settlement (1823) the Methodist Circuit of "Perth and Back Settlements," to which Pakenham Township belonged, was under the direction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.[2] This branch of Methodism had originated in England, but because it had come in by way of the United States it was charged with "radicalism"—a damaging word since the war of 1812-14. To secure a more favourable position, the Canadian Methodists separated from the New York Conference

in 1824 and set up the Canada Conference.[3] The Conference was divided into Districts, each headed by a Presiding Elder, and the Districts were divided into Circuits. Itinerant ministers, working from a base, travelled through each Circuit, organizing Methodist societies and classes, and preaching in homes, schoolhouses, or churches if the latter were available. The Methodist cause gained a considerable following in the new settlements for emotionalism was by no means the whole of Methodism. Methodists had a strong sense of duty to their neighbours and were in the forefront of all movements of social progress.

In 1823 Franklin Metcalf, with Solomon Waldron as his assistant, was in charge of Perth and the Back Settlements Circuit. In the colourful terminology of the period it was said of them that "Metcalf makes the log-heaps, and Waldron sets them on fire."[4] So encouraged was their Presiding Elder with their work that he agreed to give the Circuit a Quarterly Meeting in the middle of the week, in a small log chapel, in the town of Perth. The report says that on the second day of the meeting some 150 persons were present, some of whom had come 10 or 12 miles on foot. At the close of the "love-feast" between 20 and 30 gave their names for membership. "Some of them, however, had been members in Ireland, and were greatly prejudiced against American Methodism; but their prejudices all gave way at this meeting. . . ."[5] Mr. Metcalf records that he and his assistant formed a four-weeks Circuit and succeeded in establishing a society of upwards of 100 at Perth, and societies in other parts of the Circuit.[6] Metcalf was married during the winter of 1823-24 under circumstances that did nothing to improve the feeling between the Anglicans and the Methodists of the District. "Great repugnance to be forced by partial laws to be married by any but a minister of his own denomination, entailed a journey, with one single friend—the lady's brother—in very stormy weather, across the St. Lawrence, to the State of New York, to have the solemn rite performed."[7] During the following year Solomon Waldron, assisted by a local preacher, carried on in Perth and the new settlements in Ramsay, Lanark, and Pakenham. In winter they crossed the Mississippi River on the ice and in the summer used canoes, their horses swimming behind them, to make a house-to-house visitation on their Circuit.[8]

The Reverend John Ryerson and the Reverend Samuel Belton were appointed to the Circuit in 1825.[9] John Ryerson and two of his brothers had been converted to Methodism at a camp meeting,

whereupon their Anglican father, after the custom of the day, "promptly turned their pictures to the wall."[10] Ryerson and Belton left for their Circuit on September 25, taking eight days of hard riding to reach Perth.[11] Here they established their headquarters "laid by their best garments, put on less presentable clothes, and prepared for the bush."[12] From the first Mr. Belton felt at a disadvantage, for Mr. Ryerson was considered very eloquent. Moreover, "among the half-pay officers in that military settlement, Mr. R. had the reputation of being a gentleman in his connections, and was well educated."[13] In spite of these inequalities the two carried on amicably through a year "of hard labor and much peril"[14] on the Circuit (now the Perth and Mississippi Circuit). Mr. Ryerson says that "Mr. Belton first visited what was called the mission part of our field, though I do not know how any part could be called anything else."[15] Mr. Ryerson did not, however, shirk his share of the work in this more remote part of the Circuit for this older brother of the famous Egerton Ryerson records: "At Pakenham I preached to the lumbermen in their shanty and slept on a "shake-down" of straw."[16] The newly settled townships of the Circuit were, nevertheless, Belton's special charge. He formed a two-week Circuit of 14 preaching places; gathered 40 persons into the society, which he formed into 5 classes; and thus laid the foundation for the Mississippi Circuit, "a circuit abounding in intelligent hearers, strong in Calvinism and (like old Ireland in the north, and Scotland generally) hard to yield to the Methodist itinerancy."[17]

In 1826 William H. Williams[18] had charge of Perth and the Mississippi. His assistant was Andrew Playfair an army officer who lived on the Circuit and who had been converted by Mr. Metcalf. Unfortunately Playfair's connection was later severed because of conduct unacceptable to the Methodist moral code. He had consented to attend a late dinner party given on a Sunday by one of the other officers. More serious still, parlour dancing was going on in another apartment. Even though Playfair saw the dancing only by accident, and withdrew as soon as he possibly could without giving offence to his host, the incident incriminated him in the eyes of the church. In 1827 the Mississippi was separated from Perth and became a Circuit.[19] It included all the settlements on the northwest side of the Mississippi River and Mr. Williams was the itinerant minister. He was popular with the Scottish Presbyterians of Lanark and it was hoped that he might be able to bring some of them into the Methodist fold.

During the next five years the organization of the Circuit remained unchanged, while the itinerant changed yearly. During 1828 Alvah Adams,[20] hard-working and popular, added 20 to his flock and made plans for a "Boneshire" mission. In the next year John Black[21] increased the membership from 71 to over 100. In 1830 Charles Wood[22] was in charge of the Mississippi, but Alvah Adams, now on the Bonnechere mission, apparently looked after that part of Pakenham Township lying east of the Mississippi. He reports: "I have preached in most of the settled parts of the townships of Clarendon and Bristol, in the Lower Province; and in the townships of Pakenham, Fitzroy, McNabb, and Horton, in the Upper Province. . . . I have formed another small society in Pakenham. In the townships of Fitzroy, McNabb, and Horton, the distances between appointments are great; and the roads being exceedingly bad, render it impracticable to use a horse, except in the winter."[23] Simon Huntingdon held the first camp meeting on the Mississippi Circuit in 1831. Perhaps to this event may be attributed the increase of 63 in the membership, for Huntingdon says that the meeting "had a surprisingly good effect, and gave an impulse to the spirit of revival in that back country."[24] Meanwhile James Brock[25] was serving on the "Bonshire" mission, but in 1832[26] he took charge of the Mississippi Circuit.

Throughout these years controversy over the Clergy Reserves was raging, with John Strachan champion of the Anglican position and Egerton Ryerson that of the Methodist. Ryerson's defence of Methodism, published in reply to Strachan's attack[27] against the Methodists in his sermon at the funeral of Bishop Mountain in 1825, had made the members of that faith a powerful force in the wave of agitation for reform. The Methodists were leading the group advocating secularization of the Clergy Reserves with the proceeds to be devoted to education. Other groups were sponsoring the cause of Responsible Government and reform of the Council. One of Ryerson's moves to strengthen the Methodist cause was to bring about a union of the Canadian and Wesleyan Methodists.[28] Thus, in 1833, the Mississippi Circuit came under the Wesleyan Methodist Conference[29] with James Brock continuing for another year. He also had superintendency of the "Bonchere" mission, where Stephen Brownell[30] was performing wonders. In 1834[31] William McFadden and Daniel Burney came to the Circuit.

In these first 11 years of the history of Pakenham Township most of the itinerant missionaries were bachelors or newly married men whose wives faced loneliness and hardship equal to that of any of the settlers. The itinerants, themselves, were martyrs for their faith. In their travels they took food and crude shelter where it was offered, preached in shanties stifling in the hot and humid summers and bone-chillingly cold in winter. Plagued by mosquitoes, they waded through swamps where even a horse refused to go, stumbled over fallen trees, and toiled along the rivers in canoes or makeshift boats. In winter they floundered through deep snow or broke through the uncertain ice of swamps and streams, while icicles formed on their clothing and beards, and trails became obliterated by drifts.

But times were changing and the year 1835 saw the dawn of a new era on the Mississippi Circuit. In that year two chapels[32] were built. One of them, on the eighth line of Ramsay Township, was within reach of the settlers of Pakenham, although it was some 15 miles distant from some of them. The chapel was a community effort, built largely by the settlers themselves, and was ready for occupancy late in the year. On December 10, 1835, it was formally presented to the ministers then on the Circuit, William McFadden and John McIntyre, and dedicated by the Reverend Anson Green, who for years had been associated with Methodism in the Bathurst District. To this chapel the settlers of Pakenham trudged over the rough trails to attend Quarterly Meetings. Accounts of these days state that on Quarterly Meeting Sunday the settlers would rise early, complete the chores around the clearing, and then, carrying children and food, walk to the chapel on the eighth line for the "breaking of the bread." Service over, they ate the food they had brought with them, attended a second service, and began the walk of 10, 12, or 14 miles home again. In the closing years of the 1830's[33] their ministers (John McIntyre and Vincent B. Howard in 1836, John Armstrong and Stephen Brownell in 1837, John Armstrong in 1838, and Alvah Adams and Thomas Harmon in 1839) continued their visitations through the widespread Circuit, establishing societies and classes, baptizing infants, and burying the unfortunate victims of accident, illness, or "the drink." Before the end of the decade the Methodists of Pakenham Township, among them the Elliotts, Scotts, and Wilsons, were beginning to plan for a chapel of their own.

3: *The Early Anglican Mission*

The activity of the Methodists in Pakenham Township in the first 15 years of settlement was made possible by the fact that Methodists did not depend entirely upon ordained ministers. Much of their work, particularly in the mission fields, was carried on by lay preachers, exhorters, and class leaders. Anglican and Presbyterian churches, on the other hand, insisted on an educated clergy, and they were at some difficulty to keep the mission fields of Upper Canada supplied. Consequently, as in the Bathurst District, a lone missionary was sometimes in charge, for many years, of a large and widely scattered mission.

In the early years of Pakenham Township, the headquarters of the Anglican Church[1] was in Quebec. In 1793 Jacob Mountain had been consecrated first Lord Bishop of Quebec, with Lower and Upper Canada as his diocese. He was succeeded by the Reverend Charles James Stewart, and he in turn by George Jehosaphat Mountain, son of the first Bishop. The first Anglican missionary to Perth, the Reverend Michael Harris, served under all three bishops.

Mr. Harris[2] arrived at his mission in 1819 and immediately antagonized the minister of the Presbyterian Church. In this period the Anglican Church assumed the right to supervise education and Mr. Harris had, with the sanction of the authorities, taken over the schoolhouse and teaching established by Mr. Bell. By 1823, however, relations between the two had so improved that in that year Mr. Harris, Mr. Bell, and Mr. Metcalf, the Methodist missionary, cooperated in establishing a Union Sunday School.[3]

Early church records[4] indicate that it was Mr. Harris or a missionary under his direction who first visited members of the Anglican communion in Pakenham Township. Visits were widely spaced; not more than two appear to have been made each year. Most, though not all, of the visits were made in the winter months of December, January, and February, probably because at this season trails were more likely to be passable for a horse. One of Mr. Harris' first visits appears to have been on September 22, 1823, when a baptismal service was held. Apparently services were held, and the children baptized, either at Harvey's mills or in the homes of settlers.

Either prior to or early in 1839, an Anglican church was built in Pakenham Township on Lot 13, Concession 12, on the Arnprior road a short distance from the falls on the Mississippi. William

McAdam had, in 1838, secured a deed for this lot and on July 13, 1839, he gave one acre of it to the church for a burying ground. The document transferring the land states that "said acre of land includes the Episcopal Church now erected."[5] Two weeks later, on July 27, 1839, the Venerable John Strachan,[6] Archdeacon of York, was appointed to the newly created See of Toronto; Pakenham Township was in the area under his guidance.

Although no documents can be found describing the first church and rectory, elderly residents of the area say that the church was of wood, 60 by 40 feet, and that it was built by the combined efforts of parishioners of Fitzroy and Pakenham. Among the early parishioners[7] in Pakenham Township were John Belford, John Green, Sr., Michael Cavanagh, Thomas Ellis, Andrew Forbes, Robert Harvey, William McAdam, John McMunn, James Scott, James Shaw, Thomas Stanley, James and John Steen, and John Timmons.

4: *Presbyterianism Reaches Pakenham*

Like Methodism and Anglicanism, Presbyterianism in the Bathurst District had its origin in Perth, and like Methodism it advanced, township by township, to Pakenham. Lower has said that, with a few exceptions, "Presbyterianism before 1830 was American in origin, several varieties having come in from New York State via Niagara to Upper Canada."[1] The Bathurst District was one of the exceptions and the explanation lies in the predominance of Scottish settlers who from 1816 to 1823 had come to the Military Settlements of Perth and Lanark, partially filling the townships surrounding these centres.

The Perth settlers of 1816, eager to have a pastor of their own faith, had written the Edinburgh Presbytery[2] asking that a minister be ordained and sent to them. At that very moment William Bell, after difficult years of preparation for the ministry, was awaiting ordination. He was offered the call to Perth, Upper Canada, and accepted with gratitude, the more so because he, himself, had applied to Earl Bathurst,[3] Secretary of State for the Colonies, asking whether a salary could be provided for a minister offering to go to the Canadas. Although not of the Established Church, Bell was brought up in a strict Church of Scotland home in Lanarkshire under stern Presbyterian discipline.

In June 1817 William Bell, his wife and six children, arrived at Perth. Mr. Bell immediately set about land clearing, church building, visiting, preaching, and school teaching. For some years he worked alone, attending to the spiritual needs of the Presbyterians of Perth and the surrounding settlements. There were, in the Canadas, a number of other ministers of the Secession Church and Mr. Bell soon became an influential member of this group. In 1818[4] the Secession clergymen formed themselves into the Presbytery of the Canadas; the founders of this presbytery were William Bell of Perth, William Smart of Brockville, William Taylor of Osnabruck, and Robert Easton of Montreal. They decided that the presbytery should be independent of the Old Country churches, and it was hoped that all Presbyterian ministers and congregations in the Canadas would unite under this one organization. This, however, was not to be; among others, the Church of Scotland ministers did not unite with the Presbytery of the Canadas.

Meanwhile Mr. Bell's work on his large mission was becoming more onerous, and in 1820 at the request of the people of Beckwith Township he asked the Presbytery of Edinburgh to chose and ordain a minister for them. When none was immediately forthcoming, they sent a second call in 1821 asking for a minister "of godly carriage and conversation, gifted in prayer, skilled in the practise of medicine, and able to preach in English and Gaelic."[5] The salary offered was £75 a year with each family pledged to give $3.00 or $1.00 and two bushels of wheat. Surprisingly, a man was found with all the qualifications; he was Dr. George Edward Buchanan, who had a charge in Edinburgh, was 60 years old, and had a wife, eight daughters, and two sons. Dr. Buchanan came with his family by way of the St. Lawrence route, reached Franktown in August 1822, and took over part of the area formerly attended by Mr. Bell. Next to come to Mr. Bell's assistance was Dr. John Gemmill,[6] minister, medical doctor, and printer, who settled on the Lanark mission and apparently made his living chiefly by printing.

For some years the Secession ministers had a monopoly in the Bathurst District, but in the 1830's the situation changed radically with the influx of ministers of the Church of Scotland. A number of Mr. Bell's congregation in Perth, led by William Morris, member of the Legislative Assembly, had asked to have a minister of the Established Church[7] sent to them. Their call was answered by Thomas C. Wilson, who, of course, took over some of Mr. Bell's

followers. Shortly, the Reverend William McAlister, also of the Church of Scotland, came to Lanark where Dr. Gemmill was stationed, and the Reverend John Smith was sent to Dr. Buchanan's area in Beckwith.[8]

In 1833 the Synod of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland received 11 ministers,[9] among them the Reverend John Fairbairn and the Reverend George Romanes. Meanwhile, organization of a congregation of the Church of Scotland in Ramsay Township brought this branch of Presbyterianism within reach of Pakenham Township. In September 1833[10] the committee of the Ramsay church invited the Reverend John Fairbairn to become their minister and he assumed charge in October. Fairbairn was described by Mr. Wilson of Perth as "a young man of deep piety, fervent in prayer and an excellent preacher."[11] Mr. Bell and his fellow ministers of the Secession Church made a number of attempts to bring about a union with the ministers of the Church of Scotland but they were unsuccessful.[12] So, by 1834, a separate presbytery, the Presbytery of Bathurst,[13] organized under the Church of Scotland, had the following ministers: John Cruikshank, Bytown; Thomas C. Wilson, Perth; William McAlister, Lanark; John Smith, Beckwith; John Fairbairn, Ramsay; and George Romanes, Smith's Falls.

First steps in the organization of the Ramsay congregation of the Church of Scotland were taken in the spring and summer of 1834. Elders were appointed, ordained by Mr. Fairbairn, and placed in charge of different districts of Ramsay Township. The elder responsible for Concessions 8 to 12, from Lot 15 upwards, was also responsible for the members living in Pakenham Township. Plans were made for a communion service and tokens distributed to intending communicants. For the next few years regular services, communion services, and meetings of session were held in the homes, in the schoolhouse, or, if the weather permitted, outdoors. After the building of the Methodist chapel on the eighth line of Ramsay in 1835, the Presbyterian congregation sometimes held services there. Late in 1836, or early in 1837, their own chapel was completed; it was built near the Methodist chapel on the eighth line.

Mr. Fairbairn was paid an annual salary of £70. The precentor, who was chosen by the congregation and under the direction of the session, received £8 for leading the psalm singing. Expenses were met by seat rents, weekly collections, and other givings. The

discipline of the Ramsay church was strict, church attendance a serious matter, and the good name of the church was zealously guarded. Any member bringing reproach upon himself as a professing Christian or upon his church might be admonished before the session or even publicly from the pulpit, and suspended from church privileges. Absence from communion without just cause was sufficient reason for striking the offender from the church roll.

The first member from Pakenham Township to be admitted to the Ramsay congregation appears to have been Hugh Dickson in 1835. In the next four years others of the future congregation at Pakenham who attended the Ramsay church were Mr. and Mrs. Allan Carswell, Mr. and Mrs. James Connery, Mr. and Mrs. William Connery, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Dickson, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Dickson, James Fleming, Robert Fleming, Sr., Robert Fleming, Jr., John Harvie, Mrs. Alexander Lindsay, Alexander McVicar, William McVicar, Mrs. Moffat, Mrs. Peter Russell, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Wood, and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Whyte.

The Presbyterians of Pakenham Township remained members of the Ramsay Auld Kirk congregation until the end of the decade.

5: *Roman Catholic Missionaries*[1]

During the early years of settlement in the Bathurst District the Roman Catholic parishes belonged to the diocese of Quebec, and from 1819 the Reverend Alexander MacDonell was Vicar-General of Upper Canada, under Bishop Plessis. The first missionary in the Bathurst District was the Reverend Pierre Jacques de la Mothe, a Frenchman who was ordained in France in 1790 and came to Quebec in 1813. Until the close of the war, he was chaplain to the de Watteville regiment, and later he served for a time as missionary on the Rideau River.

Father de la Mothe came to Perth in 1817, but his stay in the new Military Settlement was not a happy one. The few Catholics were virtually lost among the many Protestants, and his task in the English-speaking community was extremely difficult because he spoke only French. He attempted to raise funds for a chapel but in 1820, thoroughly discouraged, he left Perth with the chapel still unbuilt. He was followed on the mission by Father Sweeny who reported in 1821 that the number of Catholics had grown considerably. In these years the missionary at Perth had jurisdiction over the Catholic mission in the Military Settlement of Richmond, where

Superintendent Burke, who was a Catholic, did all he could to assist the early missionaries. In 1822 the Vicar-General sent Father Haran (or Heron) to Richmond.

Reverend John MacDonald, the next missionary to Perth, found, in April 1823, that the chapel was still not completed. Later in the year the Roman Catholic population in Ramsay and the neighbouring townships was augmented by the arrival of Peter Robinson's Irish emigrants. In addition to his other duties, Father MacDonald went to set up a mission among them. Other than Robinson's settlers there were few Roman Catholics in Pakenham Township in the early years. Father MacDonald may have continued to minister to the families of this group, or they may have been part of the missions of Richmond or Huntley. From 1827, when Father Haran left Richmond for Bytown, the Richmond Settlement was looked after by the priests of Bytown. Huntley, visited in 1823 by Father McNamara, was later under the Bytown priests and it is possible that these missionaries also had Pakenham Township under their care.

Meanwhile the mission at Perth was prospering under Father MacDonald's leadership and in 1825 he was able to report that "la mission misérable de Perth" was now a well-established parish and lacked nothing. The following year saw a major change in the organization of the Church; Upper Canada was raised to a diocese, with Kingston as See and Father MacDonell as Bishop.

In 1836 the Reverend Terence Smith was named missionary to Richmond and in the next year he was given supervision over the Huntley mission. Father Smith visited Pakenham also. Unfortunately few records have been preserved concerning the mission of Pakenham and little is known of its early years. Certain it is, however, that the Roman Catholic missionaries in the township faced the privations and hardships common to raw, sparsely settled communities, saying mass in lumber camps and in cold, draughty shops and homes, and depending upon the faithful for hospitality. Among the families to whom they ministered in Pakenham Township in the 1830's were a number of Robinson's settlers, and the Doyles, and Nugents.

VII

ENLARGING HORIZONS

1: *The Valley in the 1820's and 1830's*

During the first fifteen years of settlement in Pakenham Township important changes were taking place in the District of Bathurst and in the Ottawa Valley generally. In 1820 the first election[1] of a representative from the Bathurst District to the provincial Parliament was held and William Morris, a merchant of Perth, was chosen. It has been suggested that in new districts settlers often neglected for years to pay the necessary fee for land patents, even though they had completed the settling duties and cleared the land. But if a particularly interesting general election were in the offing, for weeks beforehand the land office would be besieged by settlers eager to hold bona fide deed of freehold property so that they might exercise their franchise. William Bell, writing of the pending election of 1820, notes that: "The deeds, of those who have been three years and upwards upon their land, will be issued in a short time. Soon after which, we shall all have the privilege of electing a member to represent us in the provincial Parliament."[2]

Mr. Bell continues with an interesting account of the election itself. At ten o'clock on July 10, 1820, Mr. Matheson, the returning officer, was escorted to the "hustings" where a large crowd was gathered. The meeting began somewhat unceremoniously when the too-heavily-laden floor gave way. No one was hurt, carpenters quickly repaired the damage, and the meeting went on. Mr. Matheson read the "writ" and four candidates were proposed. In the speeches that followed two declined to enter the contest, leaving William Morris and Benjamin Delisle to oppose each other. Voting in these days was, of course, done publicly and it might continue for six days. The vote in this first election was a simple matter. Those of the Freeholders who were in favour of Mr. Morris were asked to move to the right, those for Mr. Delisle to the left. The great majority took the right and Mr. Morris was declared successful. However Mr. Delisle was not satisfied and asked for a poll, but by the second day of voting Mr. Morris had a substantial lead and Mr. Delisle withdrew. The election was not entirely without excitement. Plenty of liquor, several battles, a procession through the streets, a private dinner for Mr. Morris and some of his friends, and an evening of entertainment enlivened the event.

In the ensuing years, during which Mr. Morris continued to represent the District, demand for reform in financial matters, in the disposition of lands, and in government itself was growing. The reform party[3] had found strong champions—Louis Joseph Papineau (among whose followers was Dr. Wolfred Nelson) in Lower Canada, and William Lyon Mackenzie in Upper Canada. When, in 1832, Bathurst District was entitled to a second member, the struggle between the old guard and the reformers at the election beginning on Monday, March 5, was a bitter one and the excitement intense. "The candidates," says Mr. Bell," were Capt. McMillan, whom Mr. Morris was attempting to take in, as another self, to assist him to rule over the settlement with arbitrary sway; and Mr. Fraser, who had proposed himself in frolic, but whom the majority willingly supported, from opposition to Mr. Morris' dominant views."[4]

Mr. Bell's comments on the election scene are amusing:

> "At this time sleighs loaded with both men and women were coming in on all hands, when Malcolm Cameron's horses . . . took fright and ran off with the sleigh, and after throwing out the passengers galloped along the crowded street, the people clearing off, at both sides. . . . Their cries, and endeavours to stop the horses, only made them gallop the faster. . . . When they came to the stone bridge, where there was a small turn, one of them was, along with the sleigh, thrown over into the creek. . . .
>
> "The owner, in passing me, observed that there was very little damage after all, but the loss of the tongue.
>
> "I told him that the loss of a tongue was no trifling affair at any time, but at an election, when tongues were so much in request, and so busily employed, it was a very serious misfortune. . . ."[5]

When the election formalities were concluded, the candidates addressed the gathering, with varying degrees of success.

> "Captain McMillan was the first, and though he had been learning his speech for weeks before, yet he had just commenced when he stuck fast. . . .
>
> "Mr. Fraser spoke in a low tone, but very sensibly, and was cheered by the multitude.
>
> "Mr. Tully declaimed on the subject of grievances, and threshed the *officials*.
>
> "Mr. Shipman . . . abused Mr. Morris, and shook his great fist at him.
>
> "Mr. Morris got up and made a speech, but as usual it was all about himself; but he could not get it finished, for an old fellow attacked him in the most abusive manner. . . ."[6]

Mr. Bell had a particular interest in the election, as he later confessed, and it is not difficult from his description of the speeches to pick his candidate.

Mr. Tully and Mr. Shipman withdrew from the contest leaving Mr. Fraser to oppose Mr. McMillan. During the first day's voting Mr. McMillan was in the lead, and but for the encouragement of his friends Mr. Fraser would have withdrawn also. Then the struggle began in earnest. "Both parties in the evening sent out sleighs, in all directions, to bring in voters, and the night was as busily employed as the day had been."[7] During the next day Mr. Bell was busy visiting in the country. "The snow was deep and took my horse to the belly . . . ."[8] he says, thus providing an eloquent comment on the state of the roads in election week 1832. When he returned at night he found that Mr. Fraser was in the lead and this position he kept until the morning of the sixth day, when Captain McMillan gave up the contest. "Preparations were instantly made for the chairing, and at ten it began. The crowd was numerous, and greatly elated with their victory. At the doors of Mr. Fraser's principal supporters, the procession stopped and gave three cheers."[9]

"Their defeat was complete . . . ." says Mr. Bell. "If any one ask why *I* felt any interest in their overthrow, it will be sufficient to tell him, that it was this faction that had exerted all their influence to ruin my congregation."[10]

The election had greatly mortified Mr. Morris, who had expected to have Capt. McMillan as his colleague in Bathurst. However, he found that all the deeds on which Mr. Fraser had qualified had not been taken out six months before the election. On this technicality the House of Assembly by a small majority declared the return void and ordered a new election. This began on January 2, 1833, with Dr. Reade in the field against Mr. Fraser. "Though there was no prospect of Dr. Reade succeeding," says Mr. Bell, "yet he and his friends were foolish enough to demand a poll. While this was going on in the afternoon, several battles took place among the Irishmen, of whom a great number were present; and more than one got dreadfully beaten."[11] After two day's voting Dr. Reade gave up, Mr. Fraser was again chaired "in grand style" and later took his seat in the House of Assembly.

Such were the early elections. That in 1836 was also characterized by battles. "There was however," comments Mr. Bell, "less violence than had been expected at Perth; but at Richmond such was the violence of parties that one man was killed, and several severely hurt."[12]

In these years significant changes were being made in transportation systems. Water routes were being opened up in the Ottawa and St. Lawrence valleys and steamboat service extended. The Rideau Canal, linking Bytown and Kingston, was completed in 1832. The *Bathurst Courier* in 1834 had, however, scant praise for its services. "We hope, before another season opens we shall have boats expressly for passengers as the system of towing barges has rendered travelling on the Rideau, the most perfect humbug imaginable . . . ." states the *Courier* bluntly. "Unless something is done not only to facilitate the passage; but also to add to the comfort and convenience of passengers, and to establish certain hours of arrival and departure at Kingston, Bytown, and all intermediate places. . . . It can never be expected that any one will go that way who can possibly avoid it. . . ."[13] Nevertheless, in spite of its imperfections the Canal did open up channels of commerce between Pakenham Mills and the important centres linked by the Canal—Kingston, Toronto, Bytown, and Montreal. Goods for the stores at the Mills came in by boat to Smith's Falls and were hauled from there. Teams took out two barrels of potash and brought back a load of goods.

There were changes, too, on the Ottawa River. When the Laird of McNab brought his settlers into McNab Township, he had complained that there was no transportation on the Ottawa beyond Hull. This was remedied, however, when the *Lady Colborne* began plying between Aylmer and Chats Falls. Later, in 1837,[14] the service was extended up river when the *George Buchanan*, named for the lumberman who with his brother Andrew established an extensive sawmilling business[15] at Arnprior in the early thirties, began regular trips between the head of Chats Falls and Portage du Fort. The *Lady Colborne* and the *George Buchanan* endeavoured to maintain schedules that would permit quick passage from Aylmer up the Ottawa. When the *Lady Colborne* arrived at the foot of the Chats, passengers and freight were conveyed as swiftly as possible to the steamboat landing at the head of the Falls so that they might connect with the *George Buchanan*.

The need for improved transportation on the Ottawa in the thirties was urgent. Not only was the lumber trade on the increase up the great river, but three newly surveyed townships, Ross, Pembroke, and Westmeath, were now open for settlement. In the Brockville *Recorder* of September 20, 1832, the Commissioner of Crown Lands Office at York gave notice that indigent settlers

proceeding up the Ottawa might obtain lands in these new townships on condition of actual residence. The terms were somewhat different from those offered in earlier years in the District of Bathurst. Fifty acres were to be allotted to each head of a family, for the sum of five shillings per acre—"the first payment of Three Pounds Two Shillings and Six pence to be made at the expiration of three years from the date of the Location, and the remainder in three years, by Annual Instalments of Three Pounds Two Shillings and Six pence each, with Interest, to commence from the expiration of three years."

The Government also undertook to build a small log house on each lot for the temporary accommodation of the settlers—a course that Peter Robinson had found wise in settling his Irish emigrants almost ten years before. The Government in this case did not, however, advance provisions or utensils; settlers were to be entirely responsible for bringing the lands under cultivation. A government agent was to be stationed at Bytown to show incoming settlers a plan of the lots open for location and give them whatever information they might require. Settlers with means could buy lots by Public Auction at Bytown; the price was five shillings an acre, the quality of the land uncertain.

Agriculture, in this period, was assuming a new importance. In 1834 the Bathurst Agricultural Society,[16] established in 1832, was offering premiums for a competition to be held at Bytown. A surprising variety of farm products were included—stallions, mares, saddle horses, foals, draught horses, yokes of oxen, milch cows, bulls, colts, steers, fatted oxen, fatted cows, fatted sheep, fatted hogs, rams, ewes, boars, sows, spring wheat, fall wheat, oats, barley, "pease," corn, carrots, parsnips, turnips, onions, cabbage, mangels, melons, "timothyseed," onion seed, cheese, butter, woollen cloth, flannel, linen—a far cry from the corn, potatoes, and one cow available to Robinson's settlers only ten years before. Agricultural products, of course, found a ready market in the lumber camps. So great was the importance of lumbering to the economy that the *Bathurst Courier* commented of this period: "When the Lumber Trade ceases in this quarter, the Bathurst District will lose its main support—its prosperity will diminish. The trade now affords a ready market for our surplus produce, and employment to many, during the time which intervenes between the season for the pursuits of agriculture."[17]

On the Ottawa and its tributaries timber was on the move. Where the going was smooth, crude sails helped the rafts across the open stretches of water—aided by the oars of the raftsmen; at the various falls, timber slides facilitated passage of the cribs. In winter, streams of sleighs moved up the rivers over the ice, laden with flour, pork, hay, and oats to feed the hosts of men, horses, and oxen engaged in taking out timber. A hint of the huge quantities of agricultural products used by the camps is given in an advertisement of a Smith's Falls merchant in 1835 who was offering "two thousand bushels Oats and two hundred barrels Flower [sic] to be delivered at any place on the Ottawa River during the remaining winter."[18]

Another item in the *Courier* in the following year gives an indication of changing trends in lumbering in the older parts of the District, and the difficulties to be overcome in the more remote sections:

> "Our streets are, as usual in the spring, crowded with this article, principally Oak. The quantity in this place, however, on the whole, will be about one-fourth of the quantity of last year—and we think, will not exceed 1000 pieces, there will be very little got out on the Canal below this. And above this, a quantity of White Pine say 200 pieces of excellent quality, the greater part of which will go out by Kingston;—very little Oak. It was expected a greater quantity would have been made—but several who intended to make this winter have turned their attention to Deal and Boards, for the American market.
>
> "We can only speak from report, as to the quantity of Lumber in our back country. It is said there will be 2000 pieces of Oak on the Mississippi, 200 of White Pine, and 100 of Red. There is a greater quantity than usual on the Madawaska, if it can be got down —of which there is little doubt, if the high falls[19] be improved;—they are now in progress."[20]

Not only timber, but potash was moving out of the country in quantity—sometimes on rafts of timber going down to Quebec, sometimes on barges. The *Courier* notes that "The 'Francis of Montreal' one of the Forwarding Company's barges, started from here [Perth] yesterday morning, laden with 220 bbls. of Potash for the Montreal Market, from the firm of W. & J. Bell of this place and John Hill, Lanark."[21]

Most of the District was achieving a measure of prosperity, but there were exceptions. Settlers on the Shield lands were continuing their disheartening struggle; and in McNab Township the Laird's

clansmen were becoming increasingly restive under the heavy burden of their debt to the Chief. A. W. McDonnell reporting on the condition of the McNab settlers, at the request of Peter Robinson, noted in 1830:

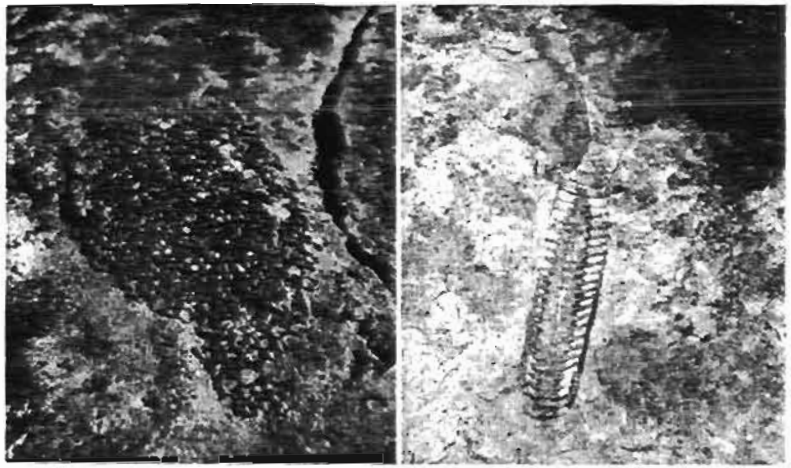
> "The settlers I found generally less comfortable and by no means as far advanced in their Improvements as those I have seen settled more recently in other Townships, this I attribute in great measure to the very inferior quality of the Soil,—such of the Settlers as emigrated from Scotland with the intention of settling in McNab, complain much of the terms of their agreement entered into with their Chief in that country, previous to their embarkation for Canada, which terms in their present circumstances they seem to think it impossible they can comply with, as their farms do not produce more than a sufficient supply for the wants of their families—With very few exceptions the Settlers were not proceeding with their clearings, as I understood from the idea that increasing them added to their annual rent."[22]

2: *Andrew Dickson and Pakenham Mills*

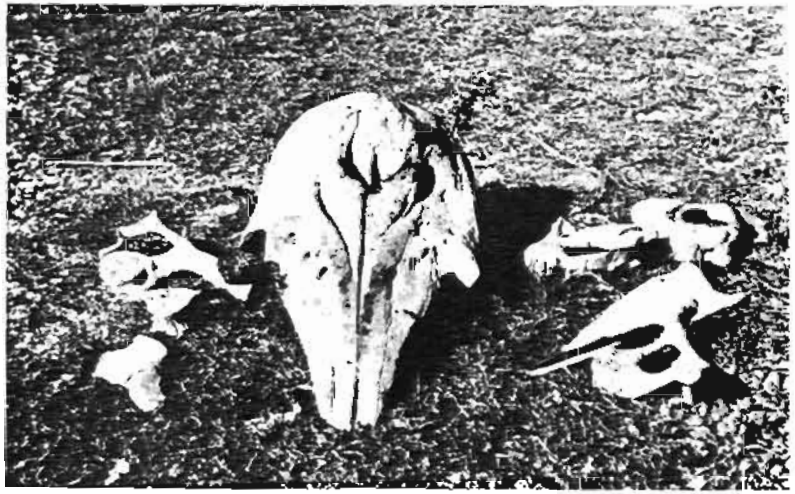
Other settlers in Pakenham Township probably fared better than those on the Shield. Many had started in much superior financial circumstances; those near the Mississippi River had the advantage of easier access to the older settlements near the Front and to the Ottawa River. In 1826,[1] and subsequently, a number secured the first land patents issued since 1823, but many were absentee land owners. In April, 1826, Charles Henry Sache received a patent for the S. W. ½ Lot 5, Concession 9; and in May Christopher Bell, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, was granted patents covering the S. W. and N. E. halves of Lot 7, Concession 10; the S. W. halves of Lots 12 and 13, Concession 11; and the N.E. ¼ Lot 12, Concession 11. In September the Reverend Michael Harris received patents covering 500 acres. In his holdings was part of Lot 15, Concession 12, not far from Harvey's mills; ten years later he was granted a patent on the remainder of the lot. In 1827 Jonas Jones, of Brockville, "Capt. commanding a flank company during the late War" was granted a patent covering 800 acres; and in the same year Josias Taylor, of Perth, "Captain in the Canadian Regiment employed in cutting a road through the Wilderness in the communication to Penetanguishene" was given a patent for 700 acres. In 1828 Barnard, Brian, and Michael Mulligan were issued

Part of the Nepean sandstone outcrop laid down in the first invasion of the sea between 450 and 550 million years ago. It lies along the Mississippi River south of Pakenham Village.

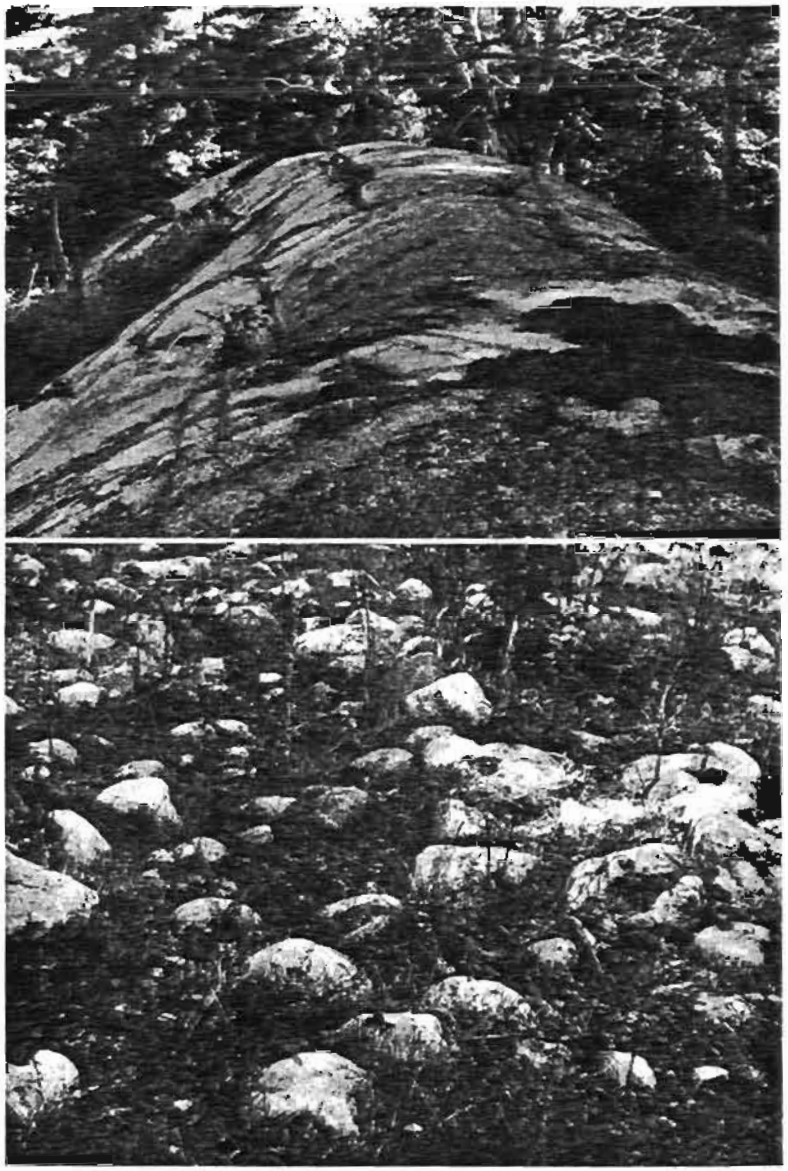
Limestone quarry (known as Leray beds) near the stone bridge at Pakenham Village. These beds were laid down in the third invasion of the sea and are more than 300 million years old.



Fossils from the Leray beds in Pakenham Township, more than 300 million years old. These beds abound in corals, bryozoa, cephalopods, and ostracods. The forms shown are (left) a coral and (right) a cephalopod.

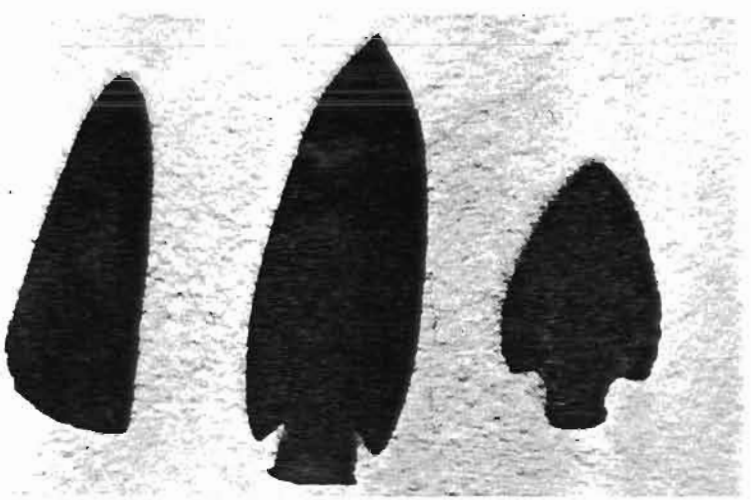


Part of the skeleton of a White Whale or Beluga found in September 1906 during well-digging operations on the farm of the late Patrick Cannon, Lot 21, Concession 11, Pakenham Township. This whale inhabited the Champlain Sea 30 to 40 thousand years ago. Courtesy Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Herrick, Pakenham.

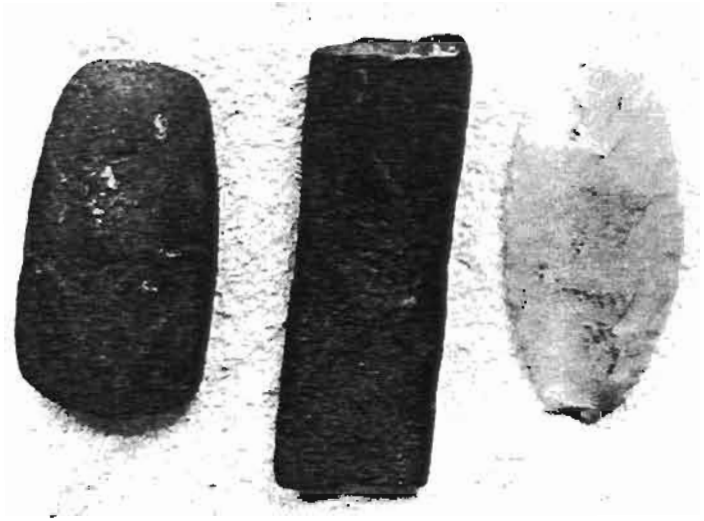


Upper: Smooth, rounded knobs of rock in the Pakenham hills worn down by glaciers.

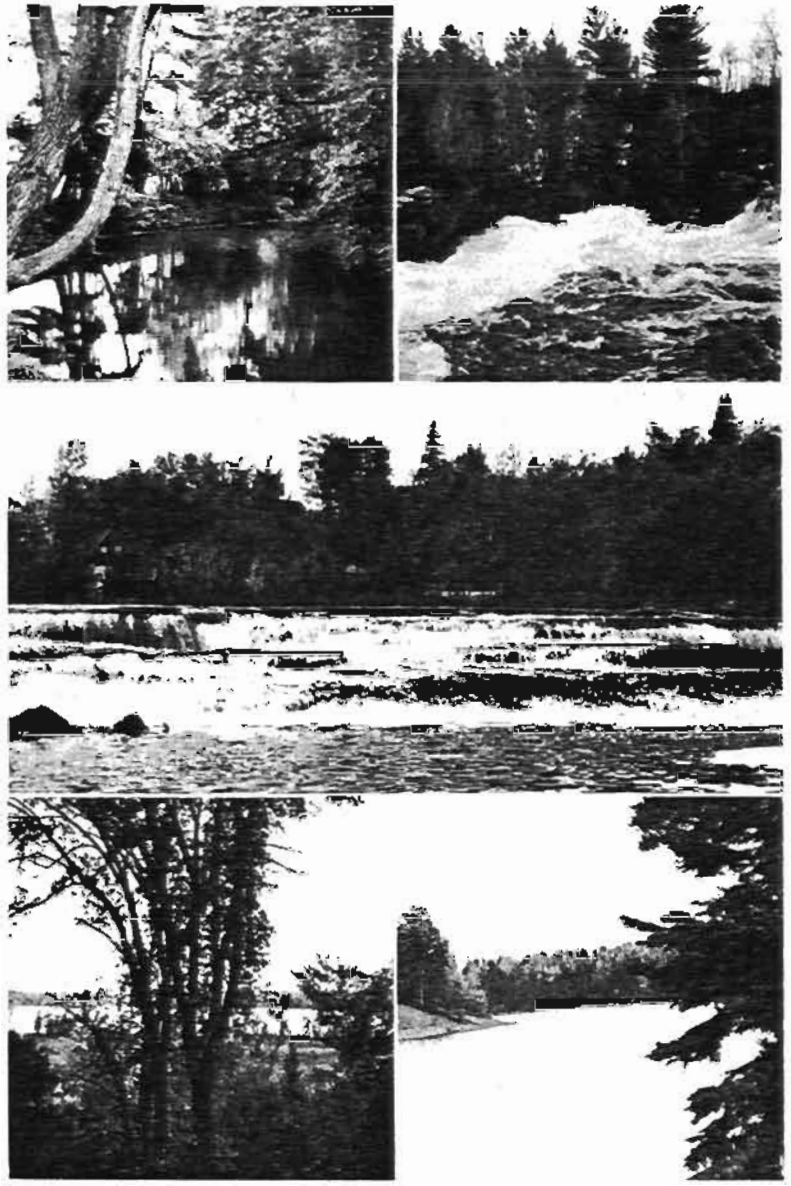
Lower: Fields of smooth boulders far from streams are further evidence of the glaciers' passing. These were carried by the ice and dropped when it melted.



PROJECTILE POINTS OF THE ARCHAIC PEOPLES (2500 to 1000 B.C.) Left: A 4-inch section of a bayonet that probably measured from 12 to 16 inches, made of ground brown slate. Centre: A 5-inch spear point of banded Huronian slate. Courtesy Carswell Russell, Pakenham. Right: A quarter-notched dart head of flint, 3 inches long. Courtesy R. M. Boal, Pakenham.



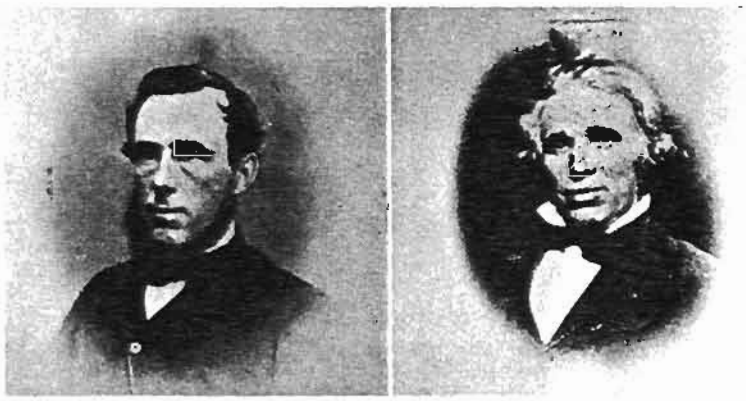
ARTIFACTS USED BY IROQUOIS AND ALGONQUIN INDIANS. (These might have been used by the Archaic peoples also.) Left: An adze, 4 inches long. Centre: A 5-inch section of an axe. Found near the old fording place in Pakenham Village. Courtesy M. F. Gillan, Pakenham. Right: A bi-facially flaked knife blade of quartzite, 4½ inches long. Courtesy Carswell Russell.



ALONG THE WATERWAYS IN PAKENHAM TOWNSHIP. Upper left: Waba Creek. Upper right: Ross Rapids (First Chute) on Indian Creek. Centre: Little Falls at Pakenham Village. Lower left: White Lake looking from the Bellamy Road. Lower right: The Madawaska in the north corner of Pakenham Township.

TOWNSHIP OFFICIALS OF THE 1830's and 1840's. Upper left: David Ogilvy, chairman of the School Commissioners in 1842. Courtesy Miss Lillian Hilliard and Mrs. R. L. Robertson, Toronto. Upper right: Young Scott who served for many years as Reeve or Councillor. Courtesy Miss Greta Scott, Pakenham. Lower left: James Connery, Sr., and Mrs. Connery. Lower right: James Connery, Jr. The Connerys—father and son—held the office of Township Clerk, Pakenham, for 75 consecutive years, 1839 to 1914. Courtesy Connery family, Pakenham.

Andrew Dickson, merchant and lumberman, who sold the first lots in Pakenham Village. Many of the streets are named for members of his family. Courtesy Mrs. J. L. P. McLaren, Willowdale and Rideau Ferry.

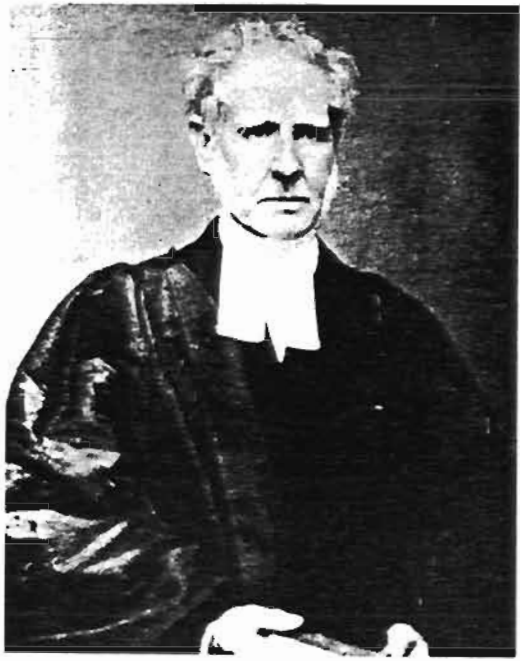


Left: William Dickson, of the firm Hilliard and Dickson, only son of Andrew Dickson. Right: Thomas Macqueen, stonemason, poet and lecturer. Courtesy L. R. Brown, Ottawa.

FOUR SONS-IN-LAW OF ANDREW DICKSON. Upper left: John Sweetland, one of Pakenham's early doctors. Doctor Sweetland left Pakenham to practice in Bytown and later became Sheriff of Carleton County. Upper right: Robert Lees, attorney-at-law in Pakenham in 1851. Lower left: Robert Brown who established a general store in Pakenham that is still in operation after more than a century. Lower right: Daniel Hilliard, merchant and lumberman, of the firm Hilliard and Dickson. Hilliard photograph courtesy Miss Lillian Hilliard and Mrs. R. L. Robertson, Toronto. Others courtesy L. R. Brown, Ottawa.

The Auld Kirk on the Eighth Line of Ramsay Township was attended by the Presbyterians of Pakenham prior to the building of the first Presbyterian Church in Pakenham Village.

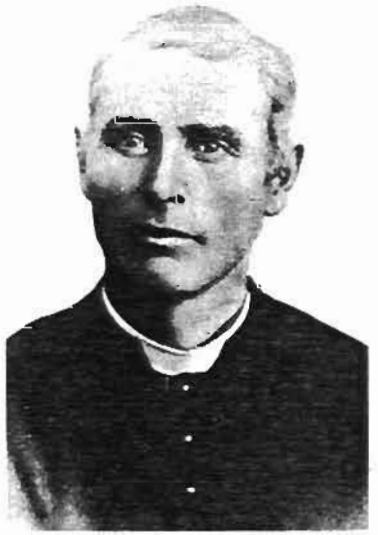
The first Methodist Church in Pakenham Village was a commodious frame structure, built in 1841 or 1842. Courtesy Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Groves, Pakenham.



The Reverend Alexander Mann came to Pakenham in 1840 to minister to the Presbyterian congregation. He remained in Pakenham until his death in 1884. Courtesy Mrs. Hugh Cochrane, Arnprior.

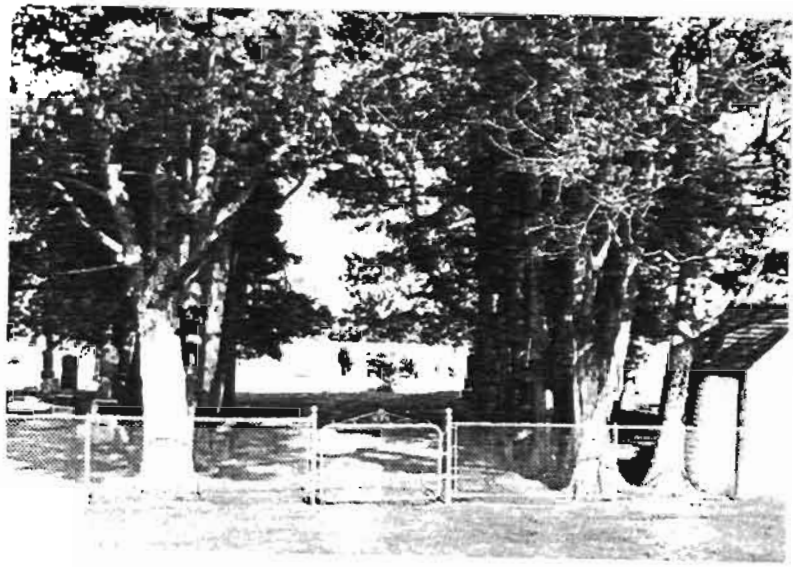
After the first Presbyterian Church in Pakenham was burned in the 1840's, this building of local sandstone was erected through the efforts of Mr. Mann and his congregation. Courtesy J. T. H. (Bud) Gordon, Manotick.

The Reverend Bernard McFeely, Roman Catholic parish priest of Pakenham and Fitzroy Harbour in the 1850's and early 1860's. He was followed by the Reverend John Collins. Courtesy Father John A. Whelan, Pakenham.

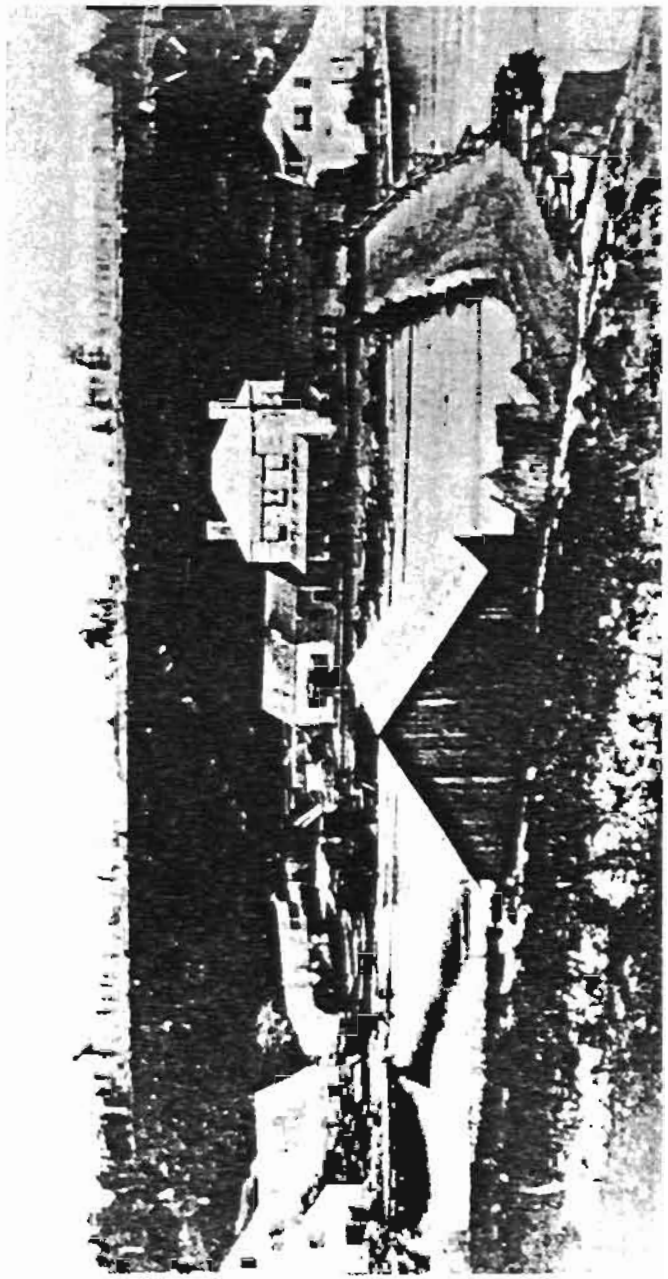


The Reverend Dominic Joseph Lavin who succeeded Father Collins remained in Pakenham until his death in 1903. He was responsible for the building of the present St. Peter Celestine's and the presbytery. Courtesy Mrs. D. J. Smith, Pakenham.

In Union Cemetery twin stones commemorate the small daughters of Elizabeth and Andrew Dickson, drowned in the timber slide in 1838.



The Anglican Cemetery north of Pakenham Village. The two rows of cedars led to the entrance of the church.



An early view of the bridge area in Pakenham Village. There is some evidence that the building at the end of the bridge, and slightly below it, is Andrew Dickson's "large and splendid two story stone dwelling" mentioned by the traveller of 1841. Hilliard and Dickson used it for some time as an office; in recent years it has housed a seed-cleaning plant. Courtesy Miss Lillian Hilliard and Mrs. R. L. Robertson, Toronto.

Stone house built by Thomas Ellis on Dalkeith Street.

The Andrew Russell house, overlooking the bridge and bay.

Farm home of Daniel Hilliard, of the firm Hilliard and Dickson, south of Pakenham Village.

Farm home built by Arthur McArthur, east side of the river, overlooking the bay below the falls.

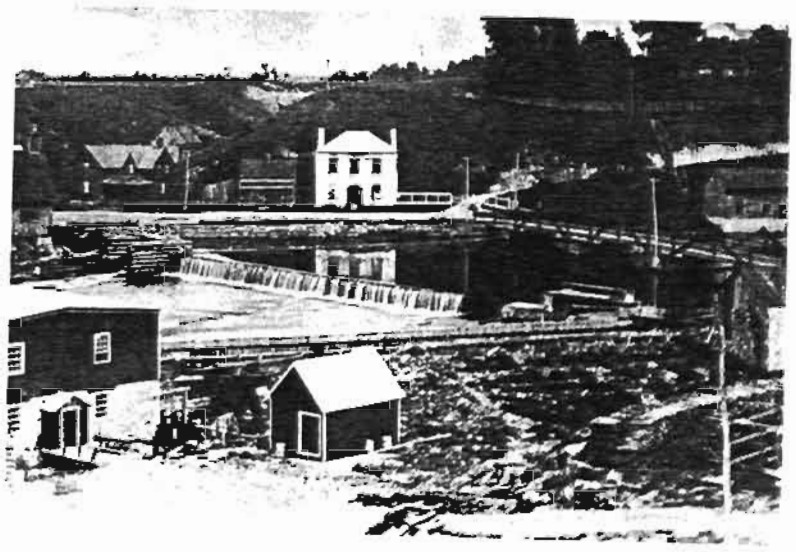
Store and dwelling built by Robert Brown on Graham Street.

"Breezy Heights" home of William Dickson, of the firm Hilliard and Dickson, on the hill above the bridge.

"Hill Head", the farm home built by Allan Carswell, faces Little Falls.

This building, on Elizabeth Street, originally one storey, housed Common and Grammar School classes.

Andrew Dickson's third (and last) Pakenham home stands on the east side of the river not far from the stone bridge.



A later view of the bridge area, with the carding mill in the left foreground, Hilliard and Dickson office at the end of the bridge, and "Breezy Heights" home of William Dickson just visible in the upper right corner. Courtesy L. R. Brown, Ottawa.

patents for 50-acre lots; and in 1829 Charles Leary received his for a similar lot. Robert F. Ormsby and Samuel Needham received their patents for 168 and 100 acres in 1830.

In the early 1830's there were many changes in ownership of the lots around Little Falls. In March, 1831, when Robert Harvey was granted his patent for the disputed W.½ Lot 12, Concession 12, he also obtained patent for the E.½ Lot 11, Concession 11; and the S.E. ¼ Lot 12, Concession 11. In January, 1832, Jean [or Jane] Manhart secured patents on 200 acres near the falls including the N.W.¼ Lot 11, Concession 11; and Lot 11, Concession 12. Three years later Owen Quinn was granted patent for the E. parts of Lots 12 and 13, Concession 12. These were the people who occupied the lands around Little Falls when Andrew Dickson came to the township.

According to Haydon,[2] Andrew Dickson came into the District by way of the Perth settlement. He located in Fitzroy Township in 1824 and early showed himself an energetic and able citizen. No doubt Dickson had for years been aware of the potential value of Harvey's mills and his location on the Mississippi River in the midst of white pine country. He may even have had a vision of the settlement that was to grow up around the falls; certainly he vigorously pressed for possession of all of Lot 11, Concession 11, site of part of the future village.

Dickson made his first purchase in May, 1831, when he secured the E.½ Lot 11, Concession 11, including Harvey's mills at the falls. In the following year he bought the N.W.¼ Lot 11, Concession 11, from Jean and George Manhart. Dickson had thought that his purchase from Harvey included the S.W.¼ Lot 11, Concession 11, but he soon discovered his mistake and applied to the Honourable Peter Robinson, then Commissioner of Crown Lands, to purchase this quarter lot, pointing out that this bit of land adjoining his mills was "of poor quality being scarcely anything but rock, & would be of little use to any person but myself."[3] Peter Robinson passed the application to the Surveyor General for a report and the latter noted that "The South West Quarter of Lot No. 11 in the 11th Concession of the Township of Pakenham, adjoining the Mills formerly possessed by Mr. Harvey and called the Pakenham Mills appears to be vacant and contains 50 acres including the waters of the Mississippi River passing thro the same."[4]

The application was not, however, acted upon and in January, 1836, Dickson addressed a petition to His Excellency Sir John

Colborne, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, with a view to completing his holdings around the falls. He was well aware that Crown Lands were to be disposed of by public sale, nevertheless he made a strong plea that an exception be made in his case. His petition read:

"The Petition of Andrew Dickson, Emigrant
"Most Humbly Sheweth

"That Your Petitioner is the Proprietor of the Mills in the Township of Pakenham, commonly known as the Pakenham Mills. That your Petitioner is the owner of the greatest part of Lot No. Eleven in the Eleventh Concession of the said Township, and also all the other adjoining land to the said Mills; That a part of said Lot No. Eleven is in possession of the Crown and has never been granted to any person, amounting to about thirty acres of land.

"That a Public Sale of said part of Lot No. Eleven would be very injurious to Your Petitioner, as Your Petitioner is led to believe, that many persons would take that opportunity of bidding more than the real value of the land.

"Your Petitioner therefore prays Your Excellency in Council to be graciously pleased to authorize the Commissioner of Crown Lands at Toronto to conclude a Sale of the said land with your Petitioner: and Petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray.

(Signed) Andrew Dickson

Pakenham Mills
13th January
1836."[5]

In spite of this plea the Honourable Peter Robinson was adamant. Having satisfied himself that the parcel in question was indeed Crown Land he noted on Dickson's petition: "The Sale to the Petitioner can only be made by the special authority of the Governor in Council. My instructions are to sell all Crown Land by Public Auction. . . . A departure from the usual course cannot be recommended, lest injury should be done to persons who depend upon the sales being made in a public manner."[6]

For anyone less determined than Andrew Dickson this might have ended the matter. But Mr. Dickson was not to be discouraged; there was still his local Member of Parliament. So, in the following year, Mr. Morris of Perth addressed the Commissioner of Crown Lands at Dickson's instigation. He pointed out that the piece of land was actually part of Lot 11, Concession 11, and that Mr. Dickson had always supposed it was included in the lands he had purchased from Harvey and Manhart. He had found, however,

that there were a few acres out of the water not embraced by his titles.

Mr. Morris also noted that:

"Mr. D. fears that if the broken front is sold by public auction that a neighbour who would not on any other account but for the sake of annoyance give anything for the ground bid it up to an unreasonable price and therefore he hopes that you will endeavour to protect him against imposition. He says he is anxious that you would take the opinion of any respectable Surveyor as to whether it can be of any service to anyone but himself, and also as to its real value, and thereby he will cheerfully abide. He thinks after having expended upwards of two thousand pounds in the erection of mills and other public improvements that he ought to be indulged in a private purchase of this small piece of land now and not subjected to the competition of persons who have no use for it."[7]

Evidently the support of the influential Mr. Morris was sufficient, for a notation was added to the petition: "In Council 27th April 1837 Recommended to be sold to Petn. after evaluation of the Comm. of C. Lands."[8]

By the early 1830's, when Andrew Dickson made his purchases, Pakenham Mills had advanced considerably from the raw settlement that Harvey had established, but the population of the area was still small. In 1832,[9] in the whole of the township, there were only 309 people. Of these, 90 were men 16 years or over and 67 women in the same age group. There were 74 boys and 78 girls under 16 years of age. As yet, few lived at Pakenham Mills where the main activities were still concentrated around the falls, chiefly on the east side of the river. Here Mr. Dickson had his mills, lumber yards and timber slide, his home, store, and post office. His greatly improved mills were the focal point of the settlement. The two staples on which the economy of the township was built passed through his hands—grain through his gristmill, and timber either through his sawmill or his timber slide. The mills were no doubt the most lucrative of his enterprises, but timber slides on the Mississippi also netted a handsome sum for all the timber from the vast territory up-river must pay toll to pass through Little Falls.

Stores of the day carried a variety of wares[10]—heavy equipment for the lumber shanties, and for the settlers, silk shawls, black lace veils, shirtings, caps, beaver bonnets, spools, scythes, reaping hooks, pitch forks, soap, candles, gin, rum, and brandy. As early as 1834[11] Mr. Dickson held a license to sell spirituous liquors in

his store. The store was also the general meeting place; here gossip was exchanged, news from the Front received, and the latest political developments discussed. Notices of importance might be posted there, as indicated by the *Courier* of April, 1839: "Tenders will be received on Saturday the 11th May next, at 2 o'clock, P.M., at the Schoolhouse, Pakenham Mills, for the erection of a Stone or Frame Church, when the committee may decide which estimate to accept. Any person applying at A. Dickson's will see a plan and specifications of the work to be done. Good security will be required for the performance of the contract—payment as the work progresses."[12]

In 1830[13] the Laird of McNab noted that the nearest Post Office to Kinneil Lodge was at Perth but by 1832 postal service came to Pakenham Mills and Andrew Dickson was made postmaster.[14] Prior to this event delivery of mail to Pakenham Township presented the usual problems. Roads were often impassable, post offices widely separated, and settlers' visits to postal centres infrequent. At Perth the regular post office hours were from nine to five on week days, but on Sundays, for the accommodation of country people, the post office was at one period open from nine to eleven and from half-past one to half-past two.[15] To further facilitate delivery, centres such as Perth and Bytown published lists of the names of those for whom they were holding letters. Even this did not ensure that letters reached their destinations. Mrs. Jameson reports that "The poor emigrants who have not been long from the old country, round whose hearts tender remembrances of parents and home, and home friends, yet cling in all the strength of fresh regret and unsubdued longing, sometimes present themselves at the post-offices, and on finding that their letters cost three shillings and four pence, or perhaps five or six shillings, turn away in despair."[16]

In 1835 eight postmasters in Upper Canada received salaries of £50 or more; Josias Taylor of the Perth post office was one of these. The 93 others, including Andrew Dickson at Pakenham Mills, received as salary a commission of 20 per cent on the net postage collected by them and an allowance to cover the cost of such sundries as advertising, mail bags, and allowances to letter carriers.[17]

There was no scarcity of liquor in the 1830's. In addition to Mr. Dickson, James Russell also held a liquor license as, of course, did the two innkeepers, William McFarlane and William McAdam.[18]

The early McFarlane inn, exact location unknown, was operated under the name of William McFarlane until 1838 when Isabella McFarlane took over. For years afterward it was widely known as the Widow McFarlane's. In this period the village extended along the east side of the river below the bridge, and on the west side from south of the bridge along the Bay and up the hill to the site of the Anglican church. At the end of the Bay, between the road and the river, the Carswell house "Hill Head" overlooked the falls. Beyond was William McAdam's, and the Anglican church on property donated by him.

The first school, built in the latter part of the 1830's, probably stood near the west end of the bridge that spanned the river above the falls. For years it served as a house of worship for visiting missionaries and as a meeting place for settlers of the township. The school was likely of logs, with the furnishings fresh from Mr. Dickson's sawmill. One such early school[19] had auger holes bored in the walls and in these long wooden pins were inserted. Boards placed on these pins served as desks. The seats were slabs from the sawmill with wooden pegs for legs. The scholars, particularly those who had school books, sat on these facing the wall. Inside this circle were smaller benches for the younger scholars. The rough seats were said to have one advantage; the splinters kept the younger pupils from falling off. In another early school the lessons were taught from shingles; each arithmetic sum was written on the shingle.

Teachers might either be paid a stated salary and live around among the settlers or be allowed a set rate for each scholar. A schooling in the common schools of the day was available only to those who could afford it. Among the more important duties of the teacher was that of keeping the fire in the huge fireplace blazing; this was no light task when the materials for fire building were flint and steel, punk, and green wood. Although teachers in many districts were incompetent and more concerned with "wielding the birch" than with the intellectual progress of their pupils, the teachers in Pakenham Township seem to have been of a high calibre. Even in 1838 they were much concerned with the state of education, and were holding meetings and drawing up resolutions in the hope of improving the school system.[20]

Around the log homes and shops along the muddy village road were the log-enclosed clearings; one section of the log fence was equipped with "bars," usually small saplings, that could be readily

taken down and replaced as one passed through. Behind each house was the inevitable outhouse and the stable for the cow that nearly every householder found a necessity. The cows pastured in the clearings or along the roads and were herded home by small boys for the evening milking. Candles pushed back the darkness in the homes of the more affluent; but in many houses the fire that blazed constantly upon the hearth provided the only light. In such homes the shadowy corners of the house were the perfect setting for the "scary" games of the youngsters in the long winter evenings.

Life, with few exceptions, revolved within the small circle of the home; only an occasional religious gathering, election, raisin' bee, quilting, or dance relieved the monotony of the pioneer wife's more arduous duties of providing her family with food and clothing. For the country woman, there was the rare visit to Pakenham Mills, a journey made on foot with a basket of eggs for barter at the store. Or, the more fortunate woman might travel on horseback with the basket slung over the saddle horn. The Lizars describe such a journey over the roads of the day: "The way led over causeways formed of tree-trunks, from nine inches to two feet in diameter, where the moist swampy places demanded such. The logs were not square nor flattened, nor even straight; sometimes so far apart were they that any four-footed beast was in danger of broken limbs. But Canadian quadrupeds were early accustomed to dance on beech and maple, so that ere they reached their second year they were expert log-walkers."[21]

By the middle of the decade Pakenham Mills was the hub from which the township roads radiated.[22] From the west side of the bridge over the Mississippi, one road ran south to Ramsay Township and Snedden's, for many years a favourite stopping place on the ninth line. On the Mississippi, nearby, Alexander Snedden and Stephen Young, and later Alexander Snedden[23] alone, operated a gristmill and sawmill at what William Marshall had designated Norway Pine Falls. From Snedden's, the road is said to have crossed to Bennie's corners, then along the eighth line past the mill on the Indian River* to the tannery hill and either straight on to Carleton Place or left to Almonte. This seems reasonable, for the deep gulleys on the ninth line between Snedden's and Almonte would be a formidable obstacle to early road building and a hard haul for the heavy loads that had to be transported with teams and wagons.

*The stream referred to here is in Ramsay Township.

From the west side of the river, one road went northwest from Pakenham Mills toward White Lake, through the settlement established by Robinson's people. Another went north toward McNab Township to serve the settlers in that area; and from this road a fork branched northeast not far from the Mills and led to Arnprior, home of the Laird of McNab. The settlers in north Pakenham made Pakenham Mills their centre, as did the McNab settlers in years when the closest gristmill was at Little Falls. Settlers in Fitzroy Township who were close to the border of Pakenham also traded at the Mills in the 1830's and for many years thereafter. They were served by a road that crossed the Mississippi by Andrew Dickson's mills and proceeded up Owen McCarthy's hill above the Bay. This road led, eventually, to Bytown on the one hand and on the other to Fitzroy Harbour where, after the death of Andrew Buchanan and the failure of the firm at Arnprior, George Buchanan was operating slides at the Chats Falls. Still another road ran along the east side of the river, southward through the area settled by the Timmons and Needham families, to Almonte.

In the closing years of the decade, on Sundays, and particularly on the Quarterly Meeting Sundays of the Methodists and Presbyterians, many of the settlers might be seen trudging along these roads. In their journeys to the various meeting houses, most of them passed through Pakenham Mills. Early on Sabbath mornings, from the northern section of the township, came the MacVicars, the Russell family, and the Scotts—past the Anglican church, the tiny cemetery, and William McAdam's. Acquiring additional numbers at the Carswell house overlooking the falls, they descended the hill, passed the schoolhouse and proceeded along the road by the river on their way to the Methodist chapel and the Auld Kirk on the eighth line of Ramsay. In the south end of the township they were joined by the Dicksons and the Connerys. From east of the Mississippi came the Needham and Timmons families, following the road that wound down the hill and through the stacks of lumber and gleaming sawdust piles where Dickson's mills lay in Sabbath silence. And from the White Lake road on the west side of the river came the Greens and the Steens, also bound for the Anglican church on the twelfth line.

Mr. Dickson, himself, may have joined the travellers, but he may have been one of the privileged few to set out later on horseback and overtake the less fortunate as they neared the Auld Kirk.

For Mr. Dickson was recognized as a man of substance and a leader in the community. Owner of the mills and store, postmaster, and lumberman, he was also made a Commissioner of the Court of Requests in 1833.[24] His status in the community is attested by the stature of his brother Commissioners in the Bathurst District and the surrounding area—William Morris, Charles H. Sache, George T. Burke, Hamnett Pinhey, Archibald McNab, and George and Andrew Buchanan.

But Andrew Dickson was not only a public figure; he was a family man as well. As such he shared the problems and griefs that were the common lot, for though his activities at the falls brought him wealth and position, they brought him sorrow, too. The *Courier* of May 18, 1838, tells a touching story: "On Friday last, a fine young child about three years of age belonging to A. Dixon, Esq., of Pakenham Mills, on the river Mississippi, happening to wander from the door unfortunately fell into the timber slide and was drowned."[25]

And in the same issue of the *Courier* a second item tells an even sadder story: "We are informed that during the interval which intervened between the drowning and burial of a child of A. Dickson, Esq., Pakenham . . . that another child of the unfortunate parents was brought in having met with a similar fate, both were put into the same coffin and interred in the one grave."

The small, twin stones still stand in the cemetery on the hilltop above the river and the falls where the two little girls were drowned in the spring of 1838.

Important as Mr. Dickson's activities were, the most significant changes in the 1830's were the coming of the tradesmen, and the introduction of municipal government. In October, 1832, Jean and George Manhart had sold Lot 11, Concession 12, immediately to the east of Dickson's mills, to Owen McCarthy, a joiner. No doubt his proximity to the mills worked to the advantage of both himself and Mr. Dickson. Blacksmiths, coopers, shoemakers, carpenters, and saddlers—all of whom were to play a significant role in the growing village—were also coming into the township. During the thirties, more than sixty settlers received their land patents. Among these were such familiar township names as Connery, Ellis, Dixon, Lowe, Moreton, Ritchie, and Shaw. It was the settlers who became freeholders in the first half of the decade who made possible the second great change of the 30's—the introduction of municipal government.

3: *The Birth of Municipal Government*

In 1835, the fifth year of the reign of William IV, several acts governing township affairs were reduced to one Act.[1] Amongst other things this Act provided that in newly settled townships, as soon as there were 30 inhabitant householders and freeholders, township meetings might be held for the appointment of persons to serve the different offices. Where no township meeting had been held previously, the rules for calling the meeting were set forth in detail. Such a meeting could be convened by affixing a public notice signed by the majority of the inhabitant freeholders and householders in at least three of the most conspicuous places in the township, at least fifteen days previous to the proposed date of meeting.

Such meetings could decide what types of cattle, horses, sheep, and other animals would be allowed to run at large, or be restrained from running at large, and what should be the fines for breaking the regulations. They could also make what rules they deemed necessary regarding "pits, precipices, and deep waters, or other places dangerous to travellers" and "the destroying or suppressing the growth of such weeds as are detrimental to good husbandry." They could decide the height and description of lawful fences, or any other matter they felt would promote peace and welfare in their township. That there might be no miscarriage of justice, the law also set forth oaths to which township officers must subscribe, the duties of the various offices, and how these duties were to be carried out.

The first meeting of the freeholders and householders[2] of Pakenham Township of which there is record was held at Pakenham Mills on Monday, January 4, 1836. Alexander McVicar, J.P., was in the chair and read the Act under which they had met. Township officers appointed that day were: Commissioners: Andrew Dickson, Sr., Hugh Dickson, James Scott, Jr., (with Andrew Dickson heading the poll); Town Clerk: Andrew Dickson, Jr. (a cousin of Andrew Dickson, Sr.); Poundkeepers: William McAdam, Sr., and Thomas McEwen; Assessor: Thomas Ellis; Collector: John Riddle; Pathmasters: James Heddrick, John Curnyn, Allan Carswell, Peter Russell, William Clark, Samuel Dickson, Andrew Lowe, and John Potter.

Obviously the problem of straying animals was particularly urgent, for the meeting agreed unanimously on the following resolutions:

(1) That five feet high be declared a lawful fence.

(2) That no bull, boar, ram, or breachy cattle, horses, or pigs be allowed to run at large under penalty of five shillings currency, one half of penalty to be paid to the person impounding the animal and the other half to the Town Clerk for the benefit of the township.
(3) That no stallion be allowed to run at large under penalty of forty shillings currency.
(4) That no horned cattle should be considered breachy until proved to be so by breaking a lawful fence.

At this meeting, or within the next few weeks, the various officers took the oath, promising to faithfully and diligently perform the duties of their offices.

For the next few years the Board of Commissioners constituted the ruling body of the township. To them fell the task of defining the poundkeepers' and pathmasters' limits, setting the fees for animals impounded, instructing pathmasters in the performance of their duties, meting out justice when their orders were ignored, and dealing with the problems of the township in general. Under their direction, poundkeepers had charge of straying animals given into their care, and each pathmaster was responsible for a certain section of road.

The Board met on January 16, 1836, to settle the most pressing problems. The Commissioners decided that Thomas McEwen's limits as poundkeeper should extend from the south side of Indian River (now Indian Creek) to the border of Ramsay Township; and that those of William McAdam should be from the north side of Indian River to McNab Township. They also agreed on the animals that might be impounded and set the fees as follows:

For a horse and an ox: one shilling and threepence each; an allowance of twenty pounds of hay for every twenty-four hours the animals were in pound at one shilling currency for the said quantity of hay.

For a cow: one shilling currency; an allowance of twenty pounds of hay for every twenty-four hours the animals were in pound at one shilling currency for the said quantity of hay.

For a sheep: fourpence; an allowance of four pounds of hay for every twenty-four hours in pound at twopence, halfpenny for the said quantity of hay.

For a pig: one shilling currency; half a bushel of bran for every twenty-four hours in pound at sevenpence, halfpenny for the said quantity of bran.

Straying animals were not the only concern of the newly appointed Commissioners. Increasing activity in the woods and on the streams also created problems. Timber moving down the rivers in the spring wrecked bridges; in the winter lumbering operations blocked and damaged roads. The manner in which the Commissioners met these situations demonstrates the progress that had been made since 1825 when Robert Harvey had been accused of trespass. Harvey had had to take his case to Perth; now the Board of Commissioners at Pakenham Mills settled such problems with justice and dispatch.

Following a complaint in April 1836 that one of the lumber companies, Riddle and Hines, had blocked the road leading from the Indian River to Arthur Nugent's, the Board of Commissioners held a special meeting and conducted an inquiry. Mr. C. Mills, the bailiff, "made oath" and reported that he had served a summons on James Hines, and on Arthur Nugent and Daniel Whyte as witnesses, to appear before the Commissioners and give their story. On oath the witnesses testified that the "nuisance" on that part of the road was caused chiefly by the Company's men making timber near it. William Clark, the pathmaster, stated that he had warned Mr. Hines to get the road cleared but it had not been done satisfactorily for the passage of sleighs. Mr. Hines, who was present, admitted he was to blame. The Commissioners therefore levied a fine of 30 shillings to defray the expense of clearing the road and to pay the constable's fees. They agreed, however, to allow Mr. Hines to perform the work, and he undertook to have the nuisance removed within three or four days.

During the same spring (1836) timber belonging to Messrs. Nagles of Ramsay damaged the bridge at Pakenham Mills. Apparently the Commissioners were unable to settle this case so promptly for, when the householders and freeholders met on January 2, 1837, it was resolved "that the Township Commissioners to be appointed be authorized to call upon Messrs. Nagles of Ramsay to demand the sum of Ten pounds currency for damage done to Pakenham Mills Bridge by the breaking away of their timber in the spring of 1836. . . ."

At the same meeting the Pakenham Mills bridge came up for discussion a second time. Regulations regarding the impounding of animals that had been proposed in 1836 were again adopted in 1837 but a fifth regulation, aimed no doubt at restraining animals allowed to roam along the village road, was added. It asked that

"all horses, horned cattle or pigs running at large to the annoyance of the public within four hundred yards of the Pakenham Mills Bridge be impounded and a fine of two shillings inflicted from the first of November to the first day of April." Presumably animals were allowed to pasture freely about the village and bridge during the remainder of the year.

The paramount problem facing the Commissioners in this decade was undoubtedly the construction and maintenance of roads. Sometimes a measure of assistance was given, as in 1835 when £50 was granted by the Government to be spent on the road from Pakenham Mills to Carleton Place, with Andrew Dickson, William Drynan, and James Bennie the Commissioners in charge. For the most part, however, roads were constructed and maintained by labour supplied free by the inhabitants. This "statute labour" was under the control of the Commissioners, and the minutes of their meetings are full of instructions to pathmasters and are studded with lists of those fined for failure to meet their obligations. For, where roads were concerned, the Commissioners ruled with a firm hand, making their pronouncements stick by imposing fines on those who ignored their orders. Under the system whereby each inhabitant was required to give a stated number of days' work on the roads, as directed by the pathmaster for his section, an amazing amount was accomplished. Orders given to pathmasters in this period indicate how serious the Commissioners considered the problem of road maintenance.

In 1836 Allan Carswell was evidently pathmaster in the vicinity of Pakenham Mills. On instruction of the Board he was to get the hill at Owen McCarthy's made secure by placing logs on the side of it to prevent accidents; to order William Burley to open the road near his place to the width established by law—this to be done during the spring; he was to have the bridge above Mr. McFarlane's leading to the Indian River repaired with all possible speed "in a durable manner," and he was to consult with Mr. Dickson as to what places were in most need of the remaining statute labour.

William Clark, pathmaster south of the Indian River, was instructed to get the statute labour done on his limits with the greatest care because there was so much "passage;" the "cross laying" was to be done to a sufficient width for the passage of two sleighs; and all nuisances were to be removed off the line during the summer months except that opposite bush land. He was to

inform Michael Blake to open the road near his place to the width established by law and to have it done before the crops were put in in the spring under penalty of a fine of five pounds; and he was to have Arthur Nugent open the road near his place to the width established by law under threat of the same penalty. Part of Mr. Nugent's trouble, of course, as he later proved, was the lumbering operations of Riddle and Hines.

Peter Russell was to consult with Commissioner James Scott and others in his neighbourhood concerning the laying out of his statute labour; and James Heddrick was to do his statute labour on the part of his limits most in need of it. Samuel Dickson and John Potter were to consult with their neighbours respecting their statute labour.

John Curnyn was instructed to repair the bridge near Haleys' in a substantial manner; to put a guide post at the cross roads beyond the bridge pointing to Mr. Snedden's, Mr. Dickson's, and Mr. Lowrie's "shewing" the respective distances to each of these places for the guidance of travellers or strangers; and what underbrushing he did was to be done to the width of 30 feet or nearly so. In August 1836 Mr. Curnyn had the Commissioners call a special meeting because Thomas Ellis had deviated from the usual line of the road near his place. The Commissioners discussed the matter and decided to write to the Clerk of the Peace for the District for information on the subject. Meanwhile, they, themselves, would go and inspect the alteration so that they might be in a position to discuss it at the next meeting.

Such were the problems in connection with the roads that occupied the ruling body in Pakenham Mills during the 1830's.

The first meeting of the freeholders and householders had been held in January 1836. Similar meetings were called in January 1837, 1838, and 1839 in the school house at Pakenham Mills. At three of these annual meetings Alexander McVicar, J.P., was in the chair; at the meeting held in 1837 Andrew Dickson, Jr., presided. For the first three years of township rule the name of Andrew Dickson, Sr., appears among the Commissioners, but he does not seem to have held office in 1839. Of particular note is the fact that at the meeting on January 7, 1839, James Connery was appointed Township Clerk. He served in this capacity until 1867, when the position of Clerk was taken over by his son, James, who held the office until 1914. The records of the township were therefore in the hands of the Connerys for a total of 75 years.

4: *The Rebellion of 1837 and the Battle of Pakenham*

In 1837 the demand for responsible government came to a head in a Rebellion that quickly separated the radical elements in the reform party from those who, while desiring reform, had no wish to be labelled disloyal to the Crown. The result was a united front against the few who persisted in using force. The uprising in Lower Canada, led by Louis Joseph Papineau in November 1837, was quickly followed by William Lyon Mackenzie's attack on York in December. York was virtually stripped of troops, for the forces had been dispatched to help suppress the Rebellion in the lower province. A call for volunteers was therefore sent through Upper Canada.

Mrs. Traill, in *The Backwoods of Canada*, gives a graphic account of how the news was received in the settlements, and the manner in which the loyal subjects of the young Queen Victoria answered the call:

> "This morning my brother Sam came over to communicate the startling intelligence that an armed force was on the march for Toronto. Despatches had just reached Peterborough to that effect, with orders for every able man to hasten to the Capital to assist in driving back the rebels. . . . My heart is lonely and sad; this morning was only beginning to dawn, when Mr. Traill departed; he went off in good spirits, and I rallied mine till the snow drifts that were whirling before a keen sweeping wind hid him from my sight."[1]

Her sister, Mrs. Moodie, writing of the same incident in *Roughing It in the Bush* says:

> "A letter from my sister explained the nature of the outbreak, and the astonishment with which the news had been received by all the settlers in the bush. My brother and my sister's husband had already gone off to join some of the numerous bands of gentlemen who were collecting from all quarters to march to the aid of Toronto. . . . We talked over the strange news for hours; our coming separation, and the probability that, if things were as bad as they appeared to be, we might never meet again. . . . The children, who had learned that their father was preparing to leave them, were crying and clinging round his knees. His heart was too deeply affected to eat; the meal passed over in silence, and he rose to go. I put on my hat and shawl to accompany him through the wood as far as my sister. . . . At my sister's, Moodie and I parted; and with a heavy heart I retraced my steps through the wood. . . . Several poor settlers called at the house during the day, on their way down. . . ."[2]

In the Bathurst District the news of rebellion was received with alarm also. At Perth, John Bell (son of William Bell) and his company of Leeds Militia had come forward. "Cold as the weather was, they marched to Kingston; were trained, and occupied part of the garrison till the spring, when the panic being over, they were sent home."[3] In the northern part of the District, the Laird of McNab assumed command with somewhat ludicrous results.

According to Fraser, when McNab learned of the rebellion, he sent word to Sir Francis Bond Head that he and his clansmen were ready to march at any moment. "Immediately upon receipt of this document," reads Fraser's account, "Sir Francis Head appointed the Laird Colonel of the 20th Battalion of Carleton Light Infantry, comprising the townships of McNab, Fitzroy and Pakenham, with instructions to nominate his officers, forward the list to headquarters, and *call the regiment* out to muster forthwith. On the 25th December, 1837, the whole regiment mustered at Pakenham, and were put under the militia law. McNab made a speech to them, read the names of their officers, and gave a general order that they were to muster by companies near the abodes of their captains. . . ."[4] At the subsequent muster at Sand Point, the settlers of McNab Township refused to volunteer for service under the Chief. Instead they held a meeting and sent a petition to Sir Francis Bond Head. They declared themselves to be true and loyal subjects of Her Majesty; but pointed out that they had suffered severely from the Laird under civil law and were afraid to serve him under martial law.

Fortunately there was no need to press the McNab settlers further, for the Rebellion was soon over. The rebels were repulsed and a reward offered for the capture of William Lyon Mackenzie. Mrs. Moodie, in describing the return of her husband, portrays a scene no doubt repeated in many of the homes in the settlements of Upper Canada: "In a week," she says, "Moodie returned. So many volunteers had poured into Toronto that the number of friends was likely to prove as disastrous as that of enemies, on account of the want of supplies to maintain them all. The companies from the back townships had been remanded, and I received with delight my own again."[5]

Following the Rebellion the trouble in McNab Township deepened. In spite of the appeal of the settlers to Head, McNab managed to get the sympathetic ear of the authorities and in July, 1838, the attorney-general's office addressed the following communication

to the unfortunate settlers: "In pursuance of an order of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, in Council, I hereby give you notice that unless all and singular the conditions upon which you hold, or the person or persons under whom you claim, hold the lands you occupy in the Township of McNab, are without delay performed, and unless you forthwith pay up all arrears of rent, and other claims which McNab of McNab lawfully has upon the said lands, legal process will be issued against you, and you will be expelled from the possession of the said Lands, and that the same will in such case be granted to other parties."[6] The harassed settlers of McNab were now faced with the prospect of losing their lands, and they redoubled their efforts to gain redress from their grievances against the Chief.

In the midst of this struggle, trouble again broke out along the Front. Following the rebellions, strained relations had been kept alive in the United States by the activities of an organization known as the Hunters Lodges, many of whose members were refugees from the Canadian rebellion. On November 11, 1838, some two hundred of these men, under von Schultz, launched an attack on Prescott and established themselves in a windmill on a point of land in the St. Lawrence River.

Again the Bathurst Militia was ordered to muster, and at Perth messengers were sent out to warn the people to attend in the morning. "The thaw and the rain had rendered the roads next to impassable; yet hundreds poured into the village in the course of the day but as they were not all required a balloting took place, to determine who should go. Some of those drawn could not well leave home, and others had no *wish* to go; for, now there was a prospect of fighting, their military ardour was wonderfully abated; so there was a great demand for substitutes; and all prices were given, from ten dollars, to ten pounds."[7] Shortly, word was received that the Bathurst Militia would not be required, and "This intelligence was satisfactory to all, except those who had paid for substitutes, and found they could not get back their money."[8]

When news of the von Schultz attack reached the Ottawa, the Chief of McNab, as colonel, once more called out his regiment. Again Fraser tells the story:

> "They assembled at Pakenham, 900 strong. A call was made for volunteers. It was almost unanimously responded to by Fitzroy and Pakenham; but the people of McNab held aloof. They would not volunteer under their Chief. . . . The poor settlers were looked upon by the ultra loyal as rebels, not only to their Chief, but to the Government; and to punish them severely was now the object of the Irishmen of Pakenham and Fitzroy. Although they numerically surpassed the McNab settlers, about five to one, the Highlanders fought bravely. They were compelled to retreat to Mrs. McFarlane's old house, in which they defended themselves with the utmost resolution. Frying-pans, pokers, tongs, kettles, brooms, and every article of any solidity, were used as weapons of war. The fight lasted till night, when both parties became tired of the contest; some ugly wounds were given and received; and a man of the name of Porter was so badly injured that he died in ten days afterwards. News reached Pakenham that night that the rebels were totally discomfitted, and that von Schoultz and most of his gang were taken prisoners."[9]

The attack on the Front was over, but rumours of war persisted and preparedness went forward. The *Courier* of November 30, 1838, published a stirring call for volunteers:

> "LOYAL AND GALLANT MEN OF BATHURST
>
> "Rally in defence of your Queen and your Country. The Province has been invaded, and your lives and your liberties are in danger—your fellow subjects and Countrymen have been plundered and murdered by a band of miscreants calling themselves 'Patriots' whose object is the separation of these Provinces from Great Britain, and the subversion of that order which every Briton holds so sacred. Let us make common cause and expell the invading foe.
>
> "All loyal men who are disposed to volunteer their services for so noble an object may have an opportunity of joining the Corps now raising in this District by Col. McMillan, to be stationed at Perth, until further orders, and to serve until the first of May 1839. Each man will receive a Bounty of Eight dollars besides a pay of one Shilling sterling per day and free rations. They will also receive a complete suit of Cloths, Cap, Great Coat, Boots, etc. Forward, lads, Forward. GOD SAVE THE QUEEN."[10]

William Bell says that during this time the whole country, and especially the towns along the Front, were in a state of continual alarm. Overwrought imaginations led to ridiculous rumours and still more outlandish actions. "One dark night," says Mr. Bell, "an alarm was raised, that Mr. Mallock's yard was full of armed men. Some could distinctly hear them whispering; others could hear them handling their arms. The bells were rung with all haste,

and the troops called out, when it was discovered that an old cow had got into the yard, and could not find her way out again."[11]

Eventually the trouble along the Front died down, but it left a wave of distrust behind it. Charges and counter-charges of disloyalty were rampant in the townships. Anyone consorting with unknowns was regarded with suspicion and sometimes subjected to bitter accusations in the Press of the times.

VIII

ANDREW DICKSON'S VILLAGE

1: *The Village Tradesmen*

In September 1840 Andrew Dickson sold the first village lots in Pakenham.[1] His village was not only taking a definite form; its true character was becoming evident. Here was a village with the Shield timber at her back door and agricultural lowlands at her front. The opportunity to profit to the utmost from the interdependence of the lumbering and agricultural interests was unique. Not only were the village and the surrounding farms strategically placed, but the lumber camps of the Valley required almost unbelievable quantities of farm products. The needs of one Ottawa Valley firm will serve as an example: "In the six-year period ending in 1850, John Egan & Co. employed annually about 2,000 men and about 1,600 horses and oxen. The men consumed about 6,000 barrels of pork and 10,000 barrels of flour a year, and the horses and oxen about 60,000 bushels of oats and 1,200 tons of hay. In the winter of 1854-5, the same firm employed 3,800 lumberjacks, 200 oxen, and 1,700 horses in its shanties, as well as 400 double-teams of horses in portaging, and the provisions and fodder it had to supply increased in proportion."[2] One has only to multiply the requirements of this one lumbering firm by the number of other large companies in the Valley, and then add the needs of the innumerable small operators, to arrive at a staggering figure.

It is no wonder that "The Traveller" of 1841, who had been writing sketches on various villages in the District for the *Courier*, was moved to say: "Packenham Village about 12 miles from the Chatts, and 38 from Perth, is a place that has advanced more in the last twelve months, than, I might say, all the other places mentioned in my sketches put together. . . . The village . . . is a lively stirring place, with Mr. Dickson's mills, his lumbering, and his money circulating among mechanics and others, the place must go a-head. . . . This is not only a thriving, but is a singularly beautiful place also, with a grand rural scenery around. The farmers in the neighbourhood of the village are tasty and prospering."[3]

According to the Census of 1842[4] there were in Pakenham Township at that time 1,142 inhabitants. They occupied 170

houses; 2 houses were vacant, and 9 were in course of erection. Of the 168 heads of families, 71 were proprietors of real property, and 97 non-proprietors. The great majority of the property holders were farmers, some of whom could now boast of 50 acres cleared, others 100, and a few even 125. Most of them now had one or two horses, substantial herds of cattle, sheep, and hogs, and considerable acreages of grains and potatoes.

It is understandable that in a young community most of the inhabitants should be comparatively young, and that there would be a predominance of children. This was the case in Pakenham Township, but already there was growing up a second generation whose members were establishing families of their own. As yet there were few older folk—a reflection of the youth of the country and of the life expectancy of the times. In race the inhabitants of the township were largely Irish, with a goodly proportion of Scottish, and a small representation from England and the United States. More than one third of the whole population had been born in Canada.

The Census showed that the farmers of the district occupied 14,504 acres of land, of which they had improved 3,852. They had produced the following crops: wheat, 5,118 bushels; barley, 315; oats, 11,350; "pease," 613; Indian corn, 89; potatoes, 29,470. In a township still noted for its maple products it is interesting that in 1842 the inhabitants made 3,930 pounds of maple sugar. Their combined herds and flocks comprised neat cattle, 554; horses, 115; sheep, 809; and hogs, 493. Home industries were still important; amongst them the people had manufactured domestically 4,823 yards of fulled cloth; 142 yards of cotton, linen and other cloth; and of flannel or other cloth not fulled they had produced in their homes 1,450 yards. Wool output for the year was some 2,322 pounds.

It is not surprising that Andrew Dickson's village should be prospering, drawing life as it did from an agricultural population supported by a booming timber trade. Mr. Dickson's commercial enterprises dominated the village, and prior to 1841 he had built a "large and splendid two story stone dwelling."[5] Along the east bank of the river below his dwelling were his gristmill, with two pairs of mill stones; his sawmill, lumber yards, and timber slide. He continued to operate a store, and at this date there was only one other—that of Malcolm McMartin.

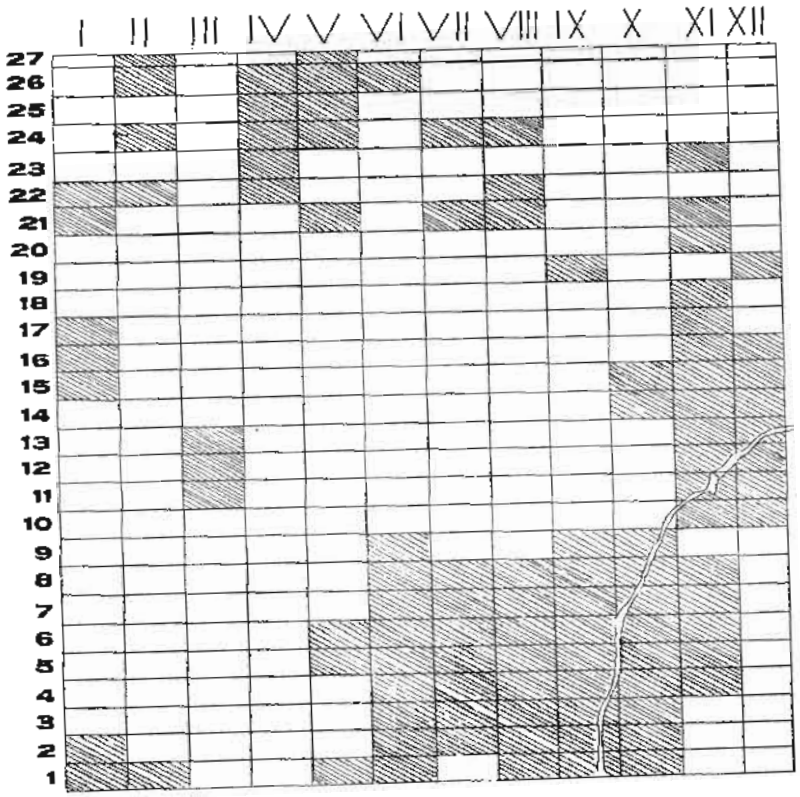
Wm. McAdam and Isabella McFarlane still maintained taverns in the village. The traveller of 1841 says of them: "Mrs. M'Farlane,

having built a large frame house last season, she has been enabled to give the traveller comfortable, I might say, stylish accommodation; but in talking of the Widow's, I must not forget my old friend and servant of the public Mr. McAdam, who still keeps tavern in his old stand, and study's to please and accommodate, in his usual obliging and affable way."[6] Mrs. McFarlane's location in the 1840's was at the west end of the bridge, on a lot purchased from Mr. Dickson.

The village tannery for many years was situated along the east bank of the river below the Bay, near the road to Fitzroy, and it is possible that even in 1842 Smith Coleman had his business establishment here. Also at this date Charles Royce may have been at his location on the west side of the river below the falls, between the Bay and the Arnprior road. Certainly he was operating a fulling and carding mill at this time, either under his ownership or for the Dickson interests, and this was his location for many years.

In this decade there were, in Pakenham Township, a number of tradesmen in the rural areas. There were two weavers (Mitchel Ellis and Robert Needham), a cooper (Daniel O'Brien), and a shoemaker (James Russell) in the southeast section cut off by the Mississippi River; two innkeepers (Edward MacFarlane and John Green), a weaver (Hugh Gilmore), and a shoemaker (James Seaward), in northwest Pakenham; two blacksmiths (Simon Roach and Timothy Moynihan), and a wheelwright (William Shan . . . ?) near the border of Ramsay Township; and a carpenter (David Ogilvy) along the Mississippi between the village and the Indian River. The remaining tradesmen were in or near Dickson's village. Among them were a joiner (Aaron [or Owen] McCarthy); a cabinet maker (John Watchorn); a cooper (George Parker); six carpenters (Roland Carter, Peter Dennis, Duncan McNicol, George Mills, James Patterson, and James Quigley); a wagon maker (Robert Clarke); two saddlers (Alex Cameron and Michael Bresnahan[?]); two tailors (Richard Davie and William Templeman); three shoemakers (Joseph Doherty, Francis Neal, and James McCollegan); and two blacksmiths (Alex Drysdale and Thomas Bradley). It is likely that some of these individuals were partners in a single business. There was at this period also a millwright (David Hunter) undoubtedly in the employ of Andrew Dickson.

The village industries and the tradesmen were supported in 1842 by a rural population that included the following heads of households:



THE PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT IN PAKENHAM TOWNSHIP ABOUT 1840. Most of the settlers were concentrated in the eastern corner of the Township; those closest to the Mississippi were on the Lowland. Many of the others were on the Shield where pockets of fertile soil made farming possible. The rougher sections of the central part of the Township were vacant. (This should be regarded as a *pattern* of settlement, only. Records for the period are incomplete and in many cases no distinction is made between east and west halves of lots.)

James Authorson

William Belford
John Bickett
Michael Blake
Thomas Boaze
Robert Bole
Thomas Burrows
James Breslin
Joseph Bresnahan

Mark Cardiff
Richard Cardiff
Allan Carswell
Henry Clarke
William Clarke
William Collins
Thomas Comba
John Conners
James Connery
John Curnyn

William Dagg
John Delorey
Hugh Dickson
James Dickson
Robert Dickson
Samuel Dickson
Daniel Donovan
John Doyle
John Dunfield
Martin Dunfield

Hugh [?] Edwards
Thomas Ellis
Dennis Enwright

Robert Fleming
William Forsythe

Mary Glinn [?]
John Gorman, Sr.
John Gorman, Jr.
John Griffith

Rose Halley
George Hanniver
Stephen Hayes
James Hedrick
James Hunt

Phebe Jackson
Martin Johnston
John Jones

John Leavy
Andrew Leighton
Alex Lindsay
John Lindsay
Andrew Lowe
David Lowe
Henry Lowe
Samuel Lowe

William McAdam
Thos McAdams
William McAdams
Anne McEwen
William McGinness
Michael McGuire
Thos McKeon
Thos McKibbon
Robt McKitrick
James McLaughlin
Patrick McManus
John McMunn
Alex McVicar
William McVicar

William Makey
James Malcom
George Manson
Christopher Miller
Charles Morrison

George Needham, Sr.
George Needham, Jr.
Samuel Needham
Arthur Nugent
Michael Nutin [?]

Patrick Peavey
George Perry
John Potter
Pierce Powell

George Reiley
John Riddle
William Rieker [?]
Daniel Ross
George Ross
Robert Ross
Daniel Ryan
Francis Ryan
Thos Ryan
David Russell
James Russell
Peter Russell

James Sadler
John Sadler
Thos Sadler
William Sadler
Ingram Scott
James Scott
William Scott, Sr.
William Scott
Young Scott
Denis Shanahan
Will Shannon
John Shaw
Bernard Shields
John Smith
John Steen
Michele Steep
Robert Stobo

John Timmons
William Timmons

James Waddle
Robt Walker
John Wallace
John Waugh
Walter Woods

William Young

Note: The above list was taken from handwritten material that was difficult to decipher and in some instances spelling of names may be in error. Other records for the period indicate that this list is far from complete.

These, then, were the inhabitants of Pakenham Township and village in 1842, and their activities form a pattern of intersecting circles, each circle revolving about a key figure. The hub of the grist-milling business was, of course, Andrew Dickson. To his mill the farmers of the surrounding countryside brought their grain to be ground. They carried home part of the flour for themselves but they left a share to pay for the grinding, and no doubt a further portion in trade for the goods they needed from Mr. Dickson's store. These payments in trade, plus the grain Mr. Dickson purchased outright, would enable him to accumulate quantities of flour to supply the villagers and the lumber camps. For, at the beginning of the decade, Andrew Dickson was also the centre of the lumbering industry in Pakenham Mills. His business provided winter employment for large numbers of settlers; his camps required quantities of food, grain, hay; to keep him supplied with tools, harness, sleighs, and barrels occupied much of the time of the local tradesmen.

Mr. Dickson's interest in the lumbering business and the breadth of his vision is evidenced in a letter addressed by him in December 1840 to R. B. Sullivan. It read:

> "Having been engaged for a number of years in the Lumber Trade of this Province I have lately explored that part of the country lying on the Mississippi River beyond the limits of this District—that is to say in the Townships of Palmerston, Clarendon and Barry in the Midland District. I have discovered that there is a quantity of good Timber on the Government Lands in those Townships but there are a great number of difficulties to be overcome in getting it to market as the stream of the river in that part is much obstructed by falls rapids and shoals.
>
> "As these difficulties must in some way be surmounted before the timber can be made available I take the liberty of requesting you will let me know if the Government would grant me an exclusive licence to cut Timber in those Townships for six or seven years upon my undertaking to make the stream navigable for taking Timber to market or otherwise. If the Government would allow a portion of the Government duty collected from the sale of the Timber cut from the Lands in these Townships to be applied in improving the navigation of that River. In either case it would be advantageous to the Government as well as to the Inhabitants of the country in opening a part of the country at present little known and at present entirely uninhabited.
>
> "Please to let me know your decision on this subject at your earliest convenience directed to me at Pakenham Mills in this District.
>
> (Signed) Andrew Dickson."[7]

Not only were Mr. Dickson's expanding woods operations a boon to the township and village; his mill interests at the falls also provided employment and quantities of lumber for a variety of uses. The presence of seven carpenters in or near the village indicates a considerable building boom, and likely the major share of lumber went to the construction of houses and other buildings in demand by an expanding population. Lumber would also pass through the hands of Aaron McCarthy who, as a joiner, no doubt was involved in woodworking of a more ornamental nature than the carpenters. John Watchorn, the cabinet maker, would also employ lumber to construct the sturdy furniture that the pioneers were now seeking to replace the crude improvisations of earlier days. The wagon maker, Robert Clarke, would need lumber from the mill to make carts, wagons, and sleighs wanted in increasing numbers in the community and in lumbering operations. And using a very considerable share would be the coopers, who seem to have been extremely busy craftsmen in pioneer settlements. On them devolved the task of meeting the demand for wooden firkins, puncheons, buckets, butter tubs, and the multitude of barrels needed not only by the local inhabitants to store supplies of water, apples, and pork, but by the lumberers to transport flour and pork to the shanties. Legend has it that one of the Pakenham coopers paid for a farm with 100 barrels needed by the Dickson interests in their shanty business.

Another important activity revolved around Smith Coleman's tannery. Here the farmer found a market for his surplus hides. Animals slaughtered for home consumption, for trade at the two local stores, or for sale to the lumber merchants, formed part of his income; another source was the hides from these slaughtered animals. These went to the tannery to be converted into leather for the local craftsmen. At Smith Coleman's the shoemakers and the saddlers secured leather to carry on their trades. In that day the customer might be measured at the shoemakers on Monday and have a pair of boots by Saturday night, just in time for the Sabbath. The saddlers turned the leather into collars, traces, bridles, and reins to be sold back to the farmer, or to supply the lumber camps. Probably the lumbermen paid cash for their purchases; but no doubt the rural people made their payments in trade, exchanging butter, potatoes, or pork for boots and harness.

Bark was another raw product needed in the tanning business. Old timers in Pakenham claim that nothing could surpass oak bark for making the liquor for tanning leather. No doubt Coleman secured much of his bark from the nearby Dickson's mills, but probably a portion came from those who were still engaged in clearing their lands.

Yet another circle of activity centred on Charles Royce's mill. Before the advent of his establishment the housewife carded her own wool and fulled her own cloth, and indeed in 1842 was still doing a considerable share of this work. By this date, however, Royce's mill was taking over these operations and doing a substantial amount of the carding and fulling for the township.

There was another very important industry during this period and later. Although not centred in Dickson's village exclusively, the potash trade still supplied a substantial part of the income of those engaged in clearing land. In Pakenham Township in 1842 there were 29 pot and pearl ash manufacturies as they were called, all in rural areas. There were two methods of disposing of the ashes left after the burning of the trees. They could be gathered up after each burning, stored, and kept dry in small log houses built for the purpose, and when a sufficient quantity had been saved, hauled to the village potashery or to the nearest store that made a business of collecting ashes. J. L. Gourlay in *History of the Ottawa Valley* reports an accident that could have happened only in this period. "We had the great pleasure," he relates, "of saving a boy whose load of ashes had been upset on him on a hillside. His horses were held and his face was in the snow so that he did not suffocate by the dry ashes. My young brothers came up as the ashes were dashed off him. We thought him dead and carried him to the sleigh and held his head in my lap whilst one drove and another put snow in his mouth. His breathing became perceptible as we drove the team at a gallop. We were soon at his home and had the satisfaction of seeing him restored."[8]

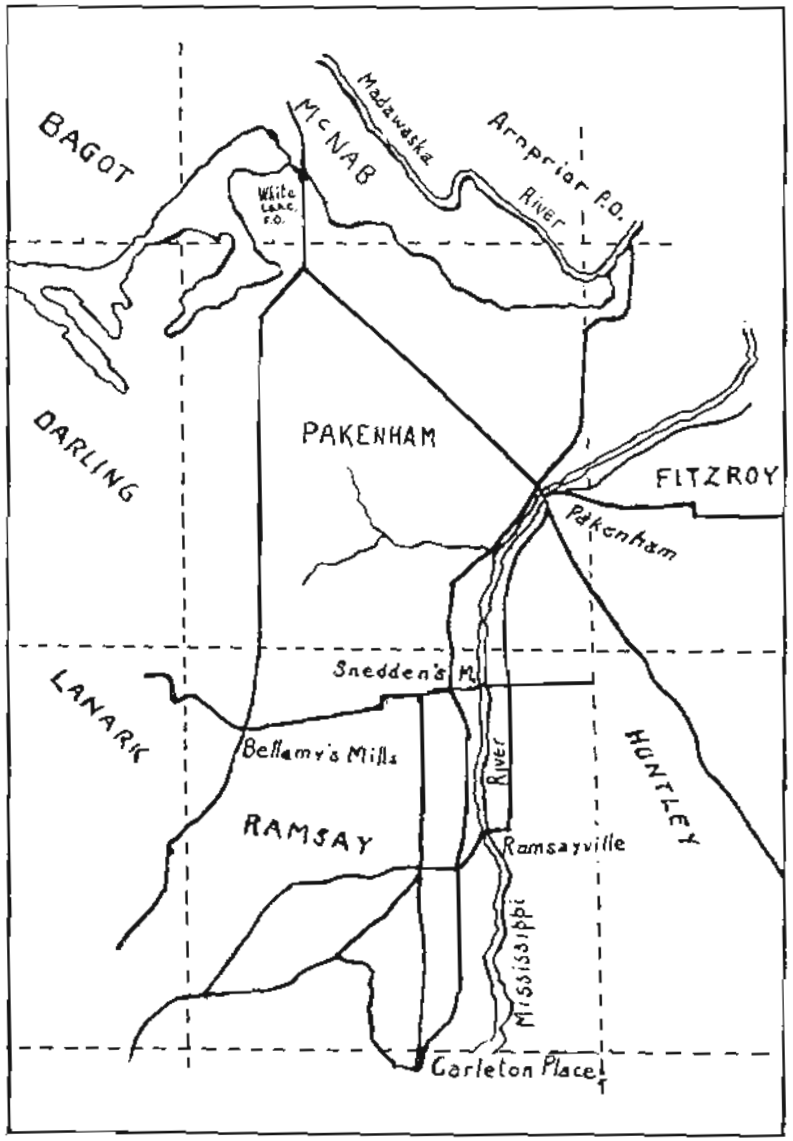
Another method of disposing of the ashes was to reduce them to potash or pearl ash in the home manufacturies. In 1842 this was evidently a favourite method in Pakenham Township, although earlier the settlers had hauled the ashes to Harvey's potash works. Making potash involved leaching the ashes and then boiling down the lye in huge potash kettles. Many accidents occurred in the process; a particularly gruesome one is reported from the Pakenham area at a later date when a young boy fell into a kettle of boiling potash.[9]

2: *The Timber Trade in the Valley*

The maintenance of a healthy lumbering industry was, of course, vital to farmer and tradesman alike. As the decade progressed, woods operations were moving up the Ottawa and (what was more important to Pakenham) up the Madawaska, posing two enormous problems (1) to keep the camps provisioned and equipped and (2) to get the timber down over a number of formidable falls. One of the most difficult obstacles on the Ottawa was the Chats, where in the late thirties and very early forties George Buchanan was operating the slides. On the Madawaska the great barrier was High Falls at Calabogie Lake. A report to the President of the Board of Works in 1844 contains interesting proposals for overcoming some of the difficulties in the latter area.

> "The next means of facilitating the lumber tracts, and preventing the decrease of the revenue from timber, is by opening up the principal country from which the Red Pine for the next 30 or 40 years must come, and that is the central tract in the Midland District intersecting and having its outlet by the Madawaska River. The great difficulty in this stream is the high falls at the Calaboga Lake in the township of 'Blythfield'. This work, though formidable in appearance, can be done cheap; for at all events, with the lower rapids, say £2500 about 7 or 800,000 feet would come this way to market, if this improvement were made; that is, over 800 cribs, at say 5s or even 7s 6d a crib, which the trade would pay cheerfully. As at present, the timber seldom gets to market the year it is made. After the slides, the lumber trade, and in fact the whole Ottawa country would be best benefited and relieved by two leading roads, the one from Bytown to Packenham Mills, and thence to the second Chute, for the Axes, Cordage, Anchors, Sails, and all such other supplies, that comes from the sea; and other from Oliver's Ferry, in the Johnston District, *via* Bellamy's Mills, till it intersects the Bytown road at the second Chute; and from thence one road through the new townships, as more fully laid down and recommended in a report made from actual survey within the last month, by Mr. Josias Richey, the Surveyor, who surveyed the five new townships through which it passes."[1]

The report estimated the distances on the proposed road through Pakenham Mills as follows: From Bytown to Pakenham, 36 miles; Pakenham to Waba, 13; Waba to Madawaska Bridge, 4; Madawaska to second chute, 7; second chute to 3rd chute, 14; third chute to Lake Dow, 12; Lake Dow to Sydenham, 20. This made a total of 106 miles from Bytown to Sydenham, via Pakenham.



At mid-century Pakenham Village was the crossroads for routes from the Front (through Carleton Place) to Arnprior and the Upper Ottawa, and from Bytown (through Fitzroy Township) to the Upper Madawaska. (Adapted from Major Baron de Rottenburg map of 1850-51. Courtesy Public Archives of Canada.)

A map showing the principal communications in Canada West[2] at mid-century indicates that Pakenham was indeed an important crossroads in this era. From Bytown, one main road ran through Pakenham village westward to close to the edge of the township, where it was joined by the road from Bellamy's Mills, and proceeded to White Lake Post Office and the Chief of McNab's location there, thence to the second chute. From the Front, several roads converged on Perth, and one of the main routes northward to Arnprior Post Office and the Upper Ottawa passed through Pakenham Village. As a busy crossroads, no doubt in the 1840's the village bore a heavy traffic of great draught teams hauling wagons and sleighs laden with supplies and equipment for the camps up the Ottawa and the Madawaska.

The complexity of the timber operations in the Valley and the hazards the early lumbermen faced are graphically described by Thos. C. Keefer, well-known civil engineer of the period. The first step, he explains, was to secure limits and this was done by applying for a license to cut timber on Crown Lands at a certain stumpage. Then if you were fortunate enough to have sufficient capital and enough experience to get your timber to market yourself, you would doubtless make money and could return from Quebec "with a broad cloth suit, a gold watch, a new hat and a brass mounted portamanteau."[3]

If you were without capital the road to fortune was somewhat more difficult. Then you must find a supplier who would advance provisions and clothing for your men, not to mention axes, ropes, augers, anchors, and cables, plus a little cash. You might also run up as much debt elsewhere as you could, provided no other person received a prior mortgage on your timber. When the timber limit had been secured and credit arranged for, you must then send a canoe and half a dozen men with scythes to cut wild hay on the beaver meadows. This hay was secured during the low-water season, and hauled when the meadows were frozen. Since some horses would not eat beaver hay, it was also necessary to "team up" cultivated hay at a charge for transport that sometimes amounted to three times the purchase price. The transport of supplies to the shanties was, indeed, the heaviest charge on the lumberman.

With the lumber camps established and the supplies, men, and horses or oxen in the bush, timber-making would begin and the woods would echo with the ring of axes, the "whoosh" of falling pines, the jangle of harness, and the shouts of the teamsters. In the

early days of lumbering, oxen were preferred for hauling logs onto the ice-covered tributary streams. With the coming of spring melting ice and snow should swell the streams sufficiently to float out the logs. But this was not always the case, for the weather could be fickle. If the spring happened to be cold and backward, the snow might melt gradually and steal away without raising the water level enough to bring out the timber. Then a whole year's work might be lost by the timber "sticking," and even though heavy rains came later they might not arrive until after the timber had been abandoned. Another great drawback to getting timber out was the lack of roads and bridges. Ice formed the only bridges, snow the only passable roads, and these would leave the lumberman just when he needed them most. Teams hired to haul his timber came from long distances, and if they did not reach home before the snows disappeared it would take many weeks to make the trip. So, at the first sign of break-up, teamsters, not wishing to risk swimming their horses across swollen streams and possibly losing them, would be off. A great portion of the timber might thus be abandoned, perhaps to fall prey to bush fires before the next season.

However, with luck, break-up would find the timbers safely on the tributary streams with sufficient volume of water to carry them swiftly to navigable waters. If the stream to which the timber was hauled was not navigable for cribs, "driving" would be resorted to—that is the loose sticks would be floated down and the lumberjacks would follow in canoes or along shore to bring up stragglers or free any timbers grounded or caught along the way. When a body of water large enough for crib navigation was reached, a boom was thrown across the stream and the logs stopped so that they could be made into cribs.

The cribs, containing about twenty pieces of timber each, were formed by placing two round logs called "floats" about twenty-four feet apart and bringing the squared timber between them. Over the top of the timbers, poles called "traverses" were laid and pinned at each end of the floats. To keep the squared timber from moving backward and forward, four heavy sticks called "loading timbers" were dragged on top of the traverses. They served to sink the floating timbers lower in the water, where they were held against the under side of the traverses. In this way cribs were secured and would carry men and provisions safely down navigable rapids or through the slides.

Log jams were another potential danger. Keefer says that "'Cutting away a jam' is one of the most daring feats a lumberman can perform. . . . Every blow of the axe is watched with intense anxiety, and when the timber begins to yield—without waiting to cut it through—the few favorable instants which intervene while the crackling and crashing mass is preparing [to] start are seized for escape. Flinging his axe into the water and leaping from stick to stick of the moving timber he reaches the land amid the cheers of his companions—or, borne down by the moving forest his mangled body in sorrowing silence is dragged ashore. . . ."

If the lumberman was lucky enough to survive the ordeals of getting his timber to the Ottawa River, it could there be made into a raft of as many as 50 cribs. The men, provisions, cook, and cookery could then be put aboard and the anchor and cable shipped. The Ottawa would have sufficient current to bring the raft down, and if the wind was fair, a sail could be used. The raft, of course, would have to be broken into cribs at the different rapids, slides, and canals on the way to Quebec. W. H. Cluff, writing under the title "Memories of Bytown" says that a raft "was a pretty sight, a small flag on each sleeping cabin, a flag with the owner's trade mark floating from a tall pole on the cookery, every man at his post with his 24 foot sweep or oar duly poised so it could be brought into operation at a motion from the foreman who was in the centre of the raft."[4]

Because of the many hazards along the way, it was something of a miracle to reach Quebec in good time and with the raft intact. If you were unaided by a supplier you might be on the way to fortune, provided the price of timber was high. If you were in the hands of a supplier, he would charge his commission, pay the expenses, and strike a balance of either credit or debit. In any case the men would stick tenaciously to the raft until they were paid off.

J. C. Tache, writing in *Canada at the Universal Exhibition of 1855*, describes how timber was disposed of at Quebec:

> "The timber for sale at Quebec undergoes the inspection of a body of officers known as the department of Superintendent of Cullers. The Cullers are authorised measurers and inspectors of timber, granting through the medium of the Superintendent, who keeps a register thereof, certificates of the quantity and quality of wood for sale, sold, or purchased. There are three modes of purchasing:

"1st. By the whole raft, on its arrival, measured, without breaking bulk, on a certified statement of the kinds and the quantity, but without any guarantee as to quality;

"2nd. By the raft, on a certified statement of the kinds, the quality, and a specification of *the apparent defects* afloat;

"3rd. On a certified statement of kinds, the quantity and quality, after due inspection and dressing of the logs, severally, by the Cullers in the booms.

"Purchasers in the Quebec market, who are acquainted with the manufacturer and the place where the timber is made, commonly buy in the raft, while still afloat; strangers buy the timber from them culled, dressed with the axe, and warranted."[5]

". . . a vessel's cargo is rated or considered as ordinary . . . ," says Tache, "when each square log contains from 50 to 75 cubic feet; it is rated as choice when the average log exceeds 75 cubic feet, and there have been cargoes of which the average log exceeded 100 cubic feet."[6] In describing individual pines he states: "We have pines of one hundred and fifty feet in height by six feet in diameter, which serve for lower masts in one single piece for ships of two thousand tons."[7] As to the value of pine, Tache notes that "The price of square timber of the description known by merchants under the name of white and yellow pine, is, for square logs from 3 d. to 9 d. per cubic foot, according to the quality and size of the logs."[8]

A lumberman who arrived home uninjured and with a substantial profit was a fortunate man, for the hazards of logging, driving, and marketing were not his only worries. Life along the rivers was always dangerous, but along the Ottawa, particularly prior to the 1840's, it was also lawless. In this period a society known as Shiners, formed of Europeans who were trying to monopolize the work of the lumber camps to the exclusion of the French Canadians, terrorized the whole district and even hampered agricultural development along the Ottawa. Accounts of their activities are varied. Some writers contend that they were credited with many acts not chargeable to them; others insist that there was no limit to their lawlessness. One of the latter, reporting to the Women's Canadian Historical Society says that:

"These Shiners thought nothing of moving the furniture out of a house in the middle of the night, if the occupant was an enemy; of knocking down an inoffensive passerby, if he was a Frenchman; of spoiling the water in the wells; of setting the stable on fire; of undressing the children on the street so as to offer themselves the spectacle of seeing them run naked on the street and on the snow; of breaking windows, etc. At one time they pulled a corpse out of the hearse and left it on the street after dispersing the terrified followers. Bytown was then a byword of shame and terror to the rest of Canada. 'There is no God in Bytown' was then a proverb. To return from Bytown alive was like coming out of the Lion's den, unhurt. When a man or boy failed to return or to send news of himself to his friends, he was counted as lost. 'He has been killed at Bytown' they would say. The old inhabitants narrate that, often in the night, despairing voices and lamentable cries were heard in the direction of the Chaudiere Falls. These lamentations were those of belated travellers thrown into the Abyss by the Shiners, or else, of some Shiners themselves, overpowered by their intended victims, and hurled in their turn into the bottomless cauldron."[9]

By the 1840's, however, there was relative peace along the waterways.

Such were the conditions that faced the lumbermen of Pakenham Township. Andrew Dickson continued his activities, and during the decade other operators were R. Brown, S. Perry, Arthur McArthur, and Daniel Hilliard, all of whom combined lumbering with other occupations. The Shield, that had so frustrated the efforts of the first settlers, now poured forth its wealth into rivers choked with logs. Pakenham Mountain was crowned with magnificent pines; and elsewhere in the township, notably along the Indian River, were great pineries of first-class timber. The Indian River, like so many others down which timber was driven, had to be taken at the flood to get the logs out safely. Dams at strategic points to hold the water, and slides to take the timbers by the dams and through the falls and rapids, facilitated the drive to the Mississippi. Some operators along the Indian River, fearful of logs sticking, teamed their timber to the navigable Mississippi; others who could afford to take the risk preferred to drive their logs.

On the northeast side of Pakenham Mountain the situation was somewhat different. Here there were no streams flowing into the Mississippi large enough to float out timber. In consequence all the logs from the hills had to be hauled to the river. At a later period, and perhaps as early as the 1840's, hauling routes were well defined. Roughly, one road came down from the vicinity of lots 16, 17, and 18, Concession 6, through Lots 18 to beyond the 10th Concession and southward between the 11th and 12th lines to the valley behind cemetery hill in Pakenham Village. The road then

ran down this valley to the river; the logs were deposited on the ice of the Bay to await the break-up. The lower part of this road also served a lumber camp in the vicinity of Lots 15 and 16, Concession 10. Another road came from a lumber camp situated about Lots 13 and 14, Concessions 7 and 8. It proceeded southward through a valley and turned northeast to follow (approximately) the borders of Lots 12 and 13 and join the first roads behind cemetery hill. Everywhere in the township logs were being teamed out by road or, in spring, were afloat on the numerous streams. Timber from Indian River poured into the Mississippi—a stream already carrying a heavy freight from its upper reaches. And, of course, the logs from the fabulous pineries of the Madawaska, Calabogie Lake, and Constan Creek passed through the extreme north corner of Pakenham Township by way of the Madawaska River.

All the timber from the upper Mississippi had to pass through the slide at the falls at Pakenham Village. It would not be surprising if the teacher in the log schoolhouse had trouble keeping small boys in school when a drive arrived in the Bay. Slides had a tremendous fascination; and where slides to accommodate cribs were a necessity it was a thrill of a lifetime to ride the cribs and be drenched with spray on the wild ride. Accidents at the slides were, unfortunately, all too frequent, and in July 1841, at Fitzroy Harbour, George Buchanan was a victim.[10] He had gone down to his slide to inspect some repairs that had been made and while standing on a boom watching the cribs of timber descend he was struck by an oar.

3: *Political and Municipal Affairs*

Against this dramatic background of seething activity in the woods, on the river, and around the clearings, the village grew and prospered. Political, religious, cultural, and social life all made phenomenal growth during the early 1840's. The decade began auspiciously with a public meeting held on January 7, 1840, to take cognizance of the appointment of a new Governor General, Charles Poulett Thomson (Baron Sydenham). Such appointments always provided the inhabitants of Upper Canada with an opportunity to welcome the Queen's representative, to comment on measures particularly gratifying, and to point up long-standing grievances. There

was ample opportunity for comment in this era of drastic governmental change. In February 1839 Lord Durham had submitted to the Queen his comprehensive "Report on the Affairs of British North America;"[1] and in September and October Lord John Russell had made significant suggestions regarding the conduct of affairs in Canada to the newly appointed Governor.[2] In common with neighbouring townships, therefore, Pakenham lost no time in recording her views and sending them to William Morris, resident at Perth, for forwarding. Under date of January 8, 1840, a letter was also addressed to the editor of the *Courier* which read:

"Dear Sir:

"At a meeting called and held yesterday the annexed Address was unanimously adopted and I was requested as Chairman to forward a copy to you if you thought proper to insert it in your paper.

I remain,
Yours Truly,
(Signed) Andrew Dickson
"Pakenham, Jan. 6th 1840

"To His Excellency the Right Honourable Charles Poulett Thompson Governor General of Her Majesty's Colonies of British North America.

"May it Please Your Excellency,

"We the loyal inhabitants of the township of Pakenham in the Bathurst District beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on your arrival amongst us, and your success in giving confidence to the British Constitutionalists by the measures brought forward by your Excellency, namely in the Union of the Canadas on principles of equal justice to all Her Majesty's subjects.

"We feel the utmost pleasure in expressing to your Excellency, the confidence we repose in your Excellency and Her Majesty's Minister's doing us ample justice, an earnest of which we see in the truly British principles expressed in the Despatch of Lord John Russell of date 16th October last, the fruits of which are already apparent, in the able support which your Excellency's measures have received from the Officers of the Crown in this Province, and which we trust will continue to give, and thereby act in harmony with the wishes and feelings of the people.

"We likewise rejoice to see that Her Majesty has withheld Her Royal assent from the Clergy Reinvestment Bill as your Excellency justly observes that the Provincial Legislature must have more correct information as to the wants and general opinions of society in this country than the Imperial Parliament and we feel confident if the

people of this Province were appealed to by a dissolution of Parliament, your Excellency's views on this vital subject would be fully borne out.

"We would further wish to address your Excellency on that all important subject of education, which we are sorry to say is in a deplorable state, more especially in this and newly settled portions of the country, whole townships being without a school & it is our settled conviction that the Clergy Reserves that bone of contention could not be more wisely applied than for the purpose of general education.

"We would further suggest to your Excellency the propriety of lowering the price of Crown Lands so as to induce the British emigrants to settle in our own colony in place of the United States.

(Signed) Andrew Dickson

"And signed by eighty others of this township of Pakenham."[3]

The McNab settlers had also addressed a loyal petition to the new Governor General, and they, too, had an axe to grind, though of a different metal. They spoke at some length of the proposal to link the Ottawa with Lake Huron, stating that this would speed communication between the city of Montreal and Lake Huron and provide a route to the Great Lakes at least 280 miles shorter than that then in use. They continued: "We perceive by our Local position on the banks of the Great Channel of Canadian commerce, that while other portions of this Province are undergoing great improvements, the Ottawa is suffered by the Provincial Government, to remain in its natural unimproved state, owing, as we imagine, to the baneful influence of [sic] men denominated the "Family Compact" have over the financial and territorial concerns of Upper Canada."[4]

These were strong words and no doubt the Governor General was inundated with similar petitions, nevertheless his office found time to reply courteously. The Pakenham address brought the following acknowledgement, through Mr. Morris, and was published in the *Courier*:

"I am commanded by the Governor-General to acknowledge the address from the inhabitants of Packenham which accompanied your letter to me of the 13th Instant.

"His Excellency desires me to request that you will convey to the Gentlemen who signed this address his thanks for the expression of their confidence in his administration, His Excellency is havppy [sic] to find that the measure of re-union meets with their approbation, and he trusts that the result of that measure may be to promote the prosperity of this part of Her Majesty's dominions.

"In respect to the subject of Education the Governor General is fully alive to the deficiencies now existing, and to the importance of providing means for the instruction of the people, and he will be ready to co-operate with the Local Legislature, in any well considered measure for that purpose."[5]

Andrew Dickson had chaired the meeting at which the address had been prepared, and there is ample evidence that at this period he was emerging as the leading citizen of the township. Haydon says that at a meeting (held presumably in 1840) the people of the community nominated Mr. Dickson to represent them in the next election.[6] Although the choice of his township, he apparently did not receive the County nomination, for when Parliament was assembled on April 8, 1841, Lanark was represented by Malcolm Cameron.[7] Mr. Cameron made his stand clear in a letter to "The Reformers of Lanark." "At this crisis, as one who has with you, long complained of corruption, partiality, and undue Executive influence; I rejoice to find our opinions, once denounced as treasonable and rebellious, openly advocated by the Government, and I rejoice that you appear with me, ready to put confidence in the present administration, and sustain it so long as its practice shall be in accordance with its professions."[8] Mr. Cameron continued as Member until 1848, when Robert Bell took his place in the Legislative Assembly. In 1851 James Shaw was the representative for Lanark and remained in the Assembly until 1854.[9]

Although Mr. Dickson was never elected to Parliament, he served his County in other capacities. At this period (1842) the District Council of the Bathurst District, at which each township of the District was represented by a District Councillor, met at Perth. In the Minutes of the Freeholders for Pakenham Township of January 3, 1842, the election of Andrew Dickson to the District Council is reported briefly and unemotionally: "Candidates for the office of District Councillor. Andrew Dickson, Esq., Proposed by David Ogilvie, Seconded by Hugh Dickson. James Scott, Proposed by Thomas McKibbon and seconded by Thomas Ellis. Andrew Dickson, Esq., duly elected, the pole standing at the close, for Andrew Dickson, Esq., 72 votes for James Scott, 24 votes. Majority in favour of Mr. Dickson being 48."[10]

The *Courier* of February 8, 1842, under the heading "District Council Election at Pakenham Mills" gives a much more spirited account of Mr. Dickson's election. The *Courier* states that a preliminary meeting had been held at which Mr. Dickson was the

unanimous choice, but on the day of the nomination James Scott "a wealthy neighbour" was also nominated but "the number of voters who appeared to know what the public interest was, soon decided the question, and made way for Mr. Dickson, our Councillor."[11]

Certainly Mr. Dickson, himself, seems to have been in little doubt of the outcome of the nomination, if one may judge by the state of preparedness of his household, for the account of the day's festivities continues:

> "A sleigh was fitted out, loaded with banners prepared for the occasion, upon which our worthy Councillor was borne through the village, whilst other sleighs followed with their streamers floating in the air, bearing their different mottoes of agriculture and enterprize. After landing our new made Councillor at his own door, amidst the cheers of the people which rent the air, he invited them into his house, where they partook of a dinner which was prepared for those who felt their appetites sharpened by such exercises; the banners being planted all along the front of the house, the whole party moved in, and soon began to show their dexterity in the use of the knife and fork, while Mr. Dickson's own family vied with each other in waiting on the party. After dinner Mr. Dickson thanked the people for the good order they observed throughout the day—when all retired amidst peace and harmony."[12]

Among Mr. Dickson's fellow councillors on the District Council for 1842 were: for Drummond, Sutton Frizelle; Torbolton, John Buckham; March, Hamnet Pinhey; and McNab, James Morris.[13] Andrew Dickson proceeded with his usual energy to take a keen interest in the affairs of the Bathurst District serving on such committees as Roads and Bridges, and Finance.

Nor was this the only honour for Mr Dickson in the 40's. In 1843 the following announcement appeared in the *Courier*:

"His Excellency the Governor General has been pleased to make the following appointment, viz:—

"Andrew Dickson, of Packenham, Esquire, to be Sheriff of the Bathurst District, in the place of John A. H. Powell, Esquire, removed."[14]

With his appointment as Sheriff, Mr. Dickson's duties became more onerous. His name appeared on the announcements of the many Sheriff's Sales of property throughout the District; he gave notice of the holding of the District Courts; but he also called the more important meetings of the District when issues of concern to all Canada were at stake. One such meeting was of the freeholders

of Lanark "For the purpose of expressing their opinions on the expediency of petitioning Her Majesty against removing the Seat of Government from that part of the Province formerly called Upper Canada; and also for the purpose of recommending what place is most eligible for the same."[15]

Later in the decade Mr. Dickson chaired a meeting at the Court House at Perth called to protest against the proposed Rebellion Losses Bill. Among the resolutions that day was one which read: "That this meeting, while it refuses to recognize the right of rebels to payment for their Rebellion, consider that it would be only an act of Justice to indemnify those loyal subjects of the Crown, who suffered so severely in supporting Her Majesty's Government in that trying period, but are of opinion, that as Upper Canada paid similar losses from funds peculiarly her own, Lower Canada should in like manner, pay those claims from her own local funds."[16]

4: *The Clergymen and the Churches*

The Anglican church on the Amprior road had, presumably, been erected prior to July 1839. At about this time a gifted young Methodist minister, Hannibal Mulkins, who was stationed at Brockville, broke with his church and went over to the Church of England.[1] During 1840 he was the subject of discussion in a number of letters from Bishop Strachan to various clergymen under his direction. The Bishop, at first inclined to "distrust these sudden conversions from Methodism,"[2] finally placed the new convert under the tutelage of the Reverend H. Caswell, and on April 25, 1841, held an ordination and admitted Mr. Mulkins, with four others, to the order of Deacon. In a letter of June 18, 1841, Bishop Strachan gives the details of Mr. Mulkins' qualifications and first appointment in the Church of England: "Hannibal Mulkins a Literate. This gentleman came over from the Methodists and studied for some time under the Revd. H. Caswall [sic] he was strongly recommended to my notice by the Revd. Edward Denroche as well as Mr. Caswell and considered one of the most able of the Methodist Preachers. He passed a fair examination and will I have reason to believe prove a useful Clergyman. He brought a good character from the people he left who were grieved to part with him. I have placed him in charge of the Townships of Pakenham and Fitzroy in the Bathurst District. Mr. Mulkins is a native Canadian."[3]

The new deacon did not immediately come to his new charge although he visited it occasionally. The Reverend Michael Harris of Perth was on leave, visiting his father overseas, and for some months Mr. Mulkins supplied for him. At the end of the summer he moved to the mission of Pakenham and Fitzroy. His place of residence is in some doubt. Legend has it that the early Church of England parsonage was on the Arnprior road across from the church and burying ground. In the Census records of 1842, however, Mr. Mulkins' location is given as Lot 11, Concession 12, which would seem to place the early parsonage on the east side of the river. What is more probable, Mr. Mulkins may, at this date, have been boarding with members of his congregation at that location.

Correspondence between Bishop Strachan and Mr. Mulkins during 1841 and 1842 casts some doubt on the actual date of the erection of the Anglican church. The deed from William McAdam dated July 13, 1839, mentioned "the Episcopal Church now erected" yet a letter from Bishop Strachan to Mr. Mulkins on November 4, 1841, reads, in part, as follows: "I thought that the church at Packingham had already received assistance if not I am inclined to grant the sum of £25 for the purposes you mention but should a donation have been already made you must proceed without further aid. You will enquire into this matter & on being satisfied that no grant has been made towards the erection of the church at Packingham you may to save time draw on me at sight for the sum specified £25."[4]

A further letter of March 24, 1842, is equally puzzling. In it Bishop Strachan asks Mr. Mulkins not to propose more than is absolutely necessary, since there are 46 stations where clergy and churches are needed. He adds that it is not his purpose to build churches "which the people are expected to do for themselves but only to give a donation." He expresses himself as unwilling any longer to help build wooden churches but is more disposed to assist in building of more durable materials. He considers that until they can build with effect, congregations ought to be content to worship in schoolhouses. He points out, also, that it is easier to build in old townships rather than in new where labour is scarce, dear, and often poor. Churches, he says, costing £200 in old settlements cost £500 in new, and this is evidently the case in Pakenham for "you have expended alread[y] £200 have raised by subscription £100 besides which you require an additional £200. That is in all £500."[5]

The explanation may lie in the fact that Mr. Mulkins may have been proposing either to enlarge the Pakenham church or to build a church elsewhere on his mission, for he was, in this period, at work not only in Pakenham and Fitzroy, but in McNab, Clarendon, Torbolton, Horton, Bromley, Ross, North Gore, and Ramsay.[6] Or, it is possible that, as so often happened, fire destroyed the first church and a second may have been needed when Mr. Mulkins reached Pakenham. Certainly a church was built prior to July 13, 1839. An "English" church is again mentioned in the Pakenham Council Minutes of April 30, 1842.

Hannibal Mulkins remained on the Pakenham and Fitzroy mission until the end of the decade. During these years his labours were not confined to his own congregations for he played an active part in organizing and supervising the schools of Pakenham Township.

At the beginning of the decade the Presbyterians of Pakenham were busily engaged in building their first church on the hill on the west side of the river overlooking the falls. Early in 1840, the Reverend William Bell made a missionary tour through the townships to the north of Perth, and in February, on his outward journey, he conducted a weekday service at Pakenham. On his return in March he preached at two Sunday services. He recorded his first visit as follows:

> "Next day, after making some calls, I set out, [from Carleton Place] stopped an hour at Mr. Fairbairn's, in Ramsay, and reached Mr. Dicksons, at Packenham Mills, at 2, intending to preach at 3; but found that Mr. D. had put it off till 5. In the mean time I took a walk to the church, which I reached with some difficulty, the steep hill on which it stands being covered with ice. The structure is handsome, and the situation *eminent*, so that it is seen to advantage, even at a distance. At 5, I preached in the school house, to about 50 people. The singing was good, being conducted by Mr. Paterson, who was teaching sacred music there at the time to a very numerous class.
>
> "On Thursday, having 20 miles to travel before 12, I wished to set out early, but could not get breakfast till an hour after the time I intended to start. Peter McGregor had come to conduct me through the woods, and it was well he had, for the roads were so numerous and perplexing that, alone, I could not have found the way; and there were no houses for many miles at which I could inquire. Men and teams were met all along the road, for the first few miles, drawing masts and square timber to the river. By these we were detained, and sometimes exposed to danger in the narrow and crooked road we had to travel."

On his return journey Mr. Bell travelled by way of the Mississippi for the last part of his trip to Pakenham.

> "Half my way was on land," he says, "the other on the river Mississippi. The sleighing was good, and in an hour and a half, I travelled the distance. A thaw had commenced, and part of the way it rained hard; and when I got to Mr. Dickson's at Pakenham Mills, where I was to preach, I was cold and wet. There I found that Mr. Dickson, during my absence, had been severely lamed by a heavy mast he had been assisting to get to the river. His knee had been jammed by the mast and dreadfully bruised, and yet no bones broken.
>
> "At 3, worship began, in the new church. The pulpit had been just put up, and I was the first to occupy it. The congregation seemed small, in so large a place; for the rain had kept away many, and the communion that day at Ramsay perhaps had detained more. Soon after I began to preach, a vivid flash of lightening [sic] made some start, while a loud peal of thunder made the building tremble. Meantime, the load of snow on the roof, being loosened by the rain, rushed down, first on the one side, and then on the other with a noise like thunder, and a force that shook the church to its foundation. After preaching, I visited D. McDonald, who had been suddenly taken ill at the tavern. At 6, I preached again, in the school house, to a good congregation.
>
> "On Monday morning, I set out on my way home."[7]

Meanwhile, in Scotland, the Reverend Alexander Mann "was ordained in the Church of Scotland and designated by the Colonial Committee of that body to undertake mission work among the Presbyterian settlers in Canada. He chose as a centre for his missionary labors the thriving village of that time on the banks of the Mississippi, now called after the township of Pakenham. The field of labor cut out for him by the Canadian church was the extensive district comprising the five townships of Pakenham, Fitzroy, Torbolton, McNab and Horton, with preaching stations at different points throughout these municipalities."[8]

The *Courier* of June 4, 1840, carried an account of Mr. Mann's induction, copied from the *Aberdeen Herald*: "The Rev. Alexander Mann, who sailed from this port in May last, was inducted on the 16th of February, to the charge to which he was nominated by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The services were conducted in the Church of Packenham, Bathurst District, Upper Canada. The Rev. Mr. Romanes preached an excellent and appropriate discourse from 1st Cor. ii, 1, 5, inclusive. The Pastor was thereafter addressed by the Rev. Mr. McAllister, and the people by the Rev. Mr. Wilson. This was a most harmonious settlement; the very crowded and respectable congregation, at the conclusion of worship, welcomed the Minister with the utmost cordiality."[9]

The same issue of the *Courier* announced the birth of a son to Mr. and Mrs. Mann at Pakenham on the 21st of May.

With the advent of Mr. Mann, the Kirk Session of Pakenham requested a list of the members of the Ramsay church residing in Pakenham Township. The moderator granted the list, with certificates of their membership in good standing, and the Pakenham congregation was constituted.[10]

In January 1841 Mr. Bell paid another visit to the Pakenham Presbyterians. As usual he stopped over at Carleton Place. Unfortunately his account of this visit is disappointingly brief.

> "Next morning," he says, "I started at 7, and after calling at Mr. Fairbairn's, on my way, in spite of the cahots, of which the road was full, I reached Mr. Mann's at 11, which at once relieved his mind; for he was so anxious about my coming, that he had not slept any the night before.
>
> "At 12 I preached in the church, to a very numerous, and attentive audience. The singing was excellent. After the congregation was dismissed I had a meeting with the trustees, and transacted the business on which I had been sent. We then dined at Mr. Mann's, and spent the evening at Mr. Dickson's."[11]

The presentations made to Mr. Mann early in his ministry at Pakenham indicate that he enjoyed the respect and affection of his people. In the summer of 1841 the ladies of Pakenham Mills presented him with a handsome pulpit Bible and Psalm Book; and the Presbyterians of Horton, McNab, and Pakenham gave him an excellent riding horse—a necessity for any minister of the times.[12] The Fitzroy Harbour congregation was not far behind for in the following year the ladies there presented him with a silk gown.[13] Like Mr. Mulkins, Mr. Mann not only cared for his wide-spread flock but took a prominent part in organizing the schools of the township.

Unlike the congregations of the Church of England and the Presbyterian Church, whose clergy were resident in Pakenham, the Methodists may still have depended upon itinerant missionaries and until 1849 Pakenham continued to be part of the Mississippi Circuit. The first Methodist church in Pakenham, a commodious frame structure, was built in 1841 or 1842.[14] It was served by the following: 1840 and 1841, Alvah Adams and Reuben E. Tupper;

1842, John Gemley and George Goodson; 1843, George Goodson and Ephraim B. Harper; 1844, Ozias Barber and George Beynon; 1845, George Beynon; 1846 and 1847, James Hughes; 1848, William Chapman and Benjamin Nankeville. In 1849 Carleton Place and Pakenham were formed into a circuit, with Benjamin Nankeville and Thomas Hanna as missionaries; and in 1850 Thomas W. Constable and Richard Wilson looked after the Circuit.[15]

Camp meetings continued to be popular among the Methodists, and leaders of the Church still called to the ministry likely lay preachers who showed special gifts of eloquence or piety. The calling of such a young man is described by John Carroll in *"Case and His Cotemporaries."* The year is 1841-42.

> "Plantagenet was to be supplied by Ozias Barber, a young man from the Lower Ottawa country; E. B. Harper, was to come from Perth to Osgoode; and the Mississippi circuit was to furnish the supply for Richmond. The first two came promptly to their work; not so with the third. I wrote for him and waited, and so far lost my patience that if I could have found another preacher available, I should certainly have employed him. And if so, we would probably have lost one of our ablest men for ever. Such was the extreme distrust of himself, with which this young man entered on the ministry. At length, however, he came. He was a native of Ireland, of good old Methodist parents, had been enured to the hardships of bush-farming and lumbering at Packenham, and the parts adjacent, and his advantages for liberal education had not been such as some of the older members of the family had enjoyed. These drawbacks, joined to unfeigned natural diffidence, were the grounds of his distrust of his competency for the work. But all who had knowledge of the massive powers of his mind, sound sense, sincere piety, exemplary conduct, and powerful utterances in prayer, and exhortation of *James Elliott*,—for it is of him we are writing—were convinced that if he were once fully committed to the work and to study, he would very soon give a good account of himself. Events confirmed the reasonableness of these expectations. He took amazingly at once on his circuit, and rose higher and higher; and with his marked fidelity to his colleagues, he held up the hands of his superintendent. After a time, I got a sight of him, and found him a stout young man of twenty-three, who seemed more like felling a tree than gracing a pulpit, clad, as he was, in no clerical garb. I was often absent from Bytown in looking after the district; and in those absences had to supply my pulpit by the young preachers from the surrounding circuits, among whom, though all did well, none were so acceptable as brother Elliott."[16]

Four years later James Elliott was "received into full connexion with the Conference and *ordained*."[17]

During the forties serious troubles overtook both the Presbyterian and Church of England congregations. In 1846 the Presbyterian church burned down under circumstances that must have incensed its adherents.

> "We are informed," says the *Courier* report of the disaster, "that the fire originated in the following manner: It appears that Mrs. Cross—her husband being out at the time—was occupied in rubbing her leg with high wines, and allowed her hand (with which she was applying the liquid) to come in contact with the lighted candle, which enveloped it in a flame. To save her hand from being burnt, she thrust it into the bed-cloths on an adjoining bed, but had only the effect of communicating the flame to them without extinguishing it. No water being handy, the jug containing the high wines was emptied on the bedclothes *to put the flame out*! but, as any one might have supposed by a moment's reflection, it had quite the opposite effect, and soon enveloped the whole house in flames."[18]

The nearby Presbyterian church caught fire and, since many of the faithful were on scattered farms miles from the village and the villagers were too busy saving their own homes, the church was lost. Mr. Mann was not discouraged. He had procured nearby property from Mr. Carswell for a manse and on this land a rough log building was hastily erected to serve as temporary house of worship for the congregation.

Meanwhile discussions went on concerning the site and construction of a new church,[19] and it was finally decided to build of stone on the old site. For some reason Mr. Dickson had reserved the quarry stone for other purposes, at any rate it was not available to the builders, and they had to look elsewhere for material. About a mile from the village on the road to Almonte there is an outcropping of sandstone lying parallel to the river. The owner, Mr. David Ogilvy, opened a quarry here and with the assistance of the church members secured enough stone for the church. The committee was not entirely satisfied with the appearance of the stone, nevertheless it was hauled to the Kirk hill, and construction commenced. The new church accommodated 150 people; it had the high pulpit and straight-backed pews typical of the period.

The Reverend Mr. Mann remained as minister of the Scottish church in Pakenham for more than 40 years; he died in 1884. His

residence stood across the valley from the church, on "Maryhill" (so-named for Mrs. Mann), on the west side of the river overlooking the Bay.

The difficulties in the Church of England were of a more delicate nature. The proposed Rebellion Losses Bill was one of the burning issues of the day and Andrew Dickson had taken his stand in a public meeting at Perth. Mr. Mulkins went still farther. Through the Press, in June, 1849, he defended the Governor General in his signing of the Bill.[20]

Mr. Mulkins continued to enlarge upon his view in subsequent issues of the *Courier*, and of course stirred up the usual storm. He was severely criticized by other newspapers and his congregation protested to the Bishop on his behaviour. The Bishop was inclined to be tolerant and to call his actions a passing indiscretion. Such was the dissension in the parish, however, that there seemed no alternative but to sever Mr. Mulkins' connection with the congregations of Fitzroy and Pakenham. He was later appointed chaplain of the penitentiary at Kingston.

During the 1840's there was still no Roman Catholic church in Pakenham[21] and the members of this faith were apparently looked after by the Huntley church. When the Census of 1851 was taken, however, a frame church that would seat 300 people was being built on Victoria Street on lots donated by Andrew Dickson. In February 1852 Monsignor Guigues made a pastoral visit to Pakenham and said mass in the shop of the cabinet maker, Mr. Donahue. In his account of the visit he commented on the beauty of the village, the scarcity of Roman Catholics, and the probable completion of the church within six months. Fitzroy subsequently asked to be elevated to a parish. This change was made and Pakenham became a mission of Fitzroy under the Reverend Bernard McFeely. The church at Pakenham was attended and partially supported by Catholic families from the border of Fitzroy Township.

5: *The Schools and the School Commissioners*

The Common School Bill of 1841[1] placed the management of the township schools in the hands of five school commissioners, one of whom was to be the District Councillor. The commissioners were to choose and acquire building sites, visit the schools, and to superintend the classes and schoolhouses. They were empowered

to appoint and remove teachers, to make estimates relative to the schools, and to grant warrants to the township clerk for moneys required. They could exempt needy individuals from paying fees, up to the number of ten in each school district. It was also their duty to preserve minutes of their proceedings, to report annually to the District Council, and to deliver all official documents to their successors.

Meanwhile, on June 16, 1841, a public meeting had been held at Pakenham to draw up regulations in connection with the village school. The Reverend Alexander Mann was present. The regulations adopted at that meeting give an interesting picture of the schools of the day. They were:

"1st. At the commencement of every meeting, a horn shall be sounded, as a signal for the scholars to convene.

"2nd. Hours of attendance from 10 to 4, with an interval of 15 minutes, and 5 in the course of the former, and 5 in the latter meeting.

"3rd. The daily business of the school, on all occasions, to begin and end with prayer.

"4th. After worship, on repeating a portion of Scriptures previously prescribed, the pupils shall receive instructions in orthography, reading, grammar, writing, arithmetic, and geography, according to their respective capacities, special attention being paid to mental arithmetic, and promiscuous questions on useful subjects.

"5th. The exercise of Saturday to consist of a repetition of the weekly lessons, with questions on the first principles of Christianity.

"6th. The school to be publicly examined quarterly, the first examination to be in September ensuing.

"7th. On the day of examination the visitors shall be furnished by the Teacher, with an accurate account of the number attending, and of the individuals who have distinguished themselves, for general good conduct, or proficiency in their studies, as also of other matter tending to promote the efficiency of the school.

"8th. The school fund to be a pound per annum, with half a cord of fire wood, or two and six pence, the former payable in February, and the latter on or before the first of December.

"9th. The teacher shall keep a supply of approved books, to be sold to the pupils as occasion may require.

"10th. For purchasing maps and other classic apparatus' for general use, each subscriber shall advance an additional six pence."[2]

These, then, were the rules brought forth that day. They were discussed one by one, unanimously adopted, and the meeting closed, as it had opened, with prayer.

The *Courier*, in printing the resolutions, commented approvingly:

"It is pleasing to see a community taking an active interest in the welfare of the young. Such efforts merit every encouragement, and in the event of a Legislative enactment being made, relative to the education of the rising generation, such zeal ought not to be overlooked. Besides, the thriving village of Packenham seems well fitted for a training school on an exalted scale. . . . And now that the matter is to be discussed in high places, it is hoped the claims of this village will be brought into view, and its cause effectually advocated."[5]

The inhabitants of Pakenham had reason to be concerned about education. The population of the village at 1842[4] was close to 200, of which about 50 were between the ages of five and fourteen. Of the 1,142 people in the township, some 300 were in the school-age group. These children were in four school divisions. The village school division, in addition to the 50 potential pupils in the village, could draw another 50 from the surrounding countryside, with a fairly even distribution as between girls and boys. Not all of these children, were, of course, able to attend. Only those whose parents could afford the tuition could be sure of a place in the schools.

At the annual meeting[5] of the freeholders and householders of Pakenham Township held on January 3, 1842, the Reverend Alexander Mann, the Reverend Hannibal Mulkins, Mr. John O'Connor, Mr. James Scott, and Mr. David Ogilvy were appointed school commissioners. On March 23, 1842,[6] these met and elected Mr. David Ogilvy chairman. For the next two years the commissioners were busy men. Their first task was to visit the first, second, and third divisions in the township and report on sites for schoolhouses. Two commissioners were to visit each division. Notices were also put in the Bytown and Perth papers; that published in the *Courier* read:

"Persons desirous of becoming Teachers of Common Schools in Pakenham Township, are requested to attend a meeting of the Commissioners at Pakenham Mills, on the 15th of April next, at 10 oclock, A.M.

By order of the Commissioners,
(Signed) James Connery, Clerk."[7]

On April 15 the commissioners met in the village school and presented their reports, made future plans, and examined candidates. In Division 1 they were to apply for the site of a schoolhouse; in Division 2 they were to wait on Mr. Connery to procure a deed for the schoolhouse site, the site to be 50 feet square; and in Division 3 they were to try to get an acre for the school and were to suggest that the inhabitants erect a schoolhouse 20 by 20 feet, with 9 feet between the floors and 3 windows each with 24 lights. The roof was to be shingled.

The commissioners examined and approved Mr. Andrew Dickson, Mr. Thomas Ellis, Mr. Duncan Ferguson, and Mr. Jas Connery as teachers. The chairman was to meet with the two clergymen at Mrs. MacFarlane's Inn on the 19th to draw up a course of study and rules for the schools, and standards of attainment for teachers. They were also to apply to the District Council for funds to put the School Act in operation. Estimates of expenditures for each division were: Division 1, £4; Division 2, £5; Division 3, £10; and Division 4, £12/10.

When the school commissioners met on June 7, they approved the following rules drawn up by Mr. Ogilvy, Mr. Mann, and Mr. Mulkins:

"1st Every teacher shall be a man of good moral character, competent to teach the prescribed course, shall apply for the school in his own handwriting, and furnish proper testimonials of character.

"2nd No distinction shall be made in regard to religion, and each Teacher shall be free to prefer what communion he pleases, but no Teacher shall be allowed to make himself a partisan in either religion or politics.

"3rd The school shall open with prayer, as the Comrs. do decide. (The superintendent to be written to on this rule by Revd H. Mulkins).

"4th Each Teacher shall teach his School five hours each day, viz three in the morning, and two in the afternoon, with one hours interval at least in the middle of the day, five days & a half per week, 12 lunar months per year, making his vacations semi-annually, two weeks each.

"5th Each teacher shall keep a catalogue of the attendance, behaviour, and progress of the scholars, according to a plan to be provided by the Comrs., according to which plan the school shall be conducted—and in punishing the scholars, the teacher shall

only be allowed to use upon their hands, a piece of leather, & then he shall make a note of the punishment, the number of blows given, and also the cause of their infliction, to be given to the Comrs., it being their intention to substitute as soon as possible, moral discipline only, for physical correction.

"6th That all accusations against the Teachers shall be made formally in writing, to the Comrs., by the persons so accusing, and handed to the chairman, for their consideration."

Such were the rules. The commissioners also proposed a comprehensive range of subjects including spelling, reading, composition, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, grammar, geometry, natural philosophy, and history. It is noteworthy that the Bible was one of the texts prescribed for both reading and history. Later the commissioners adopted as an afterthought a seventh rule to the effect "That all Teachers shall suppress all whispering and noise in their schools."

It was the duty of the commissioners to visit the schools from time to time and this they did in pairs. One of the pair was always one of the two clergymen who looked after the "spiritual" needs of the scholars; the layman attended to the "temporalities." A vexing problem seems to have been whether or not the catechisms should be taught, and finally it was agreed that they should not be introduced at present. The form of prayer to be adopted for use in the schools morning and evening was to be furnished to each teacher.

In August 1842 Mr. John Cary was examined and approved as a teacher; he began his work in Division 3. On September 30 Mr. Mann visited his school and found that he had 18 scholars, and that the schoolhouse was indeed 20 feet square as planned. The windows, though not in, were ready.

Meanwhile the teachers of the District were holding meetings from time to time at Perth and Carleton Place to discuss educational matters and protect their own interests. As reported by the *Courier*[8] resolutions drawn up in 1842 included these: (1) that the salary be not less than £50 (2) that teachers be paid half yearly and (3) that each school district be required to purchase four acres of land and erect a house thereon for the use of the teacher, adjacent to the schoolhouse. Understandably the system of living around with the various families left something to be desired.

The fact that a man was considered a fit and proper person to teach did not mean that he automatically had the job. On January

9, 1843, the commissioners agreed that Mr. Cary, who had been teaching in Division 3, should teach in the village school provided he could "raise" 25 scholars at 5 shillings a quarter. Evidently Mr. Cary had the necessary enterprise for a week later he attended the meeting of the commissioners and presented a document showing that 27 children would attend the school under his tuition. It was agreed that he should be appointed teacher "being liable to dismissal whenever the Comrs. think proper." Later in the winter Mr. Cary was asked by the commissioners to write to each of the parents sending children to school requesting them to send in one fourth of a cord of firewood for each child.

In 1843 Mr. Thomas Ellis replaced Mr. Ogilvy as a school commissioner, and Mr. Mann became chairman of the group. In that year the commissioners appear to have had a tenuous hold on their positions. At the annual meeting of the freeholders on January 2, 1843, it had been decreed that the school commissioners should be re-elected provisionally but that "they were not to act unless the School Act be amended, so as it can be wrought more to the satisfaction of themselves and the inhabitants."[9] Nevertheless the commissioners continued to carry on, visiting the school regularly over roads that took a horse "to the belly every few rods."[10] The roads in McNab Township were considered bad, but, according to one writer, the section of the road in Pakenham Township between the Madawaska and Pakenham Mills would leave such an impression on the traveller that he would be "long past remembering any thing about the roads in McNab."[11]

The establishment of a Grammar School in Pakenham was also under consideration in 1843. In June the school commissioners took note of this possibility in two resolutions:

"(1) That the Comrs. after considering the advantages of having a Grammar School established in this place, regard it as a matter of high importance, and therefore approve of the exertions made by the Councillor for the Township to secure the establishment of one amongst us.

"(2) That it being a question of great consideration, it is extremely desirable to have the opinion of the people of the Township on the subject, and therefore deem it advisable to have a public meeting of the Inhabitants, to express their views on the matter, and that this public meeting shall be called by the Councillor, at as early a period as convenient, and that in order to a full understanding of

the matter, the Revd. H. Mulkins is hereby authorized to communicate with the Govt. for the purpose of obtaining full information on the matter."

One of the last recorded acts of the school commissioners was to examine and approve Robert C. Mills and Henry Robinson as teachers "of their respective schools." This was in August 1843. On September 11, 1844, the inhabitants of School District No. 4 (the village school) met and appointed school trustees. The oath of office read:

"We Smith Coleman, Charles Royce and James Quigley, Trustees of the Common School District No. 4 in the Township of Pakenham do sincerely promise and swear, that we will faithfully and diligently do and perform the duties appertaining to the office of said Trustees as mentioned in the School Bill, passed in the seventh year of Her present Majesty's Reign."

Thus the affairs of the village school passed out of the hands of the clergy into the keeping of the village tanner, the carding mill operator, and the cabinet maker.

6: *Lawbreakers and Lawmakers*

In this decade the Mississippi, like the Ottawa, no doubt had its bands of lawless rivermen, and Pakenham, in common with other villages along its banks, was probably the scene of considerable vandalism and crime. This was of seasonal duration, however, unlike the ever-present problem of drunkenness and lawlessness so prevalent in pioneer settlements where illicit taverns did a lucrative business. Of such taverns Pakenham Township seems to have had more than its share. Indeed, throughout the whole Bathurst District the temperance issue was apparently a live one. Frequently the Press of the day published long controversies on the subject, and in 1841 a correspondent of the *Courier* drew the ire of many subscribers when he attempted to analyze the business of tavern-keeping in Perth.

The writer estimated that of the 15 tavern keepers who had carried on business there in the previous eight or ten years, 8 were drunkards—as were the wives of many of them—and the others had given up in disgust. He commented: "Whatever the cause may be, it is evident that this business is not so profitable nor respectable, nor conducive to morals, as the generality of the other occupations carried on.

"It would almost seem as if the divine blessing was withheld from the business, and as if the Almighty signified his disapprobation of it, by visible tokens of his displeasure in the persons or families, or fortunes of those by whom it is pursued."[1]

This and other comments in the same vein brought forth indignant rebuttals in defence of the taverns: "As well might they be accused of shooting a man because they had sold him a gun," declared one indignant defender, "or of nicking his jugular because they had sold him a knife or a razor, or of poisoning him because they had sold him laudanum, by the improper use of any of which the purchaser had committed suicide . . . it is a narrow minded and unfair view to look upon a Tavern as a place for drinking only. They are the Farmer's Town residences, where they are welcomed and well attended to while they conduct themselves with propriety. There are no human institutions, however pure in purpose or benevolent in design but may and have been prostituted."[2]

Pakenham's answer to the current problem of drunkenness was to organize a temperance soiree,[3] to demonstrate in a practical way that if "ardent spirits" were banished from social parties, enjoyment would be greater, kindly feeling promoted, and information extended. The soiree was held on March 18, 1842, and according to the account was well attended by inhabitants from far and near. The Reverend Alexander Mann opened the soiree with prayer, and the Reverend Hannibal Mulkins returned thanks for the repast. Speeches were delivered, a band supplied the music and, since the company did not break up until morning, additional refreshments were served from time to time. Those who participated pronounced it a great success, and the money was set aside in aid of purchasing a bell for the Presbyterian church.

Whatever the effect of such gatherings on the temperance situation in Pakenham Village, they seem to have been singularly ineffectual in the outer reaches of the township, witness the account of a very thirsty traveller who passed through on his way from Brockville to White Lake in August, 1846.

We join him on the road from Almonte:

> "I now started for Packenham, and on my way called at Snedden's Hotel, which is kept in as good a style as any country Inn in the Province, the landlord appears to be an intelligent man, and one who is every way fitted for business. Arrived at Packenham, I perceived that the Presbyterian Church and some old buildings belonging to Mrs. McFarlane and Sheriff Dickson, were burnt down, the only new

feature the village presented. Proceeding onward, I stopped at the house of Mr. A. Curry, who keeps as good an Inn as I met with in my travels; I inquired of the landlord concerning my next stage, when he told me I could not go astray, as there were plenty of Taverns on my road; leaving this, I advanced through a rough rocky pine country and a miserable road for about six miles, at length I arrived at an Inn, or a house called an *Inn*, the keeper of which my informant termed 'Dirty Paw' an appropriate title, I should suppose, for his place and himself bear a strong resemblance to each other. After leaving here, I felt a little thirsty, the day being warm, and calling at the next *house*, about half a mile from the former, I asked for a drink, where I was informed by the inmates that they had a license there also; I thanked the supposed landlady but did not drink, but put spurs to my steed and started off.

"The next house I saw was about three miles further on, it was an *Inn* also; I did not call here, consequently, I can say nothing about it. I travelled forwards and had scarcely lost sight of Mr. Green's, when Mr. Morrow's attracted my attention, another Tavern about one fourth of a mile from the last; I called here, but could get nothing for my horse, but they had plenty of liquor. I urged my way onward without delay, and to my surprise, I found another Inn close at hand, in the shape of a small shanty, by the side of the road, without a table or any other kind of accommodation whatever; I then began to think that the authorities of the Bathurst District, do not look very closely into the Law relating to the regulations, and accommodations requisite in the establishment of a person making application for Tavern License. It would seem that License are granted to every one applying for them, without any question as to their legal fitness to discharge properly the duties of Innkeepers. I hope for the credit of this District, and the conveniences of the travelling community in general, that lawful regulations will be put into force, on that line of road in particular, leading from Packenham to White Lake, which is at present so thickly studded with sign posts, which, in a general way, are the only characteristics of houses of entertainment to be met with there."[4]

It would be unfair to suggest that all the inns in the township were of this order. The traveller, himself, commented favourably on Mr. Curry's establishment, and in 1842 the committee of the school commissioners that included Mr. Mann and Mr. Mulkins considered Mrs. McFarlane's Inn a suitable place to hold a meeting. Nevertheless drunkenness was recognized, by some at least, as a definite hazard to the young. One agreement of this period[5]—probably fairly typical—between a master and his apprentice,

warned the apprentice against wasting or lending his master's goods, against playing cards or gambling, buying or selling, and getting married during his apprenticeship. It concluded by forbidding him to frequent taverns and places of amusement.

Whatever the effect of the taverns on the lawlessness of the day, they certainly made one practice more dangerous and unpalatable to the victims. In pioneer settlements a favourite pastime was to "charivaree" newly married couples, particularly if the match were thought to be unsuitable. The charivarying party, often already drunk, would approach the home, usually after midnight, and set up a fearful din. The occupants aroused, the party would demand money to be later spent in a tavern. Guillet[6] reports that if the money were not forthcoming, fights, some of them with fatal results, might follow and that sometimes the roisterers might even smoke out the bridal party by blocking up the chimney.

Charivarying was prevalent in the Bathurst District and following one particularly disgraceful incident in which the bridegroom was critically injured, the citizens rose in protest. Andrew Dickson, as Sheriff of the District, called a public meeting[7] in Perth for the express purpose of passing resolutions deploring the custom and pledging support to the magistrates and other officers in bringing it to an end.

In this period Perth was, of course, the judicial centre for the District of Bathurst, but Division Courts in the various villages disposed of cases of lesser importance within their jurisdiction. In 1843 the Fifth Division Court of the District met in Arnprior, but in that year this court was transferred to Pakenham. The announcement of the Division Court sittings for 1844 read:

"Division Courts
Bathurst District 1844

"I, John G. Malloch, Judge of the District and Division Courts, in and for the District of Bathurst, do hereby fix and appoint the times and places for holding the said Division Courts, within the several Divisions of the said District, for the year commencing the 1st December, 1843, and ending the 30th November 1844, as follows:—
[There followed the announcements of the first four Division Courts]

"The Fifth Division

"In the Village of Packenham, on the seventeenth day of January, the twenty-seventh day of February, the twenty-fourth day of April, the tenth day of July, the twenty-seventh day of August, and the twenty-third day of October."

The announcement ended:
"The several Courts to be opened at ten of the Clock, A. M.
"Given under my hand at Perth, in the Bathurst District, the first day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

(Signed) John G. Malloch
Judge, Bathurst District."[8]

7: *Life in the 1840's*

It is understandable that governments and companies wishing to encourage settlement should, in their promotion campaigns minimize, if not actually ignore, the deplorable state of the roads, the inadequacy of the schools, the prevalence of drunkenness, and the lawlessness along the rivers, and stress the happier aspects of life in the 1840's. This was certainly true of the Canada Land Company, which in 1826 held 45 lots in Pakenham Township, and which in subsequent years was engaged in enticing settlers to these locations. In 1843 the Company[1] published what purported to be answers to queries of potential settlers and, though biased, they do help to round out the picture of the life of the ordinary settler and villager.

Every householder, the Company pointed out, was liable to serve in such offices of his township as poundkeeper, fence viewer, pathmaster, clerk, assessor, collector, and school commissioner. And, of course, only freeholders were eligible to vote for members of the provincial government. To qualify for District Councillor a freeholder must possess property valued at 300 pounds; property of the same value was a requirement for nomination as Member of Parliament.

Farm servants might be secured for 2 pounds a month with board, or 3 pounds without board. Female servants could be had for 1 pound a month with board. Day labourers could command 3 shillings 9 pence without board; and the wages for carpenters and other tradesmen ranged between 5 shillings and 10 shillings a day. "Land carriage," that is the hire of a driver, two horses, and a wagon that would carry eighteen hundredweight, was usually 8 pence a mile for the journey, if the team had to come back empty. Cheaper travelling could be had, however, by foresighted planning for return loads or by a little bargaining.

The farmer might expect frost in the ground from the first of November to the first of April; but garden produce and "all the fruits generally found in England" would thrive, with plums, apples, strawberries, raspberries, and melons doing particularly well. In some areas, deer, wood grouse, quails, rabbits, wild ducks, and wild geese were plentiful; in the lakes and rivers fish were abundant. "But," warns the Company, "it is true that the new settler may earn a quarter of beef in the time which it takes him to hunt for a quarter of venison."

In the summer and autumn the crops had to be cared for and harvested. Labour was scarce and everyone, including the five-year-olds, helped in the fields or about the farm, each at tasks appropriate to his years. In winter, many men supplemented the family income by working with their teams at the shanties; others would be occupied in looking after the cattle and chopping. Since most items used by the rural families were still home-made, female members of these households would be busy with spinning, weaving, candle making, making clothing, and cooking. In spring, sugar making, soap making, and potash boiling would be added to their tasks. Spring, too, was the season for burning the trees felled in winter; building and repairing fences; preparing fields and planting crops; and sometimes assisting a neighbour in house raising or barn raising.

Writers of these pioneer times throw further light on conditions and activities. Church, summer or winter, was an institution of paramount importance to the early settlers. Not only was the little village church a spiritual oasis, but it served a social function as well. "After the service," says Mrs. Jameson, "the congregation remained some time assembled before the church door, in various and interesting groups. . . . Many were the greetings and inquiries; the news and gossip of all the neighbourhood had to be exchanged. The conversation among the ladies was of marriages and births—lamentations on the want of servants and the state of the roads—the last arrival of letters from England—and speculations upon the character of a new neighbour come to settle in the Bush. Among the gentlemen it was of crops and clearings, lumber, price of wheat, road-mending, deer-shooting, log-burning, and so forth. . . ."[2]

Winter was the real social season in the bush. During the cold months the farmer might bundle his family into a sleigh and visit friends or relatives for days at a time. Or he might take in the

activities of the nearest village—the annual freeholder's meeting, the soirees that were a feature of this decade, or the intellectual treats that any village of the times provided.

The stage for this latter type of entertainment is admirably set by a traveller who made a trip by sleigh in the vicinity of Pakenham in 1844. "And in travelling thro' Canada in winter," he remarks, "as soon as you have told the reader something about bad roads, bad bridges and deep snow, you may drive on with the fury of Jehu through whole townships, counties and even Districts without having the mind once relieved from the cheerless picture with which you started, unless good fortune drives you into one of those aspiring little hamlets which are to form the cities of another generation, and in each of these you may safely calculate on meeting with some spirit of life whose energy and ambition has induced him to hope for an earthly immortality by being the founder of a city in the wilderness."[3] This particular traveller came up from Bytown by way of Fitzroy Harbour, which he described as a "deserted village" and reached Pakenham, as he says, "in possession of as much sunlight as enabled me to observe all that is worth observing in this infant capital of the District."

The traveller goes on to describe his evening in Pakenham Village. "I put up for the night at Mrs. McFarlane's," he says, "whose splendid mansion and very superior accommodations are calculated to yield satisfaction to persons even of the most fastidious taste. After supper I learned that a lecture for the benefit of the Pakenham Subscription Library was to be delivered in the school house by one of Scotia's self-taught poets, and as I thought it a pretty rational way of spending the evening, I accordingly repaired to the place of meeting. The audience, considering the remote locality, was both large and respectable in appearance: the lecturer is by profession a stone mason—his subject was 'The advantage of knowledge'."

The speaker, as described by the traveller, was no doubt fairly typical of the entertainers of the day: "Mr. McQueen is not one of these lecturers who study to catch the ear of their audience by flowing oratory or the beauties of rhetoric, composed of well formed periods and glowing sentences, twisted out of their imaginations as mechanically as a wandering musician grinds melody out of a *hurdy gurdy* or a french fiddle: he is a dealer in *facts*, which he brings forward in such an attractive manner as cannot fail to command attention. In fact I scarcely recollect of ever having heard a greater

number of startling facts, or a greater number of sound logical deductions crowded into the length of a discourse." And then the traveller pays his tribute to Pakenham's leading citizen. "The profound attention manifested throughout the whole course of the lecture," he declares, "was calculated to impress the mind with a very favorable opinion of the good sense and improvable disposition of the people of Pakenham, which is assuredly under the continuation of the fostering auspices of the present High Sheriff of the District, destined to become a very conspicuous embellishment of the wild locality in which it is situated."

The subject of Mr. Macqueen's lecture was typical of those of the times. Discourses on broad topics such as "Instinct and Reason," "Religious Liberty and Equality," "Phrenology" (which seems to have been the favourite in this period), and Mr. Dickson's "Geology" lecture, appear to have been in demand. Speakers were not, however, the only dispensers of popular entertainment. Debates went on evening after evening on such themes as "Free Trade," "Whether the Revolutions of Europe have tended more to advance or retard civilization," "Does man act by necessity or free will," and "Whether British Rule in India has advanced civilization in that country." Invariably, winter meetings were called for half past six.

The traveller's reference to the "improvable disposition of the people" may have been inspired by some knowledge of Mr. Dickson's methods of educating the inhabitants of Pakenham. Thomas Macqueen in 1847 said of him, "Mr. Dickson's method of doing good has not been confined to the vast expense which he has incurred in bringing a superior breed of the domestic animals into the neighbourhood. He has been zealous in purchasing the newest and best works on Agriculture and cattle-breeding, in reading and digesting the leading doctrines of such works, in lending and recommending them to such acquaintances as he deemed improvable through such a medium, and in verbally forcing the important facts and doctrines of such works unceremoniously down the throats of that class of human animals who are beyond the reach of book information."[4]

That Mr. Dickson had opinions on most subjects is demonstrated by an amusing incident reported by Gourlay: "Once when waiting for refreshments at the well-conducted hotel of Mrs. McFarland, Pakenham," writes Gourlay, "Sheriff Dickson, her brother, a man of great conversational powers, laid himself out to

entertain us. The horse, that in saddle or harness held a conspicuous place in our work, was referred to, and the Sheriff recommended us never to buy or keep a horse that in trotting described a semicircle with his front foot, as he would be slower or sooner exhausted than one that lifted his foot and reached it forward in a straight or direct line; a useful hint in many a selection afterwards."[5]

In a lengthy tribute to Mr. Dickson's enterprise Thomas Macqueen includes a colourful description of Pakenham Village in 1847. Following are brief excerpts from his account:

> "The beauty of the situation—the enterprising spirit and unwearied energy of Mr. Dickson, and the agricultural prosperity of the vicinity, have all tended to induce a steady influx of population, and to increase the size and beauty of the village. . . . It is situated in a very picturesque narrow valley formed by the waters of the Canadian Mississippi about ten miles above where that river falls into the Ottawa. The green hills on each side of the valley are incumbent on a very excellent kind of limestone or rather marble, and rise to a height of perhaps sixty feet above the village streets—they are bold and of a conical form, resembling a cluster of old Danish forts of Scotland. The River, which in the village is about three hundred feet broad, falls over a rock perhaps ten or twelve feet in height, and the furious action of the water resulting from this cascade has scooped out a very beautiful little bay of nearly half a mile in width immediately below the Mills, which certainly forms one of the most interesting features of the local scenery. . . .
>
> "And when we reach such promising villages as Packenham, springing up with surprising growth and beauty, and are aware that the motive power in each place, is almost exclusively resident in one man,—we cannot be considered guilty of profanity in estimating the authors of these green spots in the wilderness at their true value. And assuredly he who builds a village, if not a greater, is at least a *better* man than he who destroys an empire."[6]

8: *Official Visitors*

The traveller of 1844 was not the only person to journey to Pakenham Village in the 1840's. Undoubtedly the most important visitor of the period was W. E. Logan (later Sir William Logan), founder and first director of the Geological Survey of Canada, who in July 1845 commenced an official survey of the area. In his Report Mr. Logan records his visit to Pakenham. "Ascending the Chats Lake, we made an excursion up the Mississippi River to Packenham, where Mr. Dickson, the founder of this thriving village,

who takes an interest in geological phenomena, was so obliging as to accompany me to several spots in the vicinity, and to supply me with a small collection of specimens illustrative of the rocks of the Township. . . ."[1]

Later in his Report, Mr. Logan goes into some detail concerning the quarry on Mr. Dickson's property. "Limestones capable of a polish, rendering them fit for the purposes of ornamental architecture, exist," says Mr. Logan, "in several parts of the Ottawa. Of these, some belong to the metamorphic rocks, and others to the fossiliferous deposits which are above them. . . . Belonging to these deposits, a bed, met with at Packenham, on the Mississippi, yields a very peculiar clouded dark smoke or snuff brown marble. The stone takes a good polish; but small pieces of chert, I understand, are sometimes met with, which renders it necessary to be careful in selecting slabs to be worked up. Mr. Dickson, of Packenham, on whose property the bed occurs, had at one time fitted up an apparatus, driven by the waste power of his mill, to polish slabs for chimney-pieces and other ornamental purposes, but, I believe, it has now fallen into disuse. There is no consumption for the material in the vicinity, and no marble, unless for statuary purposes, will bear the expense of distant carriage."[2]

In his Field Book of 1845, Mr. Logan refers specifically to the depth of the limestone in Mr. Dickson's quarry, to the fragments of sea shells on the east side of the Mississippi below Mr. Dickson's mills, and to the limestone underlying the river and the carding mill near the bridge. He mentions talks with various inhabitants, among them Mrs. MacFarlane at whose Inn he probably stayed during his trip. Indeed his notes make clear that the early geologists relied heavily on the residents for information that would lead to interesting finds. One comment reads: "On Lot 15, 3d Concession of Packenham, north quarter, on the right side of the river there is a salene spring. William Quigley knows where it is and lives close by."[3] And another states: "Mr. Ritchie of Packenham informs me that 2 miles to the left of the Indian River about 3 or 4 miles up from the mouth of a creek called Glens Creek there is shell marl."[4]

The geologist noted the ridge of sandstone south of the village from which, in 1846, the Presbyterian congregation secured stone for the new church. He remarked, too, on the limestone at the "first Chute of the Indian River about 400 yds from the mouth,"[5] of the second chute on the same river he commented that "there are boulders of secondary limestone with large corals which may

have come down the stream."[6] To these indications of early invasions of the sea into Pakenham Township, Mr. Logan added further evidence of the extent of the latest invasion, the Champlain Sea. He recorded that "On lot 19 on the line between the 5 & 6 concession on the main road, there is a deposit of shells;"[7] and that "The same shells were obtained by Mr. Riddle in a well near his house 23 feet deep."[8]

Mr. Logan also described several springs in the neighbourhood. Of one he says: "Behind the church at Packenham in a dingle in which flows a brook there is a clear spring which has a slightly sulpburous taste. There is a filmy material on the surface in spots indicating iron. The temperature of the water is 44½."[9] While in the vicinity the geologist learned of the spring in the neighbouring township of Fitzroy that later, as Dominion Springs, became a well-known health resort. Of it he reported: "On lot no 10 in the 2d Concession of Fitzroy on the property of Mr. Francis Gillon [sic] there is a saline spring. It is supposed to yield about 60 gallons in 24 hours. It is situated on the margin of a small brook, called Gillon's brook, which flows in a dingle about 20 feet below the surface of the country. The banks are composed of stiff clay. It has been fenced in for protection. The well is 7 feet deep. The temperature of the water is 50°."[10] Of such springs Mr. Logan remarked that they had been discovered because deer were in the habit of coming there to drink. He took specimens of the water from both the Pakenham Village and Gillan's spring.

Mr. Logan apparently made other visits to Pakenham Village and certainly met Mr. Dickson on other occasions, for notes of a later period record scraps of information obtained from Mr. Dickson both at Pakenham and at Perth. Indeed Mr. Dickson's acquaintance with the geologist and other members of his staff was to lead to interesting developments in the next decade.

Another important official visitor to the area was, of course, Francis Allan, who in 1840[11] travelled through the District of Bathurst reporting upon the nature of the improvements made on the various farms, and on the quality of the soil.

IX

YEARS OF GROWTH

1: *Changes in the Village*

Between 1842 and 1851[1] the population of Pakenham Township increased by 726 people—from 1,142 to 1,868. There were still many shanties and log houses but these were being replaced by homes of different materials and construction. The village was growing, and many new tradespeople operated shops along the roads and river. There were now five schoolhouses in the township—in school sections 1, 2, 3, 4 (the village) and 5. Four of the schoolmasters were A. Wylie, J. McAdam, W. C. Miles (or Mills) and M. Canning.

Among the changes the ten years had wrought, probably the most welcome was the addition to the village of three medical doctors, Doctor Evans, Dr. S. Blackwood, and Doctor McGillis. In the tradition of country doctors they travelled long distances to reach their patients in outlying districts of Pakenham and the surrounding townships. A hint of the stage medical practice had reached in the 1850's is contained in the advertisement of Doctor Evans who announced that he had just received from Montreal "an excellent Electro-Galvanic Machine, for the cure of those who may be affected with the following diseases, viz.:—Rheumatism, Epilepsy, Toothache, Paralysis, Hysterical Neuralgia, Spasmodic and Tickling Coughs, Female Diseases, Lumbago, Pains in Back and Sides, and various other Nervous Diseases." Doctor Evans had also received "an improved Stethoscope for sounding the Chest, Heart, and Lungs."[2]

Alexander Fowler, who advertised himself as "M.D. CHEMIST AND DRUGGIST" was in Pakenham Village by 1854 and announced rather ambiguously that he intended to devote his time exclusively to business connected with his store, where he could be consulted at all hours as a surgeon and dentist. This was not the day of specialization, for the list of articles in Dr. Fowler's advertisement included drugs, chemicals, patent medicines, perfumery, paints, oils, dye stuffs, essences, toilet and shaving soap, hair oil, bears' grease, tooth powder and tooth brushes, sponges, hair and nail brushes, dressing and back combs, side combs made of India

Rubber, smelling bottles, edged and blue saucers, marking ink, school books, Bibles and testaments with psalms, chains, rings, broaches, and watch-glasses. In addition, jewellry could be repaired.

Nor was this the age of subtlety, for the advertisement concludes:

"DR. FOWLER, requests his friends, and the public generally, to call on him before going elsewhere, as he is convinced he will be able to give them satisfaction. Those requiring

DRUGS AND MEDICINES

Must see the propriety of visiting a professional man, instead of applying to those unacquainted with the properties of MEDICINE, especially when they can be supplied with an article of a better quality

AT THE SAME PRICE ! ! !

And without the risk of getting Poison instead of Creametarter, as happened recently in Gower, C. W., by which a whole family was poisoned, the purchase having been made at a general Store."[3]

The merchant shops had also undergone changes. Andrew Dickson had transferred his business to the partnership Hilliard and Dickson, his son-in-law and son. New merchants, S. and W. Russell, I. Dunnet, and R. Brown now had shops in the village, and it is possible that one of these carried on the business operated in 1842 by Malcolm McMartin. This may have been Mr. Dunnet, who in the 1850's[4] moved to new premises on Graham Street not far from the bridge, where the building that housed his store stood for more than a century. Daniel Hilliard and William Dickson operated at the Dickson location on the east side of the river, and the Russells are said to have been situated on the hill on the Arnprior road. Brown's was on Graham Street between Elizabeth and Renfrew, in a stone building where a general store is still in operation. In common with general stores everywhere, those in Pakenham Village carried a wide assortment of wares—hardware, groceries, crockery, harness, parasols, gloves, muslins, shawls, bonnets, ribbons, sugar, tobaccos, currants, raisins, rice, soap, candles, nails, spades, shovels, forks, scythes, snaiths, rakes; gentlemen's calf, kid, and cowhide boots; gentlemen's silk, felt, leghorn, and straw hats; and ladies' morocco and prunella boots and slippers—the list was enormous.

The work of the clerks seems to have been never-ending too. A writer who styled himself "A Friend of Humanity" draws attention in the *Herald* of July 1, 1852, to the working hours of the poor

merchants' clerks of Carleton Place. No doubt conditions were little better in Pakenham.

"There is one thing in this village," says the writer, "that strikes me forcibly and I think must strike the mind of every man that has any regard for his fellow creature, which is, that the merchants' shops are left open from six A.M. to 10 P.M. Now I would ask the reason why this is so? Surely it cannot be that the merchants of Carleton Place are more hard and austere than they are in other places. Now, sir, I see that in almost all towns and villages merchants' shops are open only from 6 o'clock A. M. to 7 o'clock P. M. In this village it is not the case, the merchant's clerk is deprived of devoting any time for the improvement of his mind. Even the laborer and the Mechanic have to work only eleven hours, while the merchants clerk has to drudge for sixteen hours, now these things should not be so. The Clerk ought to be placed at least upon an equal footing with the above classes. In my opinion there must be something morally wrong in the merchants of this place, to impose such drudgery upon their clerks so as to be injurious to them both for time and eternity. Now if these things were taken into consideration by the merchants of this place, I cannot think for one moment that this state of things would be continued for one day. Surely there must be a great responsibility upon merchant masters towards their Clerks, for using them thus, in preventing them from improving their mind as they ought to do, for no master is justified in allowing his servants to grow up in ignorance much less is he justified who *compels* them to do so. Now, sir, surely the merchants of this village are not so blinded by mammon as not to perceive the train of evils that follows such late hours of shop-keeping. Now I hope that the merchants of this Place will see it to be their duty to take immediate steps to shut their shops say at 7 o'clock P. M. Which is quite late enough for both villagers and country people to have all their shopping done."[5]

There were at least four clerks in Pakenham Village in 1852. Whatever their hour of closing, it was no doubt their unhappy lot to have floors swept, fires roaring, and the store door open at six o'clock in the morning.

In the 1840's there had been two innkeepers in the village; now there were at least three. Mrs. McFarlane and Mr. McAdam were still operating; and Mr. Adam Currie (Curry) had certainly been in business as early as 1846 when the traveller to White Lake had commented favourably on his establishment. In 1851 his tavern was the only one that boasted a bar boy.

The taverns operated under licence, were subject to inspection, and were governed by strict regulations. They were required to

provide warm stabling for six span of horses, a good shed to hold at least three span, and a supply of hay and oats. They must furnish spare beds and a sitting room apart from the bar room and be prepared on reasonable notice to furnish suitable meals for travellers. Conditions under which liquor could be sold were also laid down. And (providing a further commentary on conditions of the times) the innkeeper was not to allow any horses, cattle, sheep, swine or poultry to annoy the property of travellers or others stopping or halting at his place. In fact, there was at this time a By-law[6] on the township books to restrain cattle from running at large within specified times and at certain distances from all taverns. The very necessity of such regulations indicates that livestock still roamed freely about the village streets.

The increase in tradespeople in the decade is remarkable. There were now 16 shoemakers instead of 4; 6 tailors instead of 2; 7 blacksmiths instead of 4; 5 cabinet makers instead of 1; 14 carpenters instead of 7; and 6 coopers instead of 2. Alex Drysdale was one of the blacksmiths and he also operated an axe factory, a business that was, for many years, carried on across from Brown's store on Graham Street.

New occupations were also represented in the Pakenham of the 1850's. C. Cross, the local fanning mill maker, operated a business of vital importance in the growing agricultural community. The village also had a miller, a sawyer, a surveyor, a tinsmith, a trader, and a mail carrier. Mail service for Pakenham in the 1850's was as follows:

"c. 1851-52 Pakenham and Swamp Tavern —courier C. Armstrong
three times per week
£22 18 s. 4 d.

Pakenham and White Lake — Adam Currie 2 months
J. Paris 10 "
three times per week
£32 10 s.

By 1854 John Kirby was on the Pakenham and Swamp Tavern route.

1854 Pakenham and Renfrew — D. Robertson
three times per week
£32 10 s.

Duncan Robinson was performing the Pakenham and Renfrew service c. 1857."[7]

The change in the clothing industry in the 1850's is significant. The number of weavers had, of course, increased, but more important still, there were now three dressmakers, I. McConnell, N. Nicholson and E. Miles (or Mills). Not only the occupations, but the personnel of the village had changed greatly. For instance Alex Drysdale was the only blacksmith who had been in the village in 1842; most of the carpenters and coopers were new also. Not all the tradesmen had shops, of course. Many, no doubt, carried on their trades in their homes; others were in partnership; still others apprenticed. The village had, however, a surprising number of shops. A baker's shop is mentioned, but this business may have been carried on by some housewife in her own home. There were three blacksmith shops, two cooper shops, a carpenter shop, a cabinet maker's shop, a harness maker's shop, two tailor shops, and a tinsmith shop. Although there were sixteen shoemakers, there were only three shoemaking shops. Some of the shop keepers may have employed journeymen shoemakers who made their base at the shop and travelled throughout the country, staying with the farm families while they fitted the members with shoes. The dressmakers may have carried on their business in this way also.

In 1842 Robert Clarke had been the village wagon maker; now Graham and O'Neil operated a wagon and "slay" factory. This is noteworthy, for the business was carried on under the Graham name into the 1900's. For some years Smith Coleman had a monopoly on the tanning business, but in 1851 there was a second tanner's shop operated by W. Reed. In 1851, in his tannery, Coleman and his two employees dressed 1,000 hides. In addition, he operated a bark mill, worked by horse power, where the bark used in making the tanning liquor was ground. Smith Coleman appears to have given up his business in Pakenham and moved up river, for later the following advertisement appeared in the *Carleton Place Herald*:

"WANTED,
By the Subscriber,
500 CORDS TAN BARK,
For which CASH will be paid
Smith Coleman.
Ramsayville, May 7, 1852."[8]

Royce's carding and fulling mill was active also. It was powered by water, and in 1851 the carding machine processed 8,000 pounds of wool; the fulling mill handled 4,000 yards of cloth

and flannel. The village gristmill was in operation and it, too, was powered by water. The 2 run stones had cost £1,500 and had ground in the year 5,000 barrels of flour. There were two sawmills in the township, both worked by water power. One had a shingle mill in connection, and two saws costing £500; the other had one saw worth £240. Presumably the larger mill, with a production of 250,000 board feet, was the village mill; the other producing 100,000 board feet may have been on the Indian River.

A map of 1855[9] shows the locations of the places of business around the bridge and falls. On Graham Street, at the western approach to the bridge, Mrs. McFarlane's inn stood between the road and the river. Below the bridge between the Arnprior road and the river were stables, probably belonging either to the inn or to the Dickson interests. A long flume beginning near the western end of the bridge carried water down to the carding mill. Stretching from the upper end of this flume diagonally across the river, was the dam with the timber slide at its lower end on the east side of the river. Along the east bank between bridge and slide were lumber yards and below them, opposite the slide, the sawmill and flour mill. The tannery was some distance down the bay. Facing the east end of the bridge were Hilliard and Dickson's store, and the post office. The Dickson manor was on the same side of the river, just above the bridge.

Another business man of the period was Charles T. Baines,[10] who early in the decade was agent for the Colonial Life Assurance Company and for the Ontario Marine and Fire Insurance Company. Doctor Evans was medical referee for the Life Assurance Company.

Such was the busy village of Pakenham in the 1850's. In this period the Fifth Division Court of the United Counties of Lanark and Renfrew was, of course, meeting in Pakenham. The Fifth Division, in 1855, comprised Pakenham Township, and those parts of McNab, Bagot, and Blythfield townships south of the Madawaska River.[11] And, of course, the Mississippi still bore a heavy traffic of logs and rivermen coming from the upper reaches of the river. In 1851 the rivermen and the forces of law met, with unhappy consequences for an officer of the Division Court. The *Herald* reports the incident sympathetically:

> "We are sorry to learn that a most daring robbery was perpetrated in the Village of Pakenham, on Mr. James Otterson, Bailiff of the Fifth Division Count [sic]. From what information we have received, it appears that on the evening of Monday, the 5th inst. Mr. Otterson was attacked in the street by four raftsmen, who knocked him down and cut off the skirt of his coat, in the pocket of which they expected to find money but were disappointed on finding nothing but Court papers. They then searched his other pockets and carried off money to the amount of between thirty and forty dollars. We are glad to hear that the parties are known, and that steps are being taken to bring them to justice."[12]

In the 1850's that important governing body, the Township Council, also had its seat in Pakenham Village.

2: *Township Council Government*

Two important pieces of legislation were to determine the government of Pakenham Village during the 1850's. The first was an Act[1] passed in 1848-49 making it possible, upon petition of the inhabitants, for any unincorporated village or hamlet to become a police village. The inhabitants could meet and elect from among themselves three police trustees for such a village, and these three could then choose one of their number to be the inspecting trustee. It was the duty of the police trustees to enforce rules that dealt chiefly with the prevention of fire.

The regulations governing a police village called for a ladder on every roof near the chimney, and two buckets in every household to carry water in case of fire. The types of chimneys that could be used on breweries, bakeries, and pot and pearl ash manufacturies were set forth; and the space that must be left between pipes and wooden partitions was specified. A fine was provided for anyone entering a mill, barn, outhouse, or stable in the village with a lighted candle or lamp unless the light was well enclosed in a "lanthern." In wooden buildings fires had to be enclosed in a stove of iron or other metal, and anyone carrying fire in the village must contain it in a copper, iron, or tin vessel. Similarly ashes must be kept in sheet iron, tin, or copper. There was to be no hay, straw, or fodder in any dwelling; and no fires were to be lit in the streets or lanes. Furnaces for making charcoal were not allowed within the village. Gunpowder must be kept in a box of copper, tin, or lead and must not be sold at night; and quicklime must not be in contact with wood. Finally, filth and rubbish must not be thrown in the streets or lanes.

The nature of the government of the township from 1845 to 1850 is unknown, but in 1849 an Act[2] was passed repealing the

Acts relating to the election and duties of township officers and establishing new Acts that came into force on January 1, 1850. Under this legislation, each township in Upper Canada with 100 freeholders or householders on the collector's roll for the last year was to be a "Body Corporate." Municipal councils were to be established with five councillors to be elected annually. These five could choose a town reeve from amongst themselves. The council had power to enact by-laws on such matters as school houses, erection of a town hall, establishment of public pounds; on the construction of drains, water courses, highways and roads; appointment of poundkeepers, fence viewers, and other township officers; and the encroachment of property. It could regulate the operation of inns, taverns, and victualling houses and the speed of traffic over bridges. It could place a tax on dogs, restrict the running at large of animals, and provide for the destruction of weeds; it could enforce statute labour and decide on the height of lawful fences.

The inhabitants of Pakenham Township met on January 7, 1850,[8] to nominate and elect municipal councillors as provided under the new Act. At that meeting William McAdam, David Ogilvy, James Dickson, Young Scott, and Peter Russell were placed in charge of township affairs. Two weeks later these councillors met and elected William McAdam as their reeve and James Connery as township municipal clerk. On February 16 the council met and appointed the following officers: Township auditor, Daniel Hilliard; associate auditor, William Tait; assessor, James Scott, Sr.; collector, William Scott; poundkeepers, Adam Currie, John Timmons, William Lowe, John Lindsay, James Headrick, and Thomas McIntyre; overseers of highways, Edward Stanley, Alexander Fulton, Denis Driscol, William Connery, Daniel Ross, John McMunn, James Scott, Martin Dunfield, John Hutton, Michael Comba, William Mackey, Martin Mullin, John Delourey, Thomas Bradley, William Scott, Ingram Scott, William Burrows, William McVicar, James Sadler, William Sadler, Jr., Robert Fleming, John Wallace, Smith Coleman, Robt. Delahay, and John McManus; fence viewers, Thomas Bowes, Thomas McKibbon, and Arthur Nugent. At the council meeting in April, James Connery and James Richie were appointed road surveyors for the township.

Following is a list of reeves and councillors for the decade; the name of the reeve for each year appears first. Except for 1851, council minutes list only the surnames of the officers.

1851: William McAdam, Young Scott, Peter Russell, William Forsythe, Alexander Drysdale.
1852: McAdam, Scott, Forsythe, Drysdale, Brown.
1853: Scott, McAdam, Russell, Davie, Dickson.
1854: Scott, Russell, Davie, Dickson, Connery.
1855: McAdam, Scott, Forsythe, Burrows, Ogilvy.
1856 and 1857: McAdam, Scott, Forsythe, Burrows, Dickson.
1858: McAdam, Scott, Burrows, Dickson, Hilliard.
1859 and 1860: Scott, Burrows, Dickson, Hilliard, Forsythe.

In 1853 William McAdam was reeve for part of the year; and in 1858 Daniel Hilliard appears to have held this office for most of the year.

Life around the village was becoming increasingly complex, and the changes are mirrored in the multitude of matters that came up for the attention of council during the 1850's. This body was, of course, still much concerned with transportation facilities. In other parts of the county the talk was now of plank and macadamized roads and of toll gates; in Pakenham Township the chief concerns were repairing existing roads and establishing new ones, inspecting and repairing bridges, and removing fences from road allowances. In Pakenham Village mud (and consequently drainage) was the major problem. Muddy roads were not peculiar to Pakenham and a well-known story of mud-plagued villages was told and retold in the Valley. The Pakenham version ran as follows: A visitor to Pakenham was wading along muddy Graham Street when he noticed a man's hat lying in the road. He stooped to pick it up and found a man's head underneath. When he attempted to extricate the unhappy victim, the submerged man implored him, Hold on, stranger, my feet are caught in the stirrups.

Records of council meetings bristled with orders to the pathmaster of the village section in an effort to solve the difficulty. This official was ordered to "open the Drain leading from Mr. Bradley's shop, past Mr. Dunnet's to the pipe across the Road at Mr. Cowan's," "to open the Drain from the back corner of Mr. Flanim's lot, on the White Lake Road, in a straight line past Mr. Graham's Lot, down to the Rocks," "to open up the Drain from Mr. Brown's along the main street to Mr. Graham's corner," "to put in a larger pipe across the Road from Flanim's to Graham's" and "to clean, deepen and widen the Drains on the new road."

In financial matters the council was concerned with license fees from tavern owners, proprietors of "houses of entertainment," and

"shewmen;" with assessments, and levying and collecting taxes; with taxes on wild lands; with imposing and collecting fines; with financing the schools; with expenses incurred for burying indigent persons; with compensating an owner "for injury sustained by the passage of a Road through his property," with the cost of road repairs, among them an item of "three pounds, to be expended in levelling the corner of the Hill, between Mr. McAdam's and the Hay weights;" with the salaries of township officers; and with various small purchases: books for the use of the council, postage and stationery, and a "carpet bag" for Mr. Connery to carry township papers to and from council meetings.

The council meetings also give a hint of another activity in Pakenham Village in the 1850's. On February 14, 1840, the *Courier*, under the heading "PORK INSPECTION" had carried the following item:

"This is comparatively a new business, and which promises under the personal superintendence of Mr. Walker to do much to establish a saleable reputation for an article in which our farmers are all interested; and will operate as a guarantee to the merchants and consumers, against the extensive impositions to which they have been hitherto subjected, and to the friend of our growing prosperity, the inspector's books present a ready reference as to the quantity and value.

"Mr. Walker thinks at the close of this season his number will be upwards of 900 chiefly Prime Mess."[4]

Ten years later the Pakenham council passed the following motions under date of July 9, 1850:

"Mr. Scott moves, seconded by Mr. Russell, that on the consideration of the petition of William Forbes and others, that this council do adopt the necessary measures, by appointing a board of examiners, for examining candidates for the office of Inspector of Beef and Pork which was carried—

"Mr. Ogilvy moves, seconded by Mr. Scott, that this Council do take it into their consideration, the propriety of appointing a board of examiners, for examining a fit and proper person, to be an Inspector of Beef and Pork, in the Township of Pakenham and that the said board do consist of Andrew Russell, Arthur McArthur and Daniel Hilliard, Esquires, who are hereby appointed, which was carried."

In the 1850's R. Brown, S. Perry, Arthur McArthur, and Hilliard and Dickson, all centered in, or near, Pakenham Village, were

active in the lumbering business.[5] Within the next ten years they were joined by others, either operating in the township or using Pakenham Village as the base for operations farther afield. Among these were Anderson and Paradis, Riddle and McVicar, Jonathan Francis, Samuel Dickson, Alexander Snedden, Robert Boal, William Forsythe and the Lowes. To the operators in the township who required quantities of meat, and to those lumbermen who had camps far up the Madawaska, Constan Creek, and the Mississippi, meat inspection was of vital concern. Significantly, two of Pakenham's prominent lumbermen, Arthur McArthur and Daniel Hilliard, were on the board of examiners.

Meat inspection is not mentioned again in the minutes, but the *Herald* of October 9, 1851, carried the following advertisement, which may possibly be connected with the action taken by the Pakenham council:

"BEEF & PORK INSPECTION

The undersigned notifies all concerned, that he has been duly appointed

INSPECTOR OF BEEF AND PORK,

in and for the United Counties of Lanark and Renfrew—and is now prepared to enter upon the duties of his Office, and by strict attention to business, he hopes to merit a share of the Public patronage.

(Signed) Alexander Stevenson"[6]

By 1854 the Pakenham council decided that it was necessary to have a town hall in which the inhabitants as well as the council might hold meetings. A committee was appointed to apply to Andrew Dickson for a lot. The matter was not immediately settled for in 1855 council again approached Mr. Dickson and shortly afterward accepted his offer of a site on the hill near the churches. The purchase price was £15, and in March 1856 council passed a By-law to raise funds for erecting a town hall and lock-up house. Work proceeded during the summer on a building 40 by 30 feet. In December 1856 council received the town hall from the contractor on condition that "the said John Ridel will dash the Stone work under the Frame work, as soon as the weather will permit, of the same; and also that the imitation of Stone on the corners be painted a stone colour; and also the dashing repaired where the same has fallen off on the outside." Council insured the building for £300. In June 1857 the council proposed that the Magistrates

at the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace at Perth at their next sitting appoint John Elliott to take charge of the lock-up house of the Police Village of Pakenham. Money was provided for bed, bedding, and other necessary articles for the lock-up.

Among the many matters demanding the time and attention of council in the 1850's, education, of course, ranked very high. One of the first acts of the new council had been to receive from the County Clerk's office the deed of schoolhouse site No. 5 and "the specification of the division of the township into school districts or sections." They also appointed Mr. John McAdam as Superintendent of Education for the township. Controversies facing council in connection with the schools were frequent and sometimes bitter. Jealousy among teachers, difficulties over salaries, and troubles with school trustees all came before council. At the county level, free education was being discussed and advocated; and indeed the free school system was being tried in some of the schools of the county. At a convention of trustees, local superintendents, and teachers of the schools in the townships of the United Counties of Lanark and Renfrew held at Perth in March, 1853, a resolution was passed in favour of a general law establishing this system throughout the Province. The great educator, Egerton Ryerson, himself, was present at the meeting to answer questions and outline the progress and advancement of education in the Province. The council of Pakenham Township was at least abreast of current thinking and as early as 1850 it was urging school trustees to admit, if possible, the children of parents who could not afford to send them to school.

The lack of books in pioneer settlements had long been deplored, and in this decade Pakenham took steps to remedy the situation. In 1854 the trustees of the village school section forwarded a memorial to council praying for the establishment of a township library. Others joined in the popular demand. Council immediately voted an appropriation of 40 pounds—no mean sum—from the township funds to establish a library in connection with the common schools. At a subsequent meeting of council resolutions governing the proposed library were drawn up. They tell the story:

> "Resolved, That to meet the wishes of a large number of the Inhabitants; the Library be divided into five equal parts, or sections, and that one part be allotted and handed over to the Trustees of each School section in the Township, as soon as they shall have provided a proper place and case for the same, subject to the following regulations;

> "Regulation 1st The Books shall be exchanged from Section to Section at least once in every Twelve months in order that the Books may be circulated throughout all the Township, in the following order, that is, School Section No 1. shall transfer the books to No 2. No 2 to No 3. No 3 to No 4. No 4 to No 5. and No 5 to No 1.
>
> "2nd It shall be the duty of the Librarian in each and every section, on the application in writing, of any resident in the Township, to give him the Book or Books applied for; but the application must also be signed by the Librarian of the Section in which the applicant resides, certifying that the applicant has no Library book in his possession, and that he is fully entitled to receive books; and the applicant shall be subject to the same regulations and penalties, as if he were a resident of the section.
>
> "3rd It shall be the duty of the Trustees of each School Section, or their Librarian, to report to the Municipal Council of this Township, any, and all information with regard to the Library that the said Council may from time to time require.
>
> "4th It shall be the duty of the Trustees of each Section to provide means for the payment of the Salary of their Librarian, and all other expenses attending the maintainance and management of the Library in their section, as authorized by the School Act.
>
> "5th The Libraries shall be open for the exchange of Books, at least one day every week, and at least two hours on such day; the day and hour to be agreed upon by the Trustees."

A few weeks later council passed a further resolution that conjures up a picture of wagons laden with books converging on Pakenham Village. It read: "That the Librarians of the several Sections shall meet in the Village School house on the third Monday of December at the Hour of 12 o'clock, noon, in each and every year, (this year excepted,) and exchange Books in the order provided in Regulation 1st."

The books for the new library were brought from Smith's Falls and probably for many years provided veritable oases in the literary desert of the settlement. It is unlikely that there were any frivolous works among the selection. A Perth book store of this decade advertised among its new books such weighty volumes as Mill's *System of Logic*, Moore's *Poetical Works, History of Revolutions in Europe, Life and Campaigns of Napoleon*, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Demosthenes' Orations* (Translated), *Abercrombie on the Moral Feelings*, and *The War in the Crimea*. The reading of such tomes by candlelight—probably aloud—no doubt filled many an hour in the homes of Pakenham Village.

In the early 1840's the possibility of a Grammar School for Pakenham Village had been hopefully discussed and in January 1854 a committee approached council to revive the matter. Council agreed to petition the County Council, at its first meeting, for the establishment of such a school. Evidently no time was lost in furthering the project for in the *Herald* of April 11, 1854, the following notice appeared.

"TENDERS.
Will be received by the undersigned until the 11th
day of May next for the erection of a
FRAME SCHOOL HOUSE
in the Village of Pakenham.
The Contractors to furnish all the materials.
Plans for specifications may be seen by applying to
Rich'd H. Davis [e]
William Tait
Michael Ryan
The Trustees do not bind themselves to accept the lowest tender."[7]

On a map of the village dated April 1855[8] the school is shown on Elizabeth Street. At first it accommodated only the common school, but later it was enlarged to house the Grammar School classes. The village school is also shown at this location on Walling's map[9] of 1863.

3: *Religious and Social Life*

In the 1850's, when the churches were responsible for much of the social life of the community, Pakenham Township was well supplied with places of worship. Records of the period mention two new churches in addition to the Wesleyan Methodist, Church of Scotland, Church of England and Ireland, and Roman Catholic. According to the Census of 1851, the Methodist church was used part time by the United Presbyterians, but by 1854[1] this congregation had a church on Victoria Street. In 1851, in the southern end of the township, the Wesleyan Methodists had a log church that would accommodate 100 people. During the early 1850's the Methodist churches of Pakenham Township remained part of the Carleton Place and Pakenham Circuit, with, in 1851, Thomas Constable and David Robertson as ministers, and in 1852 and 1853 William McGill and Edwin Peake. At this time the Circuit had 275 members and in 1854 the 75 members of the Pakenham

area were formed into the Pakenham Circuit. Ministers during the next eight years were John B. Armstrong (1854), Robert Hobbs (1855-57), William McGill (1858-60), and George Case (1861). In 1862 the Pakenham Circuit was extended northward to include Arnprior, with George Case and William Hayhurst as ministers in 1862 and 1863.[2] During these years, of course, the Reverend Alexander Mann continued to minister to the Scottish Presbyterians of the township.

After the departure of the Reverend Hannibal Mulkins for Kingston early in the 1850's, the succession of clergy in the Church of England and Ireland and the exact dates of their ministries is somewhat obscure. Apparently a number of supplies served the Pakenham church, and on one occasion, at least, (July 17, 1853), Mr. Mulkins was back to officiate at the service. Church records from August 1854 to April 1862 are, however, signed by J. A. Morris. In 1861 Owen McCarthy sold part of Lot 11, Concession 12, to the Bishop of Toronto for the use of the United Church of England and Ireland. This was for many years the location of the Church of England rectory. From December 1862 to May 1865 the name of the Reverend C. P. Emery appears in the church records. During his ministry Mr. Emery purchased land for a church in the village of Pakenham with money given to him by the Reverend the Warden of St. Augustine's Church, Canterbury. On this lot the present St. Mark's church stands.[3]

The Reverend Bernard McFeely continued as Roman Catholic priest of Pakenham and Fitzroy Harbour until 1864. He was succeeded by the Reverend John Collins, who remained until 1866 and during that time moved the priest's residence to Pakenham. After Father Collins came the Reverend Dominic Joseph Lavin who, as a young priest, rode into Pakenham on horseback. Father Lavin continued as parish priest until his death in 1903. He was responsible, in 1892-93, for the building of the present St. Peter Celestine's and the presbytery.[4]

The important Sabbath services, mid-week meetings, the occasional special missions held by visiting dignitaries, and, among some of the denominations, summer camp meetings, provided important outlets for the religious life of the people. Closely allied to the churches were the Temperance Society meetings. Gatherings of a less serious nature were beginning to be held in connection with the churches, however. Soirees had been introduced into Pakenham

village life in the 1840's and continued to be popular. Tickets for educational and church soirees were available for a shilling or more and usually the chair was taken at "½ past 6 o'clock."[5]

Marriages were the occasion of lengthy celebration and much gaiety in the homes of the village. Indeed, house parties on any pretext were a welcome diversion in the community.

For the women, the annual visit of the dressmaker provided an eagerly awaited opportunity, not only to replenish the wardrobe of the ladies of the family, but also to bring the household up to date on the latest gossip and fashions. These visits were often of some duration. Even with the needles of all the female members of the family flying in aid of the dressmaker, this work was time-consuming. The creation of the "Bloomer Costume," on something like the following pattern—dark bonnet with plain ribbon, surmounted with piano rose; jacket cut open in front, with white lace habit over a blue vest; stomacher a la mode, with a large brass button in front; skirt of dimity, reaching a little under the knee, trowsers made loose, gathered into a band at the ankle, with a lace frill—was a real triumph. Probably no change in feminine costumes created as much stir as did the adoption of the daring bloomer costume. It was greeted with mixed feelings on the part of the ladies and much hilarity on the part of the men. One wit expressed the indecision of the ladies in verse:

> "To wear or not to wear the Bloomer costume that's the question.
> Whether 'tis nobler in us girls to suffer
> The inconvenience of the long-skirt dress,
> Or cut it off against these muddy troubles,
> And, by the cutting, end them. 'Tis a consumation
> Devoutly to be wished. To don the pants:—
> The pants! perchance the boots! Ay, there's the rub! . . . ."[6]

One writer went so far as to hazard a guess on the stand Queen Victoria might take in the great controversy by enquiring facetiously "Will her Majesty come out strong as a Bloomer, or as an anti-Bloomer? Will she encase herself in Albert's princely—'Oh-no-we-never-mention thems'—or will she, by gracious proclamation, reinstate the petticoat in possession of its former dignity?"[7]

The men, of course, had other outlets more suited to their robust natures. There were, at this time, Sons of Temperance Societies, Orange Orders, and, in the United Counties of Lanark and Renfrew, at least, an organization known as the Vigilance Committee. The

exact nature of this committee is not clear, but certainly it had political overtones for at a meeting of the Pakenham branch, held at Pakenham in 1851, the committee resolved to use every exertion in their power to secure the return of a Conservative candidate at the approaching election. Pakenham, like the other Ottawa Valley villages, took its politics seriously; and at political meetings opposing candidates shared the same platform in heated debate, and to the accompaniment of much heckling from the thoroughly aroused populace.

Jones, in *History of Agriculture in Ontario*, calls the Ottawa Valley "the political stronghold of John A. Macdonald" and gives three reasons for its stand. The timber industry "with its semi-feudal relations between lumber kings and those dependent on the shanty market" was, he says, an economic reason. The fact that the Valley was not increasing in population as quickly as western Upper Canada and therefore stood to lose rather than gain by George Brown's "Representation by Population" was a political reason. But the greatest reason, Jones considers, was "practical politics." "From the union of Upper Canada and Lower Canada in 1841 to Confederation, the practical politicians of the Ottawa Valley always desired three things; the improvement of the Ottawa River for the passage of timber; the establishment of Bytown (Ottawa) as the capital of the united province; and the canalization of the Ottawa River to Lake Huron. To realize any or all of these desires, the members of the Legislative Assembly representing the ten or so eastern Upper Canada constituencies and the two or three Lower Canada ones north of the Ottawa River were willing to be bribed to support the administration. In the days of governmental majorities of two or three or half a dozen, the Ottawa Valley members succeeded in making themselves an effective pressure group."[8]

Gatherings such as those provided by the various agricultural societies played an important role not only in the business but in the social life of the men. In this decade County Agricultural Societies were offering prizes for all manner of field crops, and to ascertain the winners crop viewers visited the various farms in late summer. Farmers wishing to compete submitted their names; from these names lists were prepared and the judges planned their rounds. Prizes were given for such crops as wheat, oats, barley, pease, Indian corn, and potatoes; for the best general cropped farms and the "clearest" cultivated farms; for the best and greatest amount of rail

and log fencing and for the best stone fencing. On their travels the judges had an opportunity to assess improvements in the farming communities and the prospects for the harvest.

Another important event of the period was the semi-annual fair held in the villages for the purpose of selling and trading livestock. Such a fair was held in Pakenham at least as early as October 1852[9] and was probably similar to one held that year in Carleton Place and described in the *Herald*.

"Carleton Place Fall Fair," states the account, "came off Tuesday, at which a great quantity of stock changed hands, principally fat cattle and working oxen, the former selling at about ten and the latter twenty per cent below last years prices; the cause of which may be ascribed to the absence of United States buyers; however, the prices given were fully average. The attendance was large although it was raining heavily throughout the previous night, and continued to pour down in torrents, till about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when it cleared up; but the mud was awful."

And then the account goes on to depict a scene evidently common at such gatherings:

"The bad roads had the good effect, of hastening the departure before dark, of persons who had a few miles to travel; to which, together with the influence of the Sons of Temperance throughout the country, may be attributed, in a measure, the absence of the usual amount of drunkenness and brawls. The streets would have been perfectly quiet by nine o'clock, had it not been for the rehearsal of that detestable game of Jockeyism, after dark, in which about thirty or forty fellows get collected together, with as many old nags, fit for nothing but the tan-yard, and try to overreach one another. This would be comparatively harmless, were it not for the excess of oaths and obscene language called forth in the trade; as the value of the animals traded at that time of night, is pretty near equal, and the whole funds in possession of the crew, who are traders, does not, likely, exceed twenty dollars."[10]

4: *Mr. Dickson's Activities*

Such were the activities of the villagers in the 1850's; meanwhile Pakenham's leading citizen was active in provincial and world affairs. In this decade Andrew Dickson was twice an exhibitor at international exhibitions.[1] In 1851 at the London Exhibition the Sheriff and W. E. Logan were among the contributors to Canada's

collections of minerals and rock specimens. In 1855 Mr. Dickson was again an outstanding exhibitor, this time at the Universal Exhibition held in Paris. His contributions to the Canadian exhibit there included specimens of "specular iron," "marble," and "shell marl," but more spectacular was his collection of 64 specimens of wood "one half of which have been collected on a superficies of 100 arpents of forest." The forest referred to was no doubt on his Pakenham properties.

At the Paris Exhibition, Canada was awarded 93 prizes—one grand medal of honor, one medal of honor, thirteen silver (first class) medals, thirty bronze (second class) medals, and forty-eight "honorable mentions." The medal of honor was awarded for the collections of woods and grains of Canada, among which was, of course, Mr. Dickson's collection of woods. Mr. Dickson, himself, won a first class (silver) medal for his collection of timber. In the records of the Paris Exhibition three lists of Mr. Dickson's specimens of timber appear, all slightly different. One list included the following: bass wood, lime, sumach, common maple, red maple, curled maple, bird's eye maple, soft maple, wild plum, red cherry, autumn cherry, choke cherry, pommette tree, medlar, hawthorn, cornel tree, wild pear, mountain ash, white ash, black ash, hard ash, common ash, carthamum, elm, red elm, grey elm, brown elm, butternut, black walnut, sweet walnut, common walnut, hickory, white oak, swamp oak, red oak, black oak, chestnut, beech, hornbean, northern plane, pitch pine, red pine, yellow pine, white pine, fir, hemlock, spruce, black spruce, tamarack, white and red cedar, iron wood, white birch, red birch, alder, black osier, aspen, white poplar, and poplar.

Hilliard and Dickson, Pakenham, also exhibited at the Paris Exhibition; their contribution was "Sand Stone."

In this decade, too, Mr. Dickson had the honour of having a fossil named after him. Many years previously, in 1822, Dr. J. J. Bigsby, an English geologist then working in Canada, and Mr. E. Billings had discovered a new fossil at the Chaudiere Falls, Ottawa. The specimen was not, however, described in the literature until it was included in the "Report for the year 1856, of E. Billings, Esq., Palaeontologist addressed to Sir William E. Logan, Provincial Geologist." In concluding his description of a fossil Mr. Billings added "I beg to dedicate this remarkable species to Andrew Dickson, Esq., of Kingston, C. W., one of the best workers in the field of Canadian Geology."[2] The species dedicated to Mr. Dickson was called

PROVINCE OF CANADA.

GRAND EXHIBITION

AT

PARIS, 1855.

WOODS OF CANADA.

SIXTY-FOUR Specimens of Native CANADIAN WOODS;

Collected by ANDREW DICKSON, Esq., of Kingston, C. W.

One-half of these specimens were collected upon an area of 100 acres.

MAGNOLIACEÆ

Liriodendron tulipifera (Linn.)—Tulip-tree, White-wood—Bois blanc.

TILIACEÆ.

Tilia Americana, (Linn.)—Lime, Linden, Basswood.—Tilleul, Bois blanc.

ANACARDIACEÆ.

Rhus typhina, (Linn.)—Sumach.—Sumac.

ACERACEÆ.

Acer saccharinum, (Linn.)—Sugar Maple.—Erable.
" " " *var.* Rock Maple.—Erable rouge.
" " " " Curled Maple.—Erable ondée.
" " " " Birds-eye Maple.—Erable piquée.
" *dasycarpum*, (Ehrhart.)—Soft Maple.—Pleine.

AMYGDALEÆ.

Prunus Americana, (Marsh.)—Wild Yellow Plum.—Prunier sauvage.
Cerasus Pennsylvanica, (Loisel.)—Red Cherry.—Cerisier rouge.
" *serotina*, (de Candolle.)—Black Cherry.—Cerisier d'automne.
" *Virginiana*, (de Candolle.)—Choke Cherry.—Cerisier à grappes.

Part of the handbill describing Andrew Dickson's exhibit of 64 specimens of native woods at the Paris Exhibition of 1855. (Courtesy National Museum of Canada.)

Agelacrinites Dicksoni. More than twenty years later (1877) Dr. Bigsby founded The Bigsby Medal to be awarded by the Geological Society of London for eminent services in any department of geology.[3] Interestingly, the reverse side of this medal has a representation of the fossil *Agelacrinites Dicksoni* found in 1822 in Canada.

In the 1850's much of Mr. Dickson's time was spent away from Pakenham, and his activities elsewhere, particularly at Kingston, afford valuable insight into the life of the times. Late in 1851 he and Dr. Wolfred Nelson were appointed Inspectors[4] of the Provincial Penitentiary, Kingston. On February 10, 1852, they submitted their first annual report to the Governor General, and although they had been but a short time in office their report showed a keen awareness of at least two of the problems of that institution, the plight of young criminals and the rehabilitation of discharged prisoners. The great majority of the juvenile offenders had lost one or both parents, they found, and they felt that some effort should be made to reform them before they became hardened criminals. As an aid to rehabilitating discharged prisoners, they urged that, if possible, penitentiary sentences should not expire in the winter months, when employment was hard to get, but rather at a season of the year favourable for navigation. If this were done, a discharged prisoner could move to a part of the country where he was unknown and secure immediate employment.

Other officials of the provincial penitentiary, among them Hannibal Mulkins, Protestant chaplain, also prepared reports for the Governor General. Mr. Mulkins made a strong plea for kindness to discharged prisoners, drew attention to the small sum that had been expended on the library, and urged that during the fall and winter months the wings of the prison be lighted so that prisoners might make use of the early evening hours for reading.

But it was Andrew Dickson's report on the gaols of Canada West that revealed the appalling conditions existing in such institutions. In March, 1852, the Governor General requested the two inspectors to "inquire into the discipline and pecuniary management of the several Gaols throughout the Province." Dr. Nelson agreed to visit the gaols in Canada East, Andrew Dickson those of Canada West. Most of the 22 gaols, Mr. Dickson reported, had been constructed with no thought for the health of the prisoners. The cells were partly underground, badly ventilated and, in warm weather, numbers of prisoners were crowded together.

In one prison where there were 419 prisoners the cells were eight feet nine inches by nine feet nine, partly underground, with one small loop-hole for light and air; the door opened on a dark passage. In each of these cells six human beings were imprisoned day and night, with a tub in place of a water-closet." The prisoners," says Dickson, "complain of vermin; it is impossible to be otherwise." In most of the gaols there was no classification of prisoners, except that the female prisoners were in separate cells. But in at least one gaol, male and female prisoners of every description and degree of depravity were herded together and allowed to range over the whole gaol. Few of the prisons had safe yards where the prisoners could be taken for work or exercise.

Andrew Dickson recommended that the common gaol be used only as a place of detention for the shortest possible period, and that houses of correction and penitentiaries for short-sentence convicts be erected, where proper discipline could be introduced and the prisoners placed at productive work. He suggested that a good farm be attached to the juvenile institutions so that the best boys could work upon it in summer. He also recommended that boys and girls be apprenticed to farmers, rather than to tradesmen in the cities and towns, so that the temptations assailing discharged juvenile prisoners might be lessened.

The *Herald* commenting editorially on Dickson's report suggested that readers would be startled by the "fearful disclosures" and would be unprepared for the "enormities brought to light." It also drew attention to the *Montreal Transcript's* favourable comments: "a most sensible report on the Gaols of Upper Canada. If all reports were like this we should not grumble at the expense of commissions. . . . Mr. Dickson is a plain, straight-forward, conscientious man, and he obviously tells his story like a man speaking the truth."

This opinion was not unanimous however; evidently the *British Standard* was unimpressed, for the *Herald* editorial continues: "The literary merits of the document do not seem to please the fastidious taste of his detractor; it does not contain enough of that eternal twaddle usually found in reports of commissions. It comes rather too quickly to the point; too blunt by half. No circumlocution. Too much conveyed in so few words. Too easily understood. The words have but one meaning. It has evidently not been written by a lawyer, there is no twist in it; therefore, no wonder the *British Standard* finds fault with it; when he cannot make Mr. Dickson appear to say what he does not mean."[5]

In February, 1853, Dr. Nelson and Mr. Dickson again presented an annual report on the Provincial Penitentiary, but this time Mr. Dickson could not agree with his colleague and, in a separate report to the Governor General, dissented on two points. There was, indeed, a sharp difference of opinion between Dr. Nelson and the Roman Catholic chaplain on the one hand, and Mr. Dickson and the Protestant chaplain on the other, over the need for educating the prisoners in the penitentiary and on the conduct of the Sunday School. The Roman Catholic chaplain had stated in his report that he felt that anything beyond treating the convicts "with all the kindness and leniency, compatible with the strict fulfilment of the rules of the Institution," attending them when they were ill, and providing all their necessary wants, would only make them feel that their life of crime had led to a very comfortable life and might even encourage them to new crimes. He added "I am not convinced that even the limited education which some of them now receive is not attended to a certain degree with this result."

Dr. Nelson was inclined to agree and insisted on saying so in the annual report. The section to which Mr. Dickson objected read: "But it too often occurs when a youth has had 'some smattering of learning' above what was required for the ordinary wants of life, he must aim, to be sure, at some higher position; he must become a professional gentleman ! or a merchant—too frequently to encumber avocations already overstocked. The education that should be given in all charitable and penal Institutions, should be such as has been described, and then undue aspirations will not be entertained, nor will ambition lead astray. The views of the Roman Catholic Chaplain in his Report are well worthy of notice."

In dissenting from this section of the report, Mr. Dickson pointed out that of fourteen recommitments during the year, not one was "well instructed and intelligent." He declared that ignorance was the cause of innumerable crimes in society, and quoted the Reverend Hannibal Mulkins' figures to show the gross ignorance of convicts at the time of their imprisonment—64 totally ignorant of the alphabet, 57 who could read only a very little, 90 who could not write at all. And then Mr. Dickson added significantly: "It may also be remarked that those Convicts in the Penitentiary, who possess the greatest share of education, can in general only read and write. In the opinion of the undersigned, reading and writing are not education, but only efficient means of acquiring it."

The other section of the report from which Mr. Dickson dissented concerned a general statement on the Sunday School of the penitentiary. "The only objections alleged against the Sunday School in the part referred to," declared Mr. Dickson, "consist, first, in the anomaly of Convicts being made to teach Convicts, and, secondly in the supposed infraction of the Prison discipline in speaking to those whom they teach." In meeting these objections, Mr. Dickson asserted that the chaplains explained and expounded the lesson; the teachers merely reiterated it to their classes. "It may furthermore be stated," continued Mr. Dickson pointedly, "that convicts were not appointed Teachers until the Chaplain had applied to all the leading Protestant denominations in the City for Teachers, and failed; then, with the full sanction of the Inspectors, the Sunday School was commenced and convicts taken as Teachers." As for conversations in the Sunday School, Mr. Dickson quoted figures to prove that there was only one tenth as much conversation in the Sunday School as in the dining hall, the workshops, the cells.

Mr. Dickson's dissension from the report was not without its repercussions in the Press. A communication appeared in the *Herald,* over the signature of Hannibal Mulkins, entitled "A Letter from the Protestant Chaplain of the Penitentiary To the Editor of the *Pilot*." It read in part:

> "Sir: I have just this moment seen the 'Pilot' of the 24th instant, containing your strictures on the Report of the Inspectors of the Provincial Penitentiary, in which you have—I trust unintentionally—asserted in reference to myself what you cannot substantiate, and what is positively incorrect. In speaking of Mr. Inspector Dickson's Report, you remark that,—
>
> 'It bears the impress of having been contributed by the Protestant Chaplain, who not satisfied with giving his own ideas in his own Report, which he is obliged by law to furnish, ekes it out with a supplementary report, in which he contrives to scatter observations, anything rather than respectful, on the opinions of his brother Chaplain, and his superior, one of the Inspectors.'
>
> "And further on, you remark again:—
>
> 'Mr. Dickson, in his individual, in opposition to Mr. Dickson in his corporate capacity—or rather, we fancy, as the mouthpiece of the Protestant Chaplain, says', etc, etc.
>
> "I must here, Sir, crave permission to inform you that, as far as the above quoted statements relate to me, they are not only *ungentlemanly and unjust, but they are also ungenerous and false.* You have no doubt been committed to these erroneous statements by some malicious person whose malice has been abundantly gratified, first, by slandering an innocent person, and then by making you the publisher of the slander. I have nothing to do with the disputes or disagreements of the Inspectors, or other parties, and I think my Report shows conclusively that I confined myself strictly to my own business—and by so doing, set an example which I recommend you to follow."[6]

5: *Railroad Fever*

Transportation in the 1850's was a strange mingling of the old and the new. At the beginning of the decade, oxen were still in use but were being supplanted. On land, wagons and sleighs with teams of horses did all the long distance hauling; on the waterways all sorts of craft from canoe to steamboat were pressed into service. The rivers, too, were still vital to the timber trade and in this decade some 15,000 pieces of timber[1] passed through Pakenham Village annually *en route* from the upper reaches of the Mississippi to the Quebec market.

Transportation systems were becoming well established and, summer and winter, travel was undertaken with apparent nonchalance. In 1850 Adam Currie, now operator of a "new and commodious" inn in the centre of the village of Pakenham, was offering to convey passengers to and from Bytown three times a week, from December 20, during the time of sleighing. His sleighs left Pakenham on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at 7 A. M.; and Bytown on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays at "5½ A.M."[2] He also undertook to carry parcels. The usual stage fare from Pakenham to Bytown in winter was 5 shillings.[3] The length of the lists of visitors at the various hotels in such centres as Bytown, Perth, and Brockville, as published in the local papers, indicates that businessmen made frequent excursions and that innkeeping was a lucrative business.

In Pakenham there were few "pleasure wagons"—heavier vehicles still served for local transport, but in Bytown the day of the smart equippage was at hand. The use of spirited "drivers" had its dangers, however, and accidents were frequent. One such that occurred on Sapper's Bridge (Bytown) is typical of the times: "the pole straps broke, and the horses became unmanageable. The consequence was that the carriage was hurled with great violence

against the log railing, and the inmates of the vehicle precipitated over the bridge—a height of about 15 feet. . . . They were shortly afterwards sufficiently recovered to be carried home on litters."[4]

The Front, of course, was well served by steamers plying the St. Lawrence. From Brockville, stages carried passengers and mail inland to Smith's Falls and Perth, there to be met by the mail from Carleton Place. The proprietor of the Royal Mail line of stages out of Brockville was, at the beginning of the decade, advertising reduced fares and "new and elegantly covered Carriages on Thorough Braces"[5] as an inducement to travellers.

On the Ottawa, there was regular steamship service from Bytown to Portage du Fort. In 1852 the Union Forwarding Company's iron steamers EMERALD and OREGON were plying as follows:

> "STEAMER EMERALD, *Capt. Cuming*, will leave Aylmer, upwards every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday Morning at 7 o'clock, touching at all the usual stopping places *en route* each way, and return the same afternoon with passengers per Steamer OREGON.
>
> "STEAMER OREGON, *Capt. Findlay*, Downwards, will leave Portage du Fort the same days, and at the same hour, returning the same afternoon making the usual stopages each way."[6]

And, of course, the Rideau Canal was bearing its share of passengers and freight, linking Bytown and Kingston.

This was the situation when the hope of a railroad swept through the townships from the Upper Ottawa to the Front. The interest and enthusiasm this possibility engendered was tremendous. In 1852 and 1853 nearly every village held meetings and drew up resolutions on the subject of a railway that would pass through the old District of Bathurst linking the St. Lawrence to the Ottawa. Some were of the opinion that the railroad should be constructed from Brockville through Smith's Falls, Carleton Place, Pakenham, and thence to the mouth of the Madawaska, and, ultimately, along the banks of the Ottawa to Pembroke. Others advocated a more or less direct line from Brockville to Pembroke—the line to diverge a few miles to avoid crossing Mississippi, White, and Muskrat lakes.

Pakenham, too, caught railroad fever, and at a meeting held in January, 1853, set forth the beliefs and the determination of the inhabitants in resolutions that read:

> "1st That experience proves that in all countries where railroads have been made, the prosperity of such countries has been rapid and the value of property much increased by furnishing articles for consumption at a lower rate, and giving a better market for all surplus produce, also a cheap and rapid mode of traveling which add much to the intelligence and comfort of the community.
>
> "2nd That the land in this portion of the country is equal to any other in Canada, but that we labor under great disadvantages from our inland position, causing an enormous cost on all heavy articles of import and export. We therefore believe that a Railroad from the waters of the St. Lawrence to the Ottawa, at Pembroke, passing by Carleton-Place and near the mouth of the Madawaska River, would meet all the wants of this country.
>
> "3rd That the country between the River St. Lawrence, near Brockville and the Ottawa, at Pembroke, is a level and stratified country all the distance, with the exception of a few miles; hence a Railroad can be constructed at much less expense by passing the mouth of the Madawaska River than by any other line, and going through fine and well settled country with any amount of water power.
>
> "4th That we shall use every exertion to elect only such Councillors at our coming Township Meeting as will be favorable to the construction of a Railroad running through this Township.
>
> "5th That Andrew Dickson, James Dunnet, William McAdam, Samuel [probably Daniel] Hilliard, James Scott, Andrew Russell, Robert Brown, Samuel Dickson, Arthur McArthur, George Scott, William Forsythe, Samuel McLauchlan, M.P.P., and Alexander McDonald, be a committee, with power to add to their number to carry out the spirit of the resolution now passed, by corresponding with the parties who are favorable to this line of Railroad, and to do everything within their power to favor this laudable enterprise."

So that all the world should know the stand they had taken, the meeting further resolved:

> "6th That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the following newspapers, viz:—The Carleton-Place Herald, The Bathurst Courier, British Standard, Brockville Recorder, Ottawa Citizen, Bytown Gazette, Montreal Herald and Montreal Pilot."

Whereupon the correspondent reports that the meeting dispersed "highly pleased."[7] The railroad was as good as built.

There were those who feared for business along the road since the country had all been lumbered through, but the more ardent supporters maintained that the area could still produce unlimited saw logs. A deputation was sent to Pembroke to examine the proposed route, and on the return of this group another meeting was held in the Pakenham schoolhouse. Here the advantages of the

road were outlined; the cost and means of construction discussed; and statistics presented setting forth the probable business of the road.

Sawed lumber made up by far the largest item in the estimate and was set at:

50 million sawed lumber at 10s a 1,000	£25,000
Freight to Brockville came next:	
Merchandise	6,000
Flour	5,000
Pork	5,000
Oats and provender	2,000
Sundries not enumerated	1,000
Butter & dairy produce	5,000
Shingles, laths, staves	1,000
The third item was:	
The mails	500
Passengers	7,500
This made a total of	58,000
Allowing working expenses of	28,000
the net profit would be	£30,000

The amount of stock that the township should take in the new road was also discussed; and the question was asked "'is there any farmer here that would not willingly pay three pounds a year for such a road through his township.' A sturdy backwoodsman called out 'we'd gladly pay six', thereupon the resolution to take stock was unanimously carried."[8]

Interest in the proposed road remained at an enthusiastically high level. In May 1853 the first meeting of the directors of the Brockville and Ottawa Railway Company[9] was held in Brockville. Andrew Dickson, who was a director, was, of course, present. The meeting discussed plans to have an engineer make a preliminary survey; arranged for a canvass of the municipalities and for a solicitor to prepare the necessary By-laws for municipalities intending to take stock; appointed a committee to prepare a suitable prospectus of the Company; and decided to negotiate with several banks to ascertain the best terms on which the Company could do business.

Shortly after this first director's meeting, another railroad meeting was held at Pakenham. Andrew Dickson was present to discuss the financial aspects of the new venture and to answer questions.

The following resolution was put: "That, taking into consideration the numerous and important advantages to be gained by this Township, this meeting cordially approves of the plan proposed by the By-law of the Counties' Council, relative to the construction of the Brockville and Ottawa Railway; and considers the undertaking to give our Guarantee to the proposed loan, not only safe, but in the end will be the means of introducing into these counties, an amount of capital much needed at present, and well calculated to advance our present trade and commerce, and assist in developing the vast and valuable resources of the back country, particularly on the Ottawa."

The resolution was carried "each person standing up with a degree of enthusiastic buoyancy seldom noticed"[10] and the meeting ended with three long and strong cheers for the railroad. Before the gathering broke up, however, it appointed a committee to support the interests of the railway. Included were many of the prominent men of the township: W. McAdam, Young Scott, Samuel Dickson, J. Dunnet, D. Ogilvy, C. Royce, Jas. Dixon, D. Hilliard, P. Russell, John Elliot, R. H. Davie, Doctor McGillis, Mr. Bowes, and Doctor Blackwood.

The railroad received the support of all but one township of Lanark and Renfrew—Admaston[11] voted against it. There was great jubilation in the villages through which it was to pass—including Pakenham—and engineers Ross and Keefer[12] were dispatched to Pembroke to make their preliminary survey of the route. The engineers returned impressed with the practicability and importance of the scheme and predicted that it would be one of the best paying roads in the world.

X

THE VILLAGE AT THE ZENITH

The decade of the 60's marked a turning point in the history of Pakenham. Sometime during this period the village reached its zenith with a population of some 800[1] and a variety of tradesmen and professional men who made the community a self-sufficient entity. But Pakenham, like the other villages of the Valley, was destined to change. This was the period of transition from a lumbering to an agricultural economy; it was a time of growing sophistication in social life and in education; it was an era of revolutionary changes in transportation; and in the decade factory and mill rose in importance while the industries of home and shop declined.

The *Atlas* for 1879, reporting official statistics, suggested that Lanark County had reached the climax of her prosperity, so far as population was concerned, in this decade for "whereas the entire number of inhabitants in 1861 was stated at 31,639, in 1871 it had become reduced to 23,020, thus showing a decrease of 8,619, or more than 27 per cent. during a decade. This result was contributed to most largely by the exhaustion of the forests and consequent decline of the lumber trade within the county; thus compelling a temporary exodus of those who had been engaged in the prosecution of that industry."[2] The *Almonte Gazette* of March 16, 1894, also noted the changes in this decade. "After 1860," states the report, "industrial life took on a new aspect, and henceforward we may look for a new stage in the advancement of the County. . . . Gradually such industries as lumbering and the tanning of leather have declined, and in a few years will hardly have any place in the life of the county. So, too, the old log shanties have given way to comfortable dwellings."[3]

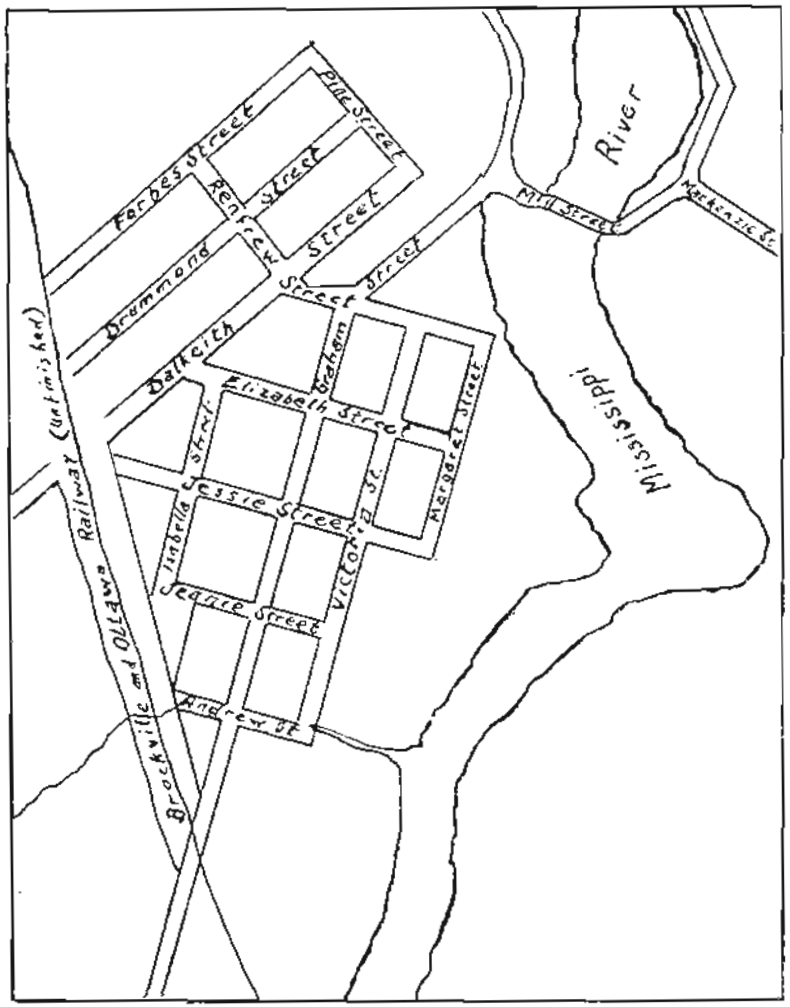
At the beginning of the decade, however, there was little evidence of decline, and village life[4] moved with quickening tempo. Blacksmiths, cabinet makers, carpenters, coopers, harness makers, shoemakers, and wagonmakers continued to prosper. The number of general merchants had risen; and in keeping with the greater diversity of activities, shops unknown in the 50's had been added. Pakenham now had a butcher, a grocer, a notary public, three

painters, a milliner; and, most significant of all, there was now a school*mistress*—twenty-year-old Rosanna McCoy. Another noteworthy change was the growing number of apprentices—would-be painters, wagonmakers, carpenters, cabinet makers, and tanners were learning their chosen trades.

No longer were the village shops the precinct of men alone. The druggist employed a female clerk, paying her $3.00 a month. Robert Brown, general merchant, paid his two female clerks $10 each. His male clerks received more than twice as much, which is understandable when one remembers the number of bags of flour, hogsheads of molasses, and kegs of nails that his men would be required to handle. At the local inns women were paid from $2.50 to $4.00 a month; the men received $10.00 or more. Of the medical men in the community, Dr. John Sweetland was probably typical of the successful professional man of the times. He was a Wesleyan Methodist, 26 years old, had a horse and cow valued at $144; kept two carriages "for pleasure;" and paid his male servant $8.00 a month and his female servant $3.00.

The village had reached a measure of stability for, whereas at the beginning of the previous decade a large proportion of the business and professional men were newcomers, many of those who came in the 1850's and 1860's remained and, indeed, their descendants still live in the township. Personalities remembered by Pakenham's elder citizens today were among the villagers of the 1860's. Some have already been mentioned, others were: William Dack, shoemaker; Robert Edwards, cabinet maker; John Gemmill, notary public; Robert Graham, wagon and sleigh maker, who, according to oldtimers turned the finest sleigh runners in the Valley; Matthew Harvey, boot and shoe manufacturer; R. Mayne, baker and confectioner; John O'Neil, carriage maker; George Parker, beef and pork packer; James Quigley, carpenter; and James Smith and Alonzo Sliter teachers of the Grammar School.

Walling's map of 1863[5] gives an interesting picture of the village at the beginning of the decade. The bridge was in the same relative position as it is today, and below it were the dam and timber slide. East of the river were the flour and saw mills, Hilliard and Dickson's store, and Andrew Dickson's residence; and on the west side, the carding mill below the bridge and the British Hotel above it. On the hill were the Presbyterian and Methodist churches and the town hall. The Commercial Hotel was at the corner of Graham and Elizabeth, and Perry's Hotel (on Graham Street) was near the



PAKENHAM VILLAGE ABOUT 1860. (Adapted from Walling map of 1863. Courtesy Public Archives of Canada.) On Walling's map, Forbes, Drummond, Andrew, and Pine streets are not shown; of the others, only Dalkeith, Graham, Victoria, Renfrew, and Jessie are named. Many of the streets of the present Pakenham Village were called after members of the Dickson family. Isabella (Mrs. John Sweetland), Elizabeth (Mrs. Robert Brown), Jessie (Mrs. Robert Lees), Jeanie (Mrs. Daniel Hilliard), and Margaret (Mrs. Peter McArthur) were Andrew Dickson's daughters; Forbes and Drummond (Dickson) and Andrew (Hilliard) were his grandsons.

unfinished railway line. Along Graham Street were a number of merchant shops also: Dunnet's between the bridge and Renfrew Street; Brown's on the east side between Renfrew and Elizabeth, and on the west side Dr. Fowler's; Stoba's and Hartney's between Elizabeth and Jessie on the east side, and Gordon's on the west side. The number of other shops and residences shown indicates that Pakenham in the early 60's was a populous and bustling centre.

This, then, was the village that Edward, Prince of Wales, saw in 1860 when he visited the United Counties of Lanark and Renfrew on his way from Ottawa City to Kingston; these were the people who eagerly awaited his coming. For, like all loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, Pakenham people were agog over the impending visit of His Royal Highness. In June, 1860, the *Herald* had noted: "The track of our railroad being the same width as that of the Grand Trunk—while the Ottawa & Prescott Road is narrower—will admit of the Prince's car being run to Almonte, to meet the Royal visitor and his retinue on their way down from Arnprior. If this plan be carried out, our friends in Pakenham, Almonte, Carleton Place, and Smith's Falls, had better begin to brush up. . . ."[6]

Pakenham, accordingly, began to "brush up." At a public meeting in the village a committee was appointed to ask council[7] for the sum of 25 pounds to make the necessary preparations for the reception of His Royal Highness. Council acceded, with the result that traditional arches were erected at each end of the village with the word "Welcome." Evergreens and flags decorated the streets and according to the report the village had "a beautiful and imposing appearance" that did credit to the taste of the inhabitants.

Meanwhile, in Ottawa, the Prince laid the corner stone of the Parliament Buildings, admired the bridge over the Chaudiere Falls, was suitably impressed by the Lumberer's Arch, and rode down the slide on a crib of timber. From Ottawa he procedeed up river and was given a rousing reception in Arnprior, and then was driven through Pakenham to "the cars" at Almonte. The Sheriff and the County Warden were accompanying the Prince, but unfortunately, before they had gone many miles, carriages, wagons, and men on horseback joined the Royal Cavalcade. Chaos resulted. "In the competition to get as near the Prince's carriage as possible," says the *Courier*, "the utmost confusion prevailed, and all were driving at a furious rate, utterly regardless of the consequences.

This portion of the Prince's journey must have been very diagreeable [sic], owing to the dense clouds of dust raised by the horses and carriages. Had the people exercised a little prudence and judgment, and kept in a regular line, it would have been more agreeable for all parties. By taking the course they did, they merely annoyed the Prince and did themselves no good. . . .

"The Cavalcade of His Royal Highness . . . did not stop in the Village, but drove through at a rapid rate, and the throngs of people lining the streets, and looking out of the windows of the houses, could have got little better than an imperfect glance at the young Prince as he passed rapidly along in a cloud of dust."[8]

We leave Pakenham Village with the Prince of Wales as he is hurried through the arch at the southern end of the village and bowled along the river road, up Indian Hill and over the end of the Canadian Shield, on his way to the cars at Almonte.

NOTES

I. Prelude to Settlement

1: *The Village Pattern*

1. For *Canadian Shield* see:
Currie, A. W. *Economic Geography of Canada*, The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, Toronto, 1945.

Glazebrook, G. P. deT. *A History of Transportation in Canada*, The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1938.

Innes, M. Q. *An Economic History of Canada*. The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1935.

Jackman, W. T. *Economics of Transportation*, University of Toronto Press, 1926.

Lower, A. R. M., and H. A. Innes. *Settlement and the Forest and Mining Frontiers*, The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, Toronto, 1936.

2: *Physical Features of Pakenham Township*

1. The names in parentheses are those now in use.
2. The range of low hills running diagonally through Pakenham Township is known locally as the Pakenham Mountain.

3: *Geological History of the Area*

1. Based on information supplied by Dr. Alice E. Wilson, for many years with the Geological Survey of Canada.

See also: Wilson, Alice E. "A Guide to the Geology of the Ottawa District," *The Canadian Field-Naturalist*, Vol. 70, No. 1, 1956.

4: *The Aborigines*

1. Based on information supplied by Mr. J. V. Wright, Archaeologist, National Museum of Canada.

II. Days of Settlement

1: *The Background of Settlement*

1. For general information on emigration to Canada see:
Cowan, Helen I. *British Emigration to British North America*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1961.

Guillet, Edwin C. *The Great Migration*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, Toronto, 1937.

Macdonald, Norman. *Canada 1763-1841 Immigration and Settlement*, Longmans, Green and Co., Toronto, 1939.

Shepperson, Wilbur S. *British Emigration to North America*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1957.

2. Public Archives of Canada. Upper Canada Land Petitions, Vol. 253, 1825-1839. The signature of the owner of the mills, although difficult to decipher, would appear to be *Hervey*. All official documents and correspondence refer to him as *Harvey*.
3. Lower, A. R. M. *Colony to Nation*, Longmans, Green & Company, Toronto, 1946, p. 183.
4. Shepperson, *British Emigration to North America*, pp. 4-9. The author outlines some of the reasons for the "mass exodus" in the early 1800's.
5. For biographies see:
   Dictionary of National Biography, Sidney Lee, ed., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1908.

   The Dictionary of Canadian Biography, W. Stewart Wallace, comp., The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, Toronto, 1926.

2: *The Military Settlements*

1. The following works contain references to one or more of the Military Settlements:
   Haydon, Andrew. *Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst*, The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1925.

   Cruickshank, E. A. "Military Settlements 1815-20," reprinted from the *Ontario Historical Society's Papers and Records*, Volume XX. (Library, Public Archives of Canada).

   Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Carleton, Ont., and *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Lanark, Ont.*, H. Belden & Co., comp., Toronto, 1879.

   M'Donald, John. *Narrative of a Voyage to Quebec, and Journey from thence to New Lanark, in Upper Canada*, printed for the author by H. Arliss, London, 1826.

   Whitton, Charlotte. *A Hundred Years A'Fellin', 1842-1942*, printed for Gillies Brothers, Limited, Braeside, Ont., by The Runge Press Limited, Ottawa, 1943.

   Legget, Robert. *Rideau Waterway*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1955.

   Eggleston, Wilfred. *The Queen's Choice*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1961.

   Cowan. *British Emigration to British North America.*

   Guillet, *The Great Migration.*

   Macdonald, *Immigration and Settlement.*

   Shepperson, *British Emigration to North America.*
2. See Legget, *Rideau Waterway* and Eggleston, *The Queen's Choice.*
3. Joliffe, Miriam E. "Fitzroy Township" in *Transactions Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa*, Vol. IV, 1911; and Belden's *Atlas* (Carleton County).
4. Ahearn, Margaret Howitt. "The Early Settlers of March Township" in *Transactions Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa*, Vol. I, 1901; and Belden's *Atlas* (Carleton County).

3: *Early Travellers and Settlers*

1. Belden's *Atlas* (Carleton County), p. xliii.
2. Public Archives of Canada, Upper Canada Sundries, 1822, Marshall to Cockburn, Oct. 23, 1822. The place names used by Marshall are followed, in parentheses, by subsequent designations and those now in use.
3. Lower, *Colony to Nation*, pp. 187-190.
4. Public Archives of Canada, Secretary of State Papers, Upper Canada, Johnstown and Bathurst Districts, Land Grantees, 1810-1835, p. 45. (Verified at North Lanark Registry Office, Almonte, Ont. Note: Microfilm copies of early records of Ontario municipalities may be consulted in the Ontario Archives, Toronto.)
5. Same, p. 472. See also Upper Canada Sundries, 1825, Richey to Hillier, Mar. 23, 1825. Most of the present village of Pakenham lies in Lot 11, Concession 11; the remainder is in Lot 12, Concession 11.
6. Secretary of State Papers, Upper Canada, Johnstown and Bathurst Districts, Land Grantees, 1810-1835; and Anglican Church Records, Archives, Diocese of Ottawa, Ottawa. Discrepancies in the spelling of the names of the early settlers are common. For example, *McGibbon* is sometimes given as *McRibon, McKibon,* or *McKibbon;* and *Timmons* as *Timons.*
7. Upper Canada Sundries, 1825, Richey to Hillier, Mar. 23, 1825; and Upper Canada Land Petitions, Powell to Hillier, June 16, 1825.

4: *The Settlement around Little Falls*

1. Upper Canada Land Petitions, Miscellaneous, Powell to Hillier, June 1, 1825; and Belden's *Atlas* (Lanark County), p. ix.
2. Traill, Catharine Parr. *The Backwoods of Canada*, McClelland & Stewart, Limited, Toronto, 1929, p. 112.
3. Belden's *Atlas* (Lanark County), p. ix.
4. Upper Canada Sundries, 1825, Powell to Hillier, Apr. 11, 1825.
5. Jameson, Anna Brownell, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, Thomas Nelson and Sons Limited, Toronto, 1943, p. 126.
6. Gourlay, J. L. *History of the Ottawa Valley*, Ottawa, 1896, p. 30. The reference is no doubt to the passenger pigeon. P. A. Taverner, (*Birds of Canada*, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, 1934, p. 252) states that "The immense flocks of Passenger Pigeons that once darkened the air were one of the wonders of America. . . . They bred in dense rookeries where their weight often broke the branches from forest trees. Trees containing their nests were cut down and though each nest contained only one squab there were so many that the pigs were turned in to feed upon them. Later, the netting of pigeons was the occupation of professional fowlers who shipped their proceeds by the car-load to the centres of population. . . . The species is now extinct, the last bird having died in captivity in 1914."
7. Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, pp. 114-115.

III. The Robinson Settlers

1. In Chapter Three, all references, unless otherwise noted, are from Public Archives of Canada, Robinson Papers.

4: *Robinson's Settlers in the Township*

1. The name *Dohorthy* also appears as *Doherty*, *Dougherty*, and *Dogherty*.

5: *Trouble with Robinson's Settlers*

1. For a detailed account see Haydon, *Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst*, pp. 124-165.
2. Guillet, Edwin C. *Early Life in Upper Canada*, The Ontario Publishing Co., Limited, Toronto, 1933, pp. 68, 164-165.
3. Public Archives of Canada, Q Series, Vol. 335, p. 379, Maitland to Bathurst, May 14, 1824.

IV. The Laird of McNab's Settlers

1. Fraser, Alexander. *The Last Laird of MacNab*, privately published, Toronto, 1899, pp. 5-7. (Although the spelling *MacNab* appears in the title, *McNab* is also given throughout the text.)
2. Same, p. 7.
3. Public Archives of Canada, State Papers of Upper Canada, Archibald McNab of McNab, 1825-1842, McNab to Hillier, Apr. 22, 1827.
4. Same. Deed of Covenant between McNab of McNab and his Settlers.
5. Fraser, *The Last Laird of MacNab*, pp. 19-23.
6. Archibald McNab of McNab, 1825-1842, McNab to Hillier, Apr. 22. 1827.
7. Fraser, *The Last Laird of MacNab*, p. 25.
8. Public Archives of Canada, Q Series, Vol. 335, p. 379, Maitland to Bathurst, May 14, 1824.

V. Days of Adjustment

1: *Problems in the Young Settlement*

For descriptions of conditions in the early settlements in Upper Canada see:

Guillet, *Early Life in Upper Canada.*

Howison, John. *Sketches of Upper Canada*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1821.

Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada.*

Jones, Robert Leslie. *History of Agriculture in Ontario, 1613-1880*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1946.

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Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada.*

1. William Bell *Journals*, (1817) Douglas Library, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.
2. Moodie, Intro. to *Roughing it in the Bush*, p. xvii.
3. Lizars, *In the Days of the Canada Company*, p. 56.

2: *Pakenham Settlers Petition the Governor*

1. Lower, *Colony to Nation*, p. 165.
2. Same, p. 230.
3. Same, p. 232.
4. State Papers, P 1825-1838, Vols. 62-63, Pakenham Settlers petition Sir Peregrine Maitland, Aug. 1, 1825.

3: *The Harvey—Frizell Land Dispute*

1. Upper Canada Sundries, 1825, Vol. 71, Harvey & Powell to the Bathurst District Land Board, Apr. 4, 1825.
2. Upper Canada Land Petitions, Miscellaneous, Powell to Hillier, June 1, 1825.
3. Same, Vol. 253.
4. Same, Powell to Hillier, June 1, 1825.
5. Ontario Archives, Township Papers, Pakenham, Copy of Letter Morris to Hillier, Jan. 19, 1825.
6. Same, Proceedings of Executive Council, Mar. 17, 1825.
7. Same.
8. Same.
9. Upper Canada Land Petitions, Powell to Hillier, June 1, 1825.
10. Same.
11. Same, Vol. 253. Harvey to Sir Peregrine Maitland, June 26, 1825.
12. Same.
13. Upper Canada Land Petitions, Vol. 253.

14. Same.
15. Same.
16. Same. The reference is to Peter Robinson's emigrants of 1825, located at Peterboro.
17. Ontario Archives, Township Papers, Pakenham.
18. North Lanark Registry Office, Almonte, Ontario.

4: *Judith Dougherty's Petition*

1. Upper Canada Sundries, 1825, Vol. 74, Judith Dougherty to Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sept. 22, 1825.
2. Public Archives of Canada, Revised Statutes of Upper Canada, Chapter III, 3rd William IV. A. D., 1833.
3. Public Archives of Canada, Journal of House of Assembly of Upper Canada, 1826-27, Appendix.

5: *The Plight of Robinson's Settlers*

1. Robinson Papers, George T. Burke's statement, Nov. 10, 1826.
2. Fraser, *The Last Laird of MacNab*, p. 28.
3. Same, pp. 28-29.
4. Same, p. 29.
5. References to 1826 are to: Public Archives of Canada, Colonial Office Records, 1826, Q 340, part 2, pp. 515-516. "Return of the Irish Emigrants, settled in the District of Bathurst in the year 1823 . . . Township of Pakenham, March 14th, 1826."
6. References to 1830 are to: Ontario Archives, Crown Land Papers, 20 (4B) Inspection Report, Carleton & Lanark Counties (About 1830).
7. Robinson Papers. Disposition of settlers in 1823.
8. Report of 1830.
9. References to 1840: Ontario Archives, Crown Land Papers, Inspection Bathurst District, Francis Allan, 1840.
10. Upper Canada Land Petitions, 1825-1839, Vol. 63.
11. Report of 1840.
12. North Lanark Registry Office, Almonte, Ontario.
13. Robinson Papers, Robert Harvey to [Baines ?], May 22, 1826.
14. North Lanark Registry Office.
15. Upper Canada Land Petitions, 1839-1841, Vol. 241, July 18, 1839.
16. North Lanark Registry Office.
17. Upper Canada Land Petitions, 1839-1841, Vol. 241, July 18, 1839.
18. Public Archives of Canada, Census Returns, 1842, Canada West.
19. North Lanark Registry Office.
20. Same.

VI. Early Missionaries in Pakenham Township

1: *Social and Religious Climate in Upper Canada*

1. *Cyclopaedia of Religious Denominations*, John Joseph Griffin & Company, London, 1853. Different Creeds and Systems prevailing throughout the world written by members of the respective bodies.
2. Lower, *Colony to Nation*, p. 187.
3. *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History 1783-1885*, ed. H. A. Innis and A. R. M. Lower, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1933, p. 101.
4. Adams, Samuel Hopkins. *Grandfather Stories*, Random House, New York, 1955, p. 288.
5. *Bathurst Courier*, Sept. 2, 1836.
6. Same, Nov. 7, 1834.
7. Lizars, *In the Days of the Canada Company*, p. 73.
8. *Bathurst Courier*, May 29, 1835.

2: *The Coming of the Methodists*

1. Sanderson, J. E. *First Century of Methodism in Canada* (2 vols.) William Briggs, Toronto, 1908-1910, Vol. 2, p. 407.
2. Cornish, George H. *Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada* (2 vols.) Methodist Book and Publishing House, Toronto, 1881, Vol. 1, p. 37.
3. Lower, *Colony to Nation*, p. 194.
4. Sanderson, *First Century of Methodism*, Vol. I, p. 143.
5. Carroll, John. *Case and his Cotemporaries* (5 vols.) Wesleyan Conference Office, Toronto, 1869-1877, Vol. 2, p. 435.
6. Same, p. 484.
7. Same, p. 483.
8. Same, Vol. 3, p. 37.
9. Cornish, *Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada*, Vol. 1.
10. Lower, *Colony to Nation*, p. 164.
11. Sanderson, *First Century of Methodism*, Vol. 1, p. 174.
12. Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries*, Vol. 3, p. 85.
13. Same.
14. Sanderson, *First Century of Methodism*, Vol. 1, p. 174.
15. Same.
16. Same.
17. Playter, George F. *The History of Methodism in Canada*, Wesleyan Printing Establishment, Toronto, 1862, p. 285.
18. Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries*, Vol. 3, p. 137.
19. Same, p. 207.
20. Same, p. 249. Several spellings are given for the projected mission. The river that flows through the territory and enters the Ottawa River at Renfrew is the *Bonnechere*.

21. Same, p. 273.
22. Same, p. 300.
23. Same, p. 301.
24. Same, p. 346.
25. Same, p. 389.
26. Same, p. 416.
27. Lower, *Colony to Nation*, p. 236, and Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries*, Vol. 3, p. 86.
28. Lower, *Colony to Nation*, p. 195.
29. Cornish, *Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada*, Vol. 1, p. 37.
30. Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries*, Vol. 3, p. 416.
31. Cornish, *Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada*, Vol. 1.
32. Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries*, Vol. 4, p. 49.
33. Cornish, *Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada*, Vol. 1.

3: *The Early Anglican Mission*

1. Jefferson, The Right Reverend Robert and Leonard L. Johnson. *Faith of Our Fathers*, The Anglican Book Society, Ottawa, 1957, p. 1.
2. William Bell *Journals* (1819).
3. Same, (1823).
4. Anglican Church Records, Ottawa.
5. Same.
6. Jefferson and Johnson, *Faith of Our Fathers*, p. 6.
7. Anglican Church Records, Ottawa.

4: *Presbyterianism Reaches Pakenham*

1. Lower, *Colony to Nation*, p. 193.
2. Skelton, *William Bell*, p. 58. Mrs. Skelton has given a detailed account of Mr. Bell's career in Scotland and in Canada. She has also dealt fully with the frictions between the Secession Church and the Church of Scotland.
3. Same, p. 57.
4. Gregg, William. *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada (to 1834)*, Presbyterian Printing and Publishing Company, Toronto, 1885, pp. 191, 359.
5. MacKay, Bertram Reid. "A Pioneer Community in Beckwith Township, Lanark County, Upper Canada, 1818, locally known as 'The Derry'" in *Transactions Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa*, Vol. XI, 1954, p. 60.
6. Skelton, *William Bell*, p. 182.
7. Same, p. 205.

8. Same, p. 210.
9. Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 472.
10. Auld Kirk Records, United Church, Almonte, Ont., contain details of the organization of the Ramsay Church.
11. Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 479.
12. Skelton, *William Bell*, Chapter XIII, p. 204, "The Church Militant."
13. Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 492.

5: *Roman Catholic Missionaries*

1. Alexis, Rev. P. *Histoire de la Province Ecclesiastique d'Ottawa et de la Colonisation dans la Vallee de l'Ottawa*, La Cie d'Imprimerie d'Ottawa, Ottawa, 1897, Vol. I, pp. 127, 128, 130-132, 134, 138, 180-182, and 366.

VII. Enlarging Horizons

1: *The Valley in the 1820's and 1830's*

1. William Bell *Journals* (1820).
2. Same.
3. Wittke, Carle. *A History of Canada*, McClelland & Stewart, Limited, Toronto, 1941, pp. 91-105.
4. William Bell *Journals* (1832).

5-10. Same.

11. Same, (1833).
12. Same, (1836).
13. *Bathurst Courier*, Oct. 17, 1834.
14. Hill, H. P. "Bytown in 1837" in *Transactions Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa*, Vol. VIII, 1922, p. 41; *Bathurst Courier*, Sept. 12, 1834; Fraser, *The Last Laird of MacNab*, pp. 78, 96.
15. Fraser, *The Last Laird of MacNab*, pp. 62-64.
16. *Bathurst Courier*, Sept. 12, 1834.
17. Same, Feb. 12, 1841.
18. Same, Sept. 25, 1835.
19. Once a spectacular fall where the Madawaska River flows into Calabogie Lake; now the site of a hydro-electric power development plant.
20. *Bathurst Courier*, Mar. 11, 1836.
21. Same, May 18, 1838.
22. State Papers of Upper Canada, Archibald McNab of McNab, 1825-1842, Vol. 53, [McDonnell ?] to Robinson, June 25, 1830.

2: *Andrew Dickson and Pakenham Mills*

1. Secretary of State Papers, Upper Canada, Johnstown and Bathurst Districts, Land Grantees, 1810-1835, Vol. 105, and North Lanark Registry Office, Almonte, Ontario. Records of land patents are from these sources.
2. Haydon, *Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst*, "Andrew Dickson, Sheriff," Ch. VII, pp. 197-236. This chapter gives a sketch of Mr. Dickson's career.
3. Upper Canada Land Petitions, Bundle 20, No. 97, Dickson to Robinson, Oct. 12, 1831.
4. Same.
5. Same, Bundle 19, No. 60, Dickson to Colborne, Jan. 13, 1836.
6. Same.
7. Same, Bundle 20, No. 97, Morris to Sullivan, Apr. 10, 1837.
8. Same.
9. Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, 1832.
10. For merchandise available in the stores of the period see advertisements in *Bathurst Courier*.
11. Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, 1835. Appendix.
12. *Bathurst Courier*, May 3, 1839.
13. State Papers of Upper Canada, Archibald McNab of McNab, McNab to [Hillier ?], June 4, 1830.
14. Post Office Department, Government of Canada, Ottawa.
15. *Bathurst Courier*, Sept. 12, 1834.
16. Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, p. 124.
17. Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, 1835. Appendix.
18. *Bathurst Courier*, Mar. 3, 1837.
19. Hodgins, J. George. *Schools and Colleges of Ontario*, printed and published by L. K. Cameron, Toronto, 1910, p. 110.
20. *Bathurst Courier*, Sept. 28, 1838.
21. Lizars, *In the Days of the Canada Company*, p. 56.
22. Pakenham Township Council. Minutes of Freeholders and Householders, 1836-1839. Note: Microfilm copies of early records of Ontario municipalities may be consulted in the Ontario Archives, Toronto.
23. *Bathurst Courier*, Sept. 23, 1836.
24. Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, 1835. Appendix.
25. *Bathurst Courier*, May 18, 1838.

3: *The Birth of Municipal Government*

1. Public Archives of Canada, Statutes of Upper Canada, 1835, p. 18.
2. Pakenham Township Council. Minutes of Freeholders and Householders. In this section references to township affairs are from this source.

4: *The Rebellion of 1837 and the Battle of Pakenham*

1. Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, pp. 325-326.
2. Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, pp. 420-421.
3. William Bell *Journals* (1838).
4. Fraser, *The Last Laird of MacNab*, p. 105.
5. Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, p. 423.
6. State Papers of Upper Canada, Archibald McNab of McNab, 1825-1842, Vol. 53. Hagerman to McNab settlers, July 6, 1838.
7. William Bell *Journals* (1838).
8. Same.
9. Fraser, *The Last Laird of MacNab*, pp. 146-148.
10. *Bathurst Courier*, Nov. 30, 1838.
11. William Bell *Journals* (1838).

VIII. Andrew Dickson's Village

1: *The Village Tradesmen*

1. North Lanark Registry Office.
2. Jones, *History of Agriculture in Ontario*, p. 111.
3. *Bathurst Courier*, Apr. 9, 1841.
4. Public Archives of Canada, Census Returns, 1842, Canada West. Throughout this section statistical data of the Village and Township are from this source.
5. *Bathurst Courier*, Apr. 9, 1841.
6. Same.
7. Ontario Archives, Crown Land Papers, Andrew Dickson to R. B. Sullivan, Dec. 5, 1840.
8. Gourlay, *History of the Ottawa Valley*, p. 30.
9. *Carleton Place Herald*, Oct. 16, 1861.

2: *The Timber Trade in the Valley*

1. *Bathurst Courier*, Feb. 6, 1844. (The Ottawa and Its Improvements. From the Report of Malcolm Cameron, Esq., Commissioner of Inquiry to the Hon. H. H. Killaly, Esq., President of the Board of Works, March 15, 1843.)
2. Public Archives of Canada. Map of the Principal Communications in Canada West, 1850-51, Major Baron de Rottenburg.
3. *Carleton Place Herald*, July 18, 1854, and Aug. 1, 1854. Except where otherwise noted quotations in the remainder of this section are from this source.
4. Cluff, W. H. "Memories of Bytown" in *Transactions Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa*, Vol. VIII, 1922-25, p. 67.
5. *Canada at the Universal Exhibition of 1855*, printed by order of the Legislative Assembly, Toronto: Printed by John Lovell, 1856, p. 164.

6. Same.
7. Same, p. 95.
8. Same, p. 163.
9. Pigeon, Leopoldine Beauchamp. "Notes on some of the prominent citizens of the early days of Bytown" in *Transactions Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa*, Vol. VIII, 1922-25, p. 21.
10. *Bathurst Courier*, Aug. 3, 1841.

3: *Political and Municipal Affairs*

1. Wittke, *A History of Canada*, p. 115.
2. Same, p. 120.
3. *Bathurst Courier*, Jan. 17, 1840.
4. Same, Feb. 14, 1840.
5. Same.
6. Haydon, *Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst*, p. 209.
7. Chief Electoral Officer, Eastview, Ontario.
8. *Bathurst Courier*, Mar. 19, 1841.
9. Chief Electoral Officer.
10. Pakenham Township Council. Minutes of Freeholders and Householders.
11. *Bathurst Courier*, Feb. 8, 1842.
12. Same.
13. Same, Mar. 15, 1842.
14. Same, July 11, 1843.
15. Same, Jan. 2, 1844.
16. Same, Mar. 2, 1849.

4: *The Clergymen and the Churches*

1. Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries*, Vol. 4, p. 259.
2. Ontario Archives. Strachan Papers, Bishop Strachan to Reverend E. Denroche, Mar. 23, 1840.
3. Same, Bishop Strachan to Reverend A. M. Campbell, June 18, 1841.
4. Same, Bishop Strachan to Hannibal Mulkins, Nov. 4, 1841.
5. Same, Mar. 24, 1842.
6. Anglican Church Records, Ottawa.

7. William Bell *Journals*, February and March, 1840.
8. *Almonte Gazette*, Jan. 7, 1898.
9. *Bathurst Courier*, June 4, 1840.
10. Auld Kirk Records, United Church, Almonte, Ontario.
11. William Bell *Journals*, 1841.
12. *Bathurst Courier*, July 6, 1841.
13. Same, Sept. 6, 1842.
14. Sanderson, *First Century of Methodism in Canada*, Vol. 2, p. 33.
15. Cornish, *Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada*, Vol. 1.
16. Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries*, Vol. 4, pp. 345-346.
17. Same, p. 444.
18. *Bathurst Courier*, July 28, 1846.
19. *Almonte Gazette*, Jan. 7, 1898. The account of the building of the stone church is from this source.
20. *Bathurst Courier*, June 15, 1849.
21. Alexis, *Histoire de la Province Ecclesiastique d'Ottawa et de la Colonisation dans la Vallee de l'Ottawa*, Vol. I, pp. 366-369.

5: *The Schools and the School Commissioners*

1. Statutes of Upper Canada, 1841, pp. 102-113.
2. *Bathurst Courier*, July 6, 1841.
3. Same.
4. Census Returns, 1842, Canada West.
5. Pakenham Township Council. Minutes of Freeholders and Householders.
6. Same, Minutes of Common School Commissioners. In this section references to the school commissioners are from this source unless otherwise noted.
7. *Bathurst Courier*, Apr. 5, 1842.
8. Same, Aug. 16, 1842; Oct. 4, 1842.
9. Pakenham Township Council. Minutes of Freeholders and Householders.
10. *Bathurst Courier*, Mar. 22, 1842.
11. Same.

6: *Lawbreakers and Lawmakers*

1. *Bathurst Courier*, Apr. 23, 1841.
2. Same, May 7, 1841.
3. Same, Apr. 5, 1842.

4. Same, Sept. 8, 1846.
5. *Fraser, A Short History of the Fraser Clan and our own Branch of Frasers in Canada and the United States,* L. A. Milne, comp., privately published, 1943, p. 95.
6. Guillet, *Early Life in Upper Canada,* p. 309.
7. *Bathurst Courier,* July 28, 1846.
8. Court House, Perth, Ontario.

7: *Life in the 1840's*

1. *Bathurst Courier,* July 4, 1843.
2. Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles,* pp. 87-88.
3. *Bathurst Courier,* Feb. 6, 1844.
4. Same, Mar. 9, 1847.
5. Gourlay, *History of the Ottawa Valley,* p. 49.
6. *Bathurst Courier,* Apr. 6, 1847.

8: *Official Visitors*

1. Geological Survey of Canada, Ottawa, *Report of Progress for the year 1845-6,* p. 9.
2. Same, pp. 84-85.

3-10. Geological Survey of Canada, W. E. Logan *Field Book* 1845.

11. Ontario Archives, Crown Land Papers, Inspection Bathurst District, Francis Allan, 1840.

IX. Years of Growth

1: *Changes in the Village*

1. Public Archives of Canada, Census Returns, 1851, Canada West. Where not otherwise noted, statistics in this section are from this source. See also *Census of the Canadas,* 1851-52, Vol. 1.
2. *Carleton Place Herald,* Oct. 9, 1851.
3. Same, July 18, 1854.
4. Same, Apr. 5, 1855.
5. Same, July 1, 1852.
6. Pakenham Township Council. Minutes of Council.
7. Post Office Department, Government of Canada, Ottawa.
8. *Carleton Place Herald,* June 3, 1852.

9. North Lanark Registry Office, Almonte, Ontario.
10. *Carleton Place Herald,* June 17, 1852.
11. Same, Apr. 26, 1855.
12. Same, May 9, 1851.

2: *Township Council Government*

1. Public Archives of Canada, Statutes of Canada, 1848-49.
2. Same.
3. Pakenham Township Council. Minutes of Council. References in this section are from this source, unless otherwise noted.
4. *Bathurst Courier,* Feb. 14, 1840.
5. Census Returns, Canada West, 1851 and 1861. See also Ontario Archives, Crown Land Papers.
6. *Carleton Place Herald,* Oct. 9, 1851.
7. Same, Apr. 11, 1854.
8. North Lanark Registry Office. Plan of Pakenham Village, 1855.
9. Public Archives of Canada. Map of the Counties of Lanark and Renfrew, Canada West. From actual surveys under the direction of H. F. Walling, 1863.

3: *Religious and Social Life*

1. *Carleton Place Herald,* Jan. 17, 1854.
2. Cornish, *Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada,* Vol. 1.
3. Anglican Church Records, Ottawa.
4. Alexis, *Histoire de la Province Ecclesiastique d'Ottawa et de la Colonisation dans la Vallee de l'Ottawa,* Vol. I, p. 538, Vol. II, p. 216;
   Legros, Hector et Soeur Paul-Emile, *Le Diocèse d'Ottawa, 1847-1948,* p. 249;
   Souvenir of Our Centenary Celebrations, July 15-16, 1961, Saint Michael's Church, Fitzroy Harbour, Ontario.
5. *Carleton Place Herald,* Jan. 17, 1854.
6. Same, Aug. 26, 1852.
7. Same, July 22, 1852.
8. Jones, *History of Agriculture in Ontario,* pp. 350-351.
9. *Carleton Place Herald,* Oct. 7, 1852.
10. Same, Nov. 4, 1852.

4: *Mr. Dickson's Activities*

1. *Canada at the Universal Exhibition of 1855*. Information on the exhibitions of 1851 and 1855 is from this source, pp. 30, 39, 59, and 162.
2. Geological Survey of Canada, *Report of Progress for the Years 1853-54-55-56*, Printed by John Lovell, Toronto, 1857, p. 295.
3. Woodward, Horace B. *The History of the Geological Society of London*, London Geological Society, 1907, p. 252.
4. Eleventh Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, 1852-53. Appendix. Details of penitentiary reports in this section are from this source.
5. *Carleton Place Herald*, Nov. 18, 1852.
6. Same, Sept. 15, 1853.

5: *Railroad Fever*

1. *Canada Directory*, 1857-58, John Lovell, Montreal, p. 501.
2. *Lanark Herald*, Dec. 27, 1850.
3. *Canada Directory*, 1851, p. 265.
4. *Carleton Place Herald*, July 8, 1852.
5. Same, Dec. 25, 1851.
6. Same, June 3, 1852.
7. Same, Jan. 6, 1853.
8. Same, Feb. 10, 1853.
9. Same, May 19, 1853.
10. Same, July 7, 1853.
11. Same, July 21, 1853.
12. Same, Aug. 4, 1853.

X. The Village at the Zenith

1. *The Province of Ontario Gazetteer and Directory*, Robertson and Cook, Toronto, 1869, p. 372.
2. Belden's *Atlas* (Lanark County), p. iv.
3. *Almonte Gazette*, Mar. 16, 1894.
4. Information on Pakenham Village in this period from Census Returns, Canada West, 1861; Minutes of Pakenham Township Council; *Canada Directory*, 1864-65; and *The Province of Ontario Gazetteer and Directory*, 1869.
5. Map of the Counties of Lanark and Renfrew, Canada West, Walling.
6. *Carleton Place Herald*, June 7, 1860.
7. Pakenham Township Council, Minutes of Council.
8. *Perth Courier*, Sept. 7, 1860.