Wellington County History

A. J. Casson in Elora
Alf Hales remembers Macdonald Consolidated School
Researching the Italian Community
Ennotville Library
WWII Rations
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Founding of the Communist Party of Canada in Guelph

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Photo of A.J. Casson, 1958, by Robert McMichael
Courtesy McMichael Canadian Art Collection Archives
IN LOVE WITH ELORA:
A.J. CASSON AND THE ELORA PORTFOLIO

introduced by Bob Reynolds

Few, if any locations have inspired the imagination and the creative
talents of artists more than the Village of Elora. In the 1920s, A.J.
Casson, renowned member of Canada’s Group of Seven, discovered Elora
which, artistically, became his adopted village.

Up to the mid-1920s, Casson had occasionally varied his landscapes
with drawings and watercolours of villagescapes. By the late 1920s, he
was giving the bulk of his effort to depicting Ontario villages. Urged by
his friend Sir Frederick Banting, Casson made several visits to Elora, and
became obsessed with sketching it. From a series of about forty
watercolours done over a period of three years (from 1927-1929), Casson
kept a group of twenty which became known as the Elora Portfolio.
Taking as his subject matter the small houses and streets, Casson sensi-
tively documented the gentle activity of the village, as well as the colour
and feeling of its architecture.

Pieces of the Elora Portfolio lay virtually forgotten in the artist’s studio
for fifty years. While Casson was working on a limited edition commemo-
rative book, Elora and Salem, that reproduced much of the work that
comprised his Elora Portfolio, he revisited Elora to see how the village
had changed and wrote the following reminiscence.
The twenty water colour sketches of Elora represent a significant milestone in my artistic career. And yet, for fifty years, they lay virtually forgotten at the bottom of a drawer in my studio. Looking at them again, after all this time, brings memories flooding back to me of the town of Elora itself, of the interesting friends I made there, and of my own development as an artist during that period. The sketches were done between 1927 and 1929. Although Jackson was painting villages in Quebec, no one considered the small towns of Ontario as worthy subjects for the painter's brush. As in so many other things, it was really Frank Carmichael who aroused my interest in painting the towns and villages of my native province of Ontario.

In 1919, at age 21, I had the extreme good fortune of securing a position as a designer with Rous and Mann Limited in Toronto. They were the absolute best in Canada in their field. It was this single stroke of luck that set me on the path I was to follow for the rest of my life, for it was at Rous and Mann that I met Frank Carmichael. He was chief designer at the time and I worked directly under him. Frank, who was eight years my senior, was perhaps the most determined and thorough man I have ever met. Of greater significance to me, however, was his willingness to act as a critic of my work and in this he was demanding, severe and unfailingly fair. He set the same high standards for others as he set for himself. Most importantly, however, he became my friend as well as my colleague.

On several occasions, I was invited to exhibit with the Group of Seven, who then numbered six due to Frank Johnston's earlier resignation. In the summer of 1926 my wife, Marg, and I were with the Carmichaels at Lawren Hams' home for afternoon tea. When we had left and were walking up Queen's Park, Frank simply turned to me and asked if I would like to be a member of the Group. He said that the other members had decided the night before to ask me to join them. I was, of course, delighted.

Frank and I were extremely interested in watercolour at the time. The
other members of the Group, with the exception of Varley, concentrated on oils. There was a distinct feeling among artists of the time that water colour was somehow inferior to oil. By this time, I had been a member of several juries selecting paintings for exhibitions and was becoming more and more perturbed at the second-class treatment accorded water colours. At exhibitions they would typically be hung in corridors or dank rooms at the back of the exhibition hall.

I decided that the only way to secure a rightful place of respect for watercolours on the Canadian art scene was to form an official society of water colour painters. I took my idea to Frank Carmichael and he concurred. Neither of us felt, however, that we had the established seniority to lead such an organization. We decided to approach Fred Brigden, the Dean of water colourists at the time who consented to become the first President of the new Canadian Society of Painters in Water Colour. Frank became the first secretary of the Society. That was in 1925 and the Society is still thriving today. By 1927 Frank had become fascinated by Northern Ontario.

I had read a great deal about the famous Elora Gorge and, in 1927, decided to drive out with my wife, Marg, to investigate the possibility of painting it.

I fell in love with Elora at first sight. It was a beautiful, old village in which nothing had been modernized. Despite having a mill, a furniture factory and a plough and harrow works, it was a quiet, sleepy little place. The only traffic was an occasional car or farmer's wagon.

It was the village that attracted and fascinated me. Elora was unlike any other Ontario town I knew. The others tended to be built on flat land, but Elora had a hilly terrain and was perched right on the lip of the spectacular Gorge. I became obsessed with sketching it.

We stayed on a number of weekends and for a full week in the autumn of 1929. It was during this last week that I completed the bulk of the sketches that form the Elora Portfolio. These twenty water colours were done in painstaking detail because I wished to make an accurate record of the village. Fidelity of detail was paramount in my mind.

In my career, the Elora water colours hold a special significance. Up to this point, I had sketched a great deal with other members of the Group. They were all my senior and I admired them greatly. It was inevitable that such close contact should have an influence on my work.

Elora was a watershed for me in that it marked, in a very real sense, the beginning of my artistic independence and freedom. I sketched Elora alone, while my colleagues cultivated their romance with the wild, rugged landscapes of Northern Ontario. The Elora sketches were the first water colours with which I was truly satisfied.

As I was falling in love with the town of Elora, I was also making friends, with certain of its inhabitants. One of these was W.D. Samson, the publisher
of the local weekly, *The Elora Express*. I would often travel with him around the area to such events of local interest as weddings, funerals and [auction] sales, as he gathered all the news that was fit to print.

Like so many inhabitants of Elora, Mr. Samson was of Scottish extraction, while his wife was of pure Irish stock. That delightfully volatile combination made their household a lively one.

It was also in Elora that I came to know John Connon, the author of an exhaustive history of the village, entitled *The Early History of Elora and Vicinity*. Like his father Thomas, John Connon was a photographer and invented the Panoramic camera, which he patented in 1887. Mr. Connon was a quiet, interesting man with whom I used to spend many an evening talking in his studio located above a store on the main street of town.

The wife of my good friend Dr. Frederick Banting, was the daughter of the Elora town physician. Banting was a talented amateur painter and did some fine sketches of the area.

These are some of the memories that are conjured up as I look at the Elora water colours today. They represent a pivotal period in my evolution as an artist and, fifty years later, still evoke warm reminiscences of my life at that time and of a town that both intrigued and fascinated me.

A.J. Casson, 1979

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*The introduction by Bob Reynolds has been shortened, and reproduced with kind permission, from his notes to the exhibition In Love With Elora II (Wellington County Museum and Archives, September 15-October 16, 1994). A.J. Casson’s memories have been reproduced with the generous permission of his daughter, from the introduction to the exhibition Elora & Salem (Wellington County Museum and Archives, August 7-October 31, 1981).*
"The library is not merely a collection of books; it is a combination of social and civilizing forces ennobling the community in which it is situated," observed Ontario's Inspector of Public Libraries in 1909. Libraries in Ontario's cities, towns and villages have received considerable attention from researchers, especially those that qualified for special building grants from the Carnegie Foundation in the early twentieth century. In Wellington County, Guelph, Palmerston, Harriston, Elora, Fergus and Mount Forest were able to build Carnegie libraries. Much less has been written about early rural libraries. A most remarkable survival is the library at Ennotville which dates back to 1847 and is said to have been the second best rural library in nineteenth-century Ontario.

Ennotville is located about four miles from Fergus at the intersection of Highway 6 (originally the Guelph to Arthur Road) with the road between Concessions 6 and 7 in the southern half of Nichol Township. The Lower Nichol district was first settled in 1829 by Abraham Flewelling and between 1830 and 1832 much of the best land south of the Grand River was occupied by pioneers from Scotland. John McLaren established a store and tavern at this spot in the early 1840s, naming it after a farm called Ennot near his Scottish birthplace. By 1867, when the hamlet had about 90 people, there were also a butcher shop, blacksmith, carpenter, mason and several labourers. Its post office, first based a short distance to the south, continued to be called Barnett even after this function was moved to Ennotville. The community around Ennotville was part of Nichol School Section 4, which was served from 1859 by a stone schoolhouse on Lot 7, Concession 8.

Ennotville library history has four main phases. The first is its period as the Lower Nichol Subscription Library and then Mechanics' Institute from..."
1847 until 1879. The period from the 1880s to the early 1930s saw the
greatest vitality and use of the library, though the township's population
dropped from a high of 2,737 in 1871 to a low of 1,441 in 1921. In a third
phase, use of the library declined from the mid-1930s (except for a revival
associated with the centennial celebrations in the late 1940s) until it ceased
to be an association library on 31 December 1966. The fourth phase, as the
Ennotville Historical Library, has been marked by the building's use mainly
as a community hall. It is ironic that use of the library has been declining
since its peak in the 1920s, while the population of Nichol Township has
risen consistently since its low point in 1921 to reach 3,982 in 1991.

LOWER NICHOL SUBSCRIPTION LIBRARY
AND MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, 1847-1879

Many of the early settlers of Lower Nichol—including John Cunningham,
John Mutrie and James Elmslie—brought books with them from Scotland,
read extensively, and lent their books and newspapers to others. In 1847,
settlers donated books to form a local library collection known as the Lower
Nichol Subscription Library which was first housed in the log schoolhouse.
In the 1850s, John Mutrie and John Cunningham competed with each other
to raise the most money for a local library building; Cunningham raised five
pounds more. It was decided to build a stone structure on a lot donated by
John McLaren, on the 6th/7th concession road on the west side of Ennot-
ville. The Ennotville members may have applied for the subsidies offered
by Egerton Ryerson's Education Office to town, city or township libraries
from 1850, though no evidence has yet come to light.

The library was amalgamated with the North Wellington Farmers' and
Mechanics' Institute and incorporated on 17 November, 1856. A new
constitution gave a board of management responsibility for the property and
for deciding library hours and membership privileges. The constitution was
signed by Samuel Broadfoot (president), A.F. Sherratt (vice-president),
James Elmslie (secretary) and John Beattie (treasurer) in January 1857.
Other committee members were Robert Cunningham, John Orr, William J.
Flewelling, Edward Kesson, William Broadfoot, William Beattie, John
Sherratt, Alexander McLnnes and William Taylor. The only formal record
that survives from the period before 1879 is the 1856 Constitution, which
was copied into the front of the 1879-1937 minute book. It is believed,
however, that the library in the 1850s had about 450 volumes and £50 in the
treasury. In 1879, the library was extended by ten feet and new book
shelves were purchased. The library, to a degree, fulfilled the hope that it
would "advance literature and the diffusion of useful knowledge among
members," by having lectures from Guelph barrister G. Johnston and from
the Reverend Mr. Duff on "Mechanics' Institutes: Their Aims and Ends." While the association was first known as the North Wellington Farmers' and Mechanics' Institute, the members were persuaded by the provincial government to change the name to the Ennotville Farmers' and Mechanics' Institute in June 1880.

While formal records of the library may not survive from before 1879, some sense of the improving ideals of the early Ennotville library can be gained from the collection of old volumes still held in the locked cupboards in 1989. Nearly 400 books were published before 1900. Seven were published before 1800, including Stockdale's edition of Shakespeare (1784) and the earliest, A Compendium of Modern Geography (1746). The oldest books often have the donor's names on the flyleaf. There were about 75 books published between 1800 and 1850. Perhaps the most interesting titles today are those on practical rural themes such as American Husbandry—A Series of Essays on Agriculture (1843), books on domestic poultry, The Mechanics' Companion (1850), Appleton's Cyclopedia of Applied Mechanics (1880) and The Farmer's Guide to Scientific and Practical Agriculture (1852). Practical Morality—A Guide to Men and Manners (1846) is a fascinating guide to social mores. The collection also includes many histories of England, literary works, biographies, books on insects, textbooks such as The Canadian School Geography, as well as valuable provincial legislature reports from the 1850s.

Ennotville's library building was used for other purposes from the beginning, most notably as an interdenominational Sunday School, which had started informally at Mrs. James Beattie's pioneer log cabin in 1835 and was organized more formally in 1847. It was moved into the library hall in the 1850s, around the time the Mount Pleasant Methodist church was built on Concession 9. From this time it served mostly Presbyterians with some Anglicans and Methodists and one Salvation Army member.

ENNOTVILLE FARMERS' AND MECHANICS' INSTITUTE AND ASSOCIATION LIBRARY, 1879-1935

The years from 1880 to the early 1930s seem to have been the time of greatest vitality and use of the library. From 1879, the library began to receive regular provincial grants, in return for evidence that these were being spent for approved purposes and the library was being properly used and administered. In 1880, the supervision of Mechanics' Institutes was transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Education and Dr.S.P. May was commissioned to investigate the system of provincial grants.

At the annual meeting of Ennotville members in May, 1881, a communica-
tion from Dr. May was reported and in January, 1882 the library received eighty dollars from the provincial government. In April 1884, Dr. May issued a notice that each institute must show a classified record of the total number of books and the number that circulated. So the Board began to employ someone to number and classify the books. Minutes were recorded first by James McDonald, secretary and librarian from 1879 to 1900, and then by William Wood until 1906. By 1894, Ennotville was one of 73 Mechanics’ Institutes in unincorporated villages, hamlets or fully rural areas of Ontario. It is interesting that larger centres in Wellington County, such as Rockwood, Aberfoyle and Salem did not have a library while Ennotville did. From 1895, Ennotville became an Association library under the Public Libraries Act which was intended to encourage municipalities to take responsibility for local libraries.

Membership is a good indicator of the vitality of the library and its importance as a community institution. The minutes show that there were 47 paid members in 1885, with an increase to 110 in 1896. By 1920, 90 members were recorded. The peak year for membership, and also for library circulation, was 1925 when there were 90 adult and 50 child members. Ennotville library board members were entirely farmers until 1930.

It is not recorded exactly how many books Ennotville library had in its early years—probably about 2,000—or how many of these were brought by the immigrants when they settled in Lower Nichol. In 1880, the institute bought sixty dollars worth of books. The Sessional Papers of 1895 note that the collection in 1893 was between 2,000 and 2,500 volumes, in the same range as the village libraries of Oakville, Arthur, Fenlon Falls and Renfrew. The peak period of book buying was between 1890 and 1920. In the Inspector's Annual Report of 1915, Ennotville is recorded as having 4,132 books. The number grew steadily to 4,908 in 1920, 5,341 in 1925 and a peak of 5,850 books in 1930. Some books must have been discarded during the Depression as only 4,511 books were recorded in 1935.

Library circulation is first mentioned in the official records in 1886, when 698 books were borrowed. Circulation rose a little during the 1890s, with an average 1,000 books borrowed each year between 1890 and 1896, then fell around the turn of the century to 601 books in 1899 and 731 in 1907. Circulation then rose to its highest levels: 1,265 books in 1911, 1,544 in 1915 and 1,174 in 1920. The peak was in 1925 when 1,558 books were signed out. The number decreased to 1,141 in 1930, rose again to 1,415 in 1933 before dropping well below a thousand after 1935. In the peak years from about 1910 to 1930, the library was open one hour every night, Monday to Saturday. Circulation records show what a high proportion of the books signed out were fiction. Books were originally catalogued with letter and number combinations, eg. E 285. Each letter had a specific meaning: ABC=Biography, DEF=Fiction, GHI=History, JKL=General Works,
The Ennotville library received its first provincial grant in 1879 and continued to get varying amounts until it ceased to be an association library in 1967. The small grants of forty dollars in 1879 and 1880 may be compared with the amounts received by other libraries in Ontario. Of the 74 Mechanics' Institutes in 1879, those with reading rooms and evening classes, such as Toronto and Stratford, received $400. In 1880, Ennotville reported the second lowest amount raised from membership subscriptions ($12, above Lucan with only $1) and received only $40, while Lucan got $64.30 and Meaford $100. In 1888, Ennotville received a larger grant of $125, which was increased to $150 the following year. In 1903, the Ennotville library received $105, compared with such other association libraries as Fergus with $101.80, Elora $119.20, Oakville $76, Shakespeare $128.80, Clarksburg $20.05, and Bloomfield $8. By this time, Ennotville had between 3,000 and 3,500 books, in the same range as libraries in Ayr, Listowel, Hespeler and Mount Forest. Thereafter, for most of the twentieth century, the Ennotville library received between $38 and $71 in legislative aid. In 1913, it received $53.85—more than Fort Erie with $49.39, but considerably less than the $260 granted to free libraries such as Guelph and Stratford. Ennotville's 1924 grant was $55.63, while Creemore got $21.80 and Haliburton $59.92, and Elora, as a free library, was granted $128.95. Ennotville's lowest grant, since the first in 1879, was $15 in 1935. From the Nichol Township Council, the library had small but more predictable annual grants—averaging $15 in the nineteenth century and $25 in the twentieth century.

Use of the library building for various social functions besides the Sunday School brought in revenue for the library board. Members' fees accounted for only about ten per cent of total revenue in the 19th century, compared with under five per cent from the 1930s. The library building was the meeting place of the Good Templars of the Morning Star Lodge, a temperance organization supported by local families such as the Cunninghams' grandfather, Robert and uncle, John. Minutes of the Lodge are extant for the period from 1873 to 1878. In 1879, the library board received a grant of $50 from the Good Templars for their use of the hall. Dances, picnics and euchre were other important sources of revenue throughout the history of the library. In 1897, renting the building for the election brought in $10 revenue. In 1932, $17.40 was raised from dances, $5 from a township election and $20.68 from a garden party. Holding picnics could incur other costs, such as advertising in the Fergus News Record and the Guelph Mercury and Herald in May 1886. Plays were produced at the library, particularly in the 1920s. The Ennotville Women's Institute, formed in 1914, met in members' homes and also rented the library hall.
RECALLING THE ENNOTVILLE LIBRARY
AS COMMUNITY CENTRE TO THE 1930s

People now in their seventies and eighties, who knew Ennotville before the mid-1930s, remember the library building as the focal point of the community. These recollections were recorded by members of the Cunningham family in 1989. From May to October, Sunday School met each Sunday from 3 to 4 p.m. with a picnic afterwards. During the winter, dances were held every two weeks and admission was 25 cents unless you helped make the salmon sandwiches, in which case it was free. It was a place where you met all the neighbours, most of whom were closely interrelated. In fact, until the thirties, it was said that men "picked wives from a radius of the distance they could walk after supper." The social life of Ennotville revolved around the library. Many people who left the community for other places in search of work were shocked to find less social interaction elsewhere.

The winter season often began with a masquerade ball and many dances began with a euchre party from 8 to 10 p.m. followed by a square dance. There were usually no chaperons but very little drunkenness occurred. Young men would bring their young ladies to the dances, leaving them at the library while they put their horses and cutters in the Cunningham farm stable. Afterwards the men would trudge back to the stable to fetch their vehicles while the young ladies waited at the hall. Dances at the library hall date back to the very early days but probably were at their peak between 1910 and 1930. During World War Two, many people were away on active service or working in the cities and such activities ceased. Later, with the widespread use of the car, people went further afield.

A visit to the library to change books was an important social occasion. People tended to go with their age peers, rather than as families. Saturday afternoon was a popular time for many young people to visit the library. They would collect the large key, kept at Graham's store, and borrow and read books in the library, which operated on the honour system. This meant that people were trusted to look after the books and bring them back; remarkably few books were lost this way. Popular books included children's classics, such as *Black Beauty* and the works of L.M. Montgomery, as well as other fiction and travel books, by authors such as Charles G.D. Roberts and Thornton W. Burgess.

There was no limit to the number of books that might be signed out—usually about ten a week. *The Boys' Own Annual* and *The Girls' Own Annual* were favourites as was "Sunday at Home," which one was permitted to read on a Sunday. Jack London books and Mazo de la Roche's "Jalna" series were also very popular, partly because they were often "forbidden" reading for young people. School libraries in the late 1920s and early 1930s
were woefully inadequate; having only about two shelves of books, mostly moralizing Golden Rule books. Thus the Ennotville library provided a vital educational service. Thursday evening was Library Night and this too was a social event. Mostly young men came at this time, as it was too far for many young women to come. On Thursday night, the librarian would go over early to light the fire in the huge box stove and open up the library for those changing their books.

DECLINE AND ADJUSTMENT, 1935-1967

The motor car, urbanization, and farm mechanization have reduced the number of farm families living around Ennotville since the mid-1930s. Ease of travel to larger villages and towns and improvements in school libraries made the community less dependent on the Ennotville library for its social and cultural life. Government policies shifted from support of many small libraries to rationalization of county and regional library services.

Membership, usage and financial support of the library declined fairly steadily from the 1930s. Some 125 members were reported in 1930, but the number declined to 54 in 1945 and a low of 27 in 1950, then rallied a little in the mid-1950s before falling to only 21 in 1969. The decrease in child membership was significant—from 50 in 1925 to under 20 since 1940—reflecting the aging of the rural population and the rising quality of school libraries. The amount collected from members’ fees has been fairly constant, generally between twelve and twenty-six dollars. The number increased steadily from the low of 4,511 in 1935, to 4,895 books in 1947 (885 of which were for children) and 5,108 in 1955. While some volumes may have been discarded since then, Ennotville had over 4,000 volumes in 1990. Circulation fell from 1,216 in 1935 to 739 in 1940. Fewer books were signed out during World War II and afterwards, generally between 300 and 600 each year. It was remarked in the 1963 minutes that circulation had tripled to 642.2

Before 1930, the Ennotville Library Board consisted entirely of farmers; they continued to form the majority to the 1950s—some of them great-grandchildren of the original settlers. But the board also began to reflect the changing social structure of the district and the trend toward more non-farm rural dwellers. The first non-farmers were a general merchant in 1930 and two housewives in 1935. By 1955, only a third of the board were farmers; there were also three housewives, one caterer and a factory worker. Library hours also changed, since the later 1930s opening for two hours on Thursday evenings. The first paid librarian received $3.50 in 1950, while the next librarian got $25 annually in 1955.

Grants were small from the 1930s to the late 1960s, the Ontario Legisla-
ture grant ranging from $15 to $35 while Nichol Township usually gave $25. Additional funds for book purchases were raised by dances, plays and garden parties. The library building continued to be used for various community activities, such as the Red Cross work of the Women's Institute during World War II. Awareness of the library was raised with the celebration of the Sunday School centennial in 1947. Mrs. Mary Broadfoot wrote an article about the centennial, the library was filled to capacity and many had to stand outside. The Bible Class still flourished in 1947, with three teachers and over 50 students; Mrs. Broadfoot presented the school with a handsome Bible on 4 August and a reunion picnic was held at Riverside Park in Guelph on 23 August.

Another flurry of activity and interest in the library occurred around the 1955 renovation of the building, including the installation of an oil furnace, cupboards and drapes. Fifteen board meetings were held in 1955 to deal with all the renovation plans and a larger grant from Nichol Township ($75) was obtained by intense lobbying. In 1958, the front porch was painted, the roof replaced and grass planted, for which grass-cutting arrangements were made. Further improvements were made in 1963, with the construction of a concrete addition to the rear of the library. Extra floor space was also provided in the main room and a new piano and card tables were purchased. Most importantly a kitchen with a 4-burner electric stove and two washrooms were installed. That year, Nichol Township gave the library a grant of $50 and the number of books borrowed tripled to 642, though the improvements were mainly designed to support the non-library functions of the building. Euchre proved to be quite profitable, raising $156.69 in 1966 for example.

In the mid-1960s, the Ontario government favoured closing association libraries and consolidating them into regional systems with fewer libraries which, it was argued, would give better service. On 12 December 1966, an emergency library meeting was held when the board had received a notice from the Director of Public Library Service of Ontario stating “that by an Act of the Legislature, Association libraries would be discontinued at the end of 1966.” Mr. Beacock of Midwestern Regional Library explained that there were three options:

1) If nothing was done, the assets and liabilities of Ennotville would be taken over at the end of the year by the Regional Library Service and the library would cease to function;

2) The Township of Nichol could be asked to operate Ennotville as a municipal library;

3) Or the library could be given to a local community club to run.
THE ENNOTVILLE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

It was decided that the library should become the independent Ennotville Historical Library governed by a board with a mandate to maintain the library building, provide library facilities to the community, and act as a community hall from the beginning of 1967. The new board was to be responsible for the administration of the library and its assets, including the purchase of new books, determining memberships and library rental fees. The library held an open house on 8 July 1967 to celebrate Canada's 100th birthday.28

Usage of the library had increased in the 1960s at the very time the Ontario Government was considering closing association libraries. In 1966, its last year as an association library, Ennotville received its largest provincial grant ever—$243.49, a great deal more than the $18.50 granted in 1955. The library has continued to receive considerable support from Nichol Township since it became the Ennotville Historical Library in 1967.29 Some 622 books circulated in 1970 but this dropped to 395 in 1973. Since then, the numbers have been between 150 and 300. In 1980, 205 books were borrowed by 16 families; by 1984, only 28 books were borrowed by members of seven families, and only four in 1988.

The Wellington County Historical Society designated the Ennotville Historical Library building with a plaque on 23 June 1979 to celebrate 150 years of settlement in Lower Nichol Township.30 David Beattie and Isobel Cunningham Burr, who had both written about the library, each gave speeches, Beattie on the township history and Burr on the history of the library. No books were purchased that year according to the minutes, but the Historical Atlas of Wellington County reprint was donated, and 25 plywood chairs were bought. A trustee board was formed in 1982 to ensure the preservation of the library and to guide the library board.31 A trust fund of $10,000 was collected; in 1989 the library board received annual interest of about $1,200 to spend on upkeep of the building.32

Before telephones and automobiles, rural libraries could help farmers and other country folk to keep in touch with science, technology, culture and literature in the outside world. Libraries with their own buildings had other social functions as well. Ennotville was unusual in having a purpose-built library so early in the community's history and, as an unincorporated rural area, in having a larger library than many towns. First established in 1847, and re-organized in 1967, the Ennotville library is a remarkable survival from the mid-nineteenth century. In addition to collecting and lending books, the library served the community also as a Sunday School (1847-1947), a temperance hall for the Morning Star Lodge (1860-1905) and as a general hall for dances and euchre. The library's trustees have been appraising its future. The Ennotville library's records—minute books (1879-1985),

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cashbooks (1886-1966), circulation records (1908-1970) and annual reports (1914-1958) were deposited in the Wellington County Archives in 1989.

NOTES

The Ennotville Library has been the subject of articles in The Wellington Advertiser (June 28, 1982) and The Kitchener-Waterloo Record (Gerald Wright: April 5, 1984, page B3; John Roe: November 11, 1992, page B3)


3 For a summary of the records of libraries in Wellington County, see Elizabeth Bloomfield et al, Inventory of Primary and Archival Records: Guelph and Wellington County to 1940 (Guelph: University of Guelph, Guelph Regional Project, 1989), pp.117-122.

4 Fragmentary records are noted in the Guelph Regional Project's Inventory (1989) of several rural libraries in Wellington County. These were in Eramosa (at Barrie Hill Presbyterian Church) before 1879, the Everton Library Society (1902-1922), Morriston (around 1910), and Speedside (1904-1925). See also Marjorie Clark, Our Village of Morriston (1982) and Anna Jackson, "Puslinch Libraries in Puslinch Past," Wellington County History 1 (1994): 31-33.


6 Histories of the southern half of the township are A.E. Byerly, The History of Lower Nichol (Guelph: 1930) and David Beattie, Pillars and Patches along the Pathway: A History of Nichol Township (Township of Nichol, 1984).

7 Sources of population data are Census of Canada reports. Ennotville's own population in 1986 was only 27.

8 Betty, Helen and Robert Cunningham (in an oral history interview on 23 June 1989) quoted the family tradition that their great-grandfather John donated books to the Library when it was known as the Lower Nichol Collection.

9 Beattie, Pillars and Patches along the Pathway, p. 167.
12 Broadfoot in *Elora Express* (1947), p.4.
14 As a volunteer for the Guelph Regional Project which was based at the University of Guelph from 1987 to 1989, the author helped to inventory pre-1900 titles still held in the Ennotville library's collection in 1989.
15 Oral history interview with the Cunninghams, June 1989.
18 *Ontario Sessional Papers* No.12, 1903, p.110; No.16, 1913, p.592.
21 Oral history interview with the Cunninghams, June 1989.
22 All data in these paragraphs from Ennotville Library Board, Minutes and Annual Reports at Wellington County Museum and Archives.
23 Cunningham, *The Library as a Social Centre over the Century*, p.i.
28 Ennotville Library Board, Minutes, Vols. 2 and 3.
30 Beattie, *Pillars and Patches Along the Pathway*, p. 169.
32 Oral history interview with the Cunninghams, June 1989.
"A VERY GOOD BARN IN GUELPH"
The Founding of the
Communist Party of Canada in 1921

compiled by Ian Easterbrook

"It looks as if we [are] fast approaching the climax of the capitalist system, to be followed, we hope, by the co-operative commonwealth." Those words were written on August 10th, 1920 by Albert Fred Farley, in a document which was signed by him along with seven family members and by Thomas Marcroft and Frank Horn—colleagues who were helping him build the front porch of his home at 257 Metcalfe Street in Guelph. The single sheet of paper, clearly intended for future readers, was hidden in the porch, where it was discovered in 1972.

Farley was a foreman/stoker at the Guelph Board of Heat and Light (Guelph Gas Works), and a member of the Guelph Workingmen's Association and of the United Communist Party of America (UCPA). Tim Buck, longtime leader of the Communist movement in Canada, later remembered him (along with Lome ('Pat') Cunningham) as having been a member of the Socialist Party since it was first organized in Ontario in 1907. Cunningham, a Guelph alderman, headed the local branch, which consisted of Farley and about five other members. A small local in Berlin (now Kitchener) was headed by Vernon Smith, George Lockhart and Adolph Becker, a shoemaker. For a short time there had been a local in Hamilton.

When branches of the Communist Party of America were formed in Canada, Buck recalled, there were 18 members in Guelph, 11 in Kitchener and 46 in Hamilton.

1921

The front page headline of The Guelph Evening Mercury of May 2nd, 1921 announced "Workers in Many Trades Celebrate May Day With Order
to Strike" adding, "May Day Finds Many Unions On Strike For Shorter Work Day" and noting that printers had walked out in Hamilton, and approximately 1,700 members of the Allied Building Trades were on strike there. The editorial printed that day was headed May Day 1921, and reported

For some weeks past there has been distributed all over the United States and Canada a vast quantity of "red" literature, printed in red ink, that breathes red fire, that incites to red riot, that would shed red blood—not their own—if thereby they could gain positions of power and authority such as is claimed to exist in Soviet Russia... One such circular came into the possession of The Mercury last week, and is remarkable only for its lack of intelligent vision of conditions as they exist in the world today... The red circular pictures capitalism as a giant ogre feeding on the blood of the toiler, turning out, along with the finished product of the mill, a tottering wreck of humanity, a victim of conditions largely of his own creation.

Throughout the 1920s, reports Gregory Kealey in his article in Intelligence and National Security, the RCMP ran a massive collection agency of reports on radicals and on radical organization. He notes that "literally thousands of files (6767 subversive subject files, 4806 subversive personal history files, and 610 subversive literature files to be precise), accumulated in that decade, which included millions of pages...." The question remains, he added, whether an overview of the red forest was not totally lost in the underbrush of tens if not hundreds of thousands of reports.

The day before May Day 1921, the Guelph Mercury and Advertiser reported, under single-column headings "Trotsky to Test Out New Bolshevik Army" and "His Paris Concierge Pays Tribute to Lenin." If a workers' revolution was afoot, perhaps it was reflected in accounts of two "Social Events"—the Guelph Garrison Club ball, held at the Armories, where the Committee in charge had spared no effort to ensure the success of the evening and are to be heartily congratulated. The drill hall was decorated with bunting, shaded lights and Chinese lanterns and a commodious supper-room roped off at the west end, which eliminated the usual confusion at supper time. Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. W. Simpson received. Mrs. Simpson wearing a handsome black charmeuse with black net and jet embroidery, and carrying an armful of American Beauty roses. The music was by Howard's orchestra of Gait, and so entrancing was it that few refrained from dancing. And, by contrast, on May 2nd, under the headline "May Day Celebration",

The local Socialists had quite a celebration on Saturday evening, in Liberty Hall, in commemoration of the Paris Commune. The varied program extended all the way from a black face comedian sketch to a bugle solo. The speaker of the evening was Mr. John McDonald, of Toronto, [Jack MacDonald would return to Guelph within the month] whose half-hour address was splendidly given and very well received by the audience who manifested their enthusiastic approbation by

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prolonged applause. The hall was very prettily decorated with magic lanterns and a lettered cloth across the front inscribed with the immortal words of Karl Marx, "Workers of the World Unite." After enjoying a hearty supply of ice cream . . . which was much appreciated by the children, the remainder of the evening was spent in singing popular songs around the piano. Many out-of-town visitors from Kitchener and Toronto seemed to enjoy the evening immensely, chatting with the Guelph "comrades" and renewing old acquaintanceships.

IN RUSSIA

In 1919 the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolshevik) convened a conference in Moscow to found the Communist International known thereafter as "Comintern." The main purpose of Comintern was to create and direct a world party with national units, named "Communist" to replace and destroy the influence of the existing socialist parties.

The founding convention of the Communist Party of Great Britain was held July 31 to August 1, 1920. In the United States, two Communist Parties had been formed, each claiming to be authentic; at the instigation of Comintern, a "Unity Convention" was held at Woodstock, New York, in May, 1921.

A roughly similar situation existed in Canada, and early in April Caleb Harrison [aka Atwood] was sent to Toronto to initiate unity talks there, between the Communist Party of America (CPA) and the United Communist Party of America (UCPA).

However, the persecution of radicals and revolutionaries in the United States and Canada had been heavy handed. On August 21, 1917 the Canadian government had introduced a new section of the War Measures Act, outlawing all foreign language socialist, anarchist and syndicalist organizations; a police raid in February, 1919, and the Winnipeg General Strike in that year, had resulted in deportation and imprisonment for some. The notorious Section 98 of the Criminal Code (making it a punishable offense to belong to an "unlawful association") had been enacted on July 7, 1919.

The problem, Buck recalled many years later in his memoirs, was how to hold a convention to establish the Canadian Communist Party with some measure of safety.

IN GUELPH

The Guelph branch of the Communist Party of America did very little illegal work, but it did carry on a certain amount of work in the form of a public meeting every Sunday.

On one occasion Buck came to speak at the local Socialist Party hall in Guelph. A group that had been organized by some of the anti-labour elements, including a lot of the students from the Ontario Agricultural
College, swarmed into the hall and broke up the meeting. "They took me and threw me over the bridge into the Speed River" recalled Buck; it was Farley who helped him dry out; Jack Ritchie, a one-time Party member recollected "We were holding a street corner meeting and they pushed us into a car, drove us to the river and pushed us in. It was only up to our knees or so, but boy I was mad."

"Yeah, we were put in the Speed River, down by the bridge.... That was done by foolish young, first year college students.... from the OAC.... I took no grudge against them.... They didn't know any better.... They hated socialism, or communism or whatever. They didn't like it, see. The name was.... even the name was poison to them, you know."

"They didn't approve of our radical ideas," continued Ritchie, but "Tim got a suit of clothes out of it by complaining to the college that the students had ruined his suit. I didn't want the publicity, so I didn't say anything. Perhaps I should have."

Canadian-born economist John Kenneth Galbraith remembers the incident, writing "This was not the most brilliant moment of my life and I suppose that is one of the reasons that it has not got in to my memoirs. But I do remember a group of my OAC colleagues capturing an orator one night, I suppose a communist, and dunking him on the river. The fact that I was a bystander at the event does not entirely relieve my conscience, In later years, I would have intervened more actively on behalf of what is celebrated
in this republic as the First Amendment."

Buck recalled that one Sunday, Lome Cunningham, the alderman on Guelph City Council, came to Toronto. He proposed that the best possibility for holding a convention, if the attendance could be limited to not more than 18 people, would be Fred Farley's barn in Guelph. Lome explained that Fred lived on the outskirts of Guelph. Buck remembered the farm as "only about five acres," with a couple of cows and some chickens, a cottage with a big garden and a little meadow. "He had a good barn, and the barn had a good hayloft, with enough hay to cover the floor." It was quite convenient, provided that the menfolk were prepared to sleep on the hay. Any women would have to sleep in the cottage, which was outside town and there wasn't very much traffic along the side road.

It was agreed. Most details were worked out quickly, within four to six weeks—Maurice Spector was inclined to think four, because "things moved fast."

Delegates "came together in a conspiratorial way. Some of us arrived at Farley's barn two days before; others the day before. The rest came that evening; one or two in the morning. Instead of everyone coming by train, some went by car from Toronto, some from Hamilton by car to Kitchener or Brantford, and from there, separately, to Guelph from the other direction. It was all very carefully arranged, and I am sure," Buck recalled, "that the people of Guelph didn't know what a tremendous event was taking place in their town.... We were not just a group of youngsters coming together in an adventurous spirit because we wanted to do something conspiratorial. It was a very serious undertaking."

Delegates were instructed to travel singly to the convention site, and all were told explicitly whom to meet, when and where. Spector recalled that although he was one of the principals in the movement he did not know where the meeting was to take place. He travelled as instructed, was met by a contact man, and arrived at the convention site at night. Tim Buck, who was using the cover name J. Page, was there. Max Dolgoy from Winnipeg arrived on the electric Toronto Suburban Railway. John Boychuk and a friend drove to Guelph and found the barn, using a map somebody had drawn on a scrap of paper.

"They had considerable trouble getting there, as the roads were in bad condition," noted the RCMP's undercover sergeant in his report. "Upon arrival T.J. Bell got out of the car and went in to see Lome Cunningham, and on getting into the car again they rode to a small farm house where they all entered the barn and found quite a number of people present. Great secrecy was maintained and all lights shaded. The party went up into the loft and made themselves as comfortable as possible until 6 a.m."

The only woman delegate, schoolteacher Florence Custance, slept in the Farley home. "The rest of us slept in the barn, in the hay," recalled Dolgoy.
Boychuk, a heavy smoker, was upset at the no smoking rule imposed because of the danger of fire in the barn, "but we had lots of cheese and ham sandwiches to eat, and coffee." Buck recalled "feeding would have to be arranged in such a way that not too many people would be walking backwards and forwards across the yard at one time. But it wouldn't be too difficult." "They brought food to us from the house in pails, so people would think they were feeding the cows," said Dolgoy, "There were cows all right; I remember that whenever a cow urinated, the speaker had to stop for a minute."

Breakfast was brought in to them by Bell and Maguire, who represented the Technical Committee and who also acted as guards. Before leaving Hamilton, Bell showed the agent a Colt automatic that he had. Maguire also had one in a holster around his waist.

Buck recalled with amusement how a draughtsman, Bill Moriarty, the "look-out man," was chosen: "He had a trowel, a board that looked like a mortarboard, and he was outside on the roof, supposed to be patching up the chimney. But he was waiting to see when the police came.... Here was a comrade who was elected with such confidence as an outstanding political leader—he took no part in the discussions; he was up there supposedly patching the chimney.... Not that he had ever been a bricklayer; he had been a hod-carrier."

THE MEETING

At 7 a.m. Monday May 23rd, Atwood took the Chair and called the convention to order. TJ. Bell and Maguire, who also acted as the Credential Committee, reported that there were fifteen Communist Party representatives, five United Communist Party representatives and two Socialist Party of Canada representatives, [the] latter being specially invited.

On nomination for Secretary a representative from Winnipeg known as Strong was elected.

The delegates represented Winnipeg, Vancouver, Hamilton, Toronto, Montreal, Sudbury and Regina. There were two representatives absent, one from Montreal, and Kennedy, of the Communist Party of Hamilton, who did not show up at the meeting.

Atwood took nearly all morning going over the whole Russian situation leading up to the revolution and since then.

"A small committee of Maurice Spector, Florence Custance and Tom Bell had been charged with the drafting of a programme," recalled Buck. "We went to work straightaway setting up a small committee to study this draft and to propose such changes as might be necessary. Part of it was a unity document nominally between The Plebs League and the International Workers' Educational Association."
The initiation fee for membership in the Communist Party of Canada was set at $1.00, and dues 600 a month. The appointment and payment of district organizers was arranged; a press committee of three editors would be appointed to issue underground papers in English, French, Jewish, Russian and Ukrainian.

A debate of six hours took place on whether the Communist Party should try and smash up the OBU [One Big Union] or try and form caucuses in each group and turn it into a Communist Party organization.

The RCMP's undercover sergeant reported a debate between Mrs. Custance, Wilshaw, Spector and Strong which lasted about five hours and was on Imperialism. It was brought out that the Imperial governments could no longer trust their armies or navies, so they were building huge air forces, and picking very carefully their recruits for this branch of the service.

Next there were debates on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, mass action, parliamentary action, and trades unionism, followed by debate on the factory committee or shop steward movement.

Other topics discussed included the Farmers' Union and the National Catholic Union in Quebec; migratory workers in the West; Finnish Communists in Winnipeg; and the formation of committees to deal with Resolutions, Constitution, Press, Legal, Finance and Program.

A temporary Central Executive Committee, consisting of Custance, Spector, Reigate, Wilshaw and Maguire, was elected to appoint a permanent Canadian Executive Committee, with the approval of Atwood.

Maguire was elected to attend the Third International [meeting of the Communist Party] in Moscow to obtain official recognition for the Canadian section; this decision was turned down; New York would see to it.

Arrangements were made for language sections, legal defence (any member arrested for carrying out the commands of higher authorities would be defended with the best legal talent) and other business of a housekeeping nature.

The sessions lasted from 7 a.m. Monday until midnight, and from 7 a.m. Tuesday until 10 a.m. Wednesday, May 25th, when all left for home.

Perhaps they unknowingly crossed paths with the Honourable Hugh Guthrie, Guelph's Member of Parliament and Minister of Militia and Defence, in Fergus to attend a Jubilee Banquet to honour that town's Dr. Abraham Groves. Interestingly, in the federal election of 1917, Guthrie had defeated Socialist candidate Lome Cunningham; ten years later, as Minister of Justice, Guthrie would play a role in the 1931 trial which sent members of the Communist Party of Canada executive to prison.

**THE AFTERMATH**

"The first step in the preparation of the proletariat of this country for the
realization of its dictatorship," announced *The COMMUNIST* in Volume I, No. 1, June, 1921, Price 5 cents. The masthead read "OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA (SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL)." The lead article, under a two-column headline "The Constituent Convention" reported on the meeting, held near the placid agricultural town of Guelph, Ontario:

The place and fashion of meeting, underground and illegal, in themselves denote the great change that the imperialist war and the Russian Revolution have wrought in the conditions of the class-struggle even in backward Canada.

Just over a month after the Guelph meeting, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada circulated to all members its first *MONTHLY BULLETIN* dated June 30th, 1921:

We are able to report the following results accomplished since the Convention.

We have issued the first number of our official organ, and have the second number in preparation.

We have appointed District Organisers covering the whole country and have the structure of the new organization almost complete.

We have appointed Language Bureaux for the Russian, Jewish, Lithuanian, Finnish and Bulgarian groups, and have called a Convention of the Ukrainians to form their Language Section.

We have added quite a number of new groups to the Party, and have connections established, which will probably result in further additions to our numbers.

The difficulties have been very great at the beginning but we are now well established, and expect to be able to report steady and satisfactory progress in the future.

We appeal to all comrades to be patient regarding necessary delays, and to work always to build up and strengthen the Party. Only by co-operation of all units can we succeed.

*TO BE READ TO THE GROUP AND THEN DESTROYED*

Such co-operation was scarcely forthcoming.

The whole of the year 1921 was marked by factional fights in the party, during which the [Central Executive Committee] gradually lost more and more the confidence of the membership. TJ. Bell, a master of intrigue, led the opposition and by degrees obtained control of the local activities in Toronto and even extended his influence to other parts.

This from "Summary Report on the CPC 22/5/22"—an RCMP document reprinted by Kealey, wherein "A well-informed correspondent writing under the date of 22nd May, has furnished a general report upon the Communist Party in Toronto and throughout the country." After detailing at length the squabbles ("lying rumours of Bell's morals....the Finnish Bureau has effected
little and the Ukrainian Bureau absolutely nothing") the writer concludes: "In fact the strength of the Communist Party is not as great as might be supposed."

And in the House of Commons, almost one year after the Guelph meeting, Winnipeg socialist J.W. Woodsworth rose to cite some of the anti-labour expenses incurred by the RCMP: in addition to maintaining its own regular secret service, the Force spent $87,000 for special agents during 1921; special agents included people who spied for the police on a part-time or free-lance basis as well as professional private detectives hired for particular assignments. The primary target for RCMP infiltration during the 1920s and for decades afterwards was the Communist Party of Canada.

Almost ten years after the Guelph meeting, Beverley Robson, Mayor of that city, wrote to the Attorney General of Ontario, enclosing two copies of *The Worker*, requesting an investigation as to the "seditious" nature of the paper; the reply indicated that prosecution possibilities would be studied. On November 14, 1931, Tim Buck and six colleagues, members of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Canada were sentenced to five years imprisonment. The Honourable W.H. Price, Attorney-General of Ontario, announced to the radio public "Communism will never raise its head again."

And fifty years later, at a banquet at the Masonic Temple in Toronto, the Communist Party of Canada celebrated its beginnings in Guelph. "I see how many we have in Toronto alone," said John Boychuk. "It would take a bigger, bigger barn just to hold them."

In the fall of 1993, as a consequence of the federal election, the Communist Party of Canada lost its official party standing and under the Elections Act, had to surrender its assets.

And Fred Farley's "very good barn in Guelph"—Long gone; while the Party was celebrating its 50th anniversary, a nursing home for seniors was building an addition on the very spot.

WHO CAME TO GUELPH

Sadly, the RCMP undercover sergeant did not take roll call of those present, nor did he include the kind of colourful or revealing detail which would make interesting reading in a local history journal almost 75 years after the event. Students of socialist theory might applaud the minutiae in his reports of philosophic discussions; Sawatsky writes the man had been originally recruited by a private detective agency to the Dominion Police (which in 1920 merged with the Royal North West Mounted Police to become the RCMP); he was almost certainly based in Hamilton.

Hughes' article on the 50th anniversary celebrations confirms the names of some who attended. *Canada's Party of Socialism* lists "those who are known to have attended" but does not substantiate the claim; while writing
his book in the late 1970s, the author was able to talk to some of them, but most of the information he collected came from spouses, sons and daughters, and other people related to that small group.

Angus notes that Buck's list is contradictory and unreliable, claiming "the evidence indicates that Buck was not present," citing material in the papers of MacDonald and Spector who both suggest that Buck did not attend, a claim substantiated to Penner by Dolgoy.

From the RCMP undercover sergeant's report

T.J./Tom/Thomas J. Bell [aka Gregg; Frank Hope; D. Paul], was an Irish-born lithographer. One of the youngest present, he had already served time in Kingston prison for his role in the 1919 Communist Party. Boychuk recalled he cranked out party leaflets on the sly while working as a printer at Toronto's right-wing Evening Telegram. From 1921 to 1923 he was active in the party in Toronto and Winnipeg, then moved to Cape Breton where he edited the Maritime Labor Herald. He emigrated to the United States late in 1924.

Trevor Maguire/McGuire [aka G. Howard] (?-1928+), one of the few native-born Canadians, from Carleton Place and later Toronto, was a World War I veteran. In 1922, he was the first Communist to be jailed for sedition; he was active as Secretary of the Young Workers' League.

[Name] Atwood [pseudonym for Caleb Harrison], came from the Pan-American Agency [sometimes referred to as Pan-American Bureau or Pan-American Council], an American representative of Comintern; he had been one of the leaders of the Socialist Labour Party in the United States. The RCMP undercover sergeant reported "Bell has Atwood under his control, for the reason that Atwood is nearly always under the influence of liquor, which Bell keeps him supplied with."

Bill/William Long, from Montreal, reported on OBU and on the Catholic Union. Kealey, in a letter to the author suggests "Long is a real name...he was active in Montreal in the 1920s."

Florence A. Custance [travelling as Johnson] (1881-?) was the only woman in the party's central leadership. She was born in England and trained as a school teacher. Through the 1920s she was prominent in such groups as Canadian Friends of Soviet Russia, the Canadian Labor Defense League and the Women's Labor League. She was secretary of the party's Women's Bureau and a regular contributor to The Worker on topics related to women's rights and the activities of women workers. In 1925 she founded and edited the magazine Woman Worker.

George Wilshaw/Wiltshaw:

Maurice Spector [travelling as G. Stanley] (1898-1972+) was a law student of the University of Toronto. He had been born in the Ukraine and brought to Canada as an infant. At the beginning of 1918, as acting-editor of the University of Toronto Varsity, Spector published a letter critical of the war and the
Allies role in it; this violation of wartime censorship got him removed from the paper and nearly expelled from the university. At the time of the Guelph meeting he was working for Sutcliffe, a Toronto chartered accountant. He was later regarded by some as the outstanding Canadian Marxist intellectual of his generation, the party's theoretician, a brilliant individual; he was the only original member with an academic orientation. He edited the party's underground newspaper *The Communist* in 1921 and edited the "legal" newspaper *The Worker* from 1922-1928; in that year he was dismissed from the party for his support of Trotsky. In 1936 he moved to the United States and remained there for the rest of his life. He spent most of that time working for a Labour Zionist group in New York City.

**[Name]** Strong [pseudonym] came from Winnipeg; he reported on loggers, farmers and migratory workers in the West. The RCMP undercover sergeant reports "this is his nickname." In correspondence with the author, Kealey agrees "probably a pseudonym;" Rodney suggests he "may have been William Gilbert, who later became a WPC/CPC organizer in that province"; perhaps Jacob Penner (whose son Norman says his father definitely attended) or Fred Kaplan (suggested by Angus).

**[Finnish delegate** from Winnipeg: probably Latva or Ahlqvist]

**Harry Reigert/Reigate/Ryget,** from Toronto, was a member of the Central Committee and of the Labourers' Union; earlier a member of the Socialist Labour Party.

**Additional names from* Arise Ye Prisoners of Starvation...***

**Tim/Timothy Buck** [aka J. Page] ^1891-March 11, 1973) was a machinist from Britain who came to Canada in 1910. Based in Toronto, Buck served through the 1920s as the party's trade union director. During the 1930s he became General Secretary of the party and held the post for 33 years. He travelled widely and between 1925 and 1970 he wrote extensively for and about the party.

**Tom Burpee** (1885-1972) was remembered by Boychuk for the school he organized where immigrants could learn English. He preferred less public and more administrative types of work.

**Max Dolgoy** (1900?-1985+) was a longtime trade unionist in Western Canada. He organized the Industrial Union of Needle Trades Workers in Manitoba.

**John Pavlovich Boychuk/Boychuck** (1891-1976) grew up in the Ukraine, where his father farmed two acres of land and worked in the winter as a weaver. Arriving in Toronto in 1919, he worked as a tailor for $7 a week. He became involved with socialist groups; with Tom Bell, was sentenced under the War Measures Act and spent a year in Burwash prison near Sudbury; after the RCMP raids of 1931, he spent three years and seven months in Kingston. He continued to work for the party over the years, as a trade union organizer among the garment workers, and he was active with Ukrainian immigrants.
Additional names from Canada's Party of Socialism:  
_History of the Communist Party of Canada_

Jack MacDonald/Macdonald/McDonald [travelling as J. Lawrence], (7-1940?) was a pattern maker from Falkirk, Scotland; he served as second General Secretary 1923 until 1929. Self-educated and an outstanding orator, Mac-Donald was one of the most popular figures in the Ontario labor movement, and earned the nickname "Moscow Jack" from the media. He attended the Fourth (1922) and Sixth (1928) Congresses of the Communist International; shortly after he was given a leave-of-absence and later expelled from the party.

Bill/William Moriarty (7-1936), first General-Secretary, emigrated from London England in 1910 as a labourer; he joined the Socialist Party during the war, serving as Secretary in both Ottawa and Toronto. He became business manager of _The Worker_, and in 1926, National Organizer of the party.

John/Jussi Latva, a carpenter, came from Finland and was active with the Canadian Finnish Organization.

John Werner Ahlqvist/Ahlgvist/Alquist, a tailor, came from Finland and was active with the Canadian Finnish Organization.

Mike/Michael Buhay (1890-) was born in England; he worked as a tailor and became a member of the Social Democratic Party in Montreal in 1913; he was an organizer for the Cloakmakers Union during the war, and for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union during the 1920s; in 1928 he became editor of the party's Yiddish monthly _Der Katnf_; at one point he was an alderman on Montreal City Council.

Alex Gauld was a plumber and steamfitter, and for many years business agent of the Plumbers and Steam Fitters Union in Montreal.

Matthew Popovich/Popowich/Popovic (1890-1943) was from the Ukraine, and active with the Ukrainian Labor Temple Association in Winnipeg. He combined politics with playwriting and amateur theatricals.

John Navis/Navisisky/Navisivs'kii/Navizowski/Nawrowski (1883-1954) was also from the Ukraine, a printer and close co-worker with Popovich in the Ukrainian Labor Temple Association in Winnipeg.

Jack/Jacob Margolese/Margolies was a tailor from Poland or the Ukraine and active in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Montreal.

NOTES

Land Abstracts indicate that the property, known as Plan 265/Lot 27 was registered in the name of Elizabeth S. Farley from May 1901 until October 1945. Initially the address on Metcalfe Street was known as 570—later changed to 257.

The Ontario Archives holds material seized (and relating to) the trial in 1931; the National Archives hold the papers and records of the Communist Party of Canada, the MacDonald-Spector papers, a typescript of Buck's audiotape interviews, and RCMP historical materials; the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library
holds the Robert S. Kenny Collection.

Listed below are resources used in writing this account of the Constituent Convention of the Communist Party of Canada, held in Guelph at Fred Farley’s barn May 23-25, 1921.

The RCMP undercover sergeant’s account is contemporary, but it does not list all those present. Buck’s Reminiscences err, according to later writers, by confusing those who were present in Guelph with those who attended later meetings. Rodney, Angus, Penner and Sawatsky appear to have had access to other, unpublished accounts; Hughes, in his article, speaks with some of the principals and offers anecdotal evidence.

The references below appear in chronological order, and many have been quoted liberally and verbatim without annotation.

I would particularly like to thank for their generous encouragement and assistance, Professors Gregory S. Kealey, William A. Rodney, Terry Crowley, Graeme Mount, John Kenneth Galbraith, Danny Goldstick, Varpu Lindstrom, Craig Heron, Norman Penner; RCMP Staff Historian Glenn Wright; librarians Gloria Troyer, Florence Partridge, Margery Pearson, Mary Jane Culbert and Virginia Gilham; archivists Doug Luchak and Joseph Solovitch; writers Gerry van Houten, Ian Angus, John Sawatsky and Merrily Weisbord. Materials collected in the preparation of this article have been deposited at the Wellington County Museum and Archives, mid-way between Fergus and Flora.

The Guelph Evening Mercury and Advertiser, Saturday, April 30, 1921; Monday, May 2, 1921.


House of Commons, Debates. Ottawa: April 4, 1922. On pages 670-672, J.W. Woodsworth cites anti-labour expenses incurred by the RCMP.


Tim Buck, [Reminiscences of Tim Buck}. A series of audiotape interviews taped by John (Mac) Reynolds for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1965.
Tim Buck had intended to use them as the basis for a history of the Communist Party of Canada, but ill health during the last four or five years of his life made it impossible to do the work required. He died in Mexico in 1973. (see below: Tim Buck: A Conscience for Canada and Yours in the Struggle).

Clifford W. Harvison, "The Spies in Our Midst," Weekend Magazine, January 21, 1967. On page 14, the author reports "the first meeting of the Communist party, held in deepest secrecy in a barn outside Guelph, Ont, was attended by a sergeant of the R.C.M.P. working undercover." The series of four articles formed part of The Horsemen (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967).


Barry Conn Hughes, "Arise Ye Prisoners of Starvation...And Come to the Canadian Communist Party's 50th birthday party. There'll be roast beef, wine..." Canadian Magazine, January 22, 1972. Pages 22-25. Hughes attended the birthday celebrations, spoke with several founding members, and with photographer Jorgen Hailing, accompanied John Boychuk [then 79] to the farmhouse at 257 Metcalfe Street, Guelph.


B.C. Cossar, "Buck Was Dedicated, But It Wasn't To Be," Guelph Mercury, March 14, 1973. Jack Ritchie reminisces about "his friend" Tim Buck, who had died in Mexico three days earlier.

Ivan Avakumovic, The Communist Party in Canada: A History. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975). Though the Guelph meeting is scarcely mentioned, many of the principal players are discussed.


Merrily Weisbord, The Strangest Dream: Canadian Communists, the Spy Trials and the Cold War. (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1983.

Norman Penner, Canadian Communism: The Stalin Years and Beyond. (Toronto: Methuen, 1988). See Chapter Two, "The Two-Party System (1921-1924)" and notes, pages 1, 44-69, 121, 127 (notes 50, 51). This work places the Communist Party of Canada in an international setting and compares it with similar movements in Great Britain, the United States and France.


Gregory S. Kealey, "The RCMP, the Special Branch and the Early Days of the Communist Party of Canada: A Documentary Article," Labour/Le Travail, 30 (Fall 1992), 169-204. Reprints RCMP correspondence and reports, as well as the text of Communist Party of Canada documents intercepted by the RCMP and forwarded to British intelligence.


Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker (editors), RCMP Security Bulletins: The Early Years, 1919-1929. (St. John's, Newfoundland: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1994). The bulletins for the period of the Guelph meeting are missing, however the volume contains an extensive list of the files created on agitators and other individuals of interest to the RCMP.

Italian immigration to Guelph occurred in two significant waves. The first began around 1900 and lasted until the 1930s, before World War II. In this period, immigrants were often single males who planned to return to Italy and marry or who sent for wives, children and relatives. Names such as Valeriote, Embro, Tantardini and Ferraro were among the earliest Italian families to come to Guelph.

It was during this period that St. Patrick’s Ward was developed. It became the home of most Italian immigrants to Guelph at this time. The Ward was the east-end industrial sector of the city and provided inexpensive housing, proximity to work areas and cultural security for new residents. The peak year of immigration in the first wave was 1920. It was shortly after this that the Sacred Heart Church, a predominantly Italian parish, was erected in the Ward.

The second wave of immigration occurred in the 1950s and 1960s after the second World War. It was during the big boom of the second wave that additional institutions, such as the Italian Canadian Club and St. John's Parish, were established for the Italian community. The people that derive from each of these waves comprise the extensive Italian presence that prevails in Guelph. This ethnic group makes up approximately one-third of the city's population. For this reason a Vice-Consul was established in Guelph to represent the Italian government and assist with paper work for Italian people, while a separate office was set up to handle pension issues for Italian citizens.

With such a large and vibrant Italian population in Guelph, one would expect there would be an extensive body of sources available for historical research. In fact, the bulk of existing work on the Italian experience in Guelph has focussed on the first wave of immigration, and exists in

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undergraduate theses and M.A. theses. *Vernon's Directory*, the *Guelph Mercury*, high school yearbooks, church records and oral interviews, all provide significant information on this topic. However, there is not an abundance of primary sources publicly available.

The following is a compilation of existing sources, both primary and secondary, for historical and genealogical purposes. These resources are housed in various organizations within and beyond the community of Guelph.

**STARTING POINTS**

**Local History**
Bloomfield, Elizabeth. *Inventory of Primary and Archival Sources of Wellington County to 1940*. Guelph: University of Guelph, Guelph Regional Project, 1989.

**Genealogical Research:**
Baxter, Angus. *In Search of Your European Roots: A Complete Guide to Tracing Your Ancestors in Every Country in Europe*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1985. For those pursuing Italian ancestors in Europe, an entire chapter is devoted to Italy. While the records do exist, Baxter suggests there is very little centralization of genealogical records in the country. The chapter provides hints for locating records, along with the names and addresses of the genealogical organizations that exist in Italy.

**Secondary Sources on Italian Immigration to Canada**
University of Guelph, 1980.


Iacovetta, Franca. "Britishness Under Attack: Italians and Other Immigrants in the Royal City, 1880-1930." [Forthcoming; presented at the Canadian Studies Conference, Edinburgh, May 1995]. This paper contains research compiled from the *Guelph Mercury* and deals with how Guelph residents dealt with growing immigration in this period.


*Monumental Inscriptions at St. Joseph's Cemetery, Guelph, Ontario*. Guelph Historical Society, Regional History Collection, 1986. [held at University of Guelph Library].


**General Resources**

City and County Directories: A multitude (perhaps over 100) cover the period 1851 to the present, including telephone directories from 1902. These are useful for determining addresses and occupations. Prior to c.1928 married women were not listed in the city directories. However after 1928 they were listed beside their spouse. Directories also reveal the ownership status of individual property. Directories are one of the most useful sources. Keep in mind that there was often more than one family per household, as new immigrants would often stay with others until they were established. [Holdings on paper and microform at Guelph Civic Museum, Guelph Public Library, University of Guelph and Wellington County Museum and Archives]

Newspapers: These are held in microfilm and manuscript form. Guelph Public Library holds 1840-present; there is a newspaper inventory list at the main desk. Items of interest: *Guelph Mercury*: "1908 Special Industrial Souvenir Edition," "1916 Commercial, Industrial and Progressive Edition," 1961 and 1964-74

Yearbooks: Guelph Public Library holds an assortment of both public and high school yearbooks, including Guelph Collegiate Vocational Institute (also held at GCVI Archives). These are extremely useful for identifying students of Italian origin and their involvement with sports at local schools. Apparently Italian students have made outstanding contributions to high school sports teams.

Cemetery Records: Guelph Public Library and the Wellington County Museum and Archives hold Ronnow, Verna (ed.) Inventory of Cemeteries in Ontario. Toronto: Ontario Genealogical Society, 1987. The Family Research Centre, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints holds a Cemetery Finding Aid for most of Waterloo and Wellington Counties; this lists names that appear on cemetery transcripts province-wide. Wellington County Museum and Archives holds tombstone listings for most of the cemeteries in the County, as does Guelph Public Library (for the Guelph area).

Assessment rolls: Although Guelph Public Library and the Wellington County Museum and Archives hold assessment rolls for the City of Guelph 1852-1898, Italian immigration to the city did not commence until c.1901. Wellington County Museum and Archives holds assessment records for most of the 21 towns and Townships in the County.

Census of Canada: The University of Guelph Library holds statistical records including Ethnic Origin of Specific Communities, 1870-1991; also Nominal Census Records: These records provide details about each household (for example, names, ages, occupation, religion, etc.). On microfilm, 1851-1901; also held at Wellington County Museum and Archives.

Vital Statistics: The Family Research Centre of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is systematically acquiring microfilm copies of originals for Wellington County; Wellington County Museum and Archives holds indexes to these records:

- 1869-1897 Birth Certificates
- 1869-1912 Marriage Certificates
- 1869-1922 Death Certificates

Land Abstracts (detailing land transactions from first sale to 1958) are held at Wellington County Museum and Archives, along with ownership maps and county atlases, also held by the University of Guelph Library and Guelph Public Library.

Periodicals for genealogical and historical research such as Families, (formerly Ontario Genealogical Society Bulletin) and Polyphony, from the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, and Ontario History are held at the University of Guelph Library. Historic Guelph: The Royal City (published annually since 1961), Wellington County History (published annually since 1988), Western Ontario Historical Notes (published 1942-1972; indexed) and Ontario History (published since 1899, initially as Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society).
WHERE TO LOOK

GUELPH CIVIC MUSEUM:
Photograph Collection: Large collection of photographs relating to the history of Guelph. These include trade and industries and various Guelph families. Photographs are indexed by card and photocopies of the majority of the collection are available in research area.
Research Files: Files of newspaper clippings and other sources of information. The file categories include trade and industries in Guelph, family names and general topics. Files have been compiled for the various churches and ethnic groups in the community. The file on the Italian community of Guelph contains a listing of the companies that hired Italians extensively in the early part of the century in addition to an undergraduate essay which describes the Italian community in Guelph from 1900-45. There is a photocopy of a picture of The Italian Band, 1913, standing in front of Guelph City Hall; most of the members are identified.

GUELPH PUBLIC LIBRARY:
100 Norfolk St., Guelph, Ontario N1H 4J6. Phone (519) 824-6220. Newspaper Clipping Files: The Library has maintained a newspaper file on various subjects since 1965. Two relevant files are entitled "Ethnic Groups" and "Roman Catholic Churches." Clippings are mainly from The Guelph Mercury, The Kitchener-Waterloo Record, Guelph Life, Guelph: This Week, and The Royal Tribune. List of file titles available on the main floor.
Photographs: Library holds a small collection of black and white photographs from late 19th century onward. Subjects include people, historic houses and sites, and city views. Appointments necessary for viewing or duplication.

UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH LIBRARY:
Guelph, Ontario NIG 2W1. Phone (519) 824-4120, extension 3413 "Miscellaneous Clubs and Institutions for the City of Guelph, Ontario. 1867-present." This collection consists of three boxes of newspaper clippings, newspaper supplements, and pamphlets. Italian Canadian Club is included. Located in the Archives.

GUELPH COLLEGIATE VOCATIONAL INSTITUTE ARCHIVES:
155 Paisley Road, Guelph, Ontario N1H 2P3. Phone (519) 824-9800.
The school office holds yearbooks, examination mark books, and commencement programs. The records are formally catalogued and arranged by departments.

GUELPH HISTORICAL SOCIETY:
P.O. Box 1502, Guelph, Ontario N1H 6N9.
The Society holds an extensive collection of material which is currently being organized for public access.
LA GUIDA:
501 - 245 Bristol Street, Guelph, Ontario. Phone (519) 821-4576 Believed to be the first Italian-language newspaper published in the area, La Guida began in 1972, and has appeared monthly (approximately) since then. It is distributed by mail to households and is available at local businesses. It contains news from Italy, and includes some stories purchased from Italian newspapers.

ITALIAN VICE-CONSULATE:
127 Ferguson St., Guelph, Ontario. Phone (519) 763-2228
The current Vice-Consul, Imelda Porcellato, assumed responsibilities in 1988, after the post had been vacant for approximately four years and people had requested that the office be re-opened. The Vice-Consul handles paper work, such as passport applications, and services for the children of Italian citizens who may have dual citizenship. The first appointment was made in 1945 with the naming of Luigi Ferraro to an honorary post as Italian Consular Correspondent for Guelph and Wellington County. Ferraro continued until 1976, when he was made Honorary Vice-Consul, retiring in 1983. The post was held for a year by Richard Gazzola in 1984.

ITALIAN CANADIAN CLUB OF GUELPH:
135 Ferguson St., Guelph, Ontario N1E 2Y9 Phone (519) 821-1110 The Italian Canadian Club was established c.1952 to provide a source of entertainment and recreation and to promote a spirit of fraternal aid and co-operation within the Italian community. The club is used for social functions and houses indoor bocce courts. In 1957 the Ladies' Auxiliary was formed to raise funds for the club. This organization was developed during the early stages of the second wave of immigration. While documents and records pertaining to the club do exist, there has been no formal archives established at the present time.

ST. JOSEPH'S HOSPITAL ARCHIVES:
80 Westmount Street, Guelph, Ontario N1H 5H7. Phone (519) 824-2620. By appointment only.
The Hospital holds medical statistics on patients, administrative correspondence, cash books for the hospital and House of Providence (Retirement Home). Records have been formally catalogued and organized.

WELLINGTON COUNTY SEPARATE SCHOOL BOARD:
P.O. Box 1298, 75 Woolwich St., Guelph, Ontario N1H 6N6. Phone (519) 821-600 The Board holds cash books, board minutes and some correspondence. Records have not been formally arranged.

WELLINGTON COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION:
The Board holds records for many schools in Guelph and Wellington County, such as cash books, board minutes, attendance records, school census records. Informally organized; there are no finding aids.

WELLINGTON COUNTY MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES:
Wellington Place, R.R. 1, Fergus, Ontario N1M 2W3. Phone (519) 846-0916.
Archivist: Bonnie Callen.
While the bulk of the Italian population of Wellington County resided in the city of
Guelph, there were some Italian families who settled in Fergus. Extensive family
research files for families throughout the County (including the Mattaini and Landoni
of Fergus) are available at the Wellington County Archives. The Archives also
contain a comprehensive selection of local histories and over 10,000 photographs,
as well as a broad selection of materials listed under General Resources (above).

**CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS (LDS):**
Phone (519) 741-9591 for hours.
Catalogue of Materials: Catalogue of Church Records in Italy is available. The centre
does have some Italian church records (in microform) on site. Additional records can
be ordered. Minor assortment of research aids informing the researcher of the
methods of utilizing Italian sources.

**MULTICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF ONTARIO:**
RESOURCE CENTRE: 43 Queen's Park Crescent East, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2C3.
Phone (416) 979-2973. Appointment preferred.
The Society publishes a journal entitled *Polyphony*, that deals with ethnic issues in
Canada, volume 7 of the journal is devoted to the Italian experience in Ontario. It is
available at the University of Guelph Library.
*A Guide to the Collections of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario*, compiled
by Nick Forte, describes the Society's holdings, mostly held on deposit at the
Ontario Archives.
The Society's Archives contain a series of taped interviews, conducted with Italians
citizens in Guelph from 1976 to the present. The early interviews document the lives
of first-wave immigrants. Oral histories are one of the most valuable sources for
understanding this ethnic community.
Another vital resource on the Italian community in Guelph will be available in the
near future, following the acquisition of the Archives of the Order, Sons of Italy.
Membership lists and application forms for the club comprise this collection, which
includes documentation on the Guelph Lodge of the Sons of Italy. The organization
dissolved in Guelph during the second World War.
Ethnic media are also available at the Resource Center. Italian newspapers, such as
*Corriere Canadese*, *Viva Italiana* and *The Italian Voice/Voce Italiana* are accessible.

**CHURCH/PARISH RECORDS**
Church records are another valuable source of information. The researcher may
expect to find dates of birth, baptism, marriage and burial, names of parents and
godparents. The Roman Catholic churches of Guelph and Wellington County are
contained in the Diocese of Hamilton. The policy of the diocese is that records for
individual parishes are to be retained locally. For this reason, access to material is
at the discretion of the individual parish priest or his agent.

**THE DIOCESE OF HAMILTON ARCHIVES:**
700 King St. W., Hamilton, Ontario L8P 1C7. Phone (905) 522-7263. Appointment
necessary.
Holdings include some individual parish histories, correspondence to bishop, newspaper clippings and small photograph collection.

The individual Roman Catholic churches in Guelph are:

**CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION:**
28 Norfolk St., Guelph, Ontario N1H 4H8. Phone (519) 824-3951.
Present church established c.1876. Small Italian population in the early part of the century.

**SACRED HEART PARISH:**
75 Manitoba St., Guelph, Ontario N1E 3C2. Phone (519) 822-8944. Established as a mission in 1912. Current church built c.1930. First wave Italians made up the bulk of the attendance at this church that is located in St. Patrick's Ward. In the marriage records from this church from 1930-1934, place of birth and occupation of the bride and groom are listed.

**ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH:**

**HOLY ROSARY RECTORY:**
175 Emma St., Guelph, Ontario N1E 1V6. Phone (519) 822-4701. Established 1956.

**ST. JOHN'S PARISH:**

The above compilation provides an overview of the existing sources for research into the Italian experience in Guelph. Outside the community, the Multicultural History Society in Toronto and the Family Research Centre of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Kitchener have several relevant holdings on this topic. Within the community, directories, newspapers, church records and yearbooks are extremely useful resources. The oral interview is the most valuable source of information for uncovering personal experiences and perceptions. Therefore, considerable perseverance is required to carry on with this process; the results, however, will ensure that oral history continues to preserve the knowledge of historical events surrounding this culture.

In addition to oral interviews, written sources are a vital component of any comprehensive history. Undoubtedly there are many letters, personal papers, photographs and other family treasures residing with Italian families. Such collections would complement the existing material by providing cross-references, personal experiences and undiscovered facts for the researcher. Many of the organizations listed above seek opportunities to document the other cultural communities of the city. It is just such resources that will help to promote a well-rounded and inclusive history of Guelph and which recognize the ethnic diversity of the community.
THE PLACE NAMES OF WELLINGTON COUNTY

by Ian Easterbrook

For years I have enjoyed the rich heritage and variety of place names throughout Wellington County, and have heard from friends and read in local history booklets of many alternates and variants. Some of the information seemed closer to hearsay than firm fact—so I have below attempted, using the resources cited, to offer as complete a list as I can compile.

The names themselves offer an intriguing broth. It's fair to assume some early Wellington County settlers coined names for their newly a-building communities from the topographic features before them—thus Living Springs, Springbrook, Creekbank, Riverbank, Riverstown, Grand Valley, Mount Forest, Greenbush, Cedar Valley, Stonywood, Woodside, Rockwood and The Maples.

Perhaps the new arrivals sought names resonant with memories of their homelands: Erin, Antrim, Dublin; Bristol, Cotswold, Kenilworth; Glen Allan, Glen Lammond, Glen Christie.

Early hamlets were often no more than a crossroads—suggested by their designation: Black's Corners, Bolton's Corners (later Cotswold), Crewson's Corners, Donaldson's Corners, McCrae's Corners (later Alma), and Richardson's Corners (later Laurel).


According to Professor Gerald Bloomfield's splendid preface to Ontario Central Places in 1871: A Gazetteer Compiled From Contemporary Sources, it was the firm bureaucracy of the post office that introduced a formal
procedure for naming most communities. Post office officialdom was also an important and early force in standardizing place-names and their spelling. The 1877 Atlas and the 1885 map are alive with hamlets bearing the suffix "P.O."—for Post Office—a pleasantry which faded at the end of the Victorian period.

Even with a post office, some hamlets bobbed back and forth between townships: in Peel, for example: Alma, Arthur, Drayton, Stirton, Dorking, Macton, and Wallenstein. Of these, some would expand into the territory of one or more townships, some would shrink to mere memories.

New Bethlehem (later Dorking) and Quakerstown (later Rockwood) suggest that religious beliefs which accompanied the settlers may have given way to less stern thoughts.

The arrival of the railway introduced additional possibilities. Some hamlets were born along the trackside—Leslie Station, Schaw Station and Balmoral Station. Other names were borrowed from neighbours, thus Goldstone and Goldstone Station; Drew and Drew Station; Marden and Marden Station.

We must allow the occasional cartographic or spelling error in each document consulted; even the author of the 1994 map appears to have misplaced Ostic! A century ago, writers transcribed the names of person and place with greater latitude than is allowed today by the combination of a strong bureaucracy and the unforgiving computer.

None of the townships has changed name since surveyors plotted the land in the 1840s, though Luther and Garafraxa were halved to yield East and West segments, of which Wellington retained the Western portions—sadly losing Peepabun (East Luther) and Vanatter (East Garafraxa) in the process. Amaranth, too, joined Dufferin County, taking with it Bowling Green and Waldemar.

In addition to the City of Guelph, a few of the towns in the county seem to have settled quickly on a name which took them gracefully and unchanged into the 20th century. Ballinafad, Elora, Everton, Mount Forest, Ospringe, Puslinch and Puslinch Lake were first choices which suffered no second thoughts.

Listed below are over 200 place names (or variants) which appear on the maps consulted. Local histories contain many other designations which either pre-dated the maps or were sufficiently informal or local that they failed to receive wider recognition. Bonnie Callen, Archivist at the Wellington County Museum and Archives is always interested in hearing of such references, useful as they are to family researchers; if readers find errors or omissions, or feel the roots of their particular community have been slighted or forgotten, they should send a note to her at R.R. #1, Fergus, ONT, N1M 2W3.
WELLINGTON COUNTY PLACE NAMES:
1861, 1871, 1877, 1885, 1906, 1994

Aberfoyle P.O. - Puslinch Township [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]
Aboyne - Nichol Township [1861,1877,1906]
Aikensville - Puslinch Township [1994]
Alansville - see Glen Allan
Alma P.O. - Pilkinson and Peel Townships [1906]
Alma - Peal, Pilkinson and Nichol Townships [1861,1877,1885]
Alma - Peel Township [1994]
FORMERLY McCRAES CORNERS
Amaranth P.O. - Amaranth Township [1885]
Amaranth Stn - Amaranth Township [1877]
Amaranth Township [1861,1877,1885]
Antrim - Maryborough and Minto Townships [1861]
Ariss - Guelph Township [1994]
Arkell P.O. - Puslinch Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
Armstrong Mills P.O. - Guelph Township [1885]
Armstrong's Mills P.O. - Guelph Township [1906]
Arthur (Village: 1871) - [Arthur and W. Luther Townships] [1885,1906,1994]
Arthur - Arthur Township [1861,1877]
Arthur Township [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]
Badenoch - Puslinch Township [1994]
Ballinafad P.O. - Erin Township [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]
Balmoral Statn - Guelph Township [1877]
Barnett P.O. - Nichol Township [1877,1885]
Barnet - see also Ennotville
POST OFFICE OF ENNOTVILLE
Belwood - see also Douglas
Belwood Lake - see Lake Belwood
Benderville Village ("site of") - Luther Township [1861,1877]
Binkham P.O. - Erin Township [1885,1906]
Blacks Corners - Amaranth Township [1885]
Black's Corners - see also Coleridge
Bolton's Comers - see Cotswold
Bosworth P.O. - Maryborough Township [1877,1885,1906]
Bosworth - Peel Township [1877]
Bowling Green P.O. - Amaranth Township [1877,1885]
Brisbane P.O. - Erin Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
FORMERLY BRISTOL
Bristol - Erin Township [1861,"Brisbane P.O." 1906]
LATER BRISBANE

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Brotherstown - see Rockwood
Brucedale - Eramosa Township [1994]
Cedar Valley - Erin Township [1906,1994]
Clifford (Village: 1883; Town: ?) - [Minto Township] [1877,1885,1906,1994]
Colbeck P.O. - Luther Township [1877]
Colbeck P.O. - East Luther Township [1885]
COLERIDGE - AMARANTH TOWNSHIP
LATER BLACK'S CORNERS
    Conestogo Lake - Maryborough Township [1994]
Coningsby P.O. - Erin Township [1877,1906,1994]
Conn P.O. - Arthur Township [1877]
Conn P.O. - Arthur and West Luther Townships [1906]
    Conn P.O. - see also Evansville
Corwhin P.O. - Puslinch Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
Cotswold P.O. - Minto Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
    ALSO KNOWN AS BOLTON'S CORNERS
Craighsholme P.O. - West Garafraxa Township [1885,1906]
Creekbank P.O. - Peel Township [1861,1877,1885,1906]
Crewson's Corner - Eramosa Township [1861]
Crewson's Corner - Erin Township [1861,1877]
Crewson's Corners - Eramosa Township [1906]
Crewson's Corners P.O. - Eramosa and Erin Townships [1906]
Crieff P.O. - Puslinch Township [1885,1906,1994]
    ALSO KNOWN AS FRAZERVILLE
Crigsholme P.O. - West Garafraxa Township [1877]
Cripp's Mills - see Eden Mills
Cumnock P.O. - Nichol Township [1861,1877,1885,1906]
    Cumnock - see also Gluaysville
Damascus P.O. - Luther Township [1877]
Damascus P.O. - West Luther Township [1885,1906], [1994]
Damascus Reservoir - West Luther Township [1994]
Derrynane P.O. - Arthur Township [1885,1906]
Donaldson's Corners - see Reading
Dorking P.O. - Maryborough Township [1877,1885,1994]
Dorking P.O. - Peel and Maryborough Townships [1906]
    FORMERLY NEW BETHLEHEM
Douglas - Garafraxa Township [1861]
    POST OFFICE CALLED GARAFRAXA; FORMERLY SKENESVILLE/SKEENVILLE;
    LATER BELWOOD
Downeys - Puslinch Township [1994]
Dracon P.O. - West Garafraxa Township [1906]
Drayton (Village: 1873) - [Peel and Maryborough Townships] [1861,1877,
FORMERLY MARYBOROUGH, PEEL
Drew P.O. – Minto Township [1877,1906,1994]
Drew Sta. P.O. - Minto Township [1885,1906]
Drumhill - Erin Township [1861] –

Dublin – see Mimosa

**East Garafraxa Township** [1877,1885]
Eden - Eramosa Township [1861]
Ede's Mills - [Nassagaweya Township, Halton County 1885] Ede
Mills P.O. - Eramosa Township [1877,1906,1994]

FORMERLY CRIPP’S MILLS, KRIBB’S MILLS
Egerton P.O. - Luther Township [1877]
Egerton P.O. - West Luther Township [1885,1906]
Elora (Village:1858) - [Nichol Township] [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]
Ennotville - Nichol Township [1861,"Barnet P.O." 1906,1994]

POST OFFICE AT BARNETT
Eramosa P.O. - Eramosa Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]

**Eramosa Township** [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]
Erin (Village: 1880) - [Erin Township] [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]

FORMERLY MCMILLAN’S MILLS

**Erin Township** [1861,1877,1885,1906] [1994]
Evansville - West Luther Township ["Conn P.O." 1906]
Evansville - West Luther and Arthur Townships ["Conn P.O." 1885]
Evertont P.O. - Eramosa Township [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]
Farewell P.O. - Arthur Township [1885,1906,1994]
Farnington P.O. - Amaranth Township [1861,1877]
Famham - Puslinch Township [1861,1877,1885]
Fergus (Village:1858; Town:1953) - [Nichol Township] [1906,1994]
Fergus - Nichol and Garafraxa Townships [1861]
Fergus - Nichol and West Garafraxa Townships [1877,1885]

Frame Lake - see Lake Frame
Frazerville - Puslinch Township [1861]

Frazerville - see also Crieff
Fulton Mills P.O. - Minto Township [1906]

Garafraxa P.O. - West Garafraxa Township [1877]

POST OFFICE NAME OF DOUGLAS; FORMERLY SKENESVILLE/SKEENVILLE; LATER BELWOOD

**Garafraxa Township** [1861]
Glen Allan - Peel Township [1906,1994]
Glen Christie - Puslinch Township [1994]
Glen Lammond - West Garafraxa Township [1994]
Glenallan – Peel Township [1861,1877,1885]
FORMERLY ALLANSVILLE, PEEL
Glenlammmond - West Garafraxa Township [1906]
Gluaysville - Nichol Township ["formerly Cumnock" 1906]
Goldstone P.O. - Peel Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
Goldstone Sta. P.O. - Peel Township [1885,1906]
Gordonsville P.O. - West Luther Township [1906]
Gordonville P.O. - Arthur Township [1906,1994]
Gordonville P.O. - Luther Township [1877]
Gordonville P.O. - West Luther Township [1885]
Gourock P.O. - Guelph Township [1861,1877,1885,1906]
Grand Valley - East Luther [1885]
   Grand Valley - see also Luther
Greenbush - Minto Township [1994]
Guelph (Village: 1851; Town:1855; City:1879) - [Guelph Township]
   [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]
Guelph Lake - Guelph Township [1994]
Guelph Township [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]
Harriston (Village: 1872; Town:1878) - [Minto Township] [1861,1885,1877,1906,1994]
Hartfield - Guelph Township [1906]
Hereward P.O. - East Garafraxa Township [1877,1885]
Hillsburg P.O. - Erin Township [1861,1885,1906]
Hillsburgh - Erin Township [1877,1994]
Hollen - Maryborough Township [1877,1885,1994]
Hollin P.O. - Maryborough Township [1861,1906]
Huston P.O. - Maryborough Township [1877,1885]
Hustonville - Maryborough Township [1861]
Inverhaugh P.O. - Pilkington Township [1906,1994]
Kenillworth P.O. - Arthur Township [1877]
Kenilworth P.O. - Arthur Township [1861,1906,1994]
   FORMERLY NORTH ARTHUR
Kenilworth Sta. - Arthur Township [1906]
Kennilworth P.O. - Arthur Township [1885]
Kennefles - Nichol Township [1877,1885]
Kennettles - Nichol Township [1861] Kent
   Village - Peel Township [1861]
   ALSO KNOWN AS KENTVILLE; LATER YATTON
Kentville - see Kent Village
Killean P.O. - Puslinch Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
Killean Station - Puslinch Township [1994]
Kribb's Mills - see Eden Mills

PLACE NAMES OF WELLINGTON COUNTY
Lake Belwood - West Garafraxa Township [1994]
Lake Frame - Puslinch Township [1861]
Laurel P.O. - Amaranth Township [1861,1877,1885]
  FORMERLY RICHARDSON'S CORNERS
Lebanon P.O. - Maryborough Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
Leslie Sta. - Puslinch Township [1906]
Little Lake - Puslinch Township [1877,1994]
Little Toronto - see Luther
Living Springs P.O. - West Garafraxa Township [1885,1906]
Luther Lake - West Luther Township [1994]
Luther P.O. - Luther Township [1877]
  ALSO KNOWN AS LITTLE TORONTO; LATER GRAND VALLEY
**Luther Township** [1861,1877]
Luthr P.O. - Luther Township [1861]
Macton P.O. - Peel Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
  *Maples, The* - see Vanatter
Marden P.O. - Guelph Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
Marden Sta. - Guelph Township [1906]
Mars - Garafraxa Township [1861]
Marsville - East Garafraxa Township [1877,1885]
Maryborough - Maryborough Township ["Rothsay P.O." 1906]
  *Maryborough - see also Drayton*
Maryborough Township [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]
McCrae's Corners - see Alma
  *McMillan's Mills* - see Erin
McRae's Mills - Guelph Township [1906]
Melgund P.O. - Minto Township [1906]
Metz - West Garafraxa Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
Mimosa P.O. - Erin Township [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]
  ALSO KNOWN AS DUBLIN
Minto - Minto Township [1861]
**Minto Township** [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]
Monck P.O. - Luther Township [1877]
Monck P.O. - West Luther Township [1885,1906,1994]
Monticello P.O. - East Luther Township [1885]
Moorefield P.O. - Maryborough Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
Morriston P.O. - Puslinch Township [1861,1877,1906,1994]
Mosborough P.O. - Guelph Township [1877,1885,1906]
Mount Forest (Village: 1865; Town: 1879) - [Arthur Township] [1861,1877,1885,1906,1994]
Mountsberg Reservoir - Puslinch Township [1994]
Mountview P.O. - Luther Township [1877]
Mountview P.O. - West Luther Township [1906]
[Nassagaweya Township, Halton County] [1885]
New Bethlehem - see Dorking
Nichol Township [1861, 1877, 1885, 1906, 1994]
North Arthur - see Kenilworth
Olivet P.O. - Arthur Township [1906]
Orangeville - East Garafraxa Township [1877, 1885]
Orangeville - Garafraxa Township [1861]
Orangeville Junction - Amaranth Township [1885]
Orton P.O. - East Garafraxa Township [1885]
Orton P.O. - Erin Township [1906, 1994]
Ospringe P.O. - Erin Township [1861, 1877, 1885, 1906, 1994]
Otic - Eramosa Township [1994]
Oustic P.O. - Eramosa Township [1877, 1906]
Ouslie P.O. - Eramosa Township [1885]
Palmerston (Town: 1874) - [Minto Township] [1877, 1885, 1906, 1994]
Parker P.O. - Peel Township [1877, 1885, 1906]
Peel - see Drayton, Glen Allan
Peel Township [1861, 1877, 1885, 1906, 1994]
Peepabun P.O. - Luther Township [1877]
Peepabun P.O. - East Luther Township [1885]
Pentland P.O. - Pilkington Township [1877, 1885, 1906]
Petherton P.O. - Arthur Township [1877, 1885, 1906, 1994]
Pike Lake - Minto Township [1861, 1906, 1994]
Pilkington Township [1861, 1877, 1885, 1906, 1994]
Ponsonby P.O. - Pilkington Township [1885, 1906]
Puslinch Lake - Puslinch Township [1861, 1877, 1885, 1906, 1994]
Puslinch P.O. - Puslinch Township [1861, 1877, 1885, 1906, 1994]
Puslinch Township [1861, 1877, 1885, 1906, 1994]
Reading P.O. - East Garafraxa Township [1877, 1885]
Reading P.O. - Garafraxa Township [1861]
FORMERLY DONALDSON'S CORNERS
Richardson's Corners - see Laurel
River-bank P.O. - Maryborough Township [1877]
Riverbank P.O. - Maryborough Township [1885]
Riverstown P.O. - Arthur Township [1877, 1885, 1906]
Rockwood P.O. - Eramosa Township [1861, 1877, 1885, 1906, 1994]
FORMERLY BROTHERSTOWN
Rothsay P.O. - Maryborough Township [1861, 1877, 1885, 1906, 1994]
FORMERLY MARYBOROUGH
Salem P.O. - Nichol Township [1861, 1877, 1885, 1906, 1994]
FORMERLY WYNFORD

50 PLACE NAMES OF WELLINGTON COUNTY
Schaw Sta. - Puslinch Township [1906]
Shands - West Garafraxa Township [1994]
Shelburne - Amaranth Township [1877,1885]
Shiloh P.O. - Eramosa Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
Skeensville - see Douglas
Skeenville - see Douglas
Skenesville - see Douglas
Smithurst P.O. - Minto Township [1877,1885]
Speedside P.O. - Eramosa Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]
Spires P.O. - West Garafraxa Township [1906]
Springbrook - see Wyandott
Stirton P.O. - Maryborough Township [1877,1885,1994]
Stirton P.O. - Peel and Maryborough Townships [1906]
Stonywood P.O. - West Luther Township [1906]
Tarbert P.O. - Luther Township [1877]
Tarbert P.O. - East Luther Township [1885]
Teviot Dale P.O. - Minto Township [1861]
Teviotdale P.O. - Minto Township [1994]
Teviotdale P.O. - Minto and Maryborough Townships [1877,1885,1906]
The Maples - see Vanatter
Tralee P.O. - Maryborough Township [1885,1906]
Trecastle P.O. - Maryborough Township [1877,1885,1906]
Utoka P.O. - Eramosa Township [1885]
Vanatter P.O. - East Garafraxa Township [1877,1885]

LATER THE MAPLES
Wagram P.O. - Arthur Township [1877,1885,1906]
Waldemar P.O. - Amaranth Township [1877,1885]
Wauenstein P.O. - Peel Township [1906,1994]
Walmer P.O. - Peel Township [1861]
Wellington Village ("site of") - Luther Township [1861,1877]
Wesley P.O. - West Luther Township [1906]

West Garafraxa Township [1877,1885,1906,1994]

West Luther Township [1885,1906,1994]
Whittington P.O. - Amaranth Township [1861,1877,1885]
Winfield P.O. - Peel Township [1861,1877,1885,1906]
Woodside - Erin Township [1994]
Wyandot P.O. - Maryborough Township [1877,1885,1994]

WYANDOTT
FORMERLY SPRINGBROOK

Wynford - see Salem

Wylde Lake - East Luther [1885]
Yatton P.O. - Peel Township [1906,1885,1994]

Yatton - see also Kent Village

NOTES

Entries which are in all other respects identical, except for the suffix P.O. (Post Office), have been amalgamated. Spellings reflect the documents cited.

Dates of town and village incorporation have been taken from Urban Growth and Local Services: The Development of Ontario Municipalities to 1981 by Elizabeth and Gerald Bloomfield with Peter McCaskell (Guelph: University of Guelph, 1983). Police Villages are not identified as such.

See/see also references in italics have been added by the author. References in SMALL CAPITALS have been taken from pages 122-125 of Ontario Central Places in 1871: A Gazetteer Compiled From Contemporary Sources by G.T. Bloomfield and Elizabeth Bloomfield with Brian Van Nostrand (Guelph: University of Guelph, 1990), wherein the exact sources for the information are cited.

Palmerston1: A press release from the Ontario Heritage Foundation, upon the unveiling of a historical plaque, notes that Palmerston was incorporated as a Town on December 21, 1874 and that it had never been incorporated as a Village.

All police villages in Wellington County were dissolved, effective December 1, 1994; this included the police villages of Belwood, Eden Mills, Rockwood, Hillsburgh, Morriston and Moorefield.


[1885] = Map of Wellington County, Province of Ontario, 1885, published by Wm. W. Evans, Guelph. ["Including a portion of Dufferin County originally belonging to Wellington County" and Nassagaweya Township, Halton County.]


The Significance of the Jones Baseline
A curiosity of Wellington County's geography is the haphazard shape of its boundaries, caused by the seemingly irrational juxtaposition of the various component townships. The reasons for the arrangement go back to the eighteenth century: to the land grant to the Six Nations Indians in 1784, and to a later agreement signed with the Mississauga Indians in 1792, which necessitated the first survey in the area, now known as the Jones Baseline. The original land grant to the Six Nations, authorized by General Haldimand in 1784, specified that the Six Nations would receive six miles on either side of the Grand River from its source to its mouth. At the time, no one, not even the Indians, was certain of the ultimate source of the Grand. Matters were further complicated due to conflicting claims for some of this land. In 1792 the British purchased the claims of the Mississaugas for the land in question. The Simcoe administration authorized Augustus Jones to survey a base line from Burlington Bay North 45 Degrees West as far as the Thames River, not realizing that the assignment was a geographic impossibility. Jones surveyed the line late in 1792, trudging some 51 miles through largely untouched territory. He ended the line at the banks of the Conestoga River, near Arthur. Though the Six Nations launched legal protests, this line marked the upper limit of the Six Nations grant, and it provided the basis for all later surveys on either side of it. In Wellington County the baseline forms one of the boundaries of Puslinch, Guelph, Nichol, Peel, West Garafraxa and Eramosa Townships, and the Town of Fergus.

Surveying the Baseline
Fortunately, Jones's original notes have survived, and they provide a day-by-day account of his work. Jones began the project at Niagara, where he put together a team of 13 men, including seven Indians. The actual survey began at the Richard Beasley property on Burlington Bay on Sept. 16, 1792, and proceeded North 45 degrees West. A week later the party had the line surveyed as far as the Speed River at the boundary of what was later Eramosa Township.
The Significance of the Jones Baseline: This map, dating to the early pan of the nineteenth century, shows the importance of the baseline, diagonally at the right, to later surveys. The Six Nations grant, six miles on either side of the Grand River, extends to the baseline from the southeast. The Six Nations sold the upper portion of this grant, in four blocks, in 1798. The upper two, marked Woolwich and Nichol on the map, were held by speculators for years. Pilkington Township was later severed from Woolwich. Townships such as Guelph and Puslinch had to fit into the pattern established by these early surveys. The map contains a portion of the agreement for the purchase of all the land west of the baseline from the Missississauga Indians, dated 7 December 1792. Augustus Jones also surveyed the boundary of the Six Nations grant.
The men stayed here for a week, while a few men went back for more supplies. Not only did the party need to survey a straight line through solid bush and swamps, but they also had to carry all their supplies with them. It took a week for the men and additional supplies to return, and Jones resumed his work on Oct. 1.

The party completed their work to the Conestoga River near Arthur in seven days. This week is of great interest to residents of Centre Wellington, since the survey notes provide the earliest description of the area. To Jones and his party, the interior of southern Ontario was largely unknown. For example, Jones misidentified the Eramosa River at what was later Eden Mills as "the N. branch of the Grand River now the Ouse." The Grand appears on many early maps as the Ouse River. He noted that this river (now the Eramosa, or South Branch of the Speed) was about 50 feet across, with a stony bottom.

Jones described the land north of the Speed as smoother than the first part of the survey, allowing better time to be made. Farther along, he proceeded alongside the Speed River for some distance, crossing it three times. According to Jones, this was "one of the SW branches of the River Ouse...This creek spreads among the trees...Maple and Beech, loose deep soil." Farther along, the party encountered three small streams and a cedar swamp in what is now the First Concession of West Garafraxa.

On Oct. 5, 1792 the surveying crew reached the Grand River where, 41 years later, Fergus would be founded. Jones and his men were the first white men to see the river since Father Jean de Brebeuf passed through in November 1640. Here they descended the hill of what is now Scotland Street. The river here was about 100 feet across.

Jones noted that "the Banks on both sides are about Eight feet High of hard Rock, a Line of Hemlock and Cedar on the Banks." This area is now partially submerged under the millpond behind Wilson's Dam, and the water is now about 125 feet across. There are still many cedar trees in the area.

Proceeding on, the party encountered a couple of swamps and many hemlock trees. Four miles from the Grand, Jones crossed a creek 50 feet across, running to the south. This was the Irvine. As he neared the Conestoga River, Jones noted that the forest contained fir and tamarack.

When he saw the Conestoga, Jones believed he had reached the Thames. His Indian assistants argued with him, but their knowledge of geography was no better. They thought the river ran to Lake Huron. Obviously, they were confusing the Conestoga with the Maitland, a few miles to the north.

Jones concluded the survey of the baseline at the Conestoga. On reflection he realized that whatever this river was, it wasn't the Thames. He wrote, "Finding that the last creeks crossed had a general course to the NW with the Accounts given by the Indians who are acquainted with the Country, I thought best to change my Course to the SW to come upon the
Heads of the Waters of the River Thames."

Following the survey of the Baseline, the next major surveying project was to define the boundaries of the land grant to the Six Nations Indians. Originally, this was to run to the headwaters of the Grand, but at the time neither the British authorities nor the Six Nations realized that the course of the Grand River extended into the Mississauga Indian Territory.

As a consequence, the Six Nations grant extended only to the Baseline, now the Nichol-West Garafraxa boundary. Together, the Baseline and the Six Nations grant necessitated the irregular shapes of the townships surveyed later, and which had to be fitted around these two surveys.

Augustus Jones, Deputy Surveyor General

Of the secondary characters who populate the history of the early decades of Upper Canada, Augustus Jones is among the more fascinating. Although he is best remembered for the large amount of surveying work he undertook in the 1790s for the government, he was also an active land speculator, and he fancied himself as a gentleman farmer. 3

Augustus Jones was born in 1757 or 1758 near Newburgh in the Hudson River Valley, north of New York City. His grandfather had immigrated from Wales. He trained as a surveyor in New York City. His entire family seemed to have Loyalist sympathies, and by 1786 many of them, including Augustus, had settled in Saltfleet Township in the Niagara District.

Ambitious and ingratiating, Jones was soon able to secure work on a surveying crew. In 1788 he was named assistant to Philip Frey, deputy surveyor of the Nassau District, succeeding to Prey's position in 1791. During the 1790s he became the most active surveyor in the province, laying out townships between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, along the Grand River, along the north shore of Lake Ontario, and along the Detroit River. An important assignment was the laying out of Yonge Street from Toronto to Lake Simcoe. A man of extraordinary strength and stamina, he thrived in the conditions of the backwoods, despite various minor injuries and recurring malaria, then a common ailment in Upper Canada. During the summer of 1794, in the Burlington Bay area, he and his men killed 700 rattlesnakes. 4

Jones regularly employed Indians in his survey parties, drawing on both the Mississauga and Mohawk tribes. In this he continued a policy developed by his mentor Philip Frey. Both tribes soon accepted him as a trusted friend and advisor. By the mid-1790s Jones had established a close relationship with Mohawk chief Joseph Brant—the two men lived on opposite ends of the Burlington Beach strip—and Brant hired Jones to do much of the surveying work on the Grand River. Eventually, Brant leased a large acreage to Jones, and appointed Jones an executor of his will.

Meanwhile, Jones had been busy acquiring holdings of land. He seems to have cast himself in the image of the wealthy landed New York gentry he
recalled from his youth. He successfully petitioned for large parcels of land in Saltfleet and Barton Townships, and had other holdings in Niagara-on-the-Lake, York, and elsewhere. The leases given to him by Joseph Brant totalled ten square miles, but the Mohawks disputed the lease after Brant's death.

Although he was the most active of the 20 or so Deputy Surveyors in Upper Canada during the 1790s, surveying perhaps a quarter of the townships done in that decade, Augustus Jones did very little after 1800. Although the evidence is not clear, there are several factors that could account for this. Firstly, Jones had supported strongly Joseph Brant's position that the Six Nations could sell their land. The government held the position that the land could not be sold, or if it could, specific government permission was necessary. Some of the Six Nations leaders thought that the entire Grand River grant should be held intact and inviolate.

John Graves Simcoe and his successor, Peter Russell, held firmly to the government position. Brant went so far as to vow that the Six Nations would not support England if war broke out with France. Russell finally broke down in 1798, allowing Brant to sell six parcels of land on the upper part of the Grand, totalling 380,000 acres.

Jones' strong support of Brant on this and other disagreements he had with the government, and his interventions on Brant's behalf, may have cost him some of the favour he had been trying to build for himself in the inner circles of government. In any case, Jones received no more government contracts after 1799, and his claims for further land grants were rejected.

Perhaps a more significant factor in Jones' fall from the inner circle was his complicated domestic arrangement. In the mid-1790s he began a relationship, perhaps a marriage, with Sarah Henry, the daughter of a Mississauga chief. The couple had two children, John (1798) and Peter (1802), and there may have been others. In 1798 Jones married 18-year-old Sarah Tekarihogen, the daughter of a Mohawk chief, and a relative of Joseph Brant. He had eight children with this wife. Details of his personal affairs were widely known at the time, and it is likely that he was no longer welcome in the inner circles of Upper Canada society.

Augustus Jones' two families have caused some confusion among historians, particularly since both wives were Indian and had the same first name. In addition, his children attempted to suppress the facts in their written and oral accounts of the family, beginning with his second son Peter in 1860. Even modern biographers gloss over his double families.

As well, some people questioned the depth of Jones' Loyalist sentiments. Coming to Canada in 1786, rather late in the Loyalist game, there was always the suspicion that economic opportunity and personal advancement motivated his political position. As well, some of his relatives had fought on the American side in the Revolution. At the end of his Jones' life, Lt. Governor Sir Francis Bond Head denounced him as "an American surveyor
who in open adultery had children by several Indian squaws.\textsuperscript{7}

Out of official favour, Jones spent the last 36 years of his life as a gentleman farmer, initially on the acreage he owned near Stoney Creek. In 1817 he moved to a farm near Brantford. By the early 1830s he had relocated again, to a 1,200 tract east of Paris. He was planning a mill and a town site for this property when he died in 1836.

The Baseline in the Twentieth Century

Although the line that Augustus Jones surveyed has survived as the basis for later surveys in the area, his own name and the circumstances of the survey have been less persistent. The names "Jones Line" and the original "Purchase Line" have persisted, but the Jones Baseline has also had other names over the years.

Augustus Jones is not mentioned in the 1906 Atlas,\textsuperscript{8} but an essay by David McCrae, written about the same time, does recognize him.\textsuperscript{9} All the local historians active in the 1920s and 1930s were aware of Jones and the significance of his baseline, and gave him at least a passing reference.\textsuperscript{10} Locally, modern interest in Augustus Jones dates to August 1946, when Mary Broadfoot delivered a lecture on him to a meeting of the Wellington County Historical Research Society in Drayton. The talk was later printed by the Flora Express and issued in pamphlet form.\textsuperscript{11} The pamphlet contains a number of errors. In particular, the author dates the survey to the 1776-1784 period, probably based on the fact that the line was legally described in the Six Nations grant of 1784, even though it had not been surveyed.

At the time this pamphlet was written, the open parts of the baseline road probably looked little different than in the 1880s and 1890s, with rail, stone and stump fences, old homesteads, and virtually no traffic. Mary Broadfoot suggested that the road be improved as a scenic drive for recreational and educational purposes. She advocated that all further development on it be banned, and that trucks be forbidden on it.

Mary Broadfoot's pamphlet brought Jones to the attention of local historians, particularly Hazel Mack, an amateur historian and freelance journalist, who began research into Jones and his survey in 1954. She secured a copy of Jones' field notes, and corrected the errors made by earlier historians. Hazel Mack published her Jones research as a chapter in a short booklet of County history in 1955.\textsuperscript{12} Desiring that the line be marked in some way, she interested the Wellington County Historical Research Society and the Townships of Eramosa and Guelph in erecting a plaque, to be located where the baseline crosses Provincial Highway 7.\textsuperscript{13}

The two Townships and the Historical Society moved quickly. A plaque was designed and cast, and an unveiling ceremony scheduled for Dec. 11, 1955. Over a hundred people turned out on an inclimate afternoon. Speakers included Warden Norm Drimmie of Elora, Reeve Gray of Eramosa, and
Reeve Palframan of Guelph Township, all strong supporters of local history. The actual unveiling was done by Hazel Mack and Mrs. TJ. Hannigan.\textsuperscript{14}

There were points of controversy regarding the plaque. Firstly, it was made of cast iron, rather than bronze. The rationale was that bronze plaques had recently become victims of thieves, who sold them for their scrap metal value.\textsuperscript{15} Then there was the matter of location. The baseline crossing of Highway 7 had no particular historical significance, though it did have one advantage: many people would see the plaque each day. The plaque also marked the location of the old Utoka post office, which had operated from 1880 until 1894, a fact that was noted in the inscription.

Historian and journalist Hugh Templin observed that "Somebody might say that it was clouding the issue a bit, putting on the line about Utoka P.O. It is gone and mostly forgotten. The Baseline remains and seems likely to be a very important landmark for years."\textsuperscript{16} This was the first such historical marker in the county, and Templin went on to say that it was wise to mark locations of historical significance. Like several others, he advocated that the baseline be marked at other locations as well as Utoka. Templin thought the crossing of the Grand River was the most significant. This marked the upper limit of the original Six Nations grant, and the six-mile corridor on either side of the river was established from this point. The other site of significance he and others earmarked for commemoration was the junction of the baseline with the Conestoga River. These plaques were never erected.

The Jones Baseline plaque at Utoka suffered from weathering over the years, and was removed in the course of road reconstruction work and placed in storage. Evidently, it has disappeared. There have been efforts to try to locate and missing plaque, and several times the Wellington County
Historical Society has considered a replacement for it. The Jones Baseline is taking on new significance as a result of the renumbering plan by the County of Wellington, preparatory to the introduction of 911 emergency telephone service. The Jones Baseline forms an obvious spine in the physical layout of the County. The road is now to be known consistently as the Jones Baseline, and the name of Augustus Jones will now endure into posterity.

NOTES
1 See R. Louis Gentilcore and C. Grant Head, Ontario's History in Maps (Toronto, 1984), pp. 78-85.
2 Survey records have been microfilmed and indexed; see Louis Gentilcore and Kate Donkin, Land Surveys of Southern Ontario: An Introduction and Index to the Field Notebooks of the Ontario Land Surveyors, 1784-1859 (Toronto, 1973). Hugh Templin abstracted the portions of the notes relevant to Wellington County in the Fergus News Record of 13 Oct. 1955. This is a more accessible source.
4 Some of the details of Jones' work can be found in Ontario Archives MU4756, and in items scattered through the RG1 series. See also Ontario Archives Reports, 1905.
7 Quoted by Donald B. Smith, op. cit., p. 451.
8 Historical Atlas of Wellington County (Toronto, 1906), reprinted 1972.
9 David McCrae, manuscript essay, Wellington County Transportation file, Wellington County Museum and Archives.
10 For example, Hugh Templin, Fergus: The Story of a Little Town (Fergus, 1933); Arthur W. Wright, Pioneer Days in Nichol (Mount Forest, 1932).
11 Mary Broadfoot, 4-page pamphlet, Wellington County Transportation file, Wellington County Museum and Archives. The pamphlet has annotated manuscript information giving the circumstances of its origin.
12 Hazel Mack, Historical Highlights of Wellington County (Acton, 1955).
13 See Finlay Weaver's column, Guelph Daily Mercury, 10 Dec. 1955.
17 For example, Wellington County Historical Society Minutes, 20 Jan. 1994.
In Canada, the earliest attempt at solving the rural school problem occurred shortly after the turn of the century. Late in 1902, Sir William Macdonald, the Montreal tobacco manufacturer and philanthropist, made available to Professor James Robertson, at that time Dominion Agricultural and Dairying Commissioner, a sum of money which was to be used for the introduction of practical work into the country schools of eastern Canada. The objectives of the "Macdonald Movement" were twofold—to encourage the consolidation of rural schools and to promote the development of those subjects most compatible with agrarian life, namely nature study, manual training and domestic science.

The first step by the Macdonald Rural Schools Fund was to establish model school gardens at five rural schools in each of the five eastern provinces.

Coinciding with the school garden experiment was the construction of five model consolidated schools, with one built in Guelph in 1904.

Macdonald agreed to subsidize the schools during the first three years of their existence and it was hoped that after that time, funding would be assumed either by the province or local bodies once the worthiness of the experiment had been demonstrated.

From the beginning, rural school trustees saw the advantages of consolidation. It was clear that regular and increased attendance would be assured, and by conveying pupils in horse-drawn vans children would be less exposed to damp and cold weather. There was also the advantage of a more sophisticated classroom situation, as children could now progress through the various grades within their peer group. The Macdonald Fund set an example as well for the teachers who were carefully selected and then sent to special courses at Columbia and Cornell Universities.

The Macdonald Consolidated School at Guelph was typical of the schools established by Sir William in eastern Canada. It was built adjacent to the...
Ontario Agricultural College on a 2½ acre site close to Macdonald Institute, which had been a gift from Sir William in 1903.

Local school trustees received $38,000 for the property and construction.... unfortunately, the amount provided by the fund .... was not sufficient to allow the construction of a building of similar stature [to the Massey Library and Macdonald Institute]; both buildings are imposing and noteworthy for their stylistic eclecticism and rich terracotta colouration.

Design changes made without Sir William's knowledge resulted in a plain building with a utilitarian facade and simple peaked-roof porch over the front entrance. He was so enraged on opening day in 1904 that he refused to leave his carriage. Two hours later he boarded a train and never again returned to Guelph.

A few years later, the school trustees raised enough money to embellish the facade with a neo-classical wooden porch that boasted doric columns and the school's name proudly inscribed across the front.

The school was constructed of brick on a dressed stone foundation. The basement contained four large lunch and playrooms and on the first floor there were classrooms, a manual training room and a ladies' waiting room. Additional classrooms were on the second floor plus a laboratory for chemistry and nature study, domestic science room and principal's office. An assembly hall to seat 200 with stage and dressing rooms was on the third floor. The grounds contained a large garden, with individual plots for each student, a class plot and plots devoted to experimental work.

At the time of opening, in November 1904, four school sections to the north and south of the school had agreed to consolidate. A fifth section was admitted to the consolidation a few months later. The staff consisted of the principal, Mr. Hodson, and three teachers; the enrollment totalled 175. The school was managed by a board of fifteen—three from each section, and trustees' meetings were held monthly.

Rural pupils attending Macdonald Consolidated were transported to school in six horse-drawn vans, while those in town came by street car. During its early years, the school was noted for its nature garden, the produce of which was canned and bottled in domestic science classes. Much of the produce helped to provide the hot lunches which were another distinctive feature of the school.

The course of study covered regular public school subjects and some high school work, in addition to manual training, domestic science, agriculture, music, drawing and watercolours.

Despite its innovative curriculum, however, the venture into consolidation was not too successful. At the end of 1907, costs were one-third above those of the old system and, when put to the vote, consolidation was turned down by four of the six districts. The project in Guelph was then abandoned and the school was absorbed into the Guelph Township School Board. Although
the school served its community in good stead over the years, its classrooms gradually became outdated. Extensive renovations were needed for the building to meet modern building codes and safety standards for public use. As a result, in 1972 the Wellington County Board of Education closed the school to the public except for a special education clinic, which was maintained on the first floor.

At the same time that Macdonald Consolidated School was abandoned as a public school, the need for proper cultural facilities in the Guelph area was becoming more and more evident. David Macdonald Stewart, President of the Macdonald Stewart Foundation, recognized this need and encouraged the decision to preserve the old building and develop it as an art gallery.

The actual creation of the Macdonald Stewart Art Centre took place in November 1978 when the centre was established through a private member's bill introduced to the provincial legislature. The bill named four official sponsors of the Art Centre: the University of Guelph, the City of Guelph, the Wellington County Board of Education, and the County of Wellington.

Sir William's stipulation that the property only be used for educational purposes [has taken] on a new focus as the Macdonald Stewart Art Centre.... assume[s] its place among the community of art museums across Canada.

Judith Nasby is the Director of the Macdonald Stewart Art Centre. This excerpt is reprinted, with kind permission, from her article, "The Macdonald Stewart Art Centre," which appeared in the Canadian Collector 5 (September/October 1980):34-38.
I had many happy days at the Macdonald Consolidated School (MCS) which was situated directly across the road from our home; so close, in fact, that when the school bell rang I could leave home and reach school on time. It was called "Consolidated" because it was one of the first schools in the Province that brought children by horse-drawn vans from outlying areas to a central (or consolidated) school. The van sheds were on the edge of the school property across the road from the present (University of Guelph) War Memorial Hall.

We had two large campuses, one on either side of the four-storey, eight-room school and a large area at the back for our school garden and winter rink. With so much space, it's easy to understand that we had lots of fun playing games. With one exception, I considered the 15-minute recess, morning and afternoon, a great idea; my home was too close. I recall one occasion when Mother called me home at recess to have me wheel the baby buggy up and down the veranda until my sister Catherine fell to sleep.

Mrs. Neilands was my first teacher. She had the alphabet written across the top of the blackboards in both capital and small letters. Every morning after prayer, the first exercise for Grade I pupils was to repeat the name of each letter as she placed her pointer on it. As she reached the letter 'h' she would ask, "What does a dog do when it's out of breathe?" The answer would come back, "hu-hu-hu." One day I was sent to the blackboard to do some work but, instead, I began to play around. It happened that the Grades 1 and 2 shared the same classroom and my sister Marg was in Grade 2. Being a motherly type, she left her seat, came to the blackboard and slapped my face. My parents, on hearing of the occurrence agreed that Marg had taken the proper action. I was not too happy with the whole incident but had to admit I had deserved the slap.

World War I made an indelible impression on the minds of us juniors in Public school as we were kept informed of the terrible things that were happening. I was, perhaps, more concerned than some of my classmates since my Uncle Playford Hales was a Captain in the Royal Air Corps. Some days our teacher would make us march to and sing such patriotic songs as
"Keep the Home Fires Burning" and "It's a Long Way to Tipperary" and shout "Three cheers for the red, white and blue." Once we were marched to the front of the school where we stood at attention until ordered to wave our Canadian Ensign flag as the Prince of Wales (later Edward VIII) drove by waving to us from an open car. It's clear that we learned more than the 3 R's in school.

Three of the principals from my public school days stand out in my memory: John A. MacDonald (shortened to JAM), his brother, D.A. (obviously DAM), and Mr. Cosgrove whom I remember as a strict principal and an excellent Grade 7 and 8 teacher. I also recall some outstanding teachers: Miss Kitely, Miss Stapleton and Miss Pope, to name but three. Miss Kitely always managed to find some work to do between 4 p.m. and 5 p.m. and, we thought, handed out too many detentions. We later learned her motive; she was waiting for her fiance, Bob Moffat, a young professor, so that they could walk home together. Our class always assumed some credit for the marriage. Incidentally, one of my professors at Ontario Agricultural college (OAC) was that same Mr. R.C. 'Bob' Moffat.

I wasn't a top student, possibly because I didn't much care for homework, and, so, I usually stood about middle of the class. I loved manual training classes (woodworking was to develop in later years as a hobby) and sports of all kinds; the fun of the game appealed to me.

As I entered Grade 8, however, academics assumed a greater priority. This was the 'entrance' class, so called because at the end of this grade year members of the class had to sit for and pass the Provincial Entrance Examinations in order to enter High school. I remember studying really hard for these exams so that I would pass and enter High school with my friends. I learned early that there would be some really tough tests in life. Most of my friends and I passed the exams and entered Guelph Collegiate Vocational Institute (GCVI) together. I felt sorry for the two who were left behind.

It seems to me that a portrait of my school days would be incomplete...
without some reference to those things we did outside the classroom that helped build mind, body and character.

At the school garden plots we learned how to survey the area into individual eight-foot square plots, how to cultivate, plant, hoe the weeds, and thin out excess plants. Each garden was judged and the competition was keen. While we couldn't all come away with prizes, all of us were winners.

These same plots were flooded in winter to create an ice rink where I learned to skate and play hockey. Our hockey equipment consisted of old magazines stuffed into stockings for shinpads and any ordinary stick, unless you could afford 25 cents to buy a real hockey stick. The school rink had a major advantage over the frozen pond behind grandfather Hales barn: it was warmer changing inside the school.

The annual school picnic was a big event. Just to ride on the open air street cars was a real treat. These cars had bench seats that ran from one open side to the other. The conductor walked along a wooden plank that ran the length of the car on either side passing his fare box from one side to the other. We held our collective breath each time the street car crossed the bridge over the Speed River at the bottom of the College Hill for fear he might fall off and plunge to the river several feet below. At St. George's Square, in the centre of Guelph, we would have to wait until streetcars carrying pupils from other parts of Guelph arrived and we would then proceed up Woolwich Street until we reached the end of the line in front of Riverside Park where the picnic was to be held. We scrambled off the street cars racing each other to the picnic area where races and games were to be held. My favourites were the three-legged and the bran-sack races where my long legs were a definite advantage. This was always followed by the best part of any picnic, all the good food you could eat with lemonade to wash it down. The grande finale was the return trip on the open streetcars. Throughout, I remember, teachers and parents did their best to maintain
control. Here, it seems to me, we learned once again to compete and to socialize.

Ours was a rural school and so we had the advantage of a school fair. Early each year, Mr. Ralph Clemmens, a graduate of OAC and the agricultural representative for Wellington County, would visit each of the junior and senior rooms supplying them with vegetable seeds or a setting of eggs, explaining to them the various classes of competition for art, cooking and crafts, etc. The fair was held at a different school each year following summer vacation and competition was keen among the schools, especially in the parade of small floats, the bands (so called), the displays of vegetables grown by pupils, their crafts or the chickens they hatched. It was then I learned that a setting consisted of 13 eggs, that it was necessary to have a clucking hen ready to sit them for 21 days, and that they would not hatch unless fertilized by a rooster. This was my first lesson in sex, but it was not a subject of discussion nor was it headline news as it often is today.

Another major highlight in our school year was the Christmas concert. Weeks of rehearsal would precede this special annual event that was held in the school auditorium. This hall could not possibly pass today's safety standards located as it was on the top floor of the school with only one exit, the entrance. A fire in this room would have been disastrous since it would have been packed with parents and children. But fortune was with us and the concerts continued. I always seemed to be involved; a part in a play or introducing an act. Of course, our parts had to be memorized and executed to perfection. After all, mothers and fathers were in the audience. It was another in a series of the out-of-class experiences that proved to be of great help in later life.

Speaking of memory work, I can't help but recall the multiplication tables printed as they were on the back cover of our scribblers, and of the poetry we committed to memory. Two in particular come to mind; "Breathes

The nature study laboratory.
there a man with soul so dead” and "Somebody's mother."

Radio was not a part of our school activities, but in the 1920s Leonard Hammond, a pioneer in its development, lived near our school. I'm not sure if he attended MCS but some of his brothers and sisters did. He and Len Hartland, a close friend of his who was also a radio enthusiast, developed a set so that they could send messages to one another. Of course, it was a crystal set, the most primitive form of radio.

Russell McKinney, a classmate of mine when we were both 12 years of age, and I were continually talking about this new wonder. One day he arrived at school and couldn't wait to tell me that his father had bought his family a radio. Later, on a Sunday, I was invited to his home to listen to a church service being broadcast over station KDKA, Pittsburgh. What a thrill that was. I could barely control my enthusiasm as I reported the church service broadcast to my father and mother. "It was so clear," I said, "that you could hear the collection drop on the collection plate." This turned out to be a very successful sales pitch, for on the first Christmas morning after my plea there was our first radio, an RCA. It had four tubes that stood in full view, two sets of earphones and a small table horn for use in place of the earphones. It would be an oddity if compared to the sophisticated radios of today, but then it was a thing of beauty with which Father had surprised us once again. It was so popular in the family that we had to take turns using it. We had good reception as we followed the current thinking and had an outside aerial that sloped toward the radio. This, it turned out, was yet another myth.

These memories have been excerpted, and reprinted with kind permission, from Alf Hales' family history, Memoirs: A Personal History. Mr. Hales represented Wellington South in the federal legislature from 1957 to 1974. To date, he is, for that riding, the longest serving Member of Parliament from one party since Confederation.
FOOD RATIONING: A PART OF WORLD WAR II CANADA

by Joyce Blyth

During the crisis of the second world war, the Canadian government increased its control over many aspects of daily life. In the interest of the war effort, people were instructed, perhaps ordered, what to think, where to live, and especially what to eat. The Wartime Prices and Trade Board (WPTB) was established in Canada in September, 1939, at the onset of World War II. Its function was to oversee the prices of food, fuel and other necessities, as well as to ensure adequate supply and equitable distribution of such commodities. It was this board that governed rationing. 1

Honour system for sugar - 1942

A short time after Japan's entry into the war in December, 1941, food rationing began in Canada. It was to continue until November, 1947, more than two years after the war was over. Controls that were severe in Great Britain and Russia were less strict in Canada and the United States. At first Canada rationed only sugar, tea, coffee and butter; later meats and preserves were added to the list. As the war progressed, supplies of every commodity grew scarce. At times there were no canned goods; shortening and laundry soap were also generally in short supply. 2

On January 25, 1942, WPTB told Canadians to limit themselves to three-quarters of a pound of sugar per week. They were also told to not purchase more than a two-week supply. While people were expected to regulate themselves, a breach of these orders carried a possible fine of $5,000 and two years' imprisonment. 3

Sugar rationing was needed because sugar molasses was a major source of the ethyl alcohol required for the manufacture of munitions and for chemicals used in war production. According to newspaper stories, every time a 16-inch gun was fired, a fifth of an acre of sugar cane was consumed. 4 Donald Gordon, WPTB chairman, stressed that the success of sugar
rationing depended on public co-operation, noting that if the voluntary plan failed, coupon rationing would be instituted. A further sugar reduction was ordered on May 28, 1942, because the hazards to shipping had become more serious. Canadians were now allowed only a half pound per person per week.6

**Temporary cards issued - 1942**

One month later, all Canadians, including children, were required to register so that sugar ration cards could be issued. These were good for ten weeks commencing on July 1, 1942. At the end of that period, a coupon ration book, good for six months, would be available. Application cards were mailed to all householders in Canada. These cards were to be filled out immediately and dropped into the mail or left at the nearest post office.7

In some places, such as in Guelph, the cards were collected by volunteers. A representative from the sub-regional office of the WPTB outlined the system to be employed in the Guelph area. John Goad, president of the Young Men's Board of Trade, acted as chairman of the volunteer workers. He was assisted by 160 male volunteer canvassers recruited from Sea Cadets, Junior A Cadets, Boy Scouts, Entrance classes and members of the Guelph Junior Board of Trade.8

At Guelph Collegiate Vocational Institute, under the direction of Mrs. W.V. Harcourt, women volunteers transcribed the names from the application cards to the ration coupon cards.9
The temporary ration cards had five numbered, tear-off coupons, each good for the two weeks' ration of one pound of sugar. Coupons were dated and could not be used before the specified time. Five other coupons were provided in case of other emergency rationing. Special arrangements were made to provide sugar for preserving. Housewives were required to sign voucher forms supplied by the retailer in order to obtain extra sugar. No sugar, however, was allowed for pickling. Industrial users—bakeries, soft drink manufacturers, candy factories—were allowed only 70 percent of their requirement before the honour ration had gone into effect.

**Tea and coffee controlled**

Tea and coffee rationing was also attempted on a voluntary basis. On May 28, 1942, Canadians were told to reduce their normal consumption of tea by at least a half, and coffee by at least one-fourth. Ships bringing tea from Ceylon and India, and coffee from South America, had to cross oceans infested with enemy submarines. Besides, every foot of cargo space was needed to carry war materials.

As with sugar, this honour system was short lived. On August 1, 1942, adult consumption was rationed to one ounce of tea or four ounces of coffee per week, but not both; one ounce of tea made as much beverage as four ounces of coffee. For five weeks, the extra ration coupons were used for tea or coffee. The tea and coffee coupons on the cards issued to children under twelve could not be used.

**Permanent books**

The first of a series of six ration books was issued for September 7, 1942. More than 450,000 copies of permanent Ration Book No. 1 were prepared in London, Ontario, for the residents of Middlesex, Grey, Bruce, Perth, Oxford, Norfolk, Brant, Wellington, Waterloo and Dufferin counties. School teachers were employed to register the residents and to make out the new books which were then distributed by mail. A ration office was opened in Kitchener to serve all these counties, with the exception of Middlesex.

Each book had a serial number; book holders were required to write their name, address and serial number in the allotted spaces of each sheet of coupons. The first sheet was red; it had thirteen numbered coupons labelled "Sugar". Each was good for one pound of sugar, a two weeks' supply. The second sheet of coupons was green; it was marked "Spare A" and had thirteen coupons for tea or coffee—either two ounces of tea or eight ounces of coffee. These green pages were detached from the ration books before they were issued for children under twelve. Ration Book No. 1 also had a blue sheet marked "Spare B", two brown pages of "Spare C" and two grey
pages of "Spare D". These extra sheets were included in case additional rationing became necessary.\textsuperscript{17} Although ration coupons could not be used before their designated dates, they were valid indefinitely after the dates indicated.\textsuperscript{18}

Ration Book No. I, effective September 7, 1942.

People who moved away from home were expected to take their ration books with them. Those who left Canada for as long as sixty days had to surrender their books. United States citizens living in Canada had to produce their Canadian National Registration Cards to be issued with ration books. United States citizens coming into Canada were able to get temporary ration cards from a local Ration Board. Residents of Japanese origin, who had been issued with identification cards, were obligated to produce these cards at the ration-book distribution centre.\textsuperscript{19}

Beginning on December 21, 1942, butter was rationed at one-half pound per person per week. The brown "Spare C" coupons were used for butter. The system for butter rationing was different from that of tea, coffee and sugar, where the coupons had no specified expiry date. Each butter coupon became valid at the beginning of the two-week period and expired at the end of that time. Special notices of these dates were published in local newspapers and this information was also distributed to retailers.\textsuperscript{20} Because butter production was at its lowest level during January and February, butter rations were reduced by an additional one third for six weeks starting on January 18, 1943.\textsuperscript{21}

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72 FOOD RATIONING
BUTTER
is rationed by coupon
Ottawa, December 21, 1942

The ration is one-half pound of butter per person, per week

On and after December 21st it is unlawful to sell or buy butter at retail without the surrender of the proper coupons. Brown Coupons, Nos. 1 to 11, “Spare C” from Ration Book No. 1 now in the bands of the public, are to be used for this purpose. Each Brown coupon, Nos. 1 to 11, “Spare C” entitles the holder to buy one week’s supply. Only Brown coupons, Nos. 1 to 11.

‘Spare C’ can be used for the purchase of butter. Each coupon becomes good on a definite date and expires on a definite date and can be used only within its prescribed period as given below.

The system for butter is different from that of applying to Tea, Coffee and Sugar, where coupons have no specified expiry date.

Temporary Ration Cards
All Brown Coupons on Temporary Ration Cards issued to members of the armed forces on leave, visitors to Canada etc., are good after December 21.

Butter Holdings Exceeding More Than One Pound per Person Must Be Reported and Coupons Surrendered

Consumers or non-registered boarding houses having in their possession the equivalent of more than one pound of butter for each person in the household, must before January 3, 1943, report their holdings to the nearest office of this Board. They must forward with their reports the number of butter coupons representing their butter holdings. If the quality of butter in possession of such persons represents more than the eleven Brown coupons in Ration Book No. 1, which will be good for butter, they must in their reports undertake to detach from future ration books, additional butter coupons equal to the remainder of the surplus.

Special Notice To Retailers
On and after December 28, retailers must establish their right to purchase new supplies of butter from their suppliers by turning over to the supplier currently valid ration coupons equivalent to the poundage of butter ordered from the suppliers. A Bulletin giving instructions to retailers has been mailed to reach you today. Please watch for it.

Food shortages - 1942

Economic conditions were good in 1942, despite wartime restraints. Everybody was employed and people had money to spend. However, there was not much to buy; new automobiles and other consumer goods disappeared as industry concentrated on producing aircraft, tanks, transport.
vehicles, guns, ships and other military equipment. Retailers found it difficult to replenish their stock or to get a wide assortment of goods. Mechanical toys were scarce because metal was needed for war purposes. There were also definite shortages in the dry goods field; wholesalers simply could not fill orders. Newspaper advertisements show that people were advised to shop early for Christmas that year; stores that customarily stayed open at night for Christmas shoppers did not do so until nearer Christmas.22

Local Ration Boards were established to deal with rationing problems. Citizen representatives volunteered on these boards. Four Ration Boards were set up within Wellington County—at Guelph, Fergus, Mount Forest and Harriston. In Guelph, the Ration Board operated out of the welfare office at the city hall; Mayor R.B. Hobson acted as chairman and W.W. Simpson was secretary. This ten-member board administered rationing for the City of Guelph, Erin Village, and the townships of Puslinch, Guelph, Eramosa, and Erin. The Fergus Ration Board served Fergus, Elora and the townships of Pilkington, Nichol, West Garafraxa and Peel. The Mount Forest Board covered Mount Forest, Arthur and the townships of Arthur and West Luther, while the Board in Harriston supervised Harriston, Palmerston, Drayton, Clifford, and Maryborough and Minto townships.23

In February 1943, committees were established to distribute Ration Book No. 2. Mrs. W.V. Harcourt was deputy distributing chief for the City of Guelph, Mr. D.D. Gray for Eramosa Township, Mr. Norman Sinclair for Guelph Township, Mr. N.E. McKinnon for Erin Township and Erin Village and Mr. Donald Stewart for Puslinch Township.24

Women's organizations again volunteered to help the Local Ration Board. Ration Book No. 2 was available from February 23 to 27. The location of distribution centres was advertised locally. To get the new book, the detachable application card at the back of Ration Book No. 1 had to be completed with serial number, name, address and age if under 16. The new ration book had a green sheet for tea and coffee, a red sheet for sugar, two orchid sheets for butter, four brown "Spare A" sheets, one blue "Spare B" sheet, two grey "Spare C" sheets and a white sheet of canning instructions. Again the green tea and coffee sheet was detached from books issued to children.25

Because of the congestion in food stores on Saturdays, especially in urban areas, housewives were permitted to use sugar, tea and coffee coupons on Thursdays, instead of waiting until the Saturday due date.26

**Meat rationed**

Meat rationing went into effect on May 27, 1943. It was estimated that forty per cent of Canada's meat was required for the United Kingdom; a considerable amount was also required for the armed services, the Red Cross, ships' stores, Newfoundland, the British West Indies and for the men
building the Alaska Highway. Rationed meats included beef, veal, pork, mutton and lamb. Poultry and fish were not rationed nor were the "fancy" meats such as heart, tongue, liver, kidney, bologna and wieners.

The WPTB appointed four men to establish a meat-rationing system in Canada. Alfred D. Hales, Member of Parliament for Wellington South (1957-1974), also the owner of Hales' Meat Market in Guelph, served on this committee. Every Wednesday for six months, Mr. Hales flew to Ottawa to meet with the others to wrestle with the problem of assigning the appropriate number of coupons to each cut of meat. The brown "Spare A" coupons in Ration Book No. 2 were used for meat. Each person could spend two coupons a week. The coupon value depended on the type of meat purchased; a list of values was displayed in butcher shops and distributed to homes. Meats were divided into four groups. According to the meat chosen, a coupon might buy a half, three-quarters, one or one-and-a-quarter pounds of meat. An entire coupon had to be used for one purchase as there was no provision for making change.

Meatless Tuesdays were declared for restaurants, hotels and other public eating places. Because salmon was in short supply, it was added to the ration list. Farmers who sold butter and meat at the farm gate had also to collect coupons from their customers; these coupons were to be delivered to the Local Ration Board. Meat rationing was suspended on March 1, 1944, but not abandoned. This reprieve came with increased livestock production, together with difficulties in shipping surplus meat to the United Kingdom.

The distribution of Ration Book No. 3 was set for August 24 to 27, 1943. Distribution centres were set up at the Y.M.C.A. and at Sacred Heart School in Guelph. People outside the city could obtain their books from the centre nearest their home: in Guelph Township at Marden School, Puslinch Township at Aberfoyle Town Hall, Erasmo Township at Rockwood Town Hall, Erin Township at Erin Town Hall, at Coe's Hotel in Hillsburg, F.
Brydon's home in Ospringe, the Community Hall in Orton and at Rev. Foreman's home in Ballinafad. Applicants were advised to fill in the detachable card at the back of Ration Book No. 2 to avoid delays. They were also reminded to surrender books belonging to family members who had joined the armed forces, or to deceased persons.

Ration Book No. 3 had more spare pages than the previous books. One sheet each of "D", "E" and "F" coupons had been added in case of additional shortages. In late August, 1943, the WPTB declared a ten-day "hold" on retail sales of honey, jam, jellies, marmalade, canned fruit, molasses, corn syrup and maple syrup. Rationing of these items went into effect on September 2. Two "D" coupons from the new Ration Book No. 3 could be used each month; if said items were not available at the grocery store, a "D" coupon could be used instead to purchase a half pound of sugar.

From March to May, when the farmer sold most of the syrup directly to the consumer, the value of the preserves coupon was increased for maple syrup. During these three months, four coupons procured a gallon (160-fluid ounces) of maple syrup. After the end of May, one coupon was required for only 24-fluid ounces of syrup.

Ration Book No. 4 was distributed on March 29, 30 and 31, 1944. Women were again expected to volunteer. Although spare "H" and "K" coupons were added to the new book, WPTB officials did not anticipate rationing other commodities. The application card was missing from the back of the rations book; instead the front cover would be used to apply for the next book. This saved the country about 70 tons of paper.
EFFECTIVE TOMORROW
SEPTEMBER 2nd
PRESERVES and SWEET SPREADS
ARE RATIONED BY COUPON

The products affected include: Jams/ Jellies/ Marmalades, Extracted Honey, Comb Honey in Squares, Honey Butter, Maple Syrup, Maple Butter, Maple Sugar, Molasses, Corn Syrup, Cane Syrup, or any blended Table Syrup, Apple Butter, or Canned Fruit.

ONE "D" COUPON IS GOOD FOR
Not More Than
Jams, Jellies, Marmalades, Extracted Honey,
Apple Bitter, Maple Batter or Honey Butter 6 FLUID OZS.
or
Maple Sugar or Comb Honey in Squares . . ½ LB. NET
or
Molasses or Maple Syrup....................... 10 FLUID OZS.
or
Corn Syrup, Cane Syrup, or any blended Table Syrup..................................... 12 FLUID OZS
or
Canned Fruit .......................................... 10 FLUID OZS.
or
Sugar .................................................. ½ LB. NET

Advertisement from the Guelph Mercury, September 1, 1943.

Controls eased - 1944

Newspaper headlines in September 1944, read “Acute Rationing Over but Restrictions Urged.” It seemed that Canadians had come through the most acute period of rationing and shortages and a number of controls had already been eased or lifted.

Larger rations of tea and coffee had been allowed in April, amounting to four ounces of tea or one pound of coffee. After September 20, 1944, tea
and coffee were no longer rationed. Although Ration Book No. 5 would not rank in importance with some of its predecessors, it was still vital for butter, sugar and preserves.

Between October 14 and 21, 1944, volunteers distributed the fifth ration book. It was thicker because it lasted for fifty weeks, instead of the previous thirty. Instead of issuing special home-canning sugar coupons, there were twenty extra preserve coupons in Book No. 5, each coupon for a half-pound of sugar. This was partly retracted, in June, 1945, and shoppers could use only one of two sugar coupons over the next seven months, amounting to a five-pound reduction. Butter was also scarce; in July, 1944, one Thursday purchase was cancelled making for a butterless week.

**Meat rationing returns - 1945**

Although World War II ended in the summer of 1945, meat rationing returned on September 9, 1945, due to a desperate shortage of food in liberated Europe. In restaurants, Tuesdays became meatless days again, and meatless Friday was added. The spare "M" coupons in Ration Book No. 5 were for meat purchases.

As in the earlier period of rationing, the amount of meat for one coupon depended on the selection of meat. Change for coupons, however, was now available through the use of meat tokens; eight blue pressed-wood discs were equivalent to one "M" coupon. Butchers exchanged "M" coupons at the bank for blue tokens that were available in boxes of 200. As a wartime duty, the chartered banks of Canada had undertaken to provide the services of ration coupon banking and accounting.

**Beginning of the reprieve - 1946**

To compensate for the low winter production of milk by dairy farmers, in January, 1946, Canadians again took a reduction in butter, from seven to six ounces per week. This cut was effected by missing a coupon per week, every fourth week. Sugar rations, on the other hand, were increased from two to three pounds per person per month for September, October and November, 1946.

The sixth and final ration book was available from September 9 to 13, 1946. The Local Ration Board distributed 36,000 books in Guelph and area. This time, people who did not get their new books during distribution week, could mail their completed card to any Local Ration Board.
Rationing ends - 1947

Meat rationing ended on March 27, 1947. While Canadians could buy all the meat they wanted without producing the ration coupons or tokens, the two meatless days remained in effect in public eating places for some time.30

On June 10, 1947 a Government Decontrol Order freed butter and preserves from the ration list. For the first time in five years shoppers were permitted to buy all the butter they wanted. The government also removed the price ceiling on these foods as well as several other commodities. At that time butter retailed for about 390 a pound.51

In August 1947, sugar restrictions were relaxed—for both household and industrial use. Three or four additional pounds were made available per person, boosting the individual ration to about 45 pounds per year.52 The sugar restraint in Canada had lingered on due to the fact that Europe was still under starvation conditions.

Sugar restraints had been a blessing in disguise. In Toronto, there was a startling improvement in the condition of children's teeth, compared with 1939, when sugar had been plentiful. Elementary schools had fewer children with defective teeth and, on the average, individual children had fewer cavities. Much of this was attributed to sugar rationing. During the war years, chocolate bars and other candies had practically disappeared, and the supply of the sweeter soft drinks was greatly reduced.53

Sugar and edible molasses were the last items to be freed; after six years, controls were released on November 3, 1947. Price ceilings, however, were retained on both sugar and edible molasses. At that time sugar retailed for about 9 cents a pound.54

Chocolate Bars Here Again

Customers Buying as Many as Ever at Eight Cents

The end of sugar rationing—and the start of a boom in business for Canadian dentists.

After six years of global conflict, Canadians were settling back into normal life. Virtually anyone who wanted work could find it. Factories were pouring out new consumer products. After complying with wartime restraints for so long, Canadians were ready for a spending spree and they had the money to do it.
## SUMMARY
### COUPON RATIONING OF FOOD (1942-1947)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>July 1, 1942 - Nov. 3, 1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea and Coffee</td>
<td>Aug. 1, 1942 - Sept. 20, 1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>Dec. 21, 1942 - June 10, 1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>May 27, 1943 - Mar. 1, 1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept. 9, 1945 - Mar. 27, 1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honey, Jams, Syrups, etc</td>
<td>Sept. 2, 1943 - June 10, 1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edible molasses</td>
<td>Sept. 2, 1943 - Nov. 3, 1947</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Temporary Ration Card effective July 1, 1942

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ration Book No.</th>
<th>Effective Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sept. 7, 1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mar. 10, 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sept. 2, 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Apr. 1, 1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Oct 25, 1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sept 19, 1946</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## NOTES

The author would like to thank Will Adye-White for the use of material from his grandmother (Gilda Groff).

1. Richard Howard, Sonia Riddoch, Peter Watson, *Canada Since Confederation*.
2. Diary of Evelyn Fletcher (author's mother).
19 Pamphlet How-When-and Where to get your New Ration Book No. 3.
22 The Guelph Mercury. 2 Dec. 1942.
23 Fergus News-Record, 10 Dec. 1942.
26 The Guelph Mercury, 28 Apr. 1943.
27 Ibid.
28 Canada Rationing 1942-1947: A Numismatic Record, Harold Don Allen, Jr.
29 Memoirs, A Personal History, Alfred Dryden Hales, B.Sc.(Agr), Member of Parliament 1957 to 1974.
30 Diary of Evelyn Fletcher (author's mother).
31 The Guelph Mercury, 6 Jan. 1943.
32 The Guelph Mercury, 1 Mar. 1944.
34 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 The Guelph Mercury, 1 Mar. 1944.
38 The Guelph Mercury, 16 Mar. 1944.
41 Ibid.
44 The Erin Advocate, 12 July 1945.
45 The Erin Advocate, 30 Aug. 1945.
46 Canada Rationing 1942-1947: A Numismatic Record, Harold Don Allen, Jr.
48 The Erin Advocate, 8 Aug. 1946.
49 The Erin Advocate, 19 Sept. 1946.
51 The Guelph Mercury. 10 June 1947.
52 The Guelph Mercury, 26 June 1947.
53 The Erin Advocate, 10 Apr. 1947.
Fire could easily start in the communities of early Ontario, and with only a dug well, nearby spring or natural pond, it could be disastrous to the home or barn. The settlers often banded together to clear land or erect buildings; rural folk rallied in those days (and still do) to help neighbours who were struck by catastrophe.

The history of insurance springs naturally from such community spirit, hence mutual coverage, whereby those registered agreed to pay, at the end of each year, the losses sustained by the membership. Later changes provided for the collection of premiums in advance, sufficient to cover projected claims and establish a reserve to meet contingencies and the salary of the Secretary, who devoted his time to the business.

In Ontario, an Act of 1836 allowed the establishment of Mutual Fire Insurance Companies in certain districts, usually organized by township. The underlying principles were those of co-operation and self-help, not profit. By 1887, the companies banded together to form The Mutual Fire Underwriters Association of Ontario. Later legislation permitted the member associations to insure additional risks, for example livestock losses, or those due to weather. In Wellington County, such early companies included:

- **Wellington County, Guelph** (1840)
- **Puslinch, Aberfoyle** (1859-1969)
- **Guelph Township, Guelph** (1860-1944)
- **Nichol, Fergus** (1860-1931)
- **Eramosa, Rockwood** (1861-1969)
- **Peel and Maryborough, Drayton** (1887->)
- **Wellington Weather, Drayton** (1907-1913)
Halwell, Guelph (1969->), representing an amalgamation of Halton Union, Puslinch and Eramosa

Wellington County residents who served as Officers to the Association included John Beattie, Fergus; Hugh Black, Rockwood; James McEwing, Drayton; Henry L. Drake, Mount Forest and Chas. Davidson, Guelph.

Walker's book, liberally illustrated with photographs, tables and early documents, sketches the history of the Mutual Insurance Association and its constituent companies. He appears to leave no detail unreported, emphasizing, surely that insurance is a business of dotting the I's and crossing the T's. "Spontaneous combustion was a truly vital topic," he notes, reporting on discussions at one Annual Meeting; other subjects (among hundreds) included fires caused by passing locomotives and later, coverage against damage from falling aircraft or propane explosions. It is interesting to note from a very early date, the extensive efforts made by the Association to train its staff alongside determined and repeated efforts to educate the public.

Of course insurance companies depend entirely upon their brokers or agents to sell appropriate coverage for them; and they rely greatly upon public confidence in their ability to pay when the chips are down (or burnt). It is to the credit of the Economical Mutual Insurance Company that it has acknowledged its heritage by compiling thumbnail histories of each of its brokers.

Economical Mutual began in 1871 as the Economical Fire Insurance Company of Berlin, and through the years has absorbed the business of four other companies—Waterloo County Mutual Fire Insurance Company (1863), County of Perth Mutual Fire Insurance Company (1863), Northwestern Mutual Fire Insurance Association (with policies in force in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes) and Merchants Casualty Insurance Company (originally of Winnipeg).

Ten Mutual Cornerstone publications have been produced covering each of the company's operating divisions. The booklet for the Kitchener-Waterloo branch contains details on some 50 brokers, of which those based in Wellington County include:

Cockburn Insurance Brokers Ltd. (Mt. Forest, from 1882)
T.G. Colley & Sons Ltd. (Guelph, from 1934)
Gordon Guthrie Insurance Brokers Ltd. (Guelph, from 1972)
Ostic Insurance Brokers Ltd. (Fergus, from 1880)
John Sutherland and Sons Ltd. (Guelph, from 1870)
Waind Insurance Broker Ltd. (Elora, from 1907)

While the brief sketches of each company do little more than identify significant dates and personnel, they do offer hints of the important role such agents played in the life of their communities and the notable part they played in the growing economy.

Ian Easterbrook

WELLINGTON COUNTY HISTORY 83

Elinor Glyn (1864-1943) was a remarkably successful author of romantic novels during the period 1900-1934. One thinks immediately of Barbara Cartland, Danielle Steel or Harlequin Romances; in the United States today, the genre accounts for nearly 50 percent of mass-market paperback sales, and represents a market of $885 million.

Glyn lived a peripatetic existence during the Edwardian period, flitting between flats here, apartments there, country houses next; Cowes, London, Paris, St. Raphael, Venice, Carlsbad, Lucerne. While the geographic points are fixed, Glyn's relationships with the idle aristocracy or minor nobility of the period swim through the book with apparent ease. Elinor flirted with many but married Clayton Glyn, who appears to have been agreeable enough towards his wife's lifestyle, but showed more affection toward fine brandy than toward his wife and daughters. One might argue that it was Clayton's personal or financial incompetence which spurred Elinor to a writing career which spanned some 30 novels and numerous screenplays.

But before all this, Elinor and her sister Lucy lived in Guelph on a (then) country estate named Summerhill [now 25 Harcourt Drive]. Though both girls were born on the Island of Jersey, their mother, when widowed, returned with them to the farm of her family, Thomas Saunders and his wife; he was of English-French descent, she had an Irish background. Elinor wrote of them as "a gallant old pair of settlers" and saw in their lives "the very essence of romance." It was Elinor's grandmother who shaped the early years of the two girls, as "a frightening woman, proud, aloof, autocratic, with dramatic manners and a withering tongue."

The literature of Early Childhood Education suggests that it was this period in Guelph which laid the groundwork for all that would follow; the die cast, the personality formed, later life would merely polish the edges.

In 1872, accompanied by their mother and her new husband, the two girls left Canada "wild with excitement at the prospect of seeing for themselves all those wonderful places they had heard about from their mother and their grandmother. And Lucy, at least, was 'jubilant' at the prospect of leaving behind what she was later to describe as "dirty little Guelph."

The author claims the years spent in Canada had a profound influence on
the life of Elinor Glyn, who herself wrote that the time at Summerhill "developed my character, moulded my tastes and coloured my point of view for life." Repeatedly, and often in moments of challenge, Glyn acknowledged the "iron mask of self respect and self-control which had, perhaps fortunately, been locked round my throat by Grandmamma in Canada long years before." When Glyn visited friends in the countryside outside New York, "Old memories of Summerhill came back to me when I saw the glorious colours of the maples." In the wilds of Nevada, visiting a mining community, she was "touched and reminded of how her own family had read books in their log cabin when they had first lived in Canada."

The major materials upon which the author depends to tell Elinor's tale are voluminous: Glyn, at age 77, penned her autobiography *Romantic Adventure* in 1936, as did her sister Lucy Duff Gordon, *Discretions and Indiscretions* in 1932; in addition a grandson, Anthony Glyn offered *Elinor Glyn: A Biography*, in 1955, and a further publication recounted the lives of both sisters in *The It Girls* (1986). Beginning at a young age, Elinor Glyn kept a diary from which she apparently hid no secrets; her letters and her works of fiction have been plumbed for pithy observations—often relevant to (or generated by) her life moments. Also, many of Glyn's acquaintances through the years documented their meetings with her.

At her death, the *Guelph Mercury* of 23 September, 1943 recalled that Glyn had "established her literary reputation with the novel *Three Weeks*, which Canada refused for a time to be allowed in the country..." adding that the novel "has been described as the foundation of the modern sex novel."

Glyn's writing (and indeed her life itself) suggests a keen eye for detail and for the colour and texture of an existence pursued with vigour and style. Her biogapher, while well-intentioned I'm sure, falls short of echoing the exuberance of Glyn's forceful and often extravagant personality. An editor with a firmer hand and larger quiver of commas would have been useful, as would a chronological list of Glyn's writings.

Ian Easterbrook


Beyond doubt, this is a well written and fun guidebook, directing you to a variety of museums, archives and education centres throughout Ontario. Both the presentation and writing style are user friendly. It is written for you to enjoy reading and to encourage you to enjoy visiting the various museums and centres cited in the book. Julia Pine wrote this guidebook to give you the basic information you'll need to visit the site, and a descriptive summary of its history and content.

If you are going on vacation and want to know about the museums en route, or you want to plot a day trip in your region, or you just want to have
an enjoyable read at home, please pick up this book. It won't disappoint you.

I noted there was a slight concentration on Toronto and Ottawa museums or centres, with a third of the cited museums situated in other regions in Ontario. Four of the museums or centres are in the Guelph area (McCrae House, Guelph; The Arboretum, University of Guelph; Kortright Waterfowl Park, Guelph; Theatre Archives, University of Guelph). A number of the sites described are in the Kitchener-Waterloo area.

Within a broader theoretical context, the variety of sites claiming to be museums and educational centres points to a central problem in Canadian museology. I am referring to the difficulty of writing professional standards for and applying them to the operations of these "public" centres. In order for public museums to obtain public funds (government grants and funding), they need to be accountable and operated in a business-like fashion. Several of the public centres/museums are operated without a firm mandate and without current policies in place.

Ms. Pine laments the apparent lack of "funding, organization and recognition" by Canada for the museums, education centres, archives and collections. In fact, tremendous funding is available, but the museums need to assure accountability and have in place professional standards and sound policies, before they can receive public funds. Many museums operate as private collections, instead of the public institutions they claim to be. Reading through Amazing Museums, you can note the number of so-called museums that do not have consistent open public hours or for which you have to make special arrangements to 'view' the owner's curios.

Ms. Pine's definition of museum, i.e. "a collection of neat stuff," belies the true problem in Canada's museum field. We continue to treat our profession as keepers of neat stuff, instead of as conveyors of knowledge and facilitators of learning. If museums are to be viable and relevant institutions in 21st century communities, they have to redefine their role within the context of the current information society, as well as operate in a business-like manner. We can no longer afford to think of museums as private collections of curios, nor continue to encourage people to think of their cultural institutions as "collections of neat stuff" to visit once.

Museums need to guarantee professional standards and policies, and professional development of all staff, establish partnerships with other cultural organizations and businesses, and establish through their provincial
Ontario's Amazing Museums fulfils its purpose of introducing you to Ontario's wide range of museums and education centres and inviting you in a friendly and lively fashion to visit them. It also serves to underline the difficulties of maintaining the variety of museum-like institutions without developing professional standards and without a serious discussion about the place and role of the museums in the future Canadian society.

Robin Etherington


Libraries have always been magical places for me. When I was little I got a special thrill standing on a stool to reach books on the top shelf and "read over my head." Later, libraries offered a warm place to have a relaxing read while the children romped at Story hour. Now I can pop in and go home with two weeks worth of entertainment in the form of toys, videos, and books, books, BOOKS.

It becomes readily apparent in the pages of Lorne Bruce's *Free Books for All: The Public Library Movement in Ontario, 1850-1930*, that libraries did not always operate as they do today. Free membership, as well as ancillary, children's and other services that I now enjoy, have not always existed.

Bruce traces the development of free libraries in Ontario through three phases. They germinated in the days of Egerton Ryerson's controlling influence, grew through the early public library stage in the 1880s and flowered during the period when Andrew Carnegie's influential grants helped many communities to construct new libraries.

Bruce begins by describing early libraries, the bulk of them school libraries or Mechanics' Institute libraries which primarily served adult male subscribers. The author then outlines the eighty years of change that saw the transformation of these backwater book closets into tax-supported institutions providing "free books" for all classes, ages and sexes. Things we take for granted today—open stacks, professional librarians, and even buildings designed specifically as libraries—are relatively new.

*Free Books* sets the growth of the public
library movement against a richly detailed background of Ontario history. Bruce considers nationalism, class, rural-urban differences, social ideas, political trends, technology, the influence of important individuals and other factors effecting library evolution. He also contemplates the agenda of people behind the free library movement. The civic movers and shakers then (as sometimes now) thought that giving certain classes or types of people access to books would aid cultural cohesion.

Author Bruce deserves congratulations for completing an enormous research project that represents years of toil in libraries and archives across the province. The author did not content himself with presenting only "surface proof in support of his arguments. On several occasions he digs deeper to explore varying views, as he compares differing newspaper accounts of the same incident.

In writing the book, Bruce aimed at stimulating further research. The extensive bibliography, graphs, tables, photographs and fact-packed content make Free Books a wonderful research tool. In an area that has been lacking a comprehensive study, this tome can be considered an important scholarly work.

So much information written in scholastic style and crammed into several hundred pages might intimidate the gentle reader. Free Books gives no time-line page for "quick" reference and does not always present material in straight chronological sequence. However, general readers residing in Wellington may be interested in delving into the book to find out some of the "Provincial Firsts" that Bruce has uncovered. For example, this County can be proud that Guelph had one of the first public libraries with open stacks. Other readers may be interested in specific areas such as the growth of the administrative state, the rise of professionalism, architectural history, children's and women's issues.

To those with a passion for libraries or for histories related to the spread of reading, this work will be a special treat. The latter (myself included) have long awaited a thoroughly researched and complete book in this area.

Lian Goodall

Michael Dawber, After You, Agnes... Mrs. Rae Luckock, MPP. (Tweed: 1990) available from the author, RR #3, Bath, ONT, KOH 1GO.


In the history of twentieth-century Wellington County, the Morrison family from Peel Township (just outside Arthur) has earned a special place. In 1913, JJ. Morrison conceived the idea of bringing together the province's motley crowd of agriculturalists into the United Farmers of Ontario. Six
years later, the United Farmers were the first agrarians to capture a provincial government in Canada and during the term in office they effected a number of major reforms before being turfed out in 1923. With J.J. Morrison at their helm until 1933, the United Farmers remained active; in 1943 they folded into the Ontario Federation of Agriculture.

J.J. Morrison figures in Anthony Winson's larger study of food production in twentieth-century Canada. Here Morrison is portrayed as one of the pre-eminent agrarian leaders who attempted to forge new farm policies and change the Canadian political system. Although the first section of this book is devoted to agrarian movements, its primary focus is corporate concentration in the food sector, the development of the agro-industrial complex. Greater attention to international trade factors would have altered Winson's analysis, but this book by a University of Guelph sociologist provides valuable and much needed analysis of food production in Canada during the twentieth century.

Of J.J. Morrison's daughters, Grace married Walter Harris, a lawyer who became a prominent Liberal Cabinet minister under Louis St. Laurent, while sister Rae married tool and die maker Richard Luckock and was elected along with Agnes Macphail for the C.C.F. in 1943—the first two women to sit in the Ontario Legislature. Journalist Michael Dawber's life of Rae Luckock attempts to resurrect J.J. Morrison's daughter for history, but it succeeds only partially. Rae (Morrison) Luckock sat in the Legislature for only two years, her involvements other than with the Housewives and Consumers Association were not extensive, and her papers were burned following her death. Dawber's pamphlet puts an end to the old rumour that Rae Luckock had any associations with Communists and reveals her outspoken defence of women's rights, public education, and peace. While he is cantankerous at times, Dawber's research adds to our knowledge about Rae Luckock and the continuing influence of the Morrison family.

Terry Crowley


Brant County school teacher Bruce Emerson Hill culminated a year of research and writing with the publication of *The Grand River Navigation Company*. This newly released book is a detailed account of a little known chapter in the history of the Grand River valley. Readers can sit back and experience the thrill and despair that accompanied the "canal fever" that swept the Grand River in the early 1830s.

The year 1832 marked the founding of the Grand River Navigation Company, made possible through the use of funds from the Six Nations Indians. The founding and ongoing operating of this Company deserves
recognition today as it represented the only significant venture in Upper Canada financed by Indian funds. In fact, a full 80% or a total investment of £40,000 came from the disposition of Six Nations funds by the Indian Department.

Although Joseph Brant of the Six Nations mounted a stiff opposition to the proposal to build a shipping canal along the Grand River as a feeder to the newly opened Welland Canal, his efforts failed due to his untimely death in 1832. Without consent from the Six Nations, Receiver General John Drumm directed a substantial investment into the project, which seemed doomed to failure from its very inception.

On the positive side, Hill reveals that navigation on the Grand River provided cheap and efficient transportation to the growing number of farmers, millers and merchants who were opening up this part of southern Ontario. After the canal opened in 1835, centres such as Dunnville rose in prominence and increased in population. Real estate values increased as settlements grew and prospered. Sawmills and grist mills increased production, giving economic impetus to secondary industries.

Hill's sources also show that these economic benefits to the Grand River valley never equalled or surpassed the financial and administrative difficulties that plagued the Navigation Company. The depletion of Indian funds, a failure to secure new investors, bank or federal loans, ice and flood disasters, engineering difficulties, a difficult towing path along the winding Grand, a reluctant market still satisfied with methods of land transportation, and, of course, the arrival of the fast and efficient railway in the 1850s spelled economic doom.

Bruce Emerson Hill uses primary sources from the correspondence of the Indian Department to substantiate his analysis of the effect of the Grand River Navigation Company on the development of the Grand River valley. His information is fully footnoted and the text is attractively supplemented with relevant charts, maps and photos. Anyone with an interest in the Grand River, Ontario settlement history, or Indian affairs will find *The Grand River Navigation Company* an intriguing local history book.

Bonnie Callen

Available from the Ontario 4-H Council, 1-800-937-5161

Although the 245-page book was written by Lee, the research was done by 4-H county and district associations all across Ontario, with direction from a provincial 4-H committee.

There is an emphasis, in 4-H, on learning and achievements. *A History of 4-H in Ontario* is filled with eighty years of achievements of clubs from across Ontario. The many pictures and illustrations bring this history alive.
to everyone involved—members, leaders, government departments, the
Women's Institute, the many supporting organizations, practically the whole
rural community. The clubs originated in a spirit of competition that
continues still, as seen in the many photographs from 4-H Achievement
Days down through the decades.

The 80-year tradition had its roots in the Boys' and Girls' Clubs initiated
by the provincial agricultural representatives. At first these clubs were pri-
marily gardening contests, with the intent of producing better products and
yields. Prizes were given as an incentive. Gardening clubs grew into Boys'
and Girls' Agricultural Clubs which offered education and competitions in
gardening, field crops, and raising livestock. About this time, girls' sewing
clubs were being organized by the Women's Institute. These clubs were to
become Home-making Clubs organized by government home economists.

Although there was sometimes an isolation in rural Ontario, 4-H was
never ignored. It has been well supported and promoted not only by the
province but by agricultural societies, municipal governments, schools,
service clubs, and the many agricultural organizations, and especially the
Junior Farmers.

Wellington is one of many counties and districts that have built this 80-
year history. Much like the municipal centennial histories, A History of 4-H
in Ontario is an easy, enjoyable read, full of the personal experiences and
fun well known to those who have been a part of 4-H.

Barb Mitchell

BRIEFLY NOTED

Carla Schott, 50 Years at Glen
Allan Mennonite Church,

Historian Carla Schott, with
the assistance of her colleagues at
Glen Allan Mennonite church, has
assembled an affectionate history
of that congregation. Using recol-
clections, photographs, newspaper
clippings, a chronology of the
parish, and a notable poem by
Nell Mellis, Schott weaves the
story from 1944 to the present.

This booklet has been written, designed and printed with care and style. It is a royal tribute to its authors, graphic and photographic artists and to the City of Guelph, recalled with such affection here.


Due to the diligent efforts of all the contributors, the Committee was able to produce a well researched and comprehensive history of a church that has seen many changes in its 150 year history. As Reverend McFarlane notes in his greetings to readers—"If only these bricks could talk."


Peake's article gives a brief outline of events, yet a refreshing analysis of Smithurst's character and actions in the Red River ordination controversy. The inclusion of the debate between the Natives and the Hudson's Bay Company over ill treatment of the former, provides the circumstances for Smithurst's departure from the settlement.
FROM THE ARCHIVES

WELLINGTON COUNTY ARCHIVES UPDATE

The County Archives collection at the Wellington County Museum and Archives continued to attract researchers from across North America and abroad. In fact, 1994 was the busiest year in its history as user statistics indicate a 49% increase in the number of researchers who visited, wrote or telephoned for access to its local history materials.

Staff and volunteers were kept busy cataloguing several new acquisitions worthy of note. The Archives business records collection received a tremendous boost with the acquisition of the Geiger Monument Co. Ltd. Collection, consisting of financial records, monument designs, photographs and order books for this Fergus tombstone company spanning three decades from 1962 to 1991. Much attention was also generated by the transfer of the Tovell Funeral Home Records containing references to over 3000 burials of Guelph and Wellington County residents between 1909 and 1972. Through the efforts of a volunteer indexing team, a professionally bound alphabetical index was created, making access quick and easy—a trademark of the County Archives.

For researchers with an interest in the lumber industry, the R.W. Tarzwell and Son Collection represents a significant find. This collection includes daybooks from this very successful Hillsburgh milling family for 1908 to 1941.

Another large acquisition in 1994 documents the many activities of the Guelph Milk Producers Association 1925 to 1967.

Genealogists were kept busy at the Archives researching new additions to the microfilm collection. As a result of a successful fund-raising campaign, the archives acquired the indexes to the Ontario birth, marriage and death registrations on file at the Archives of Ontario. Microfiche copies of the IGI (International Genealogical Index) for Scotland, Ireland and Canada attracted many new visitors to this busy research centre.

Also of note are two series of newspaper articles documenting the history of this County. James Innes' series History of Guelph and County, was originally published in 1866 and reprinted by the Guelph Mercury in 1963 and 1964. Another series of twenty-seven articles written by David Stirton in 1899 should attract attention. Stirton's articles were published under the title Pioneer Days in Wellington.

The County Archives extensive Municipal Records Collection grew with the transfer of several minute books, voters lists and financial records from the Village of Drayton covering the period 1875 to 1956.

The Wellington County Museum and Archives also houses a small but
significant collection of **historic and contemporary art.** In 1994, thirty donors deposited both original artworks and prints by such artists as A.J. Casson, Barry McCarthy, Karen Bach, Jane Lind, Percy Runnells, Mackay Houston, Allanah Scott, Nan Hogg, Ellen Beeken Melville, Nancy Farrell, Suzette McDougall, Rosalind Baumgartner, Naomi Smith McKay, Susan Johnson, Marsha Brown, Rezan Peya Gokcen, DJ. McIntyre, David Creighton, D.A. Fales and Helen Wells.

The Wellington County Museum and Archives is conveniently located in Aboyne, on County Road 18 between Fergus and Elora. For information on the archives, call the Archivist week-days at (519) 846-0916.

Bonnie Callen

**UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH ARCHIVES UPDATE**

In 1994 the Archival and Special Collections, University of Guelph Library were fortunate to acquire the papers of the **Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario** (FWIO). The collection is an assortment of some very old materials, but much of it consists of relatively recent records from the 1980s and 1990s. It contains a complete list of district officers and branch officers from 1901-1984. It also includes photographs, scholarships, *Home and Country* magazines, questionnaires, Women's Institute song books, booklets, newsletters, district annual reports, FWIO anniversaries, financial statements, Associated Country Women of the World (ACWW) conferences, district fee sheets, ledger and audit books, Resolutions, receipts, and artifacts of the FWIO.

Account books from the **Traders Bank of Canada**, Guelph Branch, were also deposited in 1994. The Traders Bank was established in Guelph to offer local commercial men and farmers financial assistance. The Guelph branch was opened in 1890 under the management of Mr. A.F.H. Jones who remained in charge of the institution until 1908, when he was succeeded by Mr. FJ. Winlow. There are 79 volumes of records ranging from fair to poor condition. They sat for over 90 years in the basement of the original bank building located on Wyndham Street. Here they were exposed to coal dust and moisture. They were discovered during the most recent renovation of the building which has been bank, drugstore, and now a coffeehouse.

Both collections are catalogued and available through the University of Guelph data base 'Search Me'.

Gloria Troyer

**GUELPH PUBLIC LIBRARY ARCHIVES UPDATE**

Much has happened at the Guelph Public Library Archives in the past few years. Due to budgetary setbacks, there is no longer an Archivist. Requests for material or specific searches can be made through the Information De-
partment. The complicated nature of these inquiries makes a 24 hour notice mandatory. A reduction in staff also makes it difficult to process new material. For this reason the Library has not accepted large private donations.

Despite this, two significant donations from the City of Guelph have been received. Various Committee and Council Minutes were microfilmed and these along with the original documents have been transferred to the reading room. Some Minutes, such as those of the Finance and Assessment Committee date back as far as 1869.

Old documents were discovered at City Hall during renovations this past summer and they too have found a new home at Guelph Public Library Archives. A preliminary survey reveals them to be primarily related to the Engineering Department, dating from the turn of the century to the 1950s. Other significant documents are included. All will be slowly processed and catalogued.

The Guelph Public Library Archives continues to make available material from the Waterloo-Wellington Branch of the Ontario Genealogical Society. This collection is called The Wellington Collection and a full listing is available at the Information Desk upon request, and as with our Archival materials, 24 hours notice is required for retrieval.

The collection is three years old, and ninety new titles were added in 1994. Included are publications from nine English Family History Societies, Genealogical Surname Directories for 1987-1992, as well as various guides for German, Scots, Irish, English and Jewish research. Other source items cover Australia, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Alberta, the United States and many family histories and Wellington County publications.

The small microfiche collection includes Thornhill Births, Marriages and Deaths 1831-1863; Ontario Surrogate Court Indexes 1793-1858; and Canterbury (England) Marriage Registers 1811-1862.

The computer disk collection includes the Ontario Cemetery Finding Aid (covering seven counties) and three miscellaneous sources for names on cemetery stones; and the 1871 Ontario Census, a marvellous tool for researchers unsure of where their family resided in early Ontario.

Steven Kraft, Head of Information Services, Guelph Public Library
Jacqueline McDonald Morris, Waterloo-Wellington Branch, Ontario Genealogical Society

STRATFORD-PERTH ARCHIVES, LISTOWEL DIVISION

The Stratford-Perth Archives was established in 1972, with divisions created in Listowel (1982) and Mitchell (1984). This is the first county system with satellite divisions.

Researchers from Wellington County might find the Listowel Archives of interest. There are several local newspapers that feature news items from
that county. The Listowel Banner is available on microfilm for the years 1867-1959; 1960-1985 are available in paper; after that the paper is available on microfiche.

Other newspapers may be of interest. Available on microform are the Atwood Bee (1890-1923), the Listowel Standard (1878-1943) and the Milverton Sun (1891-1992). Available on paper, The Monkton Times (1908-1958).

Each of these papers featured sections of news from surrounding areas, including Wellington County. Columns included information about local activities, families and the visits of friends and relatives to and from the area.

Apart from area newspapers, the Listowel Archives has scrapbooks that contain articles about various families, subjects and events.

Researchers of family or local history in north Wellington County adjacent to Perth County could find a visit worthwhile. The Listowel Archives are open weekdays from 1-5 pm, and are located in the basement of the Municipal Building on Wallace Avenue, Listowel. Sonia Robin and Kathy Wideman are the Archives Clerks, and they can be reached at (519) 291-1598; Carolynn Bart-Riedstra is the Archivist at the Stratford office of the Stratford-Perth Archives; she can be reached at (519) 273-0399.

Carolynn Bart-Riedstra

UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO: WILLIAM DENDY COLLECTION

Architectural historian William Dendy (1948-1993) is perhaps best known for his award-winning works Lost Toronto and more recently Toronto Observed. In addition to writing and publishing, Dendy taught at both the University of Toronto and the University of Waterloo, and was for some years the architectural historian for the Toronto Historical Board.

A collection of material representing all facets of his career in research and writing has been bequeathed to the University of Waterloo. Included in the gift are over 3,500 books (strong on North American and British architecture), 2,500 issues of architectural and related periodicals, as well as framed prints, photographs, posters and over 38,000 slides representing architecturally important structures and features. Of these, over 17,000 document Canadian architecture, urban space and landscapes ranging from small communities and locales to a detailed series depicting Toronto structures—both past and present. The collection represents virtually a complete document of architecture in this country.

Of particular interest to Wellington County residents and researchers will be the slide collection. A sample page of the finding aid (page 12, Ontario/Cobourg to Ontario/Kilbride) yields Eden Mills: 35 slides; Elora: 2 slides; Guelph, 95 slides. The materials are held at the Doris Lewis Rare
GUELPH COLLEGIATE & VOCATIONAL INSTITUTE ARCHIVES

She is a bundle of energy and still excited about her work after fifteen years. She is Erica Morant, the volunteer archivist at GCVI, the Guelph Collegiate and Vocational Institute.

After being greeted by Erica, the first things a visitor notices, upon entering the main archives room in the school's P.G. Reid Resource Centre, are the rows of labelled, grey boxes. Made of acid-free boxboard, they contain an accumulated history of GCVI for the past century and a half.

There's a complete collection of yearbooks beginning with the first issue in 1926, out-of-use textbooks, school newspapers, staff bulletins, architect's 1922 blueprints for the then new school, minutes of meetings, mark books from 1892 to 1987, newspaper clippings, and old photos.

The archives are a delight for researchers, historians and students alike. Among the collected items are treasures of school and Canadian history. Here are some of the gems, lovingly preserved:

- a silver cup for the sport of club swinging presented to famous Guelph son Edward Johnson in October, 1895.
- a collection donated by former GCVI teacher Olive Freeman Parker Diefenbaker showing, among other items, clippings and photos of her and the former prime minister with a queen, a prince, a pope.
- a two volume 1833 autobiography of Guelph founder John Galt.
- a painting of GCVI's soldier-poet John McCrae.
- a 1769 Flemish bible found by a Canadian soldier during World War I in the ruins of a house shelled to destruction; the rear pages show damage done by a shell fragment.

Who was GCVI's first full time woman teacher? Morant advises it was Kate Pardons in 1880.

Who were the Soldiers of the Soil? During WW I students spent time on farms in an effort to help the country raise food production. On a wall resides a framed certificate to Henry J. Mahoney attesting to his efforts from April 23 to July 23, 1918.

Looking for genealogical or historical map information? You might find it on a county linen chart dated 1855, or in the large Historical Atlas of Wellington County published in 1906.

Along with the Olive Diefenbaker Collection are others. Artist Gordon Couling, of Guelph walkabout fame, donated his collection of flower slides. The Ed Schnurr Collection contains some of Mr. Schnurr's bottles, one half filled with school ink from his antique bottle collection. The Stuart MacKay
and Ingrid Bowman Collections hold science equipment and files from their teaching days at GCVI.

For more information about the Guelph Collegiate and Vocational Institute Archives call 824-9800.

The above article has been slightly shortened from one by Kurt N.A. Christie which appeared in The Guelph Tribune, April 20, 1994. Reproduced with permission. In the meantime, Erica Morant has retired from the GCVI Archives and is now turning her hand to the organization of the archival holdings of the Guelph Historical Society.

GROVES MEMORIAL COMMUNITY HOSPITAL

Much has been written by and about Dr. Groves, a good portion of it in the Wellington County Museum and Archives along with a number of relevant artifacts, (including his legendary parrot, which at its death was frozen and later stuffed.) However, it is worth noting a small but interesting cache of materials which remains at the hospital itself.

In the main lobby, a display case contains a collection of articles, including a leather medical bag and instruments used by Dr. Groves, a copy of his business card, a collection of his surgery books and a borrowed copy of his autobiography All in a Day's Work, written in 1934, the year before his death.

Also in the lobby, a large, framed oil portrait of Dr. Groves, painted by Z. Zilinskas; the original framed congratulatory message, presented to Dr. Groves May 26, 1921 at a grand Jubilee Banquet honouring the 50th anniversary of his graduation as a doctor of medicine, and signed by community leaders; an original framed and signed acknowledgement of the gift of his hospital to the community, on behalf of the citizens of Fergus, dated June 3, 1932; a framed listing of significant accomplishments of Dr. Groves; and a listing of the 147 graduates of Dr. Groves' nursing school (1905-1934).

Other items of historical interest held at the hospital include a copy of the May 16, 1935 Fergus News Record reporting the death of Dr. Groves; a collection of personal notes from a variety of prominent medical practitioners, sent in response to the copies he sent them of All in a Day's Work; a copy of Real People, a biography by Alice Roger Collins.

Graham Clark

THE CO-OPERATORS

"An acorn that will grow into one of the greatest oak trees of the co-operative movement." That's how Albert Savage, one of the original founders of The Co-operators, described the fledgling company a half-century ago.

The company is the product of a merger of several smaller companies...
which had their roots in rural areas of Saskatchewan and Ontario in the mid-1940s. In 1946, the Co-operative Union of Ontario and the Ontario Credit Union League established Co-operators Fidelity and Guarantee Association to provide bonding and livestock transit insurance to their members. Before this time, farmers suffered a direct loss when animals were injured (or died) while travelling to stockyards. The Ontario Federation of Agriculture became a third sponsor a year later.

The company eventually began writing other lines of insurance, and in 1949, United Co-operatives of Ontario (UCO) contributed capital for a new product, auto insurance. A year later, a new property/casualty company Co-operators Insurance Association (CIA) was formed, and in 1959 Co-operators Life Insurance was licensed to do business in Ontario. The two companies were known as Co-operators Insurance Associations of Guelph (CIAG).

During the 1980s, the company expanded through diversification, acquisitions and joint ventures. Product lines have also expanded. The Co-operators now employ about 4,000 people in more than 300 locations across the country. Fundamental to The Co-operators since its inception are the co-operative principles whereby member companies, representing five million Canadians, have served as a guiding force.

While The Co-operators commemorates its 50th anniversary in 1995, it also celebrates its 30th year at the Priory Square head office in Guelph. The Co-operators had purchased the land in 1959, and construction of the nine-story building began in 1963. A second wing was added to The Co-operators building in 1978, and since then the interior has undergone a number of renovations; most recently the lobby and entrance have been remodelled.

The square is named after Charles Prior, an assistant to John Gait, the founder of the city in 1827. In that year, Prior constructed a log building to serve as the headquarters for the Canada Company, with space for a post office, town meeting room, and residence—John Gait’s—which was named The Priory, after its builder. The area surrounding The Priory became known as Priory Square.

The first General Manager, Andrew Hebb, detailed the formation of Co-operators Fidelity and Guarantee Association, one of the founding companies (1946) in his book Management by Majority.

As a result of the research surrounding the celebration of the anniversary project, The Co-operators are taking steps to document and house their historic records. These currently include minutes of Board Meetings from founding days of the company in Ontario (1946); Annual Reports; photos and early product advertisements; photos and newspaper articles showing the construction of the Guelph office.

Laura Gregson
VICTORIAN ORDER OF NURSES

Transportation in small, sporty cars for today's modern nurse is a far cry from trekking to the Klondike by foot as pioneer Victorian Order of Nurses (VON) nurses did during the Gold Rush in 1898! The VON Guelph-Wellington-Dufferin Branch is part of a proud tradition of a community health care organization that has always strived to meet the changing needs of Canadians.

Lady Aberdeen (wife of the then-Governor General of Canada) decided to found an Order of Visiting Nurses in Canada, as a memorial for the 60th anniversary of Queen Victoria's ascent to the throne of England. The Order's first 12 nurses were admitted in a ceremony in November 1867.

The Guelph-Wellington-Dufferin Branch of the VON has been a part of the history of Guelph and area since 1919. No doubt motivated by a recent influenza epidemic, Guelph City Council that year approved a grant of $1,000 to be used to establish a branch of the VON in Guelph. A Miss Smith was the first nurse.

By 1928, the branch had made a total of 5,018 visits. The branch continued, with one or two nurses plus relief as needed, for many years.

In 1964, at the request of the Red Cross, the branch took over the administration of the Visiting Homemaker service, and in 1965, both nursing and homemaking services were extended to Wellington County. In this same year funding was received to implement a Home Care program. Barbara Phillips, past Executive Director of the branch from 1971 until her retirement in 1991, reminisced that this was the first Home Care program in Canada to be developed on a county-wide basis. Mrs. Phillips also recalled that the VON Guelph-Wellington-Dufferin Branch was the only one to operate a Homemaking program at this time.

In 1972, the Wellington-Dufferin-Guelph Health Unit took over the administration of the Home Care program and continued to purchase nursing and homemaking service from VON. In 1982, VON services were expanded to Dufferin County. Services had been offered during the 1970s, but had been discontinued due to financial concerns.

VON continues to grow and strive to provide high quality care for the citizens of Guelph, Wellington and Dufferin Counties. Services provided now include Visiting Nursing, Homemaking, Volunteer Visiting, Footcare clinics and the Alzheimer Day Program. Throughout its history, VON staff have been provided with guidelines and procedures aimed at achieving very high standards and promoting quality service.

Archival records at the branch date back to the 1940s, and include Policy and Procedure manuals and General Ledgers. A scrapbook of photos and newspaper clippings and Annual Meeting Reports dates from the 1960s.

Sue Ledger

100 WELLINGTON COUNTY HISTORY
HALTON COUNTY RADIAL RAILWAY

The Halton County Radial Railway is a life-size working museum, run by volunteers of the Ontario Electric Railway Historical Association. Its mandate is to collect and restore to operating condition, electric railway equipment built and/or operated in Ontario.

The museum is situated on 38 acres of land in North Halton and includes one mile of scenic woodland track, laid on the right-of-way of the former Toronto Suburban Railway which joined Toronto and Guelph. The museum began in 1954, and now has a collection of 66 pieces of equipment with 14 restored to operating condition.

Of particular interest to Guelph and Wellington County residents is Car #255—a Birney-style safety car from the Guelph Radial Railway, brought into use when Ontario Hydro took over operations in 1922. In 1976, the car was discovered at 12 Speedvale Avenue East, Guelph, where it formed the second story of a private residence. The car fell into the Speed River when the house was demolished, was rescued from the water, and is now only a shell; it awaits restoration with its sister car #212. Both were traded from one city to another under Ontario Hydro operations.

In addition to the safety car, the collection includes a pick and shovel used to build the Toronto Suburban Railway; a notice of the end of TSR operations; also a hat badge, timetable, postcards, tickets and original notices of debenture for the TSR, issued by the Canadian Government Railway.

The archives contain photos, postcards and tickets relating to the Guelph Radial Railway.

Rockwood station, built by the Grand Trunk Railway in 1912, was saved from the wrecker's hammer and in 1971 relocated here from its former site.

The Halton County Radial Railway is located at what was once known as 'Stop 92' on the Toronto Suburban Railway's link with Guelph, just south of Rockwood. For information telephone (519) 856-9802.

Kathy Johns

HISTORICAL ENVIRONMENTAL INFORMATION REPORTING SYSTEM

The Underwriters' Survey Bureau, a division of the Canadian Underwriters' Association (CUA) was dedicated to mapping streets and buildings of urban Canada with extreme detail. These "fire insurance plans," as they are commonly known, were prepared to show details regarding construction, occupancy and possible fire hazards. Many of these items, such as underground storage tanks filled with oil, gasoline or other flammable substances, have current historical significance with regard to environmental hazards.

The fire insurance plans were originally produced by Chas. E. Goad, Ltd.
between about 1875 and 1923. The Goad's company was then purchased by the Underwriters' Survey Bureau which continued on in the same tradition, using minute detailing. The plans were produced and updated throughout the years until production ceased in 1974. Today, copyright on these plans is held by the Insurers' Advisory Organization (1989) Inc. (IAO), the successor organization to the CUA.

Augmenting the fire insurance plans are property inspection reports. Although the reports were originally composed for insurance purposes, they contain significant information of environmental interest, such as details of heating systems and hazardous chemicals used on the property, as well as detailed descriptions of industrial processes. The IAO has in excess of 300,000 of these reports available for urban properties nationwide.

Complementing the property inspection reports are site-specific property plans. These plans are similar to the fire insurance plans, although many contain even more detail than was included in the fire insurance plans. Production of the property plans continued through to the late 1980's, when the format of these plans switched from a large scale blue-line print to a more convenient, albeit less detailed, 8½x11 inch design. The property plans show site overviews and building elevations, frequently indicating the specific uses to which buildings or parts of buildings were put.

All of this information is available through a service called Historical Environmental Information Reporting System, abbreviated as HEIRS® Upon request, an archival search is conducted of the three sources: fire insurance plans, property inspection reports, and site plans. Any information found is put together in a report which is released to the client.

There are two levels of summary available. For an HEIRS I report, the information is gathered and sent for perusal, interpretation and analysis by the requesting party. An HEIRS II report adds analysis and interpretation of the information contained in the HEIRS I report.

The organization holds information on mainly urban properties in Guelph, Fergus, Arthur, Mount Forest, etc. HEIRS is a fee-based service, available across Canada to those people interested in the heritage of their property, or concerned about the possibility of contaminants. For further information, questions or assistance, contact the Insurers' Advisory Organization, toll-free 1-800-268-8080. Elizabeth Trolio
COLLECTIONS

JEFF QUINTON COLLECTS BLACK MEMORABILIA

Jeff Quinton collects black memorabilia. Over the past three years, the Fergus man has acquired about three-hundred-and-fifty pieces depicting Blacks in ways from racist to reverential.

While most of the collection dates from the 1940s and 1950s, one is a walkway tile made in the 1850s by slaves in Savannah, Georgia. One of the newer items is a 1968 Martin Luther King collector plate with the inscription "I have a dream."

Most of the collection is racist. The most frequent theme is the black mama. The big black woman appears as ceramic tea pots, cooky jars, and salt and pepper shakers. A 1940s cotton mama has a gingham skirt to hide the toaster; a wall ornament mama wears a note-pad apron; a mama clothes brush wears a bristle skirt; there is mama laundry bag, potholder hanger, and wooden mixing spoon. These images of black women show hard-working servants, cooking and washing; they are invariably fat and with big lips.

Black men, both young and old are depicted either as labourers—subservient, shining white men's shoes, or as carefree, lazy no-goods with fishing poles.

The black image that is used in food advertisements combines the fat, and hence healthy, black look with the pleasure of having a black mama in the kitchen. Quinton has an Aunt Dinah molasses bottle and a Baker's Delight Baking Powder store sign both from about 1950.

Paper labels from fruit and vegetable crates exploit the healthy black child image. Quinton has a black theme menu from the Piccaninny Inn, Mississippi, offering Piccaninny Red Skins—beans and slaw—for forty cents, and a cup of coffee for seven. He also has a 1970s coaster from Uncle Tom's Cabin restaurant in Dresden, Ontario.

Stereotypical black images include references to black roots in a
supposedly savage Africa. These images, which stress nakedness, cannibalism, and cruelly stretched necks, reinforce the malicious dogma that Blacks are less than human. One such item from Wasa-ga Beach is a souvenir ashtray which depicts a Black with oversized cannibal mouth, and wearing a feather headdress. Another ashtray portrays the upper body of a nude ebony female. A woman whose neck is elongated with rings makes a bottle opener.

Some of the items are blatantly derogatory, like the coconut piggy banks decorated as black heads, the wooden head with a nut-cracker mouth, or the china ashtray that is also a black person's toilet captioned "my old country seat."

These collector's items were first made in the southern U.S. in the late 1800s, soon after the slaves were released. They appealed to whites who felt their positions were threatened by emancipation. Racist items came to be mass produced in Canada, the U.S., and Japan; a recent interest from collectors has now spurred reproductions. Quinton explains that racist pieces, which were sold as functional, humorous, or souvenir items, were always intentionally offensive. While most buyers did not consider themselves racist, many would not have socialized with Blacks.

Quinton says his collection shows how far we have come since slavery - and how far we have not come.

Quinton also collects black memorabilia that are not offensive: a bisque black doll made in Ontario in the 1930s; a Little Black Koko story book from 1953, an Al Jolson music box that plays Mammy; and more modern items showing famous black entertainers such as Flip Wilson and Michael Jackson.

Jeanette Thompson's collections include feeding cups and bells. Thompson's husband started collecting animal bells when he was young. The collection now has bells for goats, cows, sheep, mules, yaks, and for
elephants. While most of them are made of metal some are wooden. While almost all have swinging clappers, the camel bells are a string of nested bells with each lower bell acting as a clapper for the one above. There are also jingle bells from horse sleighs. While animal bells were primarily to help an owner find his herd, they also warned pedestrians of oncoming flocks or beasts of burden. More recently, the sounds and sights of polished animal bells have added to the excitement of a parade or an animal show.

Thompson's bell collection has diversified since its beginnings. The Belwood home now resounds with brass tap bells from a hotel lobby desk; a time bell from a boxing ring; rotary bells on a toy fire engine and a mouth organ; and travelling crier's muffineer bell.

Mostly the bells are cup shaped. This includes the old brass and wooden handled school bell; a 1940s baby-carriage toy made of wooden beads and metal bells; a street-car conductor's bell; the Fergus Jaycees' inaugural bell; a silver bell mounted on buffalo horns, circa 1890, that might have called a men's club to order. There are also brass Victorian ladies with belled skirts that were used to summon the maid.

Of religious origin are a set of mission bells to be turned with the saying of prayers; brass apostles' bells—one showing the four symbols for Jesus (the pelican for sacrifice, the eagle soaring heavenward, the kingly lion, and the suffering lamb), and another depicting the four gospels. A similar bell tells of the Assyrian soldiers bringing the severed heads of their Israelite enemies to be counted.

The bells come in a range of materials: enamelled brass, plica-jour, cloisonne, ceramic with a real nut for a clapper, Mount St. Helen's ash, depression glass, and woven wheat. There is even one made of the aluminum from German aircraft downed in Britain during WW II. One of the oldest bells is a pretty painted porcelain Royal Bayreuth fitted with a wooden clapper.

Not all of the bells ring: there is a pewter bell-shaped ice cream mould; a velvet covered bell music box; a paper weight; an ink well; and a lovely silver bell perfume dispenser.
While bells come in endless variations, feeding cups are standard in both function and in material. These cups, which were used to give bed patients soups and beverages, are mostly in white china, with a few made of enamelled tin. The cups resemble a small, sometimes elongated tea pot without the lid. The ones with a handle set opposite the spout like an Aladdin's lamp are for feeding people. The others, with one or two handle to the side of the cup, permit patients to feed themselves.

Cups come in different sizes for different sized patients. Some are plain white, others painted with pastel designs. The one that started Thompson on her collection is an embossed white cup, a gift from a hospital where she had been employed.

Although most of the cups were made in the late 1800s and the early 1900s, new cups are still sold in pharmacies. Thompson finds some of her cups at auction sales, paying five dollars or more. She says that while many people bid on bells, most people do not recognize feeding cups. Unlike the cups, most of the bells might also be considered reproductions.

Thompson's newest collection are photographs that she takes of country mailbox art. She recognizes that individual boxes will soon be replaced by modern banks of boxes.

CECIL BRIMBLECOME COLLECTS GLASS

Cecil Brimblecombe, of Drayton, owns one of the biggest, most beautiful glass collections. He has been collecting for more than fifty years, buying from area homes and attending local auction sales. He started collecting during the Depression, when pretty things sold for very little. Brimblecombe's collection dates from the 1800s and the early 1900s.

The sort of glass is often the most outstanding feature of a piece: there is carnival glass, depression glass, vaseline, satin, milk, cranberry, hobnail, clear coloured glass in several hues, and end-of-day glass, a swirling mixture of the factory's daily leftovers. Sometimes
the function of a piece is important, as in the cranberry and silver sugar cruets and bride's basket; or the cut-glass car vase from his parents' 1927 car; or the blue milk-glass dresser set with decanter, tray, and powder box. A wine glass, red with a clear cut-glass base is noteworthy because it is a souvenir of Goldstone, Ontario.

Some of the glass is art as in the stained glass windows, the clear glass vase with raised pears, and the Mary Gregory clear vases with a painted white figure.

Brimblecombe has several complete sets of water jugs and glasses including the blue set decorated with frosted sail boats that his mother brought from England, and a green set richly trimmed in gold.

His painted white china includes a chamber set with the slop pail, a matched set of lady's and man's moustache cups and saucers; a hair receiver for the dresser; hat-pin holders; cocoa pots; jardinières; biscuit jars; a knife rest; and a feeding cup.

The collection offers a lesson in nineteenth century lighting, from the standard oil lamp with a cobalt-blue base; to the green-and-pink Gone With the Wind painted china parlour table lamps (the base and shade are both china); the hanging lamps in painted china, brass, and prisms; the cranberry and silver hanging hall lamps; and even a rare silver-coloured micro glass oil wall lamp with a matching reflector.

Added to all this is an extensive collection of delicate bisque figurines.

Although Brimblecombe sold most of his collection about twelve years ago, what remains is impressive. Importantly, all the pieces were acquired from local families, and Brimblecombe can identify their origins.

Barb Mitchell

ED THOMPSON COLLECTS CAST IRON IMPLEMENT SEATS

Ed Thompson's collection of cast iron seats hangs decoratively in the front room of his Guelph Township century farmhouse. About 125 examples adorn the wall, but Thompson is the first to point out that he collects out of his love of history, not because the seats are appealing to the eye. He started his collection about ten years ago, buying his first seats at auction sales and then later, purchasing seats from other private collectors. The collection was a roundabout way to combine his interest in Canadian history and his agricultural background.

"People often make the mistake of thinking that cast iron seats come from tractors," says Thompson. Yet the era of the cast iron seat (1850-1900), generally pre-dates the introduction of farm tractors. The sturdy iron seats, however, were often replacements for the poor quality pressed metal seats found on early tractors.

Barb Mitchell
Cast iron seats were used on early horse-drawn farm equipment, such as mowers, reapers, hay rakes, cultivators and ploughs. The seat allowed the farmer who operated the equipment to sit, instead of walking behind the horse.

Thompson's extensive research has shown that countless small blacksmith shops across Canada manufactured the seats for pieces of equipment made for the local farmer. The earliest were made from scrap iron that was re-melted and poured into a mould in the town smithy's crude foundry. "Most of the seat designs were American," explains Thompson, "with small companies, north of the border, buying the rights, and then reproducing the seat for equipment in the Canadian market." Later, after the tariff war with the United States ended, most of the small companies either folded or amalgamated with larger implement companies like Massey-Harris.

The seats in Thompson's collection are often the last physical evidence of the dozens of obscure blacksmith shops that produced most of the implements used by farmers in the second half of the 19th century. They were usually the only part left intact when early equipment, largely made of wood, wore out from heavy use or the effects of weather. "In fact, the Canadian cast iron seats are ranked among the most rare and valuable in the world," says Thompson, "mainly because few seats were made by each company and most were lost in the scrap iron collections during two world wars."
OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Bob Reynolds is chair of the Elora Marketing Committee, and has long been interested in the work of A.J. Casson (1898-1992), who visited, painted and loved Elora. Victoria Bloomfield is a PhD candidate in historical geography at McMaster University. As well as popular culture, her interests include gender differences in home and work relationships in Toronto in the early 20th-century. Ian Easterbrook has been associated with the Society since 1982. Deputy-Reeve of Elora, Steve Thorning writes a bi-weekly history column for the Fergus-Flora News Express and is editor of the Canadian Philatelist. Judith Nasby is Director, Macdonald Stewart Art Centre. Alf Hales served Wellington South in the federal legislature from 1957-1974. Joyce Blyth has been involved in heritage and genealogical research for a number of years and has an enduring interest and appreciation for antiques and collectibles. Lisa Sabino is a recent history graduate from the University of Guelph. She is currently working on a collections management project at Guelph Museums.

Robin Etherington is Director of Guelph Museums. Lian Goodall is Programme and Education Co-ordinator with the newly-opened Dufferin County Museum and Archives. Terry Crowley teaches with the History Department, University of Guelph. Bonnie Callen has been Archivist with the Wellington County Museum and Archives since 1981, with a particular interest in local and family history. Barb Mitchell is an independent journalist who lives in Drayton. Rosemary Wagner has a bachelors degree in philosophy from the University of Toronto.

Gloria Troyer is a Library Associate with the University of Guelph's McLaughlin Library. Steven Kraft is Head of Information Services, Guelph Public Library. Jacqueline McDonald Norris is Group Librarian with the Waterloo-Wellington Branch, Ontario Genealogical Society. Carolynn Bart-Riedstra is Archivist with the Stratford-Perth Archives. Susan Saunders Bellingham is Head of Special Collections, University of Waterloo Library. Kurt N.A. Christie is Vice-President of Fastforms Inc., a business forms and printing company in Guelph. Graham Clark is Executive Director of Groves Memorial Community Hospital. Laura Gregson is Manager, Corporate Affairs for The Co-operators. Sue Ledger is Assistant Executive Director, Guelph-Wellington-Dufferin Branch, Victorian Order of Nurses. Kathy Johns is Assistant Curator, Halton County Radial Railway. Elizabeth M. Trolio co-ordinates Environmental Services for the Insurers Advisory Organization.

The front cover illustration is courtesy of the Macdonald Stewart Art Centre. The poster on the back cover has been reproduced with permission of the Elora Festival, and Margaret Hall.


WELLINGTON COUNTY HISTORY 109
WELLINGTON COUNTY
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Anna Jackson, Rosemary Wagner, Ian Easterbrook

The editors welcome for publication articles relating to all aspects of the history of Wellington County.
Elora Three Centuries Festival

August 10th - August 19th, 1984

Artistic Director: Noel Edison

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