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EARLY SETTLEMENT IN ONTARIO

by

EDWARD MILLS

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Early Settlement in Ontario
by Edward Mills
(1971-2)

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American settlement in Upper Canada

by Edward Mills

C I H B
November 9, 1971

American Settlement in Upper Canada

Historical Development

The first substantial body of settlers to occupy land in Upper Canada were the United Empire Loyalists, a mixed collection of refugees which moved northward during and at the termination of the American Revolution. To deal with them as a distinct ethnic group is misleading. In fact they constituted, as did the American settlers who followed them, a fairly diverse cross-section of nationalities, often first generation, whose sole common bond was a need or desire to leave the newly-formed republic. The diversity of motivations lying behind this exodus has been concisely explained by J.J. Talman:

"Some historians have tried to explain the movement of the Loyalists to what became Upper Canada as a simple migration of people looking for better land. Others have suggested that they were those who believed that the mother country would subdue the rebellious colonies and therefore "having bet on the wrong horse" were forced to leave...At the same time it must be recognized that many were loyal out of a genuine loyalty to the Crown. They were Americans who wished to live under a king...On the other hand many bona fide Loyalists had been in America a very short time and were practically transients as far as the Thirteen Colonies were concerned." 1

In dealing with the Loyalists who settled in Upper Canada, it must be remembered that they represented only one wave of a movement which saw large numbers emigrating to England, the West Indies, and the Maritime provinces. They were by and large simple frontiersmen from the recently settled regions of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Vermont whose relative poverty restricted their choice of refuge. Their routes northward varied, many moving overland to British outposts such as Oswego, Carleton

Island, Sackett's Harbour, and Niagara, while others reached Montreal via the sea route from New York. The majority were initially accommodated in camps near Three Rivers and Sorel until the end of the war, when a plan for their settlement in Upper Canada was somewhat reluctantly undertaken. ²

The earliest actual settlement of Loyalists in Upper Canada occurred at Niagara in 1778, opposite the British fort, where a policy of encouraging refugee farmers to settle and provide agricultural products for the garrison was begun. The land was provided rent-free, although the settlers had no claim to land titles for a number of years. Although its growth was slow at first (46 families occupying 44 houses with 20 barns in 1783), the disbanding of the Butler's Rangers corp swelled its size to 770 within a year. ³

A small enclave of Loyalist settlement also occurred along the Detroit River at this time, on what is now the American side. With the surrender of the fort in the 1790's, a large number of them chose to cross the river and settle alongside the pre-existing French communities, as well as inland on the Thames River.

In 1783 a decision was made to place the bulk of the Loyalists encamped in Quebec in settlements along the north shore of the St. Lawrence west of the Longueuil seigneurie. Accordingly a series of townships was surveyed stretching from Lake St. Francis westward to the Bay of Quinte. The general policy at the outset was to locate disbanded troops or civilian groups as units based on common ethnic, religious or social backgrounds. In the case of the lower eight townships, this entailed the settlement of

disbanded regiments according to race and religion.

Charlottenburg and Cornwall received Scottish highlanders, former members of the Royal 87th Regiment, while Osnabruck and Williamsburg were settled by German Palatines from the same regiment. The remaining four were settled by mixed groups, principally from Jessup's Rangers. ⁴

The five Cataraqui townships upriver were settled by a more diversified group of Loyalists and troops. Kingston received a contingent of civilians from New York City, as did Adolphustown. Ernesttown was settled by a mixed group made up of ex-87th Regiment soldiers and Jessup's Rangers, while Fredericksburgh and Marysburgh were occupied by mixed groups of disbanded troops, the latter remaining relatively less developed than the others due to the incompetence of its Hessian settlers who later abandoned it altogether. ⁵ Generally speaking, those townships settled by civilians were more rapidly developed than those occupied by ex-soldiers, who were often inexperienced or disinterested in farming.

The procedure for allocating land entailed the placing of a group of settlers possessing land tickets together in a township, where they drew lots for individual sites. After 12 months occupation the holder of a land ticket was considered entitled to a permanent deed. The size of grants was determined by military rank, ranging from 5,000 acres for a field officer down to 200 acres for a private and 100 acres for each adult civilian. These figures were subsequently enlarged and distorted to accommodate much large individual grants at the discretion of the government. Among the early Loyalists, this policy did

not have the desired effect of structuring the fledgling society; some officers settled among private soldiers and sold their additional grants for ready cash, while others bartered or sold their location tickets to speculators, with the result being the alienation of large tracts of land which remained vacant for decades. (an example was a number of large tracts along the lower Ottawa River which was vacant for up to 40 years). In fact the policy of dealing out extravagant land grants in lieu of financial compensation to Loyalists resulted in unanticipated side effects:

"Almost every family was tempted to become a real-estate jobber. Many had been endowed with more land than could be readily cleared and cultivated and every child upon reaching maturity would receive a grant of 200 acres free from all expenses and fees...To sell them at a bargain price was the simplest disposition. [The trade in land certificates became] "a recognized branch of commerce in the Canadas and the smallness of the sum necessary to secure a choice farming location was a powerful magnet that drew Americans across the lake into the territory of a foreign nation." 6

Thus the initial Loyalists who settled in 1783-4 were rapidly joined by American settlers, some as 'late Loyalists' who managed to qualify for free land and others who acquired lots at bargain prices from original owners or speculators. Upper Canada became a natural extension-or perhaps more correctly-a detour of the American frontier expansion, lucrative to prospective frontiersmen because of the ease with which land could be procured.

The result was a steady influx of settlers who quickly outnumbered and became indistinguishable from the original Loyalists.⁷ Additional surveys were completed, and by 1791 a series of townships extended west from the Bay of Quinte to the

site of Toronto, and north along the Rideau and Ottawa Rivers (See Ontario Settlement Maps, appendix to report by Edward Mills) in order to accommodate the anticipated flow. By 1791 the population of Upper Canada had climbed to 10,000.

Active encouragement of American immigration began during the administration of John Graves Simcoe. Convinced that the retention of Upper Canada required the rapid development of a populous colony, and faced with no alternative source of immigration (Britian and Europe being closed by political and military obstacles), he embarked on a program of active encouragement to American settlers. Extensive advertising campaigns, especially in Vermont and Connecticut, which ultimately attracted more speculators than bona fide settlers, were accompanied by equally extensive surveying programs. Large tracts were rapidly accumulated by members of the Loyalist elite, especially those with political influence.⁸ Response from the United States was discouraging. The anticipated influx failed to materialize during Simcoe's administration, and many of his ambitious plans for the province languished. The reasons for this failure were twofold: In the first place active solicitations for settlers were blocked by a hostile American government. Secondly, and more significantly, was the fact that prior to 1800 Upper Canada was not yet in the direct line of natural United States expansion. After that date, New York State reached the first stage of pioneer saturation and settlers turned northward in increasing numbers.⁹ At the same time the Quaker sect was undergoing a period of stress which prompted a massive migration to outlying areas. Inducements of military exemptions

attracted a small portion of them to move to Upper Canada, where they settled in York County (principally Whitchurch Twp.), Prince Edward County, Norwich Township in the London District and other small pockets in the province. ¹⁰

During the period 1800-1812, Americans began filling the gaps between settlements along the waterfront in eastern Upper Canada and also moved into townships along Lake Erie and the Upper Thames Valley. By 1812 it was estimated that 8 out of every 10 persons in Upper Canada were of American birth or descent. Only one quarter of these were Loyalists or their children, who continued to be concentrated along the St. Lawrence, Bay of Quinte and Niagara regions.

By 1806 a strong prejudice against the growing predominance of Americans was evident among the earlier Loyalist population, and demands were made for a curb to the government's overgenerous land policy for new settlers. It was not until during the war in 1814 that decisive action was taken. At that time legislation was passed refusing grants of land to Americans, and the stream of immigration from the south ceased. During the following years the issue of whether or not to reallow American immigration continued to be debated. On the one hand Loyalists, inflamed by the recent conflict, were resolutely opposed; on the other, the sudden halt of prospective land purchasers had driven down the value of land in the province. In 1817 the outright ban was lifted, but official discouragement continued through the requirement of seven years occupancy before eligibility for a land title. By 1825, although the government continued to procrastinate on the issue, American enthusiasm for migration

to Upper Canada had waned. The western regions within the United States had been opened, the Erie Canal had been completed to provide an alternative trade route to the St. Lawrence system for commercial development of outlying American regions, and consequently the province lost much of its appeal. There were exceptions, of course. The opening of the Huron Tract during the 1830's attracted a small number to American frontiersmen, but these constituted no more than a fragment of population. The Ottawa Valley likewise acted as a magnet to Americans, who were lured to the region, first during the pre-1812 period as settlers (Wright at Hull, Honeywell in Nepean, and Billings on the Rideau), and later as lumber entrepreneurs, a field in which they continued to hold a decided superiority over British and European immigrants.^{10a} However, here too their numbers remained small, since they were primarily interested in mill construction rather than in settlement.

After 1837 an increasing problem for the province was not so much the attraction of new immigrants as the growing emigration of existing population to the United States, in particular to the mid-western states of Michigan, Illinois and Ohio.¹¹ A major cause of this continuing exodus was the obvious difference between the prosperity of the two countries. The United States offered land in flourishing settlements with excellent road systems, a higher standard of living, and less bureaucratic obstruction. By contrast, as late as 1847 Upper Canada was described as being in a state of stagnation, waste and desolation with the exception of a few pockets. A comparison of land values indicated that while in Vermont land sold for \$5.50 an acre, the equivalent

in Upper Canada commanded only \$1.25.¹² A dismally inefficient land granting system added to the province's lack of appeal.

In addition, the rapid industrial growth within the United States tended to draw off recently arrived skilled immigrants, who found their prospects limited in an under-developed agricultural community. This was compensated for to a certain extent by the attraction of experienced American farmers, albeit in limited numbers, to purchase new farms, often only recently abandoned by bankrupted British settlers, which they could readily improve profitably. These constituted the forerunners of the later insurgeance of American farmers into the Canadian prairies.¹³

II Characteristics of American Settlement

As previously stated, the American settlers who entered Upper Canada, both during and after the Loyalist phase, were by no means an homogeneous group, but rather a collection of various nationalities, some first generation and others older and more assimilated into the American milieu. By far the largest number to move northward came from the outlying regions of New York state, specifically the Upper Hudson and Mohawk river valleys where they had settled for a relatively short period of time before being displaced or electing to leave. Other groups from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Vermont, and Connecticut were also prevalent. Of these settlers, it is estimated that only half were born in the United States.¹⁴ It is generally contended that settlers of German, Dutch and Scotch-Irish descent predominated and contributed most of the distinctive social characteristics of the American group, although they were frequently intermixed with persons of English descent, in particular the Quakers.¹⁵

This leads to some difficulty in determining whether certain groups of settlers immigrating into Upper Canada should be considered as part of the general American sector or as separate ethnic groups. For the purposes of this paper, I have attempted to exclude distinct unassimilated groups such as the Scottish Highlanders and German "plain folk" which moved north as units and retained their cultural identity. In the case of groups such as those broadly termed "Pennsylvania Dutch" and the Quakers, who readily intermixed with other groups and lost their cultural

identities, I have chosen to include them within the general American group.

Perhaps the most significant characteristic of the American settlers immigrating to Upper Canada was the social class to which they belonged. Scarcely any of the original group were skilled tradesmen or professionals. They were for the most part subsistence farmers whose expertise lay in clearing and farming unbroken frontier tracts. ¹⁶

Through successive generations in colonial America distinctive techniques had been evolved to best accomplish this process, and these the Loyalists and other American groups introduced into Upper Canada. The result was the emergence of a typical American frontier society and economy in Upper Canada during its initial period which determined, with the exception of a few pockets of French and British settlement, the character of the province's initial development.

Although the relative prosperity of settlements varied from township to township according to soil quality, ease of land clearance, climate and settlers' competence, a basic formula was uniformly employed. This entailed a three stage pattern of house construction and a system of 'extensive agriculture' whereby available labour was applied to cultivating as much land as possible, rather than highly cultivating a limited area. ¹⁷ House construction during all phases was usually based on group assistance in the form of building bees, neighbouring settlers pooling their skills and labour to erect structures with minimum time and expense. The structures reflected the influence of the 'Pennsylvania Dutch' style, evolved through the mingling

of Swedish, German, Dutch, English Quaker and Scotch-Irish influences during the settlement of that state, and adopted throughout the American north-east. 18

The first stage dwelling, a log shanty usually about 12 by 20 feet in size and 7 or 8 feet in height, could be constructed in two days by two men. The immediate area around the shanty was cleared and sown with mixed staples such as corn, peas and potatoes, little attention being paid to cultivation or stump removal. A large proportion of the early American settlers did not develop their land beyond this initial stage, earning the title of 'land butchers' for their propensity for clearing farms yet failing to raise them to an improved state; in fact for many of them, the basis of livelihood was the increase in capital to be gained through purchasing virgin land at bargain prices and selling it to later arrivals when barely cleared. This mode of existence made them perpetual transients as far as settlement was concerned, for they were constantly moving to new outlying regions to repeat the process:

"...the first settlers were not destined to be the permanent occupiers of the land, and...in the course of a few years, the original settlers are almost uniformly superceded by an entirely different class of persons.

"Hence it often happens that when the "original pioneers" as they are poetically called, have cleared their farms and brought them into that situation in which the mere farmer would consider them to be just fit to live on, they become dissatisfied with their lot..." 19

Thus those settlers who brought their land to the second stage of development were frequently second owners. The practice of extensive agriculture was continued, despite the criticisms of British and European observers who believed it to be wasteful,

and markets for grain surpluses developed with the opening of numerous "merchant mills", especially in the Bay of Quinte region.²⁰ Shanties were replaced by more substantial houses, usually of squared log (although frame buildings began appearing along the front townships along Lake Ontario and in Prince Edward County after 1800) of varying size, the 16 by 20 feet required by the Dundas Road by-law being considered minimal.²¹ Squared log structures could be relatively easily constructed with the use of cross-cut saw and adze; prior to the erection of local mills the use of lumber was usually limited to the construction of furniture, vehicles, doors and other articles where the use of coarsely-hewn wood was impractical, since the only means of procuring it was through the use of the whip saw, which was an arduous undertaking.²² As mills became more common sawn lumber was increasingly incorporated into the construction of log buildings, as the drawing on the following page illustrates. Many settlers continued to live in such structures longer than their means dictated because of taxes on improvements to buildings. A house of this type with one fireplace was exempt, but squared-log structures, second storeys, and additional fireplaces were not. "Many consequently considered themselves fined for making improvements, and were sufficiently penurious or obstinate to avoid taxes, however small, even at the expense of continuing their crude living conditions."²³

As a rule, the areas of earliest settlement (see map) continued to be predominated by Americans until mid-century, despite turnover and massive influxes of British settlers. In fact, many of the later British arrivals found the traits of

of the Americans so distasteful that they preferred to settle in outlying townships in order to avoid close contact with them.²⁴ An English traveller writing in 1818 observed of the early settlers in the Niagara region:

"A great majority of the Individuals who are owners of these farms came to the province 20 or 30 years ago in the character of needy adventurers, and either received the then unimproved land from the government or purchased it for a trifle... Many of them possess 30 or 40 head of cattle and annually store up two or three thousand bushels of grain in their barns; but this amelioration in their condition, unfortunately, has not produced a corresponding effect upon their manners, character or mode of life. They are still the same untutored, incorrigible beings that they probably were when, the ruffian remnant of a disbanded regiment, or the outlawed refuse of some European nations, they sought refuge in the wilds of Upper Canada." 25

Their early predominance gave the Americans an added advantage over later immigrants; during the post-1800 period they began opening inns, taverns, shops and mills to meet the colony's growing demands. Varying in size from shaky log structures in outlying townships to substantial frame structures along the front townships and major roads, such commercial buildings were almost invariably run by Americans or their descendants. Large merchant mills, some 4 1/2 storeys high and containing two pairs of stones, similar to structures erected by Oliver Evans along the Brandywine River, were built in older townships, particularly in the Bay of Quinte region, where they created local markets for grains. 26

This commercial enterprise became a prime characteristic of Americans in the province, and continued to be a predominant role long after they had ceased to immigrate and settle in

significant numbers. A German traveller, visiting backwoods communities in the province in 1853, observed:

"These active and speculative Yankees are to be met with everywhere in Canada, and where there is a settlement to be made in the wilderness they are always the first upon the spot, forming the advanced guard of civilization. Wherever a new birth is expected,--a town, a canal, a road,--there are they to assist in the accouchment. They know how to bring together the necessary capital, the men, the cattle, and whatever else may be needed, with the least possible loss of time. As directors of the woods, contractors and purveyors, they are always in their places, and when they have performed their services, they vanish again. When they have burnt away the forest, marked off the town, opened the ground, fixed the rails, and provided such primitive establishments as are indispensable in the beginning of a settlement, they move off to other places where similar services are required." 26a

Inns and taverns in particular earned a certain infamy for Americans among later settlers and travellers. Edwin Guillet observes that amongst such travellers, the term 'American' might refer to a man who hailed from the United States, a citizen of Loyalist descent, or merely a Canadian by birth, so similar were the traits of all three groups in the eyes of observers.²⁷ The fact that inns and taverns, along with mills, served as nuclei for early settlements indicates the influential position such proprietors had on the early social and economic structure of the province.

The third stage of development entailed the construction of permanent dwellings of frame, brick or stone. Among Americans the frame structure was by far the most popular, especially in the front townships. Evidently living standards had risen considerably above those of the earlier phases of development, if Thomas Fowler's description of such a building in 1832 is any indication;

"A handsome frame building, such as is common among farmers, has a sunk flat for cellars built with stones to the level of the ground, which contains the potatoes, fruit, and other provision. The frame work commences immediately above ground. This floor generally contains two handsome parlours, a bedroom, and the staircase.

"The upper flat contains the dancing hall, and one or two neat bedrooms. Buildings of these dimensions are frequently 40 feet long and 30 deep, and sometimes more. Almost every house of this description is carpeted with beautiful carpeting, which they get from the States, or from Montreal...The kitchen is generally attached to the rear of the building, and besides the necessary accommodation for cooking, it contains the servants' apartments, and an eating hall...

"A considerable number of the farm houses are pavillion roofed, with one tier of chimneys, and generally covered with shingles...The interior of a frame house is finished with plaster and lath, but the outside is done with fine dressed boards, and painted white or yellow. The window shutters are generally grass green and varnished, and the roof slate coloured. Now, these elegant mansions, with the verdant fields, and the dark green woods, have a light and graceful appearance; and one of these fine frame buildings will cost from ten to fifteen hundred dollars." 28

A further precise description of the American-Loyalist third stage homestead is that included in William Dunlop's "Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada for the Use of Emigrants", published in 1832. It states:

A house larger than either [Scottish or English emigrants'], chiefly built of wood, and painted white, with nine windows and a door in front, seven windows in either gable, and a semi-circular one above all, almost at the top of the angle of the roof, the blinds painted green, the chimney stalks highly ornamented, and also the fanlight at the door; the barns, stables, etc. off from the house at a great distance; the arches of all the shed doors turned of wood in eccentric ellipses,... a disposition to be showy and clean, without neatness, proportion, or substantiality...--it is almost needless for me to say, that this is the mansion of Jonathan, or the U.E. Loyalist from the United States. 29

Perhaps the most candid description of the typical frame structure was offered at a later date by a long-time resident of the Bay of Quinte region:

"The old homes...were thought palatial in their proportions and conveniences, and so they were as compared to the old log houses. The latter often remained as relics of other days, but they had been converted into the base use of a cow stable, or a shelter for waggons and farm implements during the winter. Their successors were with very few exceptions, wooden structures, clap-boarded, and painted yellow or red. The majority, however, never received any touching up from the painter's brush, and as the years rolled on became rusty and gray...The interior rarely displayed any skill in arrangement or design. The living rooms were generally of goodly size, with low ceilings, but the sleeping rooms were invariably small, with barely room enough for a large high-posted bedstead, and a space to undress in. The exterior was void of any architectural embellishment, with a steep roof pierced by dormer windows. The kitchen, which always seemed to me like an after-thought, was a much lower part of the structure welded on one end or the other of the main body of the house, and usually had a roof projecting some distance over one side, forming "the stoop"...

"The houses were almost invariably enclosed with a picket or board fence, with a small yard in front. Shade and ornamental trees were not in much repute. All around lay the "boundless contiguity of shade"; but it awakened no poetic sentiment." 30

As Haight suggests, it was common for structures from all three stages to be seen on one farm, as earlier ones were usually retained as barns and outbuildings. Typical farms generally contained a collection of small barns, usually two-bay centre-door, of log construction, rather than large single units. Of notable exception were areas settled by Pennsylvania Dutch and Germans, whose farms were characterised by huge frame bank barns.³¹ Although these were most prevalent in Waterloo and Markham townships, they were also built in the Bay of Quite region.

By 1835, Upper Canada land had become too expensive to attract substantial numbers of American immigrants, and the earlier settlers were rapidly overwhelmed numerically by the successive waves of British immigration. In regions where they remained in concentrated settlements, generally in the oldest settled regions of the province, they continued to duplicate both the

social features and building styles of the states from which they had emigrated. 32

Upper Canada had always been a secondary choice for migrating American settlers, a receptacle for flank movements of the massive western migration within that country. Peak periods occurred only when western expansion within the United States was blocked, as during the 1790's and 1800's. The chief attraction for Americans was, above all else, cheap land, which was considered in terms of investment value rather than as permanent homestead material. Rarely could Upper Canada offer prospects equal to those available in American states.

The influx which came prior to the War of 1812 would probably have continued for at least another decade had government restrictions not been imposed. After that time rising land costs in the province, combined with the opening of large tracts in the American mid-west offering better facilities and less red tape gradually curbed American immigration. Continuing American influence in the province rested primarily on the commercial enterprises, and influence on social and economic patterns combined to make them perhaps the most influential group, long after their immigration had ceased. In the eyes of travellers Americans and native Canadians were often observed to be one and the same, so widely were their traits adopted in Upper Canada. In assessing the traits of the American in Upper Canada, one writer observed:

"His bearing is ungraceful but not mean. His thoughts are limited but practical. He has a head full of wild speculations, and is very fond of making new inventions, some in fact very ingenious...The character of the native

Canadian differs but little from that of the Yankee, but any inference that might be drawn would be rather favourable to the latter."

As large tracts were opened up in Huronia and the shield regions in the 1840's, '50's and 60's, second and third generation descendants along with a number of American pioneers moved in, reapplying the frontier techniques introduced during the first phase of American settlement. Thus in 1852, W.H. Smith could describe the settlement of the Wellington District as:

"rapidly filling up...partly with newly arrived emigrants but principally with settlers from older portions of the province, who have sold out their "improvements", and with increased capital have a second, and many of them a third time taken axe in hand to do battle with the forest...These men have no title to be called farmers; they are mere land-clearers. Most of these pioneers are Americans or Canadians, and after spending half a lifetime in hard work, they generally find the offer of a few hundred pounds a temptation too great to be resisted..."

Townships receiving extensive American settlement:

Stormont County

- 1 Cornwall - U.E. Loyalists (Dutch and German descent)
from Upper N.Y. - 1784
- 2 Osnabruck - U.E. Loyalists (Germans) - 1784

Dundas County

- 3 Williamsburg } - U.E. Loyalists (chiefly Dutch and German
descent) 1784 and later years.
- 4 Matilda }

Grenville County

- 5 Edwardsburg } - U.E. Loyalists (1784 and later years);
Edwardsburg and Augusta continued to
receive Am. settlers during 19th cent.
- 6 Augusta }
- 7 Oxford }
- 8 Wolford }

Lanark County

- 9 Montague } - U.E. Loyalists (a few along Rideau River)
- pre-1812 mixed.
- 10 North Elmsley }

Leeds County

- 11 Elizabethtown } - U.E. Loyalists - 1784 and later
- 12 Yonge }
- 13 Escott - later American settlers (1790's--)
- 13a Leeds - later American settlers (19th century)

Frontenac County

- 14 Pittsburg } - U.E. Loyalists - 1784 and later. Several
hundred Am. settlers to Wolfe Island during
1850's.
- 15 Kingston }

Lennox and Addington County

- 16 Ernestown - U.E. Loyalists, principally from Upper
Mohawk and Hudson River Valleys; generally
of mixed Dutch and German ancestry -
1784 and later.
- 17 Adolphustown } - Quakers from Dutchess County, N.Y. in 1790
settled in Adolphustown.
- 18 Fredericksburgh }
- 19 Richmond }

Hastings County

20 Thurlow

21 Sydney

- U.E. Loyalists (extensive settlement)
- 1784 and later.

Prince Edward County

22 Sophiasburgh

23 Hallowell

24 Ameliasburgh

25 Hillier

- U.E. Loyalists (largely German descent) in 22, 23, and 24 - post 1784; Quakers from Long Island and Dutchess County, N.Y. in 1780's in 23 and 25.

Northumberland County

26 Murray

27 Haldimand

28 Hamilton

- American settlers from N.Y., Penn. and other New England states - 1798-1812.

Durham County

29 Hope

- U.E. Loyalists (late)-1793.

Ontario County

30 Pickering

31 Whitby

32 Uxbridge

- American settlers, principally Quakers and Dutch -- 1805 in 30 and 31, 1808 in 32.

York County

33 East Gwillimbury

- Settlers from N.Y. State -- 1800 (centre of "Davidite" religious sect).

34 Whitchurch

35 King

36 Markham

- Penn. Quakers; some in 1800, most in 1805.

37 Vaughn

38 York

- Penn. Dutch-1805 (also in 36).

Wellington County

39 Puslinch

- Penn. Dutch

Wentworth County

40 Beverly

41 Ancaster

- U.E. Loyalists (some Dutch and Germans from N.J.) - 1787

Waterloo County

42 North Dumfries

- American settlers (mixed) -- Wm. Dickson's (Shade's settlement) - 1816.

Oxford County

43 Blenheim

- American settlers - 1793 onwards.

63 & 64 Norwick

- extensive Quaker settlement - 1808.

64a Dereham

- later settlement (post 1830)

Lincoln County

44 Louth

45 Grantham

46 Niagara

- U.E. Loyalists, beginning 1778; disbanded Butler's Rangers in 45 and 46, 1784.

Welland County

47 Pelham

48 Thorold

49 Stamford

50 Crowland

51 Willoughby

52 Bertie

53 Humberstone

54 Wainfleet

- U.E. Loyalists (initial and 'late') - 1780-90; Quakers in 47 and 52, 1783.

Haldimand County

55 Walpole

56 Oneida

57 Seneca

58 North Cayuga

- U.E. Loyalists (some Butler's Rangers), after 1783.

Norfolk County

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| 59 Townsend | } | - 'late' Loyalists, around 1793. Long Point Settlement centred in Charlotteville and Walsingham twps., in particular around extinct town of Charlottenburg (Turkey Point), where Loyalists settled after unsuccessful attempt in New Brunswick. |
| 60 Woodhouse | | |
| 61 Charlotteville | | |
| 62 Walsingham | | |

Elgin County

- | | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| 65 Bayham | } | - mixed settlers from United States; received land grants in Talbot settlement, frequently intermixed with other immigrant groups - post 1802. |
| 66 Malahide | | |
| 67 Yarmouth | | |
| 68 Dunwick | | |

Middlesex County

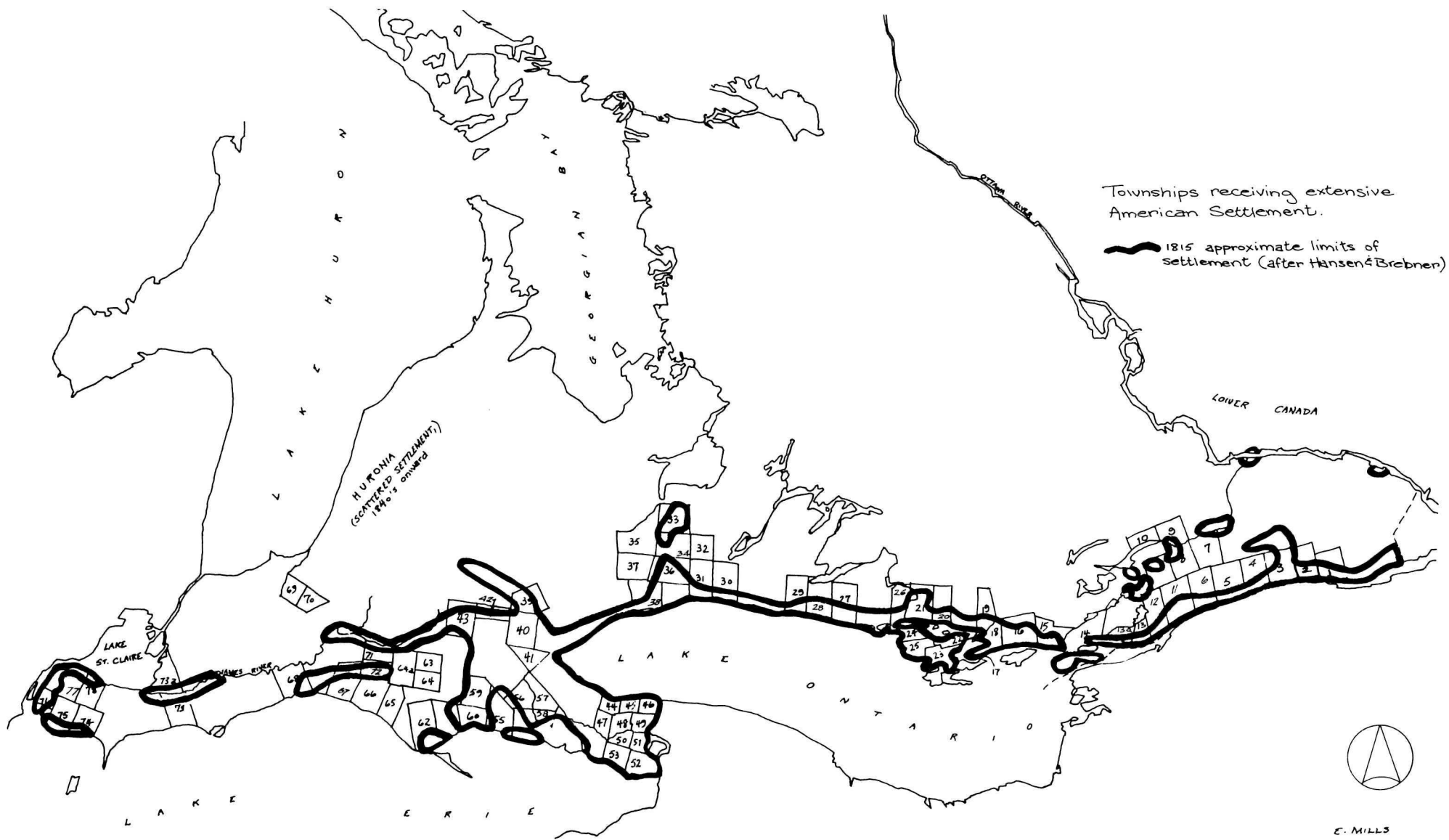
- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 69 & 70 Williams | - mixed settlers from Genessee, N.Y., about 1830. |
| 71 & 72 N. Norchester | - Penn. Dutch. |

Kent County

- | | |
|------------|---|
| 73 Raleigh | - settlers principally from Pennsylvania, 1798-1812 along Thames River in Raleigh Township and adjoining areas. |
| 73a Dover | - later settlement (continuous to 1850's). |

Essex County

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|
| 74 Cosfield | } | - relatively sparse settlement by Loyalists, principally in non-French districts along Detroit River and south shore of Lake St. Clair after surrender of Detroit in 1796; substantial influx into Colchester and Maidstone after 1850. |
| 75 Colchester | | |
| 76 Anderdon and Malden | | |
| 77 Sandwich | | |
| 78 Maidstone | | |



Footnotes:

- 1 J.J. Talman, "The United Empire Loyalists" in Profiles of a Province, Toronto, 1967) P. 3.
- 2 Marcus Lee Hansen and John B. Brebner, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, Vol. 1, (New Haven, 1940), P. 49.
- 3 Hansen and Brebner, "Arrival of the Loyalists", in The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths, (Toronto, 1967), P. 89.
- 4 See A.C. Casselman, "Pioneer Settlements", in Canada and its Provinces Vol. 17, (Toronto, 1914), Pp. 23-29, for details.
- 5 R.W. Cumberland, "The United Empire Loyalist Settlements between Kingston and Adolphustown", in Bulletin of Departments of History and Political and Economic Science, Queen's University, No. 45, May 1923, P. 21.
- 6 Hansen and Brebner, Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, I, Pp. 79-80.
- 7 Talman, "The United Empire Loyalists", P. 5.
- 8 Norman MacDonald, Canada, 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement, (Toronto, 1939), P. 99.
- 9 Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, I, Pp. 78 and 86.
- 10 Casselman, "Pioneer Settlements", P. 46.
- 10a M.S. Cross, "The Lumber Community of Upper Canada, 1815-67", in Ontario History, LII, P. 222.
- 11 Frances Morehouse, "Canadian Migration in the Forties", CHR IX, P. 327.
- 12 MacDonald, P. 524.
- 13 Morehouse, 328.
- 14 R.L. Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario 1613-1880, (Toronto, 1946), P. 19.
- 15 A.R.M. Lower, Colony to a Nation, (Toronto, 1936), P. 117.
- 16 Robert Gourlay, Statistical Account of Upper Canada, (New York, 1966-reprint), Vol. I, P. 249. "...a due proportion of them are in professional, mercantile and mechanic employments; but the most numerous class are engaged in agriculture, and have the appropriate views, manners, and sentiments of agriculturists."

- 17 Jones, History of Agriculture, P. 20.
- 18 John I. Rempel, "The History and Development of Early Forms of Building Construction in Ontario", Ontario History, Pt. 1, P. 243.
- 19 Jones, History of Agriculture, P. 54.
- 20 Ibid., P. 28.
- 21 Walter S. Herrington, History of the County of Lennox and Addington, (Toronto 1913), P. 159.
- 22 Rempel, "History and Development of Building Construction", Ontario History, Pt. 2, P. 14.
- 23 Edwin C. Guillet, The Pioneer Fadkuackwoodsman, (Toronto, 1963) II, P. 57.
- 24 Susanna Moodie, Roughing It in the Bush, (Toronto, 1871), p. 238-9.
- 25 John Howison, quoted in Guillet, Pioneer Farmer I, P. 22.
- 26 History of Agriculture, P. 28.
According to Robt. Gourlay's survey of 1817, the Midland District (Hastings, Lennox-Addington, Frontenac and Prince Edward Counties) contained 27 grist and 131 sawmills. This was also the most populated and prosperous area in the province, indicating the close co-relation.
- 26a J.G. Kohl, in G.M. Craig, Early Travellers in the Canadas, (Toronto 1955), P. 196.
- 27 Guillet, Pioneer Farmers, II, P. 120.
- 28 Thomas Fowler, Journal of a Tour Through British America to the Falls of Niagara, (Aberdeen, 1832), Pp. 152-3.
- 29 Quoted in William Dunlop, Tiger Dunlop's Upper Canada, (Toronto, 1967 reprint), P. 179.
- 30 Canniff Haight, Country life in Canada, (Toronto, 1885), Pp. 88-9, 110.
- 31 Rempel, II, P. 11.
- 32 History of Agriculture, p. 58.
W.S. Herrington cites the example of the town of Bath (Ernestown twp.) which "possesses a style of architecture all its own, the old frame buildings, with the covered balconies. There are several of these old mercantile houses providing for a store or place of business in the lower storey and a dwelling-house in the upper."-- P. 167, History of Lennox and Addington.

- 33 Capt. Charles Gifford (1837) in Guillet, II, P.221.
- 34 W.H. Smith, Canada: Past, Present and Future, (Toronto, 1851), Pp. 92-3.

German settlement in Ontario

by Edward Mills

C I H B
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German Settlement in Ontario

Historical Background

German immigration into Ontario spanned all phases of the province's development, from the Loyalist period up to the twentieth century. Broadly speaking, it involved two distinct groups and two separate migrations, both of which partially overlapped. The two groups may be classified as follows:

- a) Plain People (non-resisters), members of German protestant religious sects such as the Mennonites, Dunkards and Amish, whose social patterns were intimately tied to their religious convictions.
- b) Secular Germans, a general category including Lutherans (resisters) and Roman Catholics, whose migrations were less obviously tied to religious convictions.

The two phases of migration involved movements from the United States, principally Pennsylvania, and from Germany, Holland, and central Europe. With the exception of the Amish, the bulk of Plain People entered Ontario during the early phase, from the United States. This migration was most intensive during the 1800-1835 period, although it never completely died out prior to 1880. The other German groups entered the province during both phases, a few coming as Loyalists and late-Loyalists during the 18th century, but the vast majority migrating directly from Europe after 1825.

A large sector of the Loyalist settlers entering Upper Canada after the American Revolution were either recent German immigrants or of German extraction. Sir John Johnson's Royal New York Regiment which received land grants in the region of Dundas and Stormont counties contained substantial numbers of Hessian mercenaries as well as soldier-farmers of German descent from upper New York State. In addition, a number of discharged

Butler's Rangers who settled in the Niagara region were German Palatines. It is common to find German names or anglicised versions within the lists of original Loyalists, which has led to numerous studies on the impact of the German element upon the characteristics of Loyalists settlement.¹ Since these people were rapidly assimilated, they have been dealt with in the American/Loyalist report rather than as a part of the German group.

The first distinct German settlements in the province occurred in the Bay of Quinte and Niagara regions. In Marysburg County, a number of Hessian mercenaries received land grants as Loyalists in 1784. However, since these people were inexperienced and incapable of clearing their tracts, the settlement soon lapsed and most of them returned to Germany.² During the same period, Moravian missionaries established Indian villages in the Niagara region and in the interior along the Thames River, but these too appear to have disappeared prior to 1815.

The first lasting German settlement was located in Louth Township, Lincoln County, where a group of German Mennonites purchased a block of land on Twenty Mile Creek in 1786 and founded a settlement on the site of the present town of Jordan, which came to be known as "The Twenty." They were joined by a large number of kinfolk in 1799 who had migrated north from Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Overflow from this settlement drifted into adjoining counties, some settling near Dunnville in Halfimand County and others in Bayham Township, Elgin County. Other Mennonite settlements beginning during this period included the

Black Creek settlement in Welland County, which contained over 100 families by 1793 and spread out along the townships fronting on Lake Erie and the Niagara River, and the Rainham settlement in Haldimand County which sprang up independently in 1791 on a 2,000 acre tract at Hoover's Point.³

Until the close of the Simcoe Regime, German settlements remained relatively small, containing limited numbers of families who had moved north on their own initiative and purchased small tracts of land, usually from original Loyalist grantees. However, with Simcoe's initiation of a policy offering large tracts of land to individuals or groups who would sponsor settlement, this situation rapidly changed. In 1794 a German businessman William von Moll Berczy obtained a large tract of land in Markham township, York County, where he settled a group of 60 families after an abortive attempt in New York state. This group, composed of artisans and craftsmen whom Berczy had managed to spirit out of Germany despite official opposition, settled in the vicinity of present-day Unionville, where they developed a prosperous agricultural community with several grist and saw mills.⁴ Unfortunately for Berczy, his source of immigrants had dried up with this initial group, and he subsequently lost his land title, although the actual settlement continued to flourish.

The Simcoe land-granting policy also induced an increased flow of Plain People into Upper Canada, beginning in the waning years of the 18th century and reaching massive proportions within a decade. Before dealing with this influx in detail, it will be useful to examine some of the background of these people.

The Plain People were in fact composed of several closely related religious sects including the Mennonites, Dunkards, Quakers, Huguenots, Moravians and Amish. With the exception of the English Quakers and French Huguenots, their ancestry was of varied, but predominantly southern German origin.⁵ Sharing a common history of social persecution and forced migrations, many of them found a haven in the Thirteen Colonies during the 17th and 18th centuries, especially in Pennsylvania, where the pre-established Quakers had encouraged them to settle. In this environment they had evolved highly distinctive agricultural communities with advanced farming techniques which were widely adopted by other ethnic groups.

With the termination of the American Revolution the Plain People underwent a period of flux which resulted in large-scale migrations to newly opened frontier regions. The precise reasons behind this movement are not clear. Although the change in governments resulted in a degree of persecution for their refusal to take up arms, as well as the loss of previously guaranteed exemptions, this in itself does not appear to have directly inspired a massive movement. And since the majority of those who did migrate chose to relocate within American territory, while all but a handful of those who moved northward into Upper Canada arrived long after the Loyalist phase had ended, it is clear that loyalty to the Crown was not a prime factor. The most plausible motives appear to have been social and economic. Increased population, both within the ranks of the Plain People and amongst surrounding settlements were making continued

existence in their accustomed manner difficult. Retention of their cultural and religious traditions depended to a great extent on social isolation from external influences and on a relatively self-sufficient agricultural system. In the rapidly growing New England region, these modes of existence were being encroached upon, both by population density and increased land taxes.⁶ Migration of a portion of their people to remoter areas offered a solution, since it relieved the growing pressure of an increasing internal population, while at the same time offering a lucrative cash profit, since their Pennsylvania farms commanded high prices while new tracts could be acquired for little, if any, outlay.

The migration to Upper Canada, while massive by the province's standards, was only a minor flank movement of the major flow into the American midwest, principally into Maryland and Virginia. The group that settled in the Niagara peninsula served as a vanguard, since their favorable reports on soil quality and climate attracted other members to follow them northward. In this manner a group of Mennonite farmers purchased a large tract of land along the upper Grand River in the area of Waterloo Township in 1799. A number of kinsmen joined them in the next three years, thus initiating the first substantial inland settlement within the province. However, it was discovered in 1803 that the sale had been void owing to a \$20,000 mortgage owed on the land by the previous owners. In order to maintain their claims the Mennonites sent two of their people back to Pennsylvania to raise the necessary money. In their native

Franklin County they were unsuccessful in attracting prospective investors, but a group in Lancaster County agreed to form a joint stock company, subsequently known as the German Company, which raised the necessary amount through the sale of lot shares to prospective settlers.

The tract of 60,000 acres was then repurchased from the government and surveyed in 448 acre lots which were drawn for among the shareholders. This initiated a continuing migration northward from Lincoln County which lasted for more than 30 years.

An additional tract of 45,000 acres in adjoining Woolwich township was purchased in 1807 and received further groups of Mennonites, interspersed with Dunkards. This latter group, distinguished from the Mennonites chiefly by slight religious modifications and dress, began moving to Upper Canada from Pennsylvania in 1801, and settled mainly in the Waterloo area.⁷

By the mid-1830's the Plain People occupied three flourishing settlements in Upper Canada, in Waterloo County, the Niagara region, and York County, where a large number had located after 1803.⁸ Greatest growth continued to be concentrated in the Waterloo area, particularly during subsequent years, and settlement spread outward into adjoining Perth, Huron, and Oxford counties.

The Mennonites and Dunkards were joined in 1824 by a further closely related group when the Amish acquired settlement rights in a large tract located in Wilmot township. Several hundred of these people migrated directly from Germany at this time and

received free grants of 50 acres each, with options to purchase more. The settlement soon flourished and spread into Waterloo and Woolwich townships in Waterloo County, as well as parts of Perth County.

The direct immigration of the Amish occurred at the same time as large numbers of secular German groups were beginning to illegally emigrate from the various German states. Thousands of them managed to find their way to Dutch or French ports and secure passage on ships bound for New York. Most remained in the United States, but a small proportion were attracted to migrate north to Upper Canada by the prospect of cheap land. Frequently such immigrants received transportation from the Mennonites who were still moving into Waterloo County at this time. Since the Plain People spoke German dialects, the German immigrants naturally tended to gravitate towards the Waterloo region, where they initially found work as agricultural workers. Although some continued to farm, the majority had been trained as tradesmen in the old county, and chose to locate in towns and villages, thereby creating complementary trade and distribution centres for the agricultural Plain People. Thus urban centres in the Waterloo region were peopled largely by direct German immigrants rather than Pennsylvania Germans, and frequently derived their names from towns and cities in the homeland: Baden, Hamburg, Strasbourg and Heidlebourg to name a few.

Direct migration from Germany was continuous from 1825 to 1880, varying in size largely with economic and political conditions in the homeland. (after 1850 restrictions on

emigration were lifted). During the first two and a half decades the bulk of German settlement continued to be concentrated in those counties of south-western Ontario which had been initially occupied by the Plain People who they rapidly outnumbered. As these regions became filled they spread into outlying counties such as Perth, Huron, Bruce and Grey, where they settled both in isolated blocks and amongst other ethnic groups. In the latter cases they were of course rapidly assimilated.

An interesting area of German settlement was the Huron Tract, opened up by the Canada Land Company during the 1830's and 40's. After low initial response to advertisements for land, the company's director, John Galt, contracted a wealthy German from Waterloo County, Anthony Van Egmond, to open a series of inns along the newly opened Huron Road, and later to induce Mennonites to settle along it as an impetus to other settlers. Van Egmond installed three German tavern-keepers along the road, and later visited the various Upper Canadian Mennonite communities, offering free land tracts as inducements, the theory being that their natural propensity for farming would create prosperous models attracting others to settle around them.⁹ Although this scheme apparently failed to materialize, it does indicate the esteem with which the Plain People were regarded among early colonizers and settlers. A large number of Pennsylvania Mennonites did eventually move into the region during the late 1830's, after Van Egmond himself had established an impressive estate four miles west of Seaforth. Massive German settlement occurred, particularly in Hay township, during the 1840's, when direct

immigrants from Germany and Switzerland arrived, quickly developing prosperous agricultural settlements:

They were thrifty and industrious, quickly cleared their land, established their villages and built their churches. Most of these were Lutherans although there was a sprinkling of Mennonite and Tunker [Dunkard] settlers as well. To this day they give Hay a particular character all its own, although right from the beginning they proved to be very adaptable to general conditions in Huron County and never at any time were an isolated community living unto themselves.¹⁰

During the 1850's, the government of Canada West (Ontario) attempted to initiate a settlement drive in the large tract of land lying between the Ottawa River and Georgian Bay. A system of colonization roads was begun, with 12 being constructed between 1853 and 1866. (see map) Since the land thus opened for settlement lay entirely within the Canadian Shield region, most of it was arid and worthless for anything but the timber it contained. For this reason it was difficult to attract settlers from within the province or in fact any immigrants at all familiar with soil characteristics. Consequently, the government turned to Europe as a source of potential settlers, marking the first occasion that immigration had been solicited outside the British Isles and United States. As a result of this campaign, a number of Germans were drawn into the Upper Ottawa Valley region, in particular into the Renfrew district. Of this settlement A.R.M. Lower has observed:

In 1857, a party of Germans was sent into Renfrew County and in 1858, another from Prussia. These latter were failures, old people, physically unfit for pioneering. Within a year many of them were dependent on charity. Moreover, those who did go on the free grants were alleged, owing to their inexperience, to have been responsible for forest fires which ran far and wide among the pineries and

burned up more wealth than could be produced by their farming in many generations. But a remnant of them stuck, to form the nucleus of the present German townships of the Upper Ottawa. ¹¹

In fact the German settlers continued to trickle into the Ottawa-Huron tract during the following decades, adding to the Renfrew settlement and spreading out into other counties and districts where they formed isolated pockets which were slow to be assimilated. Such pockets occurred throughout Renfrew County, in northern Frontenac, in Parry Sound south of Lake Nipissing, and further north in Algoma.

A final group of Germanic people which entered Ontario during the 19th century began arriving during the 1870's. These were the so-called Russian Mennonites who had emigrated to Russia during the late 18th century under the encouragement of Catherine the Great. In 1870 the exemptions on military service and other privileges which they had been granted were removed, and their position was once again precarious. Some 15,000 chose to emigrate to North America between 1874 and World War 1, half of which eventually settled in Manitoba. Financial support for this migration was partially provided by the Waterloo Mennonites, who also offered temporary accommodation for many en route to the prairies. A small number of these people remained in the Waterloo area where they merged with the inhabitants. ¹²

Characteristics of German Settlement

Since the social and cultural backgrounds of the Plain People and direct German settlers were so diverse, their settlement shared little in common. The social patterns of the former group, evolved through years of segregated existence, tended to reflect an intricate relationship between their religious beliefs and life styles, which found expression in the agricultural settlements. The prosperous farms which were an invariable feature of their settlements manifested their close sense of union between man and earth rather than the more typical goal of economic prosperity common to most other settling groups:

The Pennsylvania German farmer showed a strong predilection for family-sized holdings (100 to 300) acres and relatively intensive forms of agriculture. He looked upon his calling as a preferred way of life and not primarily as a commercial occupation. He sought an acreage sufficient to feed and clothe himself well and to yield the necessary means with which to secure farms for his children. In his work program, self-sufficiency was his ideal.¹³

While socially conservative and isolationistic, the Mennonites introduced advanced agricultural techniques to North America, including crop rotation, fertilization, irrigation and new forms of animal husbandry. Much of the Mennonites' success in adapting to the agricultural conditions in America were due, according to G.E. Reaman, to similarities in land, climate and necessary farm practices between New England and the Palitinate and Switzerland, the countries from which they had migrated.¹⁴ By contrast, British farmers, raised in a dissimilar environment, underwent greater difficulties adapting to the North American conditions and frequently were forced to discard old country techniques in favour of those employed by the Plain People.

The communities which the Plain People formed in Ontario were virtual duplicates of those in Pennsylvania. Initial land selection, far from being haphazard, was based upon methods employed in the United States, whereby tracts containing certain hard wood forests were sought out, since they were accurate indicators of soil fertility:

The whole German pattern of settlement was different from the start. While the English pioneers seem to have headed for the loose dirt, which meant bottoms and somewhat sandy uplands, the Germans waded into the more permanently fertile, heavy textured wooded lands among which the clay loams of limestone origin are conspicuous. This was not due to any peculiar genius on their part, but simply to the fact that the virtues of such soils had long been known to them at home.

In addition, migration was rarely a haphazard individualistic undertaking, as was so frequently the case with other ethnic groups, since the retention of their social patterns was of utmost importance to them and was in turn dependent upon the ability to form self-sufficient communities. Migrations were usually carried out by units of twenty or more families, which ensured the establishment of a church parish in the new settlement, as well as providing a variety of occupational resources which, used on a co-operative basis, guaranteed rapid advancement.

A further contrast with other groups' settlement patterns centred upon their techniques for land clearing. Unlike the usual American pattern of indiscriminate tree-girdling and felling, followed by seeding around and among the remaining stumps, the Mennonites preferred to completely clear their fields in one step, stump and all, at the same time retaining bordering trees

and wood lots, for both aesthetic and practical purposes. With a ready supply of labour and generally more extensive equipment, they brought their farms to a fully cleared and high stage of cultivation much earlier than other groups. The well-ordered appearance of their communities by comparison to those of most other groups earned them numerous compliments and a high reputation among early observers:

Many of the first settlers brought considerable property with them into the township; and their farms, houses, and farm-buildings bear evidence of wealth. There are townships in the Province bearing richer land; there are in some localities even better farmers...but no portion of the Province bears so strong a resemblance to some well-wooded, picturesque section of the old countries as the township of Waterloo.--And why is this? Because in no portion of the Province, leaving out a small portion of the Niagara District, do we see so much taste displayed in the laying out of farms...Too frequently is it the case, that the person clearing land commits indiscriminate slaughter among the trees, and makes a clean sweep, destroying everything, and leaving his dwelling unshaded and unsheltered for the next generation...The inhabitants of Waterloo have in general eschewed such notions, and have in forming their farms and villages, shown a little affection for the charms of nature. The township, the appearance of its hamlets and homesteads... are therefore the admiration of travellers.¹⁶

Priorities in building construction also differed for the Mennonites. Whereas other groups were content to provide livestock with limited shelters, frequently employing former shanties as barns, and generally allowing their animals to run loose during most of the year, the Plain People insisted upon sheltering all their livestock. To do this, they introduced the bank barn, first developed in Pennsylvania, which afforded crop storage, animal shelter, and fruit and vegetable preservation.¹⁷ These structures, regarded as probably the greatest German contribution to Ontario architecture,¹⁸ were massive

two story structures, often 40 ft. by 60, 80, or 100 feet in size, "topped by a rafter roof once with shingle and straw, now covered with roofing felt. The ground floor contains the stables. Frequently the gable walls were built of stone or brick. The rest of the barn is built of wood. The forebay extends some 10 feet which enlarges the granary space and protects the evesided stable entrances...With the erecting of a barn the farmers see to it that it faces almost exclusively southwards in order to get the morning sun and heat entering the stable doors."¹⁹ They were painted a red-brown colour and were frequently decorated with so-called hex signs such as six-pointed stars or wheels.

By comparison with the barns, the houses of the Plain People were relatively austere. First structures were constructed of logs, occasionally differing from those of other settlers by having one central chimney located in the center of the roof rather than on the gable end. This trait was carried over into their permanent dwellings, as described by John Rempel:

A typical Pennsylvania [German] plan had one room occupying the full width of the front half of the house. This room, a combined hall and kitchen, had a fireplace centrally located on the inside wall. The stairway was in either the left or the right front corner. Behind the kitchen were one or two rooms, a living room and/or a bedroom. If the house had two fireplaces, they were generally placed back to back...Pennsylvania houses contained one and a half or two storeys, and were built of either logs, brick, or stone. These houses were invariably of excellent and solid workmanship rather larger than the average house in the Thirteen Colonies.²⁰

Unlike their European ancestors, they always separated the house from the barn. Occasionally houses were built with two front entrances, one leading to a separate apartment to accommodate family elders. An early first hand observer described his stay

at a Mennonite homestead in 1832, including details of their residence:

[I] slept again at another [German] farmer's, whose family have rather more than common primitive appearance: the men with long hair hanging down over their shoulders, and parted over the forehead, and a homespun dress nearly of the cut of the Quaker...I have since learned that they are Dunkards or Mennonists..."The [Germans] in general are in pretty good circumstances, living in large plain-built houses; built with a stoop, that is, the roof projecting considerably over for shade in front of the house...They hang the horses' harness and ox-yokes, and other implements of husbandry under them, on pegs driven into the wall of the house; and having very large barns, and generally good yards and other convenient out-buildings for cattle &c. In this house, and in that which I slept last night, they had large log fires on the hearth, besides a large stove in the sitting rooms of each, placed on the opposite side, so that when sitting at the fire you had the stove at your back!²¹

As the above writer notes, exterior trim on Mennonite structures was simple and austere, in accordance with their religious convictions. This was most clearly evidenced in their churches or meeting houses, which were large rectangular structures, initially of log, but later of frame, brick, or stone, with one or two chimneys but no cross or steeple. A comprehensive collection of photographs of such structures is contained in Burkholder's History of the Mennonites in Ontario.

Historians note that the only area of continued Germanic cultural predominance in Ontario is Waterloo County. In other former Mennonite enclaves such as "the Twenty", Black Creek, and York County, the close knit social structure was gradually eroded, although the Mennonite religion continued to survive.²² Undoubtedly the sheer numerical strength and relative isolation of the Waterloo settlement played a large role in its preservation, but the post-1826 influx of German Lutherans and

Roman Catholics also contributed. These people, although sharing little in common with the Plain People other than distant ethnic and linguistic roots, nevertheless formed a complimentary social unit. Unlike the retiring, essentially isolationistic Mennonites, they gravitated towards urban centres and commercial enterprises. In effect, they filled the role of commercial and political go-betweens for the latter group which had been assumed in other regions by British and Americans. Thus the composition of settlements in the Waterloo region provided the interesting contrast of prosperous and frequently ostentatious German Lutheran and Catholic communities interspersed with the plain and functional rural settlements of the Plain People. Although their reputations as industrious and efficient settlers and tradesmen rivaled those of the Mennonites, particularly in those areas where they settled in blocks or among the Plain People, they did not choose to restrain outward signs of their prosperity, if a description of their settlements in Ellice Township, Perth County is any indication:

"That they are of strong religious convictions is apperant from the number of costly church edifices, whose appropriate style of architecture, elaborate in design in many instances, are found throughout settlements of this nationality. In sections entirely composed of Germans, farm buildings are often more pretentious than such accomodations amongst English speaking people. A number of palatial dwellings, erected on farms in these northern municipalities by Germans, indicate a lavish expenditure of money, which one would think inconsistent...with that caution and economical rule of conduct attributed to their German owners.²³

While this aura of prosperity appears to have surrounded most of the German settlements in south-western Ontario, it did not extend to the later northern settlements of the Ottawa/Huron

Tract, where the soil was thin and agricultural markets were usually restricted to the precarious shanty trade, providing provisions for the local lumber camps. As a result many who had been attracted into the region by government publicity campaigns left either immediately or soon after seeing the dim prospects open to them, and migrated south to the United States.²⁴ An immigration program geared to attract thousands realized gains numbering in hundreds, usually consisting of those incapable of moving again. Admiration of observers was frequently less for the prosperity & prowess of these people than for their powers of endurance:

Few of the squatters near the pineries had much hope of finding salvation in diversified agriculture. Their soil was so poor that only the Poles and Germans seemed able to make a living from it, and they only by the utmost industry and frugality.²⁵

Precise details concerning the structures these people erected are unobtainable; in all likelihood the majority of them did not get beyond the log stage, despite the presence of mills. This is born out by the Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1881, which indicates that out of all the townships of Renfrew County settled at that time, only two, Alice and Pembroke contained any frame structures. Interestingly enough, it is quite likely that a sizable proportion of the early log structures constructed along the colonization roads continue to exist, since large stretches were by-passed in subsequent development of the region.²⁶

Assimilation of the German settlements in the shield region was a relatively slow process, not because of cultural

tenaciousness on their part so much as isolation from other groups. Thus settlements containing a predominance of descendents of original German settlers continue to exist, both in Renfrew and other northern counties and districts. Two well known pockets are Germanicus, located west of Lake Doré, and another settlement west of Killaloe, both in Renfrew County. ²⁷

Areas of Concentrated German Settlement in Ontario

The list and map on the following pages indicate the townships receiving substantial influxes of German settlement. Numerous sources have been used in compiling this list, the major ones being A.F. Hunter's "Ethnographical Elements of Ontario" in the Ontario Historical Society's Papers and Records, 1901, various editions of the Census of Canada, the Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1881, and assorted local histories. The shaded areas indicate townships continuing to contain a predominance of Germans according to the 1911 Census of Canada.

Basically, German settlement can be divided into three sections:

- 1) the Mennonite communities of York County (twps. 22-25), "the Twenty" (twps. 61-63), Black Creek (twps. 64-67), the Cayuga settlement (twps. 68-70) and Waterloo district (twps. 31-39);
- 2) early direct German immigration (1826 - 1850), which was initially interspersed with the Mennonite settlements, especially in Waterloo, Oxford and Wellington Counties, but later spread into neighbouring counties, in particular those opened up by the Canada Company (twps. 31-39, 40-60, excepting 56-57).

3) late German immigration (1850 - onwards) predominantly into the shield regions, after the south-western area had filled up; throughout most of south-western counties where they interspersed with other groups and were rapidly assimilated; pocket settlements, especially in Simcoe County (twp. 56-7), Renfrew (twp. 6-21), Frontenac (twp. 2-3), Lennox and Addington (twp. 4-5), and Parry Sound (75-83), where assimilation was retarded by isolation.

In the case of the Mennonite settlements, it is generally assumed that the Waterloo area was the only one to resist assimilation. However, the continued presence of the Mennonite religion, both in York County and in the Niagara region, ²⁸ suggests that vestiges remain--in particular architectural vestiges, since the essential functionality of their designs probably encouraged their retention long after other cultural traits had been dropped. Thus the four townships originally containing the largest concentrations of Mennonites in those settlements, Markham (22), Louth (61), Bertie (65), and Rainham (69) likely contain architectural remnants. (see 1876 Louth map, following page)

Early direct German settlement is somewhat more difficult to access. Remnants from the Berczy settlement continue to exist in Markham township, while there are possibly traces in some of the early front townships of the Loyalist settlements in Stormont and Dundas Counties. The greatest numbers continue to be concentrated in the Waterloo district, but the continued influx of central European and English speaking groups into the region, particularly during the 20th century has probably highly

altered their initial architectural characteristics. Examination of local histories suggests that continued Germanic influence in townships where they settled in large blocks, in particular Hay Township, Huron County (58), and possibly certain townships in Perth County (40-44) as well as East Zorra (39) in Oxford County, would be most likely to yield significant numbers of early structures.

Later German settlement in the Ottawa - Huron tract was concentrated, as previously stated, mainly along the government-built colonization roads initially. Thus surviving examples of their pre-1880 structures would be most abundant along these arteries, or in the existing agricultural settlements in the vicinity of Eganville and Killaloe (twps. 10-12, 18, 19).

Townships receiving German settlement

Prince Edward County

- 1 Marysburg - discharged Hessian soldiers; forty families in 1783, most of whom afterwards left.

Frontenac County

- 2 Clarendon }
3 Miller } - German immigrants, along Frontenac Colonization Road, post 1860.

Lennox and Addington

- 4 Abinger }
5 Denbigh } - German immigrants, along Addington Colonization Road, post 1860. (off-shoot of Renfrew settlement)

Renfrew County

- 6 Lyndoch
7 Raglan
8 Radcliffe
9 Brudenell
10 Sebastopol
11 S. Algoma
12 N. Algoma
13 Fraser
14 McKay
15 Petawawa
16 Alice
17 Wilberforce
18 Grattan
19 Bromley
20 Pembroke
21 Horton
- German immigrants, in response to government - sponsored colonization scheme, post-1860 - chiefly along colonization roads, on free 50 acre grants.

York County

22 Markham - German artisans under Berczy (60 families),
1794 - centred at Unionville; later
Mennonite settlers from Penn., 1803 onwards.

23 Whitchurch

24 Vaughn

25 York

- Mennonite settlement, 1803.

Wentworth County

26 Ancaster

27 Beverly

28 Glanford

29 East Flamborough

30 Barton

- sparse early Mennonite settlement, 1787
onwards; later overflow from Waterloo
settlement; later either absorbed or moved
back to Waterloo.

Wellington County

31 Puslinch

- overflow from Waterloo Mennonite settlement,
post 1825; also German Lutherans and
Catholics, direct immig'n.

32 Guelph

33 Pilkington

- German Lutherans, post 1825.

Waterloo County

34 Waterloo

- Beasley tract, first settled 1799, extensive
settlement 1803 onwards, principally from
Penn. - Mennonites and Dunkards.

35 Woolwich

- Mennonite settlement 1807 onwards (extensive
German settlement in all townships of
Waterloo County 1826 onwards).

36 Wellesley

- overflow from Waterloo and Woolwich.

37 Wilmot

- Amish settlement, direct from Germany, 1826
onwards. Also Mennonite and German settlement.

Oxford County

38 Blenheim

39 East Zorra

- overflow from Waterloo settlement, extensive
direct German settlers after 1826.

- Perth County
- settlement sponsored by Canada Company.
- 40 South Easthope
- continuous German settlement, 1830 onwards.
- 41 North Easthope
- extensive German settlement, 1840's, mainly in eastern portion.
- 42 Downie
- German settlement in northern sections, 1830's and 40's.
- 43 Ellice
- extensive German settlement, 1830's onward.
- 44 Fullarton
- German settlement in north-east corner, during 1840's.
- 45 Logan
- scattered German settlement during 1840's and 50's, concentrated mainly around Brodhagen.
- 46 Mornington
- light German settlement, 1840's and 50's.
- 47 Wallace
- last twp. opened in Perth County; received mixed pop'n. including Germans during 1850's and 60's.
- 48 - see Huron County
- Grey County
- 49 Normanby
- 50 Bentinck
- 51 Sullivan
- 52 Carrick
- 53 Brant
- 54 Culross
- 55 Greenock
- direct German immigrants, starting during 1850's; heaviest concentration in Bentinck, Normanby, Sullivan.
- Simcoe County
- 56 Nottawasaga
- direct German immigrants, beginning in 1834 - originally Lutherans, but later converted to Mennonites; known as the Duntroon Settlement. Small individual tracts, 5 acres each.

Dufferin County

57 Melancthon - heavy direct German immigration, 1850's onwards.

Huron County

48 Howick - settlement sponsored by Canada Company.
- direct German immigrants, post 1853.
- scattered German settlers throughout Huron County.

58 Hay - heavy settlement, German immigrants, 1840's; principally Lutherans - prosperous settlement, continuing influence.

59 Stephen - German immigrants, beginning 1830's, (light).

60 Stanley - small number German immigrants, beginning 1830's; Lutherans, Mennonites and Dunkards.

Lincoln County

61 Louth - "The Twenty" settlement on Twenty Mile Creek at site of present town of Jordan, by Penn. Mennonites, starting 1786. - Main influx after 1799.

62 Clinton } - offshoots from "The Twenty", mostly post 1799.

63 Gainsborough }

Welland County

64 Willoughby - offshoot of "Black Creek" settlement, Mennonites from Penn. during 1790's.

65 Bertie - "Black Creek Settlement", started late 1780's, nearly 100 families by 1793 - located 15 mi. west of Fort Erie; extensive settlement.

66 Humberstone } - offshoot of Black Creek, concentrated along lake front, Mennonites from Penn. in 1790's.

67 Wainfleet }

Haldimand County

68 South Cayuga - overflow from "The Twenty" and York County; settlement between 1835 and 40.

69 Rainham - Mennonite settlement, indept. of other Niagara groups, started 1791, centred at Hoover's Point, between Cheapside and Rainham Centre.

70 Walpole - part of Rainham settlement.

Norfolk County

- 71 Windham }
 72 Middleton } - German Protestants from Wirtemberg, 80 families in 1847, principally settled in Middleton twp.

Elgin County

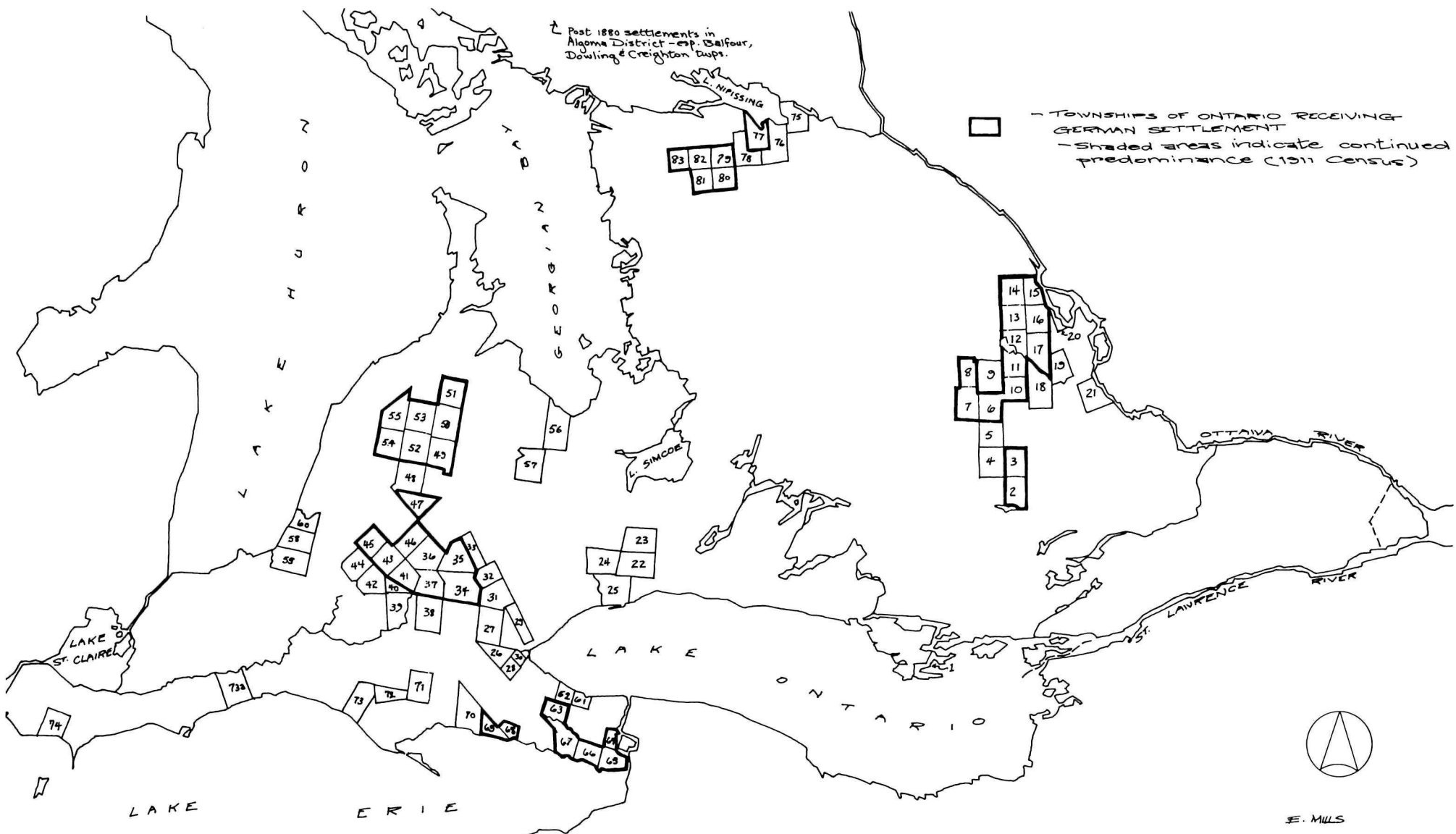
- 73 Aldborough - German Lutherans, in 1850's.
 73 Bayham - Mennonites, off-shoot of the Twenty, 1800's.

Essex County

- 74 Gosfield - fragmentary settlement of Mennonites, 1780's, (no trace).

Parry Sound

- 75 Ferris }
 76 Himsworth }
 77 Nipissing }
 78 Gurd } - German Catholics, post 1867; major concentrations in Gurd, Nipissing and Himsworth.
 79 Pringle }
 80 Lount }
 81 Ferrie }
 82 Mills }
 83 Wilson }



Footnotes

- 1 See in particular G.E. Reaman's Trail of the Black Walnut, (Toronto, 1957).
- 2 R.W. Cumberland, "The United Loyalist Settlements between Kingston and Adolphustown", in Bulletin of Dept. of History and Political and Econ. Science, Queen's University, No. 45, May 1923, P.21.
- 3 L.J. Burkholder, A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario, (Markham, 1935), P.32.
- 4 See John Andre's William Berczy: Co-Founder of Toronto, (Toronto. 1967), for an account of Berczy's settlement.
- 5 Reaman, Trail of the Black Walnut, P. 122.
- 6 Ibid., P. 33.
- 7 C.M. Johnston, "An Outline of Early Settlement in the Grand River Valley", Ontario History, LIX, March, 1962, P. 56.
- 8 Mabel Burkholder, "Palatine Settlements in York County", Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, vol. 37, 1945, P. 86. The Markham settlement, started in 1803 when Mennonite immigration was temporarily diverted from Unionville, Stouffville, Maple and Woodbridge, and included settlement in Vaughn, Whitchurch and sections of Scarboro and Pickering townships as well as Markham.
- 9 James Scott, The Settlement of Huron County, (Toronto, 1967), P. 49.
- 10 Ibid., P. 172. The centre of German settlement in Hay Twp. is the town of Zurich.
- 11 A.R.M. Lower, "The Assault on the Laurentian Barrier", Canadian Historical Review, X, 1929, P. 304.
- 12 Mabel Dunham, Grand River, (Toronto, 1945), P. 132-3.
- 13 Walter M. Koolmorgen, quoted in Reaman, P. 134.
- 14 Reaman, P. 197.
- 15 Shryock, quoted in Reaman, P. 131.
- 16 W.H. Smith, Canada: Past, Present and Future, (Toronto, 1851), vol. II, P. 120-1.
- 17 Reaman, P. 132.
- 18 John I. Rempel, Building with Wood and other Aspects of 19th Centure Building in Ontario, (Toronto, 1967), P. 6.

Footnotes (cont'd.)

- 19 Emil Meynen, quoted in Reaman, P. 132.
- 20 Rempel, P. 18.
- 21 Joseph Pickering, Inquiries of an Emigrant, (London, 1832), P. 126-7.
- 22 Brief History of the Mennonites in Ont. (scattered references).
- 23 William Johnson, History of Perth County (Toronto, 1903), P. 281.
- 24 Paul Gates, "Immigration in the Province of Canada", C.H.R., XV, 1934, P. 27.
- 25 R.L. Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, 1613-1880, (Toronto, 1946), P. 302.
- 26 Clyde C. Kennedy cites an article by Joan Finnigan in the Ottawa Journal, 1963, which states of the Opeonge Road, running between Renfrew and Algonquin Park, "it is lined with more pioneer log buildings than any other [road]...in all Ontario." Kennedy, The Upper Ottawa Valley, (Renfrew, 1970), P. 147.
- 27 Kennedy, P. 190.
- 28 Short History of the Mennonites in Ontario.

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Pre-1880 French Canadian Settlement in Ontario

by Edward Mills

C I H B

February 8, 1972

French Settlement in OntarioChronological Development

The province of Ontario remained essentially unsettled during the French regime, with the exception of a string of forts and outposts, thinly scattered along the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes system from Cataragui to Sault Ste. Marie and occupying such key sites as Toronto, Niagara and Detroit. By the time of the conquest the Detroit region alone contained a permanent agrarian settlement.¹ This colony had been founded during the early 18th century as a means of supplying the local garrison with agricultural products, and contained a small population of disbanded troops and settlers transported from Quebec. By mid-century the settlement had spread from the west bank of the Detroit River into the present county of Essex, concentrating initially around the village of Sandwich.

This small enclave, constituting the sole example of traditional French Canadian settlement in the province, remained essentially unaltered until 1796, with the British surrender of Fort Detroit. At that time the majority of French residing on the American bank elected to move to the east bank, thus increasing the size of the Essex settlement. By the turn of the century they formed an almost unbroken line of narrow farms stretching from the newly-established

village of Amherstburg at the southern mouth of the Detroit River to the mouth of the Thames River on Lake St. Clair.² In 1817 Robert Gourlay observed that the settlement contained about 200 houses, almost exclusively along the waterfront, 8 windmills, one watermill, but no sawmills. The population was approximately 1,000. Even at this early date it was noted that the settlement appeared to be essentially stagnant in growth, reflecting the isolation from Quebec and dependence on natural increase during the first half of the 19th century. Non-French settlement tended to be slow by the standards of the rest of the province, a fact which was attributed to the flat, rather uninteresting appearance of much of the region which was considered unappealing by British immigrants.³ At the time of Thomas Fowler's visit to the district in 1832, the village of Sandwich contained a population of 250, three-quarters of whom were French, while Amherstburg possessed 700 to 800 inhabitants, almost exclusively French in origin. Although a substantial number of Loyalists and later American settlers entered Essex County during the late 18th centuries, they never constituted a threat to the survival of the French settlement in the waterfront townships during that period, since they generally preferred the higher, more fertile land in the interior. Thus by 1851 French Canadians continued to constitute the predominant group in most of their original settlements. After that date their numbers were supplemented by a renewal

of immigration from Quebec which combatted to a degree the increasing pressure of English-speaking settlement. The numerical strength of the French settlement during this period is revealed in the census reports of 1851 through 1881:

County	Township	1851	1861	1871	1881
Essex	Anderdon	354/1199*	285/1505	815/1895*	1152/2406*
	Malden	463/1315	513/1563	729/1566*	772/1727*
	Sandwich W.	2766/4928*	---	1606/2228*	1876/2860*
	Sandwich E.		1400/3133*	1970/3748*	2397/4386*
	Maidstone	326/1167	295/1652	493/2055*	822/3260
	Rochester	357/788	528/1349*	1115/2152*	1356/2483*
	Tilbury W.	426/675*	390/1190	1596/2392*	2677/4410*
	Amherstburg (town)	462/1880	---	551/1936*	785/2672*
	Sandwich (town)	---	---	435/1160	463/1143*
	Kent	Tilbury E.	---/1023	213/1267	347/1846
Dover		1002/1723*	1054/2656*	1766/3312*	2289/4447*
Chatham		---/1768	17/2744	506/5036	239/5907

*-denotes Fr. Canadian predominant gp.

Until the mid-nineteenth century the Essex settlement remained the only extensive French settlement in the province. The reasons for the reluctance of French Canadians to migrate to the upper province at a time when their native province was experiencing serious rural overpopulation are complex. The decline of the Lower Canadian agricultural system after 1812 was accompanied by the displacement of large numbers of French Canadians who were forced to seek work outside the traditional agricultural system. The alternatives open to them lay either in resettlement outside the confines of the existing Lower Canadian community or in the unskilled labour market beginning to open up in the urban centres of Quebec City and Montreal.

The latter choice was usually selected, as it offered the opportunity for ready employment, particularly in the timber industry, canal building and carrying trades on the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence, without the prospect of permanent separation from the French community. Until the mid 1820's, French Canadians constituted the only substantial labour force available to fill the increasing demand of these newly formed industries, and thus gained an early monopoly in such trades.⁵

Thus French Canadians formed a large, if essentially transient populace in many regions of Upper Canada during the first half of the 19th century. In the Ottawa Valley they constituted a unique social group, isolated from both the agricultural community and urban centres for most of the year. M.S. Cross has summed up this development in the following comment:

The lumberer was that, nothing else....Quebec suffered under the lumberer's celebrating for a few summer weeks, Bytown for a few more in the autumn. But the woods and the river were his life. His contacts with the outside world were few and tenuous but his relations with the farm were equally distant. The lumber community of₆ the Ottawa Valley was a world unto itself....

The impermanent nature of the timber industry resulted in the massive influx of French Canadian lumbermen into regions for short periods, after which they moved on to fresh cutting areas, leaving few vestiges outside the lumber camps in which they had spent their winter months.

Most major towns along the water routes also contained

small French Canadian populations, attracted by work in ship yards, carpentry and similar trades.⁷ While fragmentary pockets of permanent settlement occurred in many southern townships during the first half of the 19th century, the vast majority of French Canadians entering the province continued to be attracted by short-term occupations rather than acquisition of land for agricultural purposes. Two relatively minor exceptions did occur. A remnant of former voyageurs from North West Company settled in Tiny Township around the outpost of Penetanguishene in 1828, after being moved from an earlier settlement at Drummond Island. Some 75 families received the small 25 to 40 acre lots provided by the government. This pocket remained small and isolated prior to the 1880's, although a number spread into adjoining Tay township. They were eventually joined by settlers from Quebec in the second half of the century.⁸

Another pocket developed in Huron County during the 1840's, when a number of former lumbermen returned with their families from Quebec to settle in Hay township, being driven off their original farms by a succession of droughts and crop failures.⁹ Purchasing small tracts of approximately 25 acres from the Canada Land Company, they formed the nucleus of the St. Joseph's Colony, a settlement which gradually expanded to cover an area of 10 miles fronting on Lake Huron, and extending six miles inland.¹⁰

Mid century saw a major shift in French Canadian migration patterns. The first region to feel the impact of this change

was the Ottawa Valley, where the previously noted French lumber community underwent a drastic transformation. During the mid-1830's large numbers of unemployed Irish and Scottish labourers flooded the valley competing for jobs in the lumber camps and gradually displacing the French in the process: "The clash of racial groups, with employment rivalry urging them on, convulsed the valley for a decade."¹¹

Much has been written about the so-called Shiner's War which raged about Bytown between 1837 and 1845. It is generally assumed that this conflict spelled the end to French Canadian participation in the timber trade.¹² In fact this was untrue; while they were displaced from their monopoly on jobs in the square timber trade, their decline only briefly preceded its demise and succession in the 1850's by a new and larger sawn lumber industry which provided extensive employment in mill towns throughout the valley.¹³ While such centres as Bytown, Hawkesbury, Arnprior and Renfrew began drawing increasing numbers of French Canadians to settle within them, a large migration of rural settlers began entering the sparsely populated counties of the lower Ottawa Valley.

The motivating factors behind this shift from transient to permanent settlement lay in the continuing deterioration of economic conditions within Quebec rather than the immediate pressures of Irish and Scottish competition for employment. The incapacity of the traditional land tenure system of Lower Canada to absorb its surplus population was rapidly reaching

critical levels; as a result a massive emigration to the New England states began. In response to a growing concern expressed by the Quebec clergy over this potentially irretrievable loss of large numbers of French Canadians, official encouragement was given for migration into the eastern Ontario counties of Prescott and Russell as an alternative. A colonization society was organized in order to circulate propaganda pointing out the advantages of moving to Canada West rather than to the United States: closer proximity to families and guarantees of new church parishes, coupled with the possibilities of combining farming with lumbering were listed as major features.¹⁴ The political union of the two provinces since 1841 probably also served to ease the sense of expatriation.

The result was a steadily increasing flow westwards from the Lower Canadian counties of Vaudreuil, Soulanges, Deux-Montagnes, Argenteuil and Terrebonne into Prescott and Russell as well as Glengarry and Stormont counties.

Initial settlement was concentrated in low-lying marshy areas which had long been bypassed by English speaking groups who regarded them as worthless. This pattern gradually shifted as increasing numbers migrated, causing a displacement of the earlier English speaking settlers whose departure accelerated as their influence waned at the local administrative levels.¹⁵

French Canadian settlement in the Lower Ottawa Valley does not appear to have been directly governed by proximity to

the lumber industry, although its role as a major employer and market for agricultural goods undoubtedly dominated the pre-1880 economy of the region. In fact demographic growth in the lower Ottawa Valley continued to accelerate towards the end of the 19th century at the same time as the lumber industry's steady retreat into the shield region caused its influence to decline in the region. This steady growth is borne out by census returns for the years 1851-81:

County	Township	1851	1861	1871	1881
Prescott	Caledonia	81	125	439	948*
	Hawkesbury E.	1190*	2014*	2601*	3182*
	Hawkesbury W.		524	545	781*
	Hawkesbury (Vil.)	522	537	844*	1046*
	Longueil	786	965*	1223*	981*
	Alfred	303*	1000*	1345*	2784*
	Plantagenet N.	491*	1093	1892*	2863*
	Plantagenet S.	75	282	734*	1502*
	L'Original (Vil.)				513*
Russell	Cumberland	448	691*	739	990
	Clarence	135	1024*	1906*	3346*
	Cambridge	28	346*	449*	1240*
	Russell	77	828*	1290*	2108*
Glengarry	Lancaster	286	388	647	1075
	Charlottenburgh	843	672	1262	1473
	Lochiel	366	257	412	1056
	Kenyon	132	54	286	584
Stormont	Cornwall	274	354	644	899
	Osnabruck	188	---	350	275
	Finch	---	233	405	858
	Roxborough	184	314	511	834
	Cornwall (town)	132	69	333	1323
Carleton	Gloucester	401	805	1084	1720

*--denotes Fr. Canadians predom. gp

In both Prescott and Russell Counties, French Canadians were numerically the largest ethnic group by the 1880's. In

adjoining counties, particularly Stormont and Dundas, they constituted one of the major elements, and continued to increase during the following decades. Interestingly, in Ottawa, the centre of the valley lumber industry, French Canadians continued to represent one-third of the total population throughout the second half of the 19th century. Undoubtedly employment in the large saw mills constructed there during the 1850's drew large numbers to settle as an urban labour force.¹⁶

Settlement patterns in the Upper Ottawa Valley followed a fairly consistent theme, being almost totally subservient to lumbering, which continued to be a major source of employment and lucrative agricultural market. One of the earliest areas of extensive settlement was Renfrew County, which began receiving substantial numbers of settlers during the 1850's, a proportion of whom were French Canadians. Westmeath Township, with a French population of 265 in 1851, continued to possess a sizable community throughout the next three decades. Smaller numbers were located in McNab, Grattan and Horton townships at an early date. By 1881 the largest concentrations were in Westmeath, Alice and Grattan townships and the mill towns of Arnprior, Renfrew and Pembroke. Further scattered pockets occurred throughout the country, but principally along the armtage of the Ottawa River.

During the 1860's a further enclave began developing around the hamlet of Mattawa, at the junction of the Ottawa

and Mattawa Rivers. By 1864 it consisted of "a large Catholic church, two good hotels, a Hudson's Bay Co. store, and, ... a couple of miles distant, Mr. McConnel's sawmill....There is as yet no grist mill, the high prices for hay and oats leading the few settlers there are to cultivate hardly anything else."¹⁷ Population rapidly increased with the construction of colonization roads during the 1870's and pockets of French Canadian settlement were to be found in townships bordering on the Mattawa River and south shore of Lake Nipissing, with the small outpost of Nipissing Village serving as a further distribution centre. Early concentrations of settlement occurred around Callander and Bonfield at the south-east end of the lake where agricultural settlement continued to exist into the twentieth century.¹⁸

The arrival of the railroad in the 1880's facilitated the rapid development of the Nipissing Passageway; population climbed from 2300 in 1881 to 12,000 in 1891. It also determined the final settlement patterns of the region, as almost all subsequent concentrations were centred along its line and connecting feeder roads. As a result of this realignment, several older communities such as Nipissing Village and Bonfield declined while others disappeared completely.¹⁹

During the second half of the 19th century French Canadians constituted an increasingly large proportion of the Ontario population. While the bulk of this settlement was concentrated in the Ottawa-St. Lawrence region, northern shield areas,

and Essex County, census reports for the period indicate fragmentary groups in most counties throughout southern Ontario. Most of these were undoubtedly absorbed into the English-speaking milieu and thus have left no significant trace. Regions heavily engaged in the lumber industry continued to be the principal areas of concentration for French Canadian settlement, but the transitory nature of the work makes it difficult to determine how much permanent settlement in fact took place. During the post-1861 period several townships contained large French populations which fluctuated drastically from census to census: for example, the French population in Carrick township, Bruce County rose from 71 in 1861 to 428 in 1871, only to fall again in 1881 to 73. A similar pattern occurred in Walsingham township, Norfolk County, where the population dropped from 274 in 1871 to 112 in 1881.

There appear to have been exceptions in regions where the lumber industry achieved a degree of permanence. A number of townships in Hastings and Lennox-Addington supported stable French Canadian populations after 1851, particularly Hungerford, Thurlow and Kaladar. This was probably due to the well-established timber trade centred at Belleville. Frontenac County also contained a large French population in Pittsburg township and Howe, Garden and Wolfe Islands, the latter two supporting particularly large populations of lumbermen during the summer months during the 1860's and '70's.^{19a}

Another community emerged in Prince Edward County during the

1860's, particularly in Ameliasburg and Sophiasburg townships, where French Canadians began purchasing farms being sold or abandoned by earlier settlers. This was an increasingly common occurrence throughout south-eastern Ontario during the latter part of the century, as French Canadian agricultural settlement ceased to entail the acquisition of unsettled land but rather the reoccupation of often unprofitable farms in rapidly depopulating areas.

Characteristics of French Settlement in Ontario

Traditional settlement characteristics, as they had evolved in the lower province, were a relatively rare occurrence in Ontario due to the circumstances of French Canadian migrations. The only region which contained examples of all major features was the early enclave in Essex and Dover counties.

Distinctive features of French Canadian settlement can be divided into general and particular categories. As a rule they tended to purchase only as much land as was immediately affordable and required to meet family needs. This frequently meant no more than 25 to 40 acres, an extremely small tract by Ontario standards. This conservative attitude towards land holding reflected a major distinction from other major ethnic groups entering the province, all of whom held land acquisition to be of primary importance. A further extension of this attitude towards land was the French Canadian's view of farming. To other groups, it constituted the sole occupation to be pursued; French Canadians rarely viewed it as such, preferring to employ farming as a supplementary occupation, to be pursued in summer months when cash labour in lumbering, fishing, trapping, etc. was unavailable.

The physical characteristics of their settlements reflected these attitudes, particularly their preferences in land

selection, forms of agriculture, and house location and construction.

Land selection emerges as one of the most distinctive features of ethnic settlement patterns, each group showing a strong propensity for areas resembling those of their homelands in physical appearance. The French Canadians, as Lucienne Brault points out, were no exception, showing a marked preference for low-lying marshy areas, frequently considered uninhabitable by other groups:

Habitué à vivre sur les terres basses de la vallée du St. Laurent, ils achètent à bon compte les terrains bas que les Anglais considèrent sans valeur et non cultivables. Ils s'y établissent infailliblement à drainer les marais et à les rendre producteurs...²⁰

The concensus among contemporary (non-French) observers and historians is that the French settlers in Ontario were at best mediocre farmers, always more concerned with their external sources of income than with the efficient cultivation of their farms. This was most clearly evidenced in the Essex County settlement where, with the exception of extensive (and highly productive) fruit orchards, they introduced no innovations, being content to "reproduce in their settlements, with their narrow holdings and their general air of unprogressiveness, the outward appearance of the seigneuries along the St. Lawrence and Richelieu. Many of them relied on cutting wood for the Detroit market for their livelihood rather than on agriculture."²¹

Settlement on low-lying waterfront lots enabled the French

Canadians to pursue the somewhat haphazard cultivation which they required for subsistence and limited marketing, while at the same time giving them access to occupations such as fishing and the carrying trade.²² It did not, however, earn them many compliments from early travellers, as the following passage indicates:

Both sides of the river have been settled, and under cultivation, during more than thirty years; however, the uninquiring traveller would suppose that they had but recently known the presence of man. There is indeed a good deal of cleared land on some farms; but miserable log-huts, ill-ploughed fields, shackling barns and unpruned orchards are to be seen everywhere...The French Canadians are...very poor farmers....Their objective is, to have a great deal of land under "improvement" as they call it; and consequently, they go on cutting down the woods on their lots, and regularly transferring the crops to the soil last cleared, until they think they have sufficiently extended the bounds of their farms. They then sow different parts of their land promiscuously, without any regard to rotation of crops.²³

A distinctive feature of the Essex settlement which arose out of its flat, low-lying terrain and consequent absence of adequate water power was the construction of a number of windmills, usually of stone and frame, which was initiated by the French and adopted by later British settlers.²⁴ Few if any of these structures continue to exist.

A number of French settlers eked out rather precarious existences raising cattle and horses which were permitted to graze in the extensive marsh lands along Lake St. Clair and the lower Thames River. Here the propensity for occupying low areas was evidently carried to ultimate extremes, judging by Patrick's Shifeff's observation in 1835 that "many

people reside literally amongst water, passing to and fro from their houses on planks", leading him to speculate that perhaps they preferred occupying swamps to the prospects of clearing dry land.²⁵

A further distinctive feature of French Canadian settlement was the choice of house location. Unlike other groups, they preferred to construct their residences and outbuildings close to the immediate transportation route, be it river or road, and always in close proximity to their neighbours.

Lueienne Brault has made a further interesting observation on this trait:

Si pour le choix d'un terrain on peut remarque les gouts traditionnels ou nationaux d'un peuple, pour le site de la maison le meme phenomene s'observe. Ainsi les Ecossais et les Anglais, toujours pratiques, construisent leurs maisons et batiments de ferme, non pas en bordure du chemin comme les Canadiens francais, mais plutot a mi-chemin entre les deux extremités du terrain qu'ils occupent et d'ordre pratique: lorsque les batiments sont au milieu de la ferme, le cultivateur n'a pas aussi loin a parcourir pour aller aux champs. Les Canadiens francais eux sont prêts a sacrifier le point de vue pratique pour garantir le point de vue social; ils preferent etre pres de la route, afin de pouvoir visiter leurs voisins facilement et se sentir moins isoless.²⁶

The early Essex settlement evidently typified this characteristic, judging from the descriptions offered by early travellers:

The houses are so numerous and so close together upon the banks of the Detroit River, that there is the appearance of a succession of villages for more than ten miles. The farms are very narrow in front, and extend a great way back...²⁷

The Essex settlement also featured examples of traditional

French Canadian log house construction, at least during its early (pre-1835) period. This building form differed considerably from that of other groups, entailing the notching of uprights into which short horizontal logs were slid, creating, in the words of John Rempel, "a kind of combination of log and colombage construction."²⁸ These structures were usually covered with siding, thus making their form of construction difficult to detect. This sheathing also served to distinguish them from the orthodox log structures of other settlers, as Joseph Pickering observed in the 1830's:

Their houses, that were in good repair, are also more neat /than those of the British settlers/ by being covered over their sides with bark.²⁹

Descriptions of the two principal villages of the district prior to 1850 present mixed impressions. Patrick Shirreff described Sandwich as "deriving its only importance from being the county town. The houses compose an irregular street, running along the river, and chiefly occupied by French."³⁰ Of Amherstburgh he stated: "The houses are almost entirely of wood, arranged into streets at right angles to each other, almost bespeaking poverty and meanness...."³¹

By contrast, Joseph Pickering described the latter as "a smart neat French-built town...the houses have long steep roofs, after the French fashion."³² By 1851 Amherstburgh evidently still retained much of this character, as W.H. Smith's observations suggest:

It has a very old-fashioned look about it, most of the houses being built in the old French style. The

streets are narrow, and the side-walks mostly paved with stones. Lately, two or three handsome modern looking brick houses have been erected which appear to stare their more antiquated neighbours out of countenance. There are several good substantial houses on the bank of the river below the town....³³

Amherstburgh continued to be the largest centre of the county until being overtaken by the newer town of Windsor around mid-century.

Assessment returns for the Western District during the 1840's indicate that the majority of structures in the French townships were of squared log and frame construction, with a scattering of stone and brick buildings. Malden and Sandwich were the most advanced townships, judging by these returns. In 1840 the former listed 128 squared log, 36 frame and 12 brick or stone houses, along with 12 commercial structures and 1 mill, while the latter contained 93 squared log, 243 frame and 50 brick or stone houses and 8 commercial structures.³⁴

The development of the French townships by 1880 is suggested by an assessment report published by the Department of Agriculture at that time:

Township	Proportion brick, stone or frame structure	Proportion settled
Anderdon	few brick or stone; mostly frame and hewed log	4/5
Maidstone	1/8	3/4
Malden	2/3	all
Rochester	1/2	4/5
E. Sandwich	2/3	all
W. Sandwich	few brick, no stone, 1/2 good frame	all
W. Tilbury	1/2 frame	2/3

Township	Proportion brick, stone or frame structures	Proportion settled
E. Tilbury	1/5	1/2
Dover	no stone, a few brick and frame, 3/4 squared log	3/4

The French settlement in Tiny township, Simcoe County, never reached substantial proportions. Its continued existence amidst massive influxes of other ethnic groups was probably due to the peculiar social backgrounds and means of livelihood of the settlers, former voyageurs and employees of the North West Company, who continued to pursue their former occupations as guides, trappers and boatmen.³⁵ As late as 1856 "the French Settlement" or Lafontaine Settlement as it was occasionally called, consisted of a collection of log houses on small 25 to 40 acre tracts whose occupants were at most part-time farmers.³⁶ The settlement was located principally on the banks of Boucher's River, the only substantial stream in the township; the population had risen to 411 by 1851, with an offshoot of 70 located in adjacent Tay township. By 1881 these figures had climbed to 1,768 and 513 respectively, with the village of Penetanguishene containing an additional 542 French inhabitants, suggesting the arrival of additional settlers from Quebec. 1880 assessment figures indicate only 1/6 of Tiny's houses were of improved frame construction, suggesting a slow rate of development. Nevertheless it is quite possible that existing structures were built in the traditional French manner.

The St. Joseph's settlement in Hay Township, Huron County also featured settlement on 25 acre lots. A similar agricultural pattern occurred, with the inhabitants depending only partially on farming as a means of livelihood. James Scott has recently observed:

The French Canadian group purchased land from the Canada Company for about three dollars an acre, but no more than its people could be sure of holding, which was on the average about twenty-five acres. Their interest was not primarily in agriculture, other than to grow enough to feed their families.... They were there chiefly for fishing.³⁷

This selection of small tracts had its disadvantages. Evidently the winter fuel requirements rapidly exceeded the limited resources of many individuals' holdings, leading to foraging excursions on neighbouring properties and a series of not too cordial confrontations. The pocket remained essentially static in size, containing 172 inhabitants in 1851, 260 in 1861, and 279 in 1881, indicating a lack of subsequent immigration. According to Scott, it has retained its identity up to the present time, gradually expanding along the shoreline with the village of St. Joseph as its core. 1880 assessment returns for the township indicate that it was 4/5 settled at that time and that 1/2 of its structures were improved status.

Other French communities centred on the lumber trade developed in the neighbouring townships of Stanley and Stephen during the 1840's, with a large concentration settling around Grand Bend. By 1880 the French populations in these

two townships numbered 170 and 213 respectively, but most have subsequently been completely assimilated.

The settlement patterns in the south-eastern counties of the lower Ottawa Valley featured a gradual progression, the low-lying regions of the waterfront townships being the earliest to receive substantial settlement, followed by the acquisition of pre-settled uplands. As the census figures in part 1 of this paper indicate, settlement was heaviest in the Hawkesbury region during the 1850's, with other large concentrations occurring in North Plantagenet, Alfred, Cumberland, Charlottenburgh, and Gloucester townships. Generally speaking, these townships continued to be the most populous throughout the pre-1880 period, although Clarence and Russell townships showed heavy increases during the 1870's.

These eastern counties proved highly conducive to the French Canadian propensity for combining agriculture with other occupations. Fathers and older sons found it possible to combine light summer farming with winter lumbering up the Ottawa. Local lumber camps offered markets for farm produce as well as an opportunity for additional work as teamsters during the first two decades. However, as lumbering receded further northward, this source of prosperity declined and the settlers were forced to rely increasingly on their farms for their incomes. Evidently their agricultural techniques accordingly became increasingly imitative of the English-speaking inhabitants they were gradually displacing.³⁸ Some

continued to find work in the large sawmills located along the river between Rockland and Hawkesbury.³⁹

During the initial phase when settlement was restricted to low-lying areas, traditional settlement patterns appear to have been followed. Structures built during this period were characterised by their location on road frontages, and it is likely that traditional building designs were employed extensively. Acquisition of English inhabitants' farms of course altered this pattern during later years. 1880 assessment returns indicate the stage of settlement in these counties at that time:

Township	Proportion brick, stone or improved frame structures	Proportion settled
Alfred	2 stone, 4 brick, 50 frame	all
Caledonia	6 stone, 5 brick, 3 frame	2/3
E. Hawkesbury	1/4	all
W. Hawkesbury	1/2	all
Longueil	1/8	all
N. Plantagenet	2 stone, 1/8 frame	2/3
S. Plantagenet	1/15	3/4
Cambridge	1/20	1/4
Cumberland	1/4	3/4
Clarence	3 stone, 6 brick, no good frame	2/3
Russell	1/4	4/5
Lancaster	1/4	all
Lochiel	1/4	all
Charlottenburgh	3/4	all
Cornwall	1/2	7/8
Gloucester	1/2	7/8

The lower Ottawa Valley remained an essentially rural settlement, showing a marked scarcity of major towns and villages. Only two such communities achieved corporate status prior to 1880: L'Original, the county seat for Prescott and Russell, and Hawkesbury, a sawmilling centre. Both of these

contained large French majorities by 1881.

In Renfrew County, the French Canadian population was not numerically prominent in any heavily populated areas prior to 1881. Most French settlement was concentrated along the shoreline of the Ottawa River, and concerned primarily with the lumber industry which was concentrated on both sides of the river. In fact many of the inhabitants of the Ontario shore appear to have migrated from earlier, more extensive lumber communities located on Alouet Island and the Quebec shore.⁴⁰ During the 1870's a number began to settle inland in Alice and Stafford townships, but it is doubtful that their settlements retained strong traditional characteristics due to the highly mixed ethnic composition of the region. Assessment statistics indicate that the townships in which they settled remained at a low stage of development by 1880. In Westmeath, the earliest to receive substantial numbers, only 1/20 of the structures were classed as of improved frame. Only Alice and Stafford contained a slightly greater proportion.

The more northerly districts were correspondingly slow in development. Initial settlement closely followed the lumber trade, with small subsistence farms being cleared in arable pockets. In the Nipissing Region, French Canadians constituted one of the predominant groups from the outset, being particularly active in the lumber industry and frequently settling on tracts which they farmed during summer months. A continuing pattern of subsistence settlement occurred in the townships

bordering on the south shore of Lake Nipissing and the Mattawa River with a fragile agricultural system emerging, wholly dependent on the lumber industry. The arrival of the C.P.R., as previously noted, caused a period of fluctuation in these initial patterns, with former pockets located on colonization roads declining while new ones sprang up close to the railroad and its newly established distribution centres.⁴¹

This unstable period was reflected in the primitive, hastily constructed buildings which were erected to meet the immediate needs of the inhabitants--few if any permanent houses were constructed outside the small villages of the district, since it was rare for the weak agricultural potential of the region to support farming beyond the initial subsistence level.⁴² Traces of French settlement would be mostly likely found in the early villages and lumber communities which have since declined or been abandoned.

Areas most likely to contain substantial residual traces:

The following list and settlement map indicate townships receiving substantial influxes of French Canadian settlement, based on Census data, local histories and A.F. Hunter's "Ethnographical Elements of Ontario". As pointed out in the preceeding pages, most areas of the province contained fragmentary French populations during the late 19th century. I have attempted to restrict the chart and map to those areas containing significantly large French populations as to have left possible residual traces. Even so, many townships included, particularly those in which the lumber industry was the sole inducement for habitation, are probably unlikely to contain distinctive remnants.

The regions most intensively settled at a relatively early date are of course the most likely areas for future CIHB recording. The Essex settlement along the Detroit River, particularly around Amherstburg rates top priority, as do the low-lying regions of Prescott and Russell counties. The village of L'Orignal would probably contain a large proportion of French structures, as would the numerous small hamlets throughout the region.

The St. Joseph's settlement in Hay township, Huron county, having enjoyed a period of isolated growth during the pre-1880 period may contain interesting structures and should also

be rated highly. The Penetanguishene area has experienced rapid expansion during the 20th century and is consequently an uncertainty.

In the Shield region, it is possible that a number of interesting remnants may continue to exist, particularly in those regions south of the Mattawa River and Lake Nipissing where small agricultural pockets emerged. A further area of interest would be the now abandoned village of French River Harbour, a large lumber centre during the 1870's, located a mile from the mouth of the French River on Georgian Bay. The north shore of Georgian Bay, particularly along the line of the C.P.R., may also be fruitful, as would the early post of Sault Ste. Marie.

Townships receiving French settlement

Essex County

- | | | | |
|---|-------------|---|--|
| 1 | Malden | } | - French Canadian settlement, post 1750 in numbers 1-4, post 1796 in 5-7; off-shoot of settlement around Fort Detroit initiated during French regime; supplemented by influx from Quebec in second half 19th century. Heaviest concentrations along waterfront, esp. between Amherstburg and Sandwich. |
| 2 | Anderdon | | |
| 3 | Sandwich W. | | |
| 4 | Sandwich E. | | |
| 5 | Maidstone | | |
| 6 | Rochester | | |
| 7 | Tilbury W. | | |

Kent County

- | | | | |
|----|------------|---|---|
| 8 | Dover | } | - Continuation of Essex settlement, post 1796, heaviest along Lake St. Clair and Thames River below Chatham. Additions from Quebec in 19th century. |
| 9 | Chatham | | |
| 10 | Tilbury E. | | |

Huron County

- | | | | |
|----|---------|---|--|
| 11 | Stephen | } | - Settlement from Quebec in 1840's, principally in Hay twp. on 25 acre lots; known as St. Joseph's Settlement. Later settlements in adjoining twps. 11 and 13 were separate, concerned principally with lumber industry. |
| 12 | Hay | | |
| 13 | Stanley | | |

Waterloo County

- | | | | |
|----|----------|---|--|
| 14 | Wilmot | } | - Colony of direct French immigrants, probably during 1840's, principally in Wilmot twp.; stable population of between 4 and 5 hundred during 19th century - smaller numbers in neighbouring twps. |
| 15 | Waterloo | | |

Simcoe County

- | | | |
|----|------|---|
| 16 | Tiny | - settlement of French and Metis voyageurs around Penetanguishene in 1828 (75 families); gradually spread into adjoining Tay twp. Later joined by settlers from Quebec. |
| 17 | Tay | |

Muskoka District

18 Baxter }
 19 Gibson }
 20 Freeman }

York County

21 East Gwillimbury }
 22 North Gwillimbury }
 23 Georgina }

- Fragmentary settlement during 1860's,
 heaviest concentration in Georgina.

Victoria County

24 Eldon }
 25 Bexly }
 26 Laxton }
 27 Somerville }

- Fragmentary settlement, 1850's.
 - French Canadian settlement during 1860's,
 fragmentary; lumbering.

Haliburton District

28 Lutterworth }
 29 Minden }

- French Canadian loggers, 1859.

Hastings County

30 Thurlow }
 31 Hungerford }
 32 Elzivir }

- Continuing settlement after 1850; largely
 transient population fluctuated with shifts
 in lumber industry; heaviest concentration
 during 1850's was in Thurlow, later shifted
 to Hungerford.

Lennox and Addington

33 Kaladar }
 34 Anglesea }

- Extension of Hastings lumber community;
 heaviest concentration during 1880's. Some
 permanent settlers on colonization roads.

Frontenac County

35 Pittsburgh }
 36 Howe Island }
 37 Wolfe Island }

- Transsient lumber community, concentrated
 on Wolfe and Garden Islands at first; later on
 Howe Island -- all post 1851.
 - fragmentary French population in and around
 Kingston throughout 19th century, declining
 after mid-century.

Dundas County

38 Mountain
39 Winchester

}

- permanent settlers from Quebec, beginning in 1850's; heaviest concentration in Winchester twp. - extension of lower Ottawa valley settlement.

Stormont County

40 Finch
41 Roxborough
42 Cornwall

}

- Heaviest settlement in Cornwall twp., beginning early 1850's, gradual increases towards end of century throughout county.

Glengarry County

43 Charlottenburgh
44 Lancaster
45 Kenyon
46 Lochiel

}

- Settlement beginning in late 1840's, heaviest in Charlottenburgh twp, sparce in Kenyon and Lochiel.

Prescott County

47 East Hawkesbury
48 West Hawkesbury
49 Longueil
50 Caledonia
51 Alfred
52 North Plantagenet
53 South Plantagenet

}

- Massive settlement, beginning late 1840's; heaviest in East Hawkesbury, Alfred and North Plantagenet. Initially in low-lying areas, later displacement of non-French groups. Predominant group by 1870.

Russell County

54 Clarence
55 Cambridge
56 Cumberland
57 Russell

}

- Continuation of Prescott settlement; heaviest concentration in Clarence and Russell townships, dominant group by 1880.

58 Gloucester (now part of Carleton County)

Carleton County

- 59 Nepean - Settlement principally within and on outskirts of Ottawa; labour force in milling operations, accelerated growth during 1870's and 80's.

Lanark County

- 60 Lavant - 25 settlers at first; isolated, and later assimilated.

Renfrew County

- 61 Matawatchan }
62 Griffith } - lumber settlements, 1850's in Grattan, 1860's and '70's in other two; no documentation on permanence, but stable during pre-1880 period.
62a Grattan }

- 63 Westmeath }
64 Pembroke } -- Extensive settlement in conjunction with
65 Stafford } lumber industry, particularly in milling
66 Alice } centres of Arnprior, Renfrew and Pembroke;
67 Fraser } earliest rural settlement in Westmeath twp.,
1850's; scattered settlement throughout county
by 1880.

Algonquin Park

- 68 Airy - settlement in vicinity of Whitney, post 1880.

Nipissing District

- 69 Fitzgerald }
70 Deacon }
71 Lister }
72 Cameron }
73 Papineau }
74 Calvin } - Scattered settlement, beginning in 1870's,
75 Mattawan } in conjunction with lumber industry;
76 Bonfield } subsistence farming in pockets, at first
77 Phelps } along colonization roads and in vicinity of
Mattawa, Nipissing Village and Sturgeon
Falls, later along C.P.R. line and feeder
roads (Continued)

Nipissing District (Continued)

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|
| 78 Boulter | } | - most extensive settlement tended to be concentrated on townships bordering on Mattawa River and S.E. shore of Lake Nipissing. |
| 79 Chisolm | | |
| 80 E. Ferris | | |
| 81 W. Ferris | | |
| 82 N. Himsworth | | |
| 83 S. Himsworth | | |
| 84 Nipissing | | |

Parry Sound District

- | | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| 85 Wallbridge | } | - Post 1867 settlement, lumbering community, centred around village of French River Harbour (now abandoned); post 1890 depopulation. |
| 86 Mowat | | |
| 87 Henvey | | |

Bruce County

- | | |
|------------|--|
| 88 Carrick | - lumber community during 1860's and 70's, mainly transient. |
|------------|--|

Algoma District

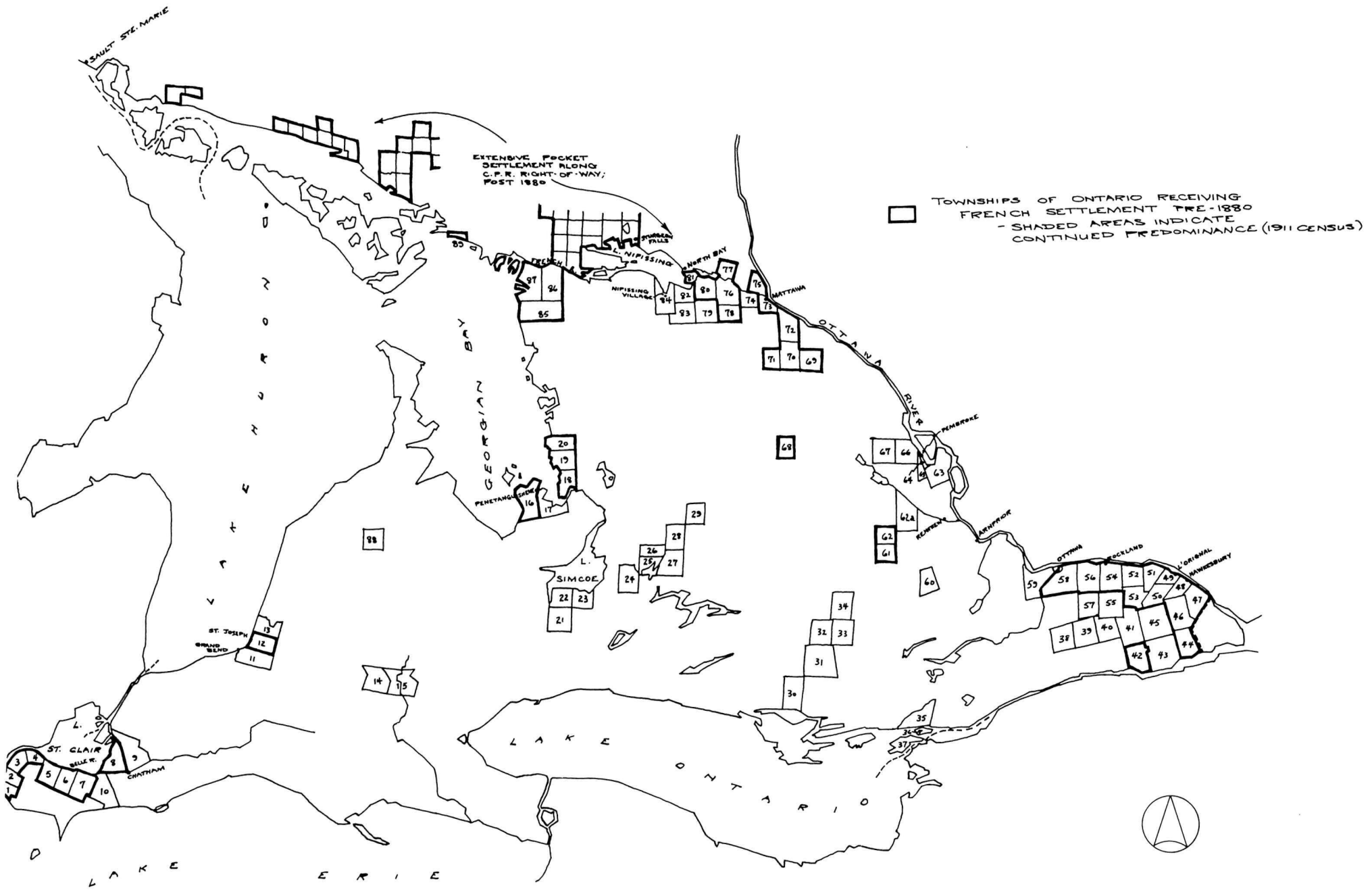
- | | |
|--|---|
| | - Rayside, Balfour, Snider, Graham, Hallam, Rutherford (Killarney), Spanish River, Mississaga, Thessalon. Also at Chapleau station and other points along line of C.P.R. (from Hunter). |
|--|---|

Thunder Bay

- | | |
|--|--|
| | - White River, Schreiber, other points along C.P.R. (from Hunter). |
|--|--|

Rainy River

- | | |
|--|---|
| | - Rat Portage, Norman, other points along C.P.R.; also settlement at Pine River, near Lake of the Woods. (from Hunter). |
|--|---|



FOOTNOTES

1. Leopold Lamontagne, "Kingston's French Heritage", Ontario History, XLV, (1935), p. 110. According to Mr. Lamontagne, a fragmentary French community continued to exist at Kingston where they maintained a small Catholic congregation throughout the 19th century.
2. Edwin C. Guillet, Pioneer Settlements, (Toronto, 1947), p. 145.
3. Francis Cleary, "Notes on the Early History of the County of Essex", Ontario History VI, (1905), p. 70. Mr. Cleary noted: "It is certainly wanting in scenery, being without hill or vale, and almost as level as a prairie...To the emigrant from the British Isles, it is unattractive, notwithstanding its productiveness."
- 4.
5. S.D. Clark, The Social Development of Canada, (Toronto, 1942), p. 209.
6. M.S. Cross, "The Lumber Community of Upper Canada, 1815-67", Ontario History, LII, (1960), p. 221.
7. See James Knight's C.I.H.B. paper "Growth and Development of the Town of Oakville" for a brief description of a typical French community of the period. (p. 5).
8. A detailed account of the French settlement of Penetanguishene may be found in A.C. Osborne's article, "The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828", O.H. III, (1901), and in A.F. Hunter's History of Simcoe County, (Barrie, 1909), vol. II, pp. 222-4.
9. James Scott, The Settlement of Huron County, (Toronto, 1966), pp. 172-3.
10. Ibid.
11. Cross, "Lumber Community", p. 228.
12. See for example interpretations of M.S. Cross and S.D. Clark.
13. W.E. Greening, "The Lumber Industry in the Ottawa Valley and the American Market in the 19th Century", O.H. LXII,

- (1970), pp. 134-5.
14. Lucienne Braunt, Histoire de Prescott et Russell, (L'original, 1965), pp. 28-9.
 15. R.L. Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, (Toronto, 1946), p. 305.
 16. Greening, "Lumber Industry and American Market", p. 135. Also W.H. Smith, Canadas: Past, Present and Future II, p. 378. - Hawkesbury Mill employed 300 for 6 months per year in 1851.
 17. George R. Rumney, Settlement of the Nipissing Passageway, Royal Canadian Institute Reprint, 1949, p. 89.
 18. Ibid., pp. 92-3.
 19. Ibid., p. 97
 - 19a. Lamontagne, p. 120.
 20. Lucienne Braunt, Histoire de Prescott et Russell, p. 28.
 21. Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, p. 51.
 22. W.H. Smith, Canada: Past, Present and Future, (Toronto, 1851), vol. 1, p. 3. Smith noted that "the fishermen (on the Detroit River) are altogether French Canadians. Both Canadians and Americans prefer them to all others for that kind of employment, considering that one gang of French Canadians will do more work than double the number of any other countrymen."
 23. John Howison, Sketches of Upper Canada, (Edinburgh, 1821), p. 192-3.
 24. Frederick Neal, The Township of Sandwich, Past and Present, (Sandwich, 1909), p. 53-4.
 25. Patrick Shirreff, A Tour Through North America, (Edinburgh, 1835), p. 210.
 26. Braunt, p. 28.
 27. Howison, p. 199.
 28. John Rempel, Building With Wood, (Toronto, 1967), p. 13. Rempel expresses the opinion that it is unlikely to expect this form of construction to have occurred in any areas of Ontario outside the Windsor, Penetanguishene and Quebec border areas. (P. 85).

29. Joseph Pickering, Inquiries of an Emigrant, (London, 1832), p. 134.
30. Shirreff, p. 216.
31. Ibid, p. 215.
32. Pickering, p. 131.
33. Smith, Canada Vol. I, p.25.
34. Upper Canada, Appendix to Journal of Leg. Assembly, 1840, 1850.
35. Elmes Henderson, "Some Notes on a Visit to Penetanguishene and the Georgian Bay in 1856", O.H. XXVIII (1932), p. 31.
36. Op. cit.
37. Scott, Settlement of Huron County, p. 173.
38. Jones, p. 305. A general shift to dairying in the 1870's and 80's made farming in the region somewhat more lucrative.
39. M.A. Higginson and J.T. Brock, The Village of Hawkesbury, 1808-88, (Hawkesbury, 1961).
- 40.
41. Rumney, Nipissing Passageway, p. 93.
42. Ibid., p. 97, 107.

Scottish Settlement in Ontario

by Edward Mills

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Scottish Settlement in Ontario

Chronological Development

Scottish settlement in Ontario spanned all phases of the province's development from its early Loyalist period until the post-1860 era. During this time, perhaps no single group had as great an influence in determining the enduring physical characteristics of the province's communities, both urban and rural. The numerous structures, particularly those of stone, which were constructed by skilled Scottish craftsmen of the nineteenth century, testify to the major role played by this ethnic group during the province's early formative period. One writer has gone so far as to assert that this Scottish influence led to "one of the most authentic of regional styles, and the last colonial contribution to the architecture of this continent."¹

This influence is all the more striking when it is observed that the Scots in fact constituted a predominant ethnic group in relatively few regions of the province by 1880, and were numerically the smallest British group to settle here, excluding the pre-1820 period.² Explanation for their disproportionately high influence lies in several factors. Firstly, the Scots were the earliest British group to enter the province in substantial numbers, and in fact constituted the major source of population between 1815 and the early 1820's. As such, they played a large role as initial settlers of new regions, a role which

enabled them to exert an enduring influence over the characteristics of such settlements long after their numerical predominance had declined. This role continued to be played during subsequent decades in southwestern Ontario, despite the fact that Irish and English immigration greatly exceeded Scottish, since the former groups tended to fill up previously settled regions whereas the Scots, no doubt influenced by the arrangements of numerous emigration societies and the Scottish-dominated Canada Company, pushed on to the newly opened western regions.

Secondly, the Lowland Scots settlers showed a diversity of backgrounds and skills without parallel outside perhaps the Mennonite and later German communities of Waterloo county.^{2a} As in the Waterloo settlements, Lowland Scottish communities enjoyed a rate of growth far more rapid than those of other ethnic groups whose numbers shared uniform and usually unskilled backgrounds. Among these skilled Scottish tradesmen were a substantial number of masons, carpenters and related craftsmen, some induced by the prospects of settlement, but many shipped over to Upper Canada, first during the period of canal building, and later during the era of railroad and town expansion in the late 1840's and 50's.^{2b} The skills of these tradesmen were put to extensive use in Scottish communities, particularly those of Lowland origin, with the result being the introduction of Scottish architectural traditions into the province.

The Scots were by no means a homogeneous group, but rather two separate factions, each possessing distinct social traits which were reflected in their settlement characteristics. The Highlanders and Lowlanders, coming from separate geographic regions of Scotland (see map), underwent separate social and economic pressures and consequently migrated independently of one another, particularly during the early decades of emigration.

The Highlanders were the first to enter Upper Canada. In fact they were among the first settlers to receive land grants as United Empire Loyalists within the province. Economic pressures caused by the overthrow of the traditional clan systems and conversion of feudal lands into sheep and game preserves had caused a surplus population and disruption of the customary way of life in the Highlands. As a result, migrations to the New England colonies, particularly upper New York state, had been taking place since the mid-18th century. A body of these people who had settled on the estate of Sir John Johnson found themselves forced by circumstances to join a loyalist regiment which he formed.³ With the termination of the war these Highlanders sought refuge in Canada, eventually receiving land grants in the newly formed upper province. Since they formed a distinct military and social unit, they were settled in separate townships and permitted to resume their close-knit community, thus founding the well known Glengarry settlement in the eastern most section of Upper Canada.

At first settlement was concentrated in the front townships of Charlottenburg, Lancaster, and Cornwall in the present-day counties of Glengarry and Stormont. The initial settlers received land grants ranging from 100 to 1,200 acres depending upon military rank. Their satisfaction with the settlement prompted them in turn to send favorable reports back to the Highlands, particularly their home county of Glengarry, prompting successive waves of direct migration to the new settlement between 1785 and 1803. Generally speaking, the later arrivals settled in the deeper concessions; the 1785 contingent under Rev. Alexander MacDonell, 500 in number, was concentrated in Roxborough, Finch, Lochiel and Kenyon townships. Later migrations in 1791 and 1793 were located throughout the two counties, with a large number going to Lochiel.⁴ The last heavy migration occurred in 1803 when MacDonell introduced 1,100 members of the disbanded Glengarry Fencible Regiment into the district. These were located in Finch and Caledonia townships.

In characteristic fashion, settlement in the Highland areas tended to be pocketed, families and clansmen forming distinct communities onto themselves during the early period, bearing names reminiscent of locations in the homeland.⁵ By the second decade of the nineteenth century, a traveller could observe that the township of Charlottenburg was "so entirely confined to Scottish settlers it seldom attracts other strangers."⁶ Charlottenburg was in fact the most populated township in the Glengarry settlement, whose overall population density remained among the highest in the province throughout the pre-1880 period.⁷ Scottish Highlanders continued to form the predominant ethnic group in the majority of these

townships, although their gradual displacement by French Canadians had begun during the 1860's, as many left their farms to seek jobs in urban industries. The resulting stagnation and decline in Scottish population is reflected in census figures of the period.

County	Township	1871		1881	
		Scot.pop.	Total pop.	Scot.pop.	Total pop.
Glengarry	Charlottenburg	4,195	6,331	3,870	6,354
	Lancaster	3,263	4,415	3,172	4,851
	Kenyon	4,431	4,951	4,505	5,491
	Lochiel	4,010	4,827	4,024	5,525
Stormont	Finch	1,103	5,081	1,181	5,436
	Roxborough	1,877	3,353	1,964	4,005
	Cornwall	2,038	5,081	1,924	5,436
Prescott	Caledonia	494	1,281	413	1,751
Grenville	Edwardsburg	1,022	5,417	988	5,431
Dundas	Matilda	734	4,767	345	4,692
	Winchester	738	4,090	824	4,796

The largest town in the Glengarry settlement was Cornwall which contained a sizeable Scottish population as late as the 1881 census.⁸ Like the smaller villages of the area -- Alexandria, Martintown, Williamstown, Maxville and Lancaster, to name a few, it had initially contained an overwhelming predominance of Highlanders, but with its expansion during the second half of the century this predominance was rapidly erased.

Highland settlement occurred in small pockets in other areas of the province prior to 1812, a notable example being the abortive Baldoon settlement founded by Lord Selkirk in Dover Township, Kent County in 1804. Doomed from the outset by the swampy nature of the land and isolation from other communities, this attempt gradually lapsed into a dismal failure. The settlers themselves appear to have been at best a controversial group, being described by the settlement's initial

supervisor as an indolent, turbulent lot, "resembling the Cheppawas and Ottawas in their inordinate love of whisky" and possessing "certain lapses of memory in distinguishing other people's property from their own."⁹

Less spectacular but more stable settlements were also begun in Scarborough township, York County in 1800 and in Trafalgar and Nelson townships, Halton County in 1807.

Perhaps the most significant pre-1815 settlement apart from the Glengarry region consisted of the group of prosperous merchants and government officials, of which the Scots formed a disproportionately large number, who congregated in the various urban nuclei forming within the province. Kingston, Napanee, Belleville, York, Hamilton, Dundas and smaller hamlets all contained cliques of such men, many of whom left lasting marks in the form of impressive homes and business establishments.¹⁰

With the close of the war in 1815, Great Britain experienced an economic slump which continued for several years, causing widespread social unrest and unemployment in all regions of the country. The indirect result was an about-face by the government concerning emigration. Whereas it had formerly officially discouraged the departure of subjects, leaving the problem entirely in the hands of private groups and individuals, it now began actively encouraging and financing emigration to Upper Canada. The Scots, not possessing a poor relief system as existed in England, were quick to seize upon the opportunity.

The first direct result of this change in policy was the creation of a number of military settlements in the eastern section of the province centered in present day Lanark County. Motivations for this project were two-fold; not only would it relieve an increasingly acute unemployment problem in the homeland, it would also serve as a second line of defence and alternative communications route for the province in the event of future hostilities. Initial settlers were demobilized soldiers and their families, selected for their potential value in the event of war and for their loyalty. These persons were granted 100 acres of free land, rations for 8 months, farm implements at cost, and return of passage expenses in two years upon completion of settlement duties.¹¹ A group of townships was surveyed and designated for this settlement, consisting initially of Bathurst, Drummond, Beckwith and Burgess. By the spring of 1816, 1400 odd settlers had been located, principally around the site of Perth, a precisely laid out village in Drummond Township. As a rule, retired officers occupied lots within the village, forming a fledgling elite, while soldiers and later civilians settled on farms in the outlying area:

... the privates settled upon their land, but most of the officers built houses in the village, and tended, not a little, by the politeness of their manners, to render a residence here desirable ... The whole number amounts to between thirty and forty, and most of them are justices of the peace. This gives them greater influence in the settlement, than is perhaps agreeable to the civilians ...¹²

The initial settlers were predominantly Lowland Scottish in origin; during the next five years they were followed by successive

groups, the majority from the Lowlands, but a scattering of Highlanders also. Major regions of origin were Perth, Lanark, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dumfries.¹³

The initial government-sponsored emigration program proved too costly and was abandoned within a year or two of its implementation. After that time, support was dependent upon the privately endowed emigration societies which were springing up in Scotland. These societies supplied transportation and rations although free land grants were still provided by the government. The most prominent group of Scots to be assisted in this manner was a large number of weavers from the counties of Lanark, Dumbarton, Stirling and Linlithgow who migrated to the Lanark region between 1819 and 1821. These people were located in Ramsay, Lanark Huntley, Dalhousie and Sherbrooke townships, with a few going to Lavant and Darling.¹⁴ The village of Lanark, fourteen miles from Perth, was founded as a distribution centre for the settlement. In both the Perth and Lanark settlements, a large number of Scots were plagued by rocky, barren land tracts in a region described as "little else than a continued succession of rocky ... ridges with scraps of good land in between," the result being a fairly high rate of abandonment, particularly in Dalhousie, Bathurst, Beckwith, Drummond and Goulborne townships.¹⁵ Nevertheless, growth was sustained in the region, credit being given to the thrift and industry of the Scottish settlers. By 1820 the Perth settlement had gained a reputation as a centre of well-cleared farms and substantial houses and was described as a flourishing district "with a family on almost every 100 acres."¹⁶ Population growth was steady, rising to 6,000 in that year, and to 18,000 by 1831.

In subsequent years this Scottish core continued to exercise considerable influence over the character of the region, despite the influx of large numbers of Irish settlers beginning in the late 1820's. By 1851, heaviest concentrations of Scottish settlers were in Bathurst, Beckwith, Dalhousie, North Sherbrooke, Drummond, Lanark and Ramsay townships.

Perhaps the strangest, certainly one of the most documented, examples of Scottish settlement in the province occurred in McNab Township, Renfrew County, commencing in 1824. At that time a bankrupted Highland laird, Archibald MacNab, obtained the township for the purpose of locating Highland settlers whose passage he would sponsor. By evading the prescribed conditions of the grant -- the granting of 100 acre tracts to each settler for which payment was suspended for the first three years, and by leading the ignorant settlers to believe that the colony was in fact to be run as a traditional fiefdom, MacNab succeeded in bonding them to him under severe terms whereby they existed with the status of virtual serfs, living as tenants on what they believed to be their chief's personal domain. Due to the isolation of the settlement, MacNab managed to shield and defend his activities against criticisms and severely deal with potential dissidents. Complicity among government leaders with whom he was on personal terms aided his cause.

The growth and prosperity of the township was greatly retarded as a result of MacNab's policies, and the settlers generally existed in abject poverty for two decades, being relieved only after a series of court cases finally discredited MacNab and relieved him of his authority.

In 1841 the settlers received compensations for their years of labour, including outright ownership of the lots they had cleared.¹⁷ Henceforth the township developed rapidly and became a fairly prosperous agricultural settlement, with the town of Arnprior emerging as its chief urban centre. The 1851 census report reveals a predominance of Scottish inhabitants in MccNab township, indicating their continued concentration in the area.

The post 1815 period saw particularly heavy settlement of both Highland and Lowland Scots throughout the province; in fact scarcely any township missed receiving at least a handful of such settlers during this phase, due no doubt to the large number of active emigration agents and societies functioning in the homeland.¹⁸ In central Ontario Scottish influence was not as great, largely due to the overwhelming numbers of English and Irish which also settled in the region. Extensive Highland settlements occurred in Ontario and Victoria counties, on the Eastern shore of Lake Simcoe during the 1820's and 30's, as well as in scattered townships in Durham, York, Peel, Halton counties, Esquising township in Halton receiving a particularly large number. Lowlanders were found in Ontario, Simcoe, Wellington and Wentworth counties, arriving during the same period. (See list at end of report for details).

The area of heaviest concentration occurred in the southwestern portion of the province, where organized settlement agencies were most active. Since Scottish settlers were readily available during the 1815-20 phase, incidents of townships containing almost exclusively Highland or Lowland settlers occurred. An interesting example was North Dumfries Township in Waterloo County, a tract of land purchased by

William Dickson, a prominent Upper Canadian attorney, in 1816. An extensive advertising campaign was undertaken by agents in Scotland which resulted in a large and continuous flow of Lowland Scots into the township. Between 1818 and 1834 some 2,500 emigrants were settled; by 1842 the population had risen to 6,000. The town of Galt was founded in 1820 as an administrative and distribution centre for the settlement and became an outstanding centre of Scottish commercial and residential architecture.¹⁹

Further heavy Scottish settlement, this time of Highland origin, occurred in the Talbot settlement between 1817 and 1820, when a number of Argyleshire and Perthshire settlers were located along the Talbot Road in Aldborough; Dunwich and later in Southwold and Yarmouth townships. Disputes arose between the Highlanders in Aldborough and Colonel Talbot over the size of land allotments, the settlers insisting that they had been deprived of the full 200 acres promised them. John Howison, a contemporary observer, noted:

Great numbers of emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland have lately taken lands in the upper part of the Talbot settlement. These people, with the clannishness so peculiar to them, keep together as much as possible; and at one time they actually proposed, among themselves, to petition the governor to set apart a township,²⁰ into which none but Scotch were to be admitted.

Talbot's difficulties with the Highlanders taught him a lesson of sorts: in future he avoided settling them in tight pockets wherever possible, having been convinced that mixed settlement tended to act as a levelling agent, the clannish Highlanders being influenced by their foreign

neighbours and thus progressing more rapidly. This plan was carried to extremes in Howard Township (Kent County) where Talbot located settlers on a checkerboard plan, no two settlers of the same nationality being permitted to locate side by side.²¹

In other townships he was less thorough, possibly due to the overwhelming numbers of Highlanders petitioning for land grants during the 1820's and 30's. This was particularly true of Middlesex County, in which a number of townships contained predominant Highland populations: Lobo, London, Ekfried, Mosa, Caradoc and Westminster all received heavy influxes during this period. Williams, West Nissouri and North Dorechester, lying to the north of the Talbot settlement, also received large numbers.²²

Highland settlement was also heavy in Oxford County, where extensive numbers began locating, first in Zorra Township during the 1830's, and later spreading into the adjoining townships of Blenheim, Blandford and East Nissouri. In the words of Wilfred Campbell, "the Zorra community was, in its day, a little Highland Scotland itself." He went on to observe that the settlement, a bastion of Presbyterianism, was "linked to the great Pictou settlement of MacKays, many of the latter of whom removed to Zorra from Nova Scotia on the decline of the shipbuilding trade."²³

The most extensive phase of Scottish settlement in southwestern Ontario occurred under the aegis of the Canada Land Company, beginning in the late 1820's. At this time the company began selling lots in the extensive Huron Tract, a large parcel of land lying roughly in the

region bordering on the eastern shore of Lake Huron and south of Georgian Bay. As an initial step, the two towns of Guelph and Goderich were laid out as future distribution centres, and a lengthy artery known as the Huron Road was cut through the tract from the site of Stratford west to Goderich. Initial concessions were surveyed along this route and formed the earliest centres of settlement, pragmatically moving westward to join up eventually with the pre-established pocket at Goderich.

Scottish settlement, interspersed among groups of other origins, occurred throughout the region now contained in Wellington, Perth and Huron counties. North Easthope, Fullarton, Hibbert and Tuckersmith townships were settled in this manner during the late 1820's and early 30's. Goderich, Stanley and Colborne townships lying along the lake front received Scottish settlers at the same time, as did Guelph township to the east in Wellington County.²⁴

This Scottish population was of mixed origin. Large numbers of both Highland and Lowland settlers were transported to the region: displaced crofters from Highland shires and penniless weavers from the industrial south formed the bulk of those seeking the 200 acre tracts offered by the Company. In addition a substantial number of prosperous Scots emigrated, attracted by the economic possibilities offered in the new distribution centres, with the result being the development of a distinctly Scottish character in many of the towns and villages of the Huron Tract.²⁵

The high percentage of Scots among the Canada Company's settlers was no coincidence; the bulk of the Company's agents, not to mention their early directors (Galt and Dunlop) were Scottish, and that country received the greatest attention of their solicitations for emigrants. "Through the work of these agents and by means of an effective prospectus and public notices, the Canada Company wielded a publicity such as no colonizing organization had up to this time."²⁶

Settlement gradually spread into the more remote regions of Huron and Perth counties during the 1830's, and into northern Bruce and Grey during the following decade. In these areas the Scots formed an even greater proportion of the population, Bruce County receiving particularly large numbers of Argyleshire Highlanders after 1848. By 1861 almost all of its townships possessed predominant Scottish populations, Huron, Kincardine, Culross and Bruce being particularly outstanding. In addition, numerous villages throughout the county contained heavy Scottish settlement.

Grey County's Scots were of both varieties, Highlanders predominating in Bentinck and Glenlg, Lowlanders in Normandy and Egremont.²⁷ In Huron County, Tuckersmith, Stanley, Howick, Turnberry, Grey and Morris possessed the largest numbers.

By 1860, the phase of heavy British immigration had largely subsided; the earlier pressures, both economic and demographic had been largely relieved,²⁸ while the supply of readily accessible land for settlement in Ontario had been filled up.²⁹ After this date Scottish settlement in rural areas waned. Acquisition of land in new regions was usually a

matter of relocation by Scots from older townships. Beginning in the 1850's, Lowland Scottish farmers also began the practice of acquiring or renting run-down farms in older districts which they farmed without actually settling, concentrating their capital in the acquisition of stock and implements.³⁰

The late 1840's and 1850's also saw an interesting shift occur in Scottish emigration. While the gross number of settlers declined, the number of skilled artisans entering the province increased considerably.³¹ This increase reflected the growing industrial market within the province which accompanied the development of railways and large urban centres. The Scots, who had always formed a prominent part of both the commercial and skilled labour forces of the province during the earlier canal era, rapidly assumed a major proportion of this rapidly growing social sector, thus increasing their influence in the fast-emerging towns of the province. This influence was most apparent in southwestern Ontario, where the earlier predominance was sustained and augmented. The numerous stone towns of the region--Dundas, Galt, Guelph, Fergus, Elora, Rockwood and Goderich to name a few--accurately reflect through their architecture the influence of these Scottish residents.³²

Despite the fact that Scots represented only 1/5 of the total Ontario population in 1881, they constituted a major proportion in many small and intermediate sized urban centres in the province, as the following chart indicates:

Towns and Villages Containing Large Scottish Populations-1881					
County	Town or Village	Scot. Pop'n.	County	Town or Village	Scot. Pop'n
Stormont	Cornwall	3,033*	Oxford	Emboro	441*
Russell	New Edingburgh	273		Woodstock	1,791
Lanark	Perth	799	Middlesex	Glencoe	257
	Carleton Place	747		Park Hill	602
	Lanark	427*	Perth	Stratford	1,849
Renfrew	Renfrew	420*	Huron	Goderich	1,572*
	Arnprior	523		Seaforth	820*
Lennox	Napanee	798		Bayfield	222*
Simcoe	Stayner	310		Blyth	258
	Collingwood	1,099		Wroxeter	240*
Wentworth	Dundas	822		Lucknow	234*
Wellington	Guelph	2,634''	Bruce	Kincardine	1,217*
	Fergus	954*		Walkerton	616
	Elora	550*		Teeswater	367*
	Harriston	493		Triverton	402*
	Mount Forest	649		Lucknow	315*
Grey	Durham	395*		Port Elgin	466*
	Owen Sound	1,332		Chesley	485*
Brant	Paris	968		Paisley	583*
Waterloo	Galt	2,634*	Lambton	Sarnia	1,086
			Kent	Wallaceburg	407

* Denotes Scottish largest group

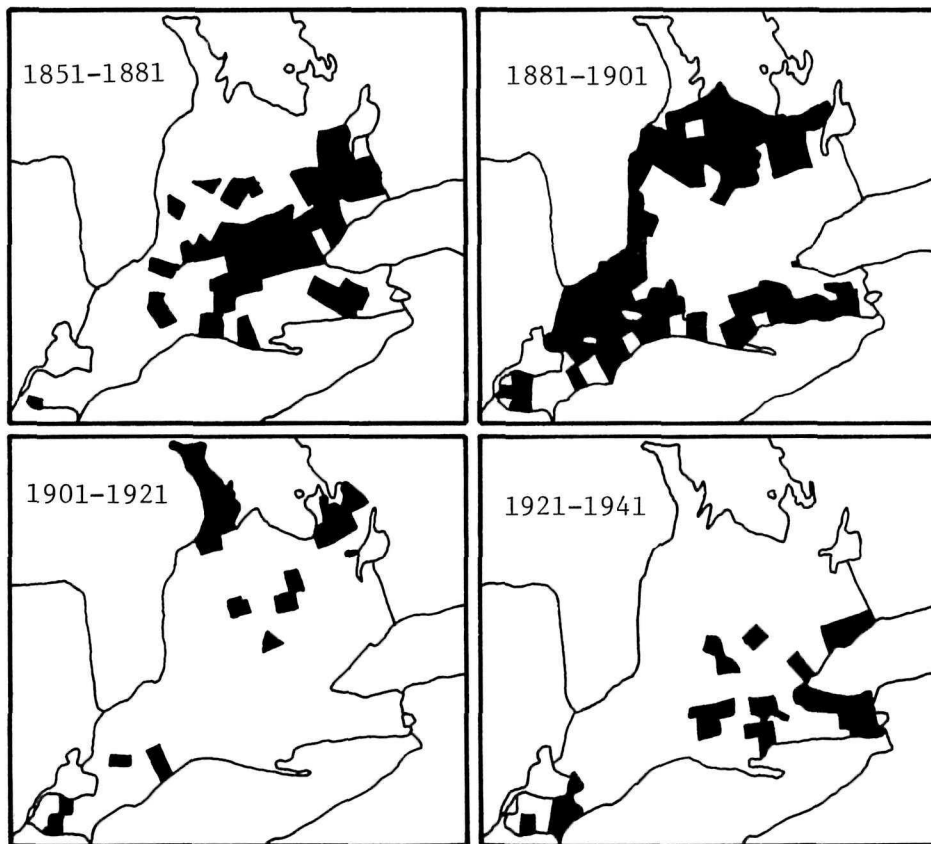
The majority of Scottish urban centres was concentrated in South-western Ontario, suggesting that the Scottish urban workers continued to be either drawn from these districts or attracted as new immigrants to regions in which their race was most numerous. In addition several of the major cities contained Scottish populations whose influence exceeded their relatively small numbers, particularly in architecture. Among these were Toronto, Kingston, and Hamilton.

The Scottish propensity for industrial work and urban living had an additional effect: in areas of early Scottish rural predominance, a phase of extensive depopulation began to set in during the 1860's. The most striking example was the Glengarry region, where large numbers began

leaving their farms to find work in railroad construction, mining and industry.³³ They were rapidly replaced by French Canadians who became the dominant group throughout most of the Lower Ottawa Valley except Glengarry County itself. (See Ethnic Report #3)

Areas of Scottish settlement throughout southwestern Ontario were also subject to widespread depopulation, although in general this development was most extensive during the post 1901 period, as shown in the map below.

SOUTHWEST ONTARIO - PERIODS OF MAXIMUM RURAL POPULATION



After Watson, "Rural Depopulation in South-West Ont."

Characteristics of Scottish Settlement

...just as there are two languages, so also there are two different ways of life among the Scots; for some of them are born in the northern forests and mountains ...while the others we call Lowlanders. Outsiders call the first group wild (silvestres) Scots, and the second group householding (domestici) Scots.

--John Major (16th cent.)

The settlement characteristics of the Highlanders and Lowlanders offer as many contrasts to each other as to those of other ethnic groups. Behind these contrasts lay two separate social and economic systems. The clannish Highlanders, accustomed to a semi-feudal patriarchal social system and tightly restricted land tenure in the old country brought with them to Upper Canada a peculiar combination of adherence to and reaction against the restrictions under which they had formerly lived. On the other hand, the Lowlanders, highly exposed to both the social and economic practices of England, tended to resemble in their settlement habits the emigrants from that country and their brethren from Northern Ireland more than their Highland countrymen.³⁴

The Highlanders gained a reputation for retaining their national characteristics and resisting assimilation longer than other ethnic groups. This was due to a great extent to their propensity for settling in tight-knit pockets of their own kind. This trait reflected the lingering influence of the clan systems which had tended to stifle the ability of individuals to function independently, particularly when placed in unfamiliar environments. While conscious of having won a new freedom from the restrictions once imposed upon them by their superiors, they now found

themselves without the familiar guidance and leadership to which they had been accustomed.³⁵ In order to compensate for this disruption, they tended to band together, isolating themselves as much as possible from the Upper Canadian milieu. S.D. Clark has summed up the benefits and deficiencies which such group dependence encouraged:

If they lacked the experience and resourcefulness of the American settlers, they inherited the traditional close group controls of the clan organization. Their tendency to settle together enabled them to resist many of the disorganizing effects of new social conditions. Adjustments of the individual came about with the support of the group, and too radical deviations from traditional mores were strictly checked. This group or clan authoritarianism was reinforced by the authoritarianism of such leadership had the effect of arresting economic progress and cultural advancement, but during the early years of settlement the strain upon the individual in adjusting himself was considerably eased and any general breakdown in the social organization avoided.³⁶

This isolation placed the Highlanders at an obvious disadvantage for rapid development, because it cut them off from the benefits to be gained by imitation of techniques developed or introduced by other groups. Their reputation as settlers suffered as a result of this insular outlook. The Glengarry settlement presents a good example. Despite its early start, its progress rapidly fell behind that of later communities. Successive officials expressed disappointment with the slow rate of development in the region. In 1821 John Howison wrote:

A very great majority of the houses are built of logs, and contain only one apartment; and the possessors, display no inclination to improve their mode of life...Few of the settlers have more than sixty or seventy acres cleared, and the generality only thirty or forty.³⁷

Norman MacDonald summarizes the general state of settlement as follows:

The concensus of opinion would seem to indicate that up to 1841, the clearing and cultivating of the soil in Glengarry was comparatively small and the degree of culture somewhat low. The Highlanders seemed more at home in wielding the claymore or in extracting "mountain dew" than in the more prosaic tasks of agriculture. Much valuable time was spent in the forests in a semi-savage kind of existence, cutting and preparing timber for market wherever they could find it, which if steadily devoted to the cultivation of the soil³⁸ would have been more beneficial to the settlement ...

This slow rate of development was also observed in western Ontario. Colonel Talbot cautioned settlement officials against placing Highlanders in new areas, since he considered them the worst settlers.³⁹ Anna Jameson observed that while they were generally hard workers, their standards of living remained low, even by Upper Canadian standards.⁴⁰

Paradoxically, although the Highlanders' reputation for land clearance was small, their appetite for land accumulation was not. Emigrating from a land where status was closely equated with land ownership and where the vast majority of them had in fact been landless tenants, the Highlanders eagerly sought to acquire as much as possible in Upper Canada. The fervour of the Aldborough settlers in pressing their case (a legitimate one, it might be added) against Talbot suggest the high value they placed on obtaining as much land as possible. This trait was observed throughout the provinces in which they settled, and was perhaps best described by Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia:

A curious feature of the character of the Highland population ... is the extravagant desire they cherish to purchase large quantities of land. They will toil night and day, spend as little money as possible, and live upon the commonest fare until a sum of money is saved, either sufficient to buy an adjoining tract, or to pay the fees required to get a grant from the Crown.⁴¹

This propensity for large farms which were slow to be cleared imposed a further restraint upon the rapid advancement of their settlements. When combined with a customary low standard of living and insulation from innovations, it is not surprising to find that townships settled by Highlanders were usually slow to gain a large proportion of improved buildings indicative of advanced stages of development.

According to assessment records, squared log structures continued to predominate in the townships of Glengarry settlement as late as 1849. Such improved structures as existed were generally of frame construction; evidently stone and brick were not widely used. The following chart indicates the proportion of structures in major Highland townships in Glengarry and Stormont counties:

Township	Squared Timber	1 Storey Frame	Brick, Stone and	2 Storey Frame
Roxborough	80	4	-	
Finch	32	15	1	
Charlottenburg	354	185	17	
Lochiel	142	15	15	
Kenyon	2	1	3	
Osnabruck *	6	251	32	

* Settled predominantly by
Irish and Germans.

Considering the early date of initial settlement, these figures suggest a rather slow rate of growth. By contrast, Osnabruck, containing predominantly Irish and Pennsylvania German settlers had a far greater number of structures in the second and third stages of development. Furthermore, the lack of brick stone and two storey frame structures suggests that stone, the medium assumed to be favoured in Scottish settlements, was not widely in use during the first sixty years of settlement in the Glengarry area. This was also the case in the Talbot settlement, as the figures for Aldborough, Dunwich and Lobo suggest:

Township	Squared Timber	1 Storey Frame	Brick, Stone and	2 Storey Frame
Aldborough	1	22	2	
Dunwich	1	63	3	
Lobo	15	45	3	

Proximity to other ethnic groups and Talbot's stringent regulations regarding land clearance likely accounted for the more rapid development in this region, as the settlers here had obviously attained a higher degree of achievement than those in Glengarry. Nevertheless stone and brick buildings were conspicuously absent. This scarcity can probably be explained by two factors: firstly, the poverty of most Highland settlers which made the choice of construction material rest heavily on availability-log and frame structures were simply the most economical to build; secondly, most Highlanders had been unskilled tenant farmers in the old land; the time taken to familiarize themselves with Upper Canadian conditions and the absence of skilled craftsmen along their ranks undoubtedly retarded sophisticated house construction.

Nevertheless, cases of wealthy Highlanders constructing elaborate stone mansions were recorded; the following 1830 account gives a somewhat generalized description of such buildings:

A house nearly as large as the American's, but built of stone, and high roofed, having two tall chimney stalks growing out of either gable; an attempt to be showy and substantial, without rhyme or reason; an air of great miscalculation, and a woeful sacrifice made with the intention to gain something, which something does not seem to have been properly defined; a disposition on evidently for a house like no other beyond the reach of architecture, generally met with a state of dilapidation and decay ... this (and there are many such places) was intended for the abode of a person who had made a few thousand pounds by the furtrade a wild, pushing Highland⁴² man who had often seen the remotest parts of the north-west.

While the Highlander's reputation was based more on his powers of endurance than on his abilities as a settler, the Lowlanders were widely recognized as among the most efficient groups to settle in the province. Although they also frequently settled in pockets, they did not possess the cultural tenacity exhibited by the Highlanders.⁴³ Thus they were more amenable to changes and adaptations in their environment. As a rule, the Lowlanders immigrating to Upper Canada were of a less homogeneous background -- soldiers, farmers and tradesmen were all present in substantial numbers, while widely varying degree of wealth also occurred.⁴⁴ This diversity in skills and wealth provided an additional advantage to their settlements, collective talent accelerating the general rate of development. Although instances of slow progress and failure occasionally occurred among some of the urban weavers and disbanded soldiers who attempted to farm, particularly in the Lanark settlement⁴⁵, the prowess of the Lowlanders was generally applauded. An

observer of the Cobourg area in the 1830's characteristically noted: "Some Scotch farmers have settled in the neighbourhood, and, as usual, wherever they go, you see the signs of their handiwork ..."⁴⁶

1849 assessment figures for some of the Lowland townships give an indication of the rapid growth in their settlements:

Township	Squared Timber	1 Storey Frame	Brick, Stone and	2 Storey Frame
Bathurst	14	35	21	
Beckwith	13	33	48	
Drummond	13	164	109	
Elmsley	16	64	28	
Lanark	12	22	16	
Ramsay	24	47	28	
Guelph	5	171	175	
Puslinch	5	33	13	

Low numbers of squared timber structures suggest that the general level of development was already at the second and third stages. Even in townships where settlement was relatively recent and numbers of structures low, the proportion of large permanent buildings was substantial, suggesting that the Lowlanders were quick to construct second and third stage dwellings. Drummond, Guelph and Beckwith stand out as areas of particularly high development at this time.

Evidently the heavy influence of English ideas upon the Lowlands was a large factor in this high rate of success among the Lowlanders, for frequent comparisons were made between the agricultural techniques and social attitudes of the two groups.⁴⁷ This similarity was also reflected in the rural architecture of these Scots:

... a plain rectangular house of brick or stone, with five windows and a door in front, and a window, perhaps, in either gable; the barns, sheds, and offices at a respectable distance behind; a kitchen garden off at one end ... is the dwelling of an honest English farmer. The wealthy Lowland Scotchman follows the same plan nearly: here is not such an air of neatness and uniformity, but there is more livestock about the door...⁴⁸

Scottish house construction was no doubt aided by the prevalence of skilled Lowland masons and craftsmen, as well as the availability of limestone in many of the regions in which they settled. In the Lanark region, for example, construction of the Rideau canal system introduced a number of Scottish stone masons and extensive quarrying which had a direct impact on the character and number of stone houses in the region. Nevertheless, the rural architecture continued to display a variety of building materials, stone apparently being favoured by those whose location or prosperity warranted it, but the majority employing brick or frame. The most popular style in all mediums remained the 1½ storey cottage, gradually modified by such features as front gables but resisting drastic alterations, largely due to the conservatism of the Scottish craftsmen building them.⁴⁹

Stone architecture's impact was greatest in the Scottish urban centres. This was hardly surprising, as the greatest proportion of both wealthy and skilled immigrants was attracted to such places, while liberal inducements in the form of free lots were frequently offered to those who chose to build in the material. A.B. Cutts offers a lengthy description of the typical cut-stone urban houses constructed by the Scots which merits quoting:

The design of these substantial urban dwellings was as simple as their foursquare plan: a central hallway flanked by rooms two deep, producing a symmetrical facade in the centre which was the front door with single windows to either side. Porches, or even stoops were conspicuously absent, and exterior ornamentation was confined to chaste Georgian cornices and, in exceptional instances, finely carved stone mouldings around doors and windows. Roofs were either hipped or gabled at the ends. Such gables might be parapeted above the roof-line and corbeled out beyond the eaves to produce a typical top-heavy Scottish appearance on the larger houses and shops ... Chimneys were of both interior and exterior type, sometimes coupled at the gable ends on large houses and business structures of more than one storey. Farm-houses commonly had a rear wing of stone in which were located stables and coach-house. The entrances to these were usually arched.⁵⁰

Statistical evidence and early descriptions imply that the architectural heritage generally attributed to the Scots was in fact largely the work of the Lowlanders. Such a conclusion requires certain qualifications: whereas the general wealth and variety of skills possessed by the Lowlanders was greater, so too was their tendency to be readily assimilated into the cultural milieu of the province. By contrast with first generation Highlanders, subsequent generations showed a high degree of adaptiveness, a large proportion readily moving into professional and skilled labour fields⁵¹ while retaining much of their cultural heritage. Thus what was lost in slow initial growth was made up for, in many cases, by continued cultural integrity combined with increasing prosperity. The obvious question mark here is, to what degree this later development was reflected in the structures the Highlanders erected, since economic prosperity was usually achieved through increased adoption of methods employed by other groups.

By 1880, the stage of development had levelled, Highland and Lowland settlement areas showing no significant difference in proportions of brick, stone and frame dwellings as the following list reveals.

<u>Region</u>	<u>Township</u>	<u>Proportion Stone, Brick Improved Frame</u>	
Eastern Ontario	Cornwall	1/2	
	Finch	1/3	
	Lochiel	1/4	
	Lancaster	1/4	
	Charlottenburgh	3/4	
	Kenyon	1/4	
	Bathurst	1/2	
	Beckwith	69 stone, 5 brick, 24 frame	
	Drummond	1/4	
	N. Elmsley	1/5	
	Lanark	1/4	
	Ramsay	1/2	
	Osgoode	1/2	
	Central Ontario	Eldon	1/5
		Fenelon	1/2
		Mariposa	1/2
		Mara	1/10
Brock		1/10	
Pickering		4/5	
Reach		2/3	
Thorah		1/2	
Oro		1/4	
Nottawasaga		1/2	
Innisfil		1/2	
Essa		2/3	
Esquesing		2/3	
Western Ontario	N. Dumfries	3/4	
	Puslinch	3/4	
	Zorra	2/2	
	Blenheim	3/4	
	Blandford	1/2	
	Aldborough	no stone, 12 brick,	
	Bayham	1/2 numerous brick	
	Dunwich	3/4	
	Goderich	3/5	
	Guelph	5/6	
	Colborne	1/2	
	Tuckersmith	2/5	

<u>Region</u>	<u>Township</u>	<u>Proportion Stone, Brick Improved Frame</u>
	McKillop	1/3
	Brant	1/5
	Bruce	1/5
	Carrick	3/10
	Culross	1/4
	Kincardine	3/4
	Saugeen	1/2
	Bentinck	1/10
	Glenlg	1/10
	Normanby	1/15 stone, 1/10 frame

Summary:

As previously stated, few townships did not receive at least traces of Scottish settlement; thus it is likely that architectural traces can be found in most regions of the province. Nevertheless, major regions of settlement can be fairly easily pinpointed.

In eastern Ontario, three distinct settlements occurred, Glengarry and MacNab, both of which were Highland, and the Lanark-Perth settlement, which contained predominantly Lowlanders.

In central Ontario, Scottish settlement was proportionately less significant, although large communities did develop in Ontario and Victoria counties, east of Lake Simcoe (predominantly Highland), in York County, and in Halton and Simcoe Counties. The Esquesing and Nottawasaga settlements are noteworthy in the latter two counties.

Southwestern Ontario as stressed in the paper contained the regions of most extensive settlement, and is more difficult to deal with concisely. Dickson's settlement in North Dumfries township, Waterloo County, had a

dense Highland population, as did the Zorra townships in Oxford. Both the Talbot settlements of Elgin and Middlesex and the Canada Company lands of Wellington, Oxford, Perth, Huron, Bruce and Grey counties contained pockets of both Highland and Lowland settlement, more accurately described in the following chart and map.

Townships receiving Scottish Settlement

Glengarry County

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| 1 Lancaster | } | - Extensive Highland settlement, beginning 1782; subsequent waves until 1806. Heaviest settlement in Charlottenburgh. |
| 2 Lochiel | | |
| 3 Charlottenburgh | | |
| 4 Kenyon | | |

Stormont County

- | | | |
|--------------|---|---|
| 5 Cornwall | } | - Highland settlement, largely pre-1812; extension of Glengarry settlement, with heaviest concentration in Cornwall and the two rear townships. |
| 6 Roxborough | | |
| 7 Osnabruck | | |
| 8 Finch | | |

Dundas County

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 8a Winchester | - Offshoot of Glengarry Highland settlement. |
|---------------|--|

Carleton County

- | | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| 9 Osgoode | } | - Scots from central counties of Scotland, 1826, in Osgoode, Torbolton, Fitzroy; disbanded Scots soldiers, 1816, in Goulbourn (part of the Perth military settlement). |
| 10 Gloucester | | |
| 20 Torbolton | | |
| 20a Goulbourn | | |
| 21 Fitzroy | | |

Lanark County

- | | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| 11 Montague | } | - "Perth Military Settlement", beginning 1816, in Beckwith, Drummond, Bathurst and N. Burgess; Lowland weavers to Ramsay, Lanark, Dalhousie, Sherbrooke, Darling and Lavant after 1820. (depopulation from Dalhousie after 1832); Perthshire Scots to Ramsay and Pakenham after 1820. |
| 12 N. Elmsley | | |
| 13 N. Burgess | | |
| 14 Beckwith | | |
| 15 Drummond | | |
| 16 Bathurst | | |
- (Continued)

Lanark County (Continued)

17 Ramsay
 18 Lanark
 19 Dalhousie
 22 Pakenham
 22a Darling
 22b Lavant

Renfrew County

23 MacNab
 24 Horton
 25 Ross
 26 Bromley
 27 Westmeath

- Highlanders to MacNab, 1824 onwards; off-shoots later in Horton and Ross. Lowland settlement in Bromley and Westmeath.

Northumberland County

28 Seymour
 29 Haldimand
 30 Hamilton

- Settlement after 1826.

Durham County

31 Clarke
 32 Darlington

- Highland settlement, 1820's.

Peterborough County

30a Otonabee

- Mixed Scots, 1820's.

Victoria County

33 Mariposa
 34 Fenelon
 35 Somerville
 36 Bexley
 37 Eldon
 37a Verulam

- Highlanders to Somerville, Bexley, Eldon, Fenelon, Mariposa, Verulam beginning in 1830's; extensive settlement. Catholic Highlanders to Eldon in 1820's. Heaviest settlement was in Eldon township; also large proportion in Mariposa.

Ontario County

38 Whitby

39 Pickering

40 Reach

41 Brock

42 Thorah

43 Mara

44 Scott

- Lowland Scots to Pickering, Whitby, Scott during 1830's; Highlanders to Thorah, Brock, Reach in 1820's and 30's (extensive); further Catholic Highlanders to Mara in 1820's. Scott, Brock and Thorah contained greatest concentrations.

York County

45 Scarborough

46 Vaughn

47 King

48 Markham

- Highlanders to Scarboro, Vaughan, King, Markham pre-1812; later waves from Annadale and Dumfrieshire to Vaughan (1840). Scarborough and Vaughan contained heaviest concentrations.

Simcoe County

49 W. Gwillimbury

50 Oro

51 Nottawasaga

52 Inisfil

53 Tosorontio

- Remnants from Selkirk's Red River Colony located in W. Gwillimbury around 1820; Extensive Lowland settlement in Nottawasaga and Oro, begun 1832; also group of Lowland weavers via Lanark settlement to Innisfil and Esa, 1832.

Peel County

54 Toronto

55 Chinguacousy

56 Caledon

- Highland settlement, begun 1818; greatest concentration in Chinguacousy.

Dufferin County

57 E. Garafraxa

Scots (undetermined origin), beginning 1826, continuous until 1850.

Halton County

59 Esquesing

60 Nassagaweya

- Extensive settlement of Highlanders in Esquesing, beginning 1807 and renewed after 1819; lighter settlement in Nassagaweya and adjoining townships.

Wellington County

58 Erin

62 Guelph

63 W. Garafraxa

64 Nichol

65 Arthur

66 Minto

61 Puslinch

- Paisley weavers to Guelph (Canada Co.) in 1828; subsequent waves of Lowlanders to Minto, Arthur, Nichol, W. Garafraxa and Erin. Highlanders to Puslinch in 1830's. Very heavy concentrations in Guelph, Puslinch, Erin, Nichol, and W. Garafraxa.

Wentworth County

67 Beverly

68 Flamborough

69 Ancaster

70 Glanford

- Lowlanders, heavy concentrations in Ancaster and Beverly.

Brant County

72 S. Dumfries

- Highlanders and border Scots, 1820's.

Waterloo County

71 N. Dumfries

- Heavy Highland settlement, 1817 onwards; also Lowlanders; known as Dickson or Shade's Settlement. (includes town of Galt).

Oxford County

73 Blenheim
 74 Blandford
 75 E. Zorra
 76 W. Zorra
 77 E. Nissouri

- Heavy Highland settlement via Canada Co., beginning 1829. Most numerous in E. and W. Zorra, Blenheim and E. Nissouri.

Perth County

78 Blanshard
 79 Downie
 80 N. Easthope
 81 Fullarton
 82 Logan
 83 Hibbert
 84 McKillop
 85 Mornington
 86 Elma

- Mixed Lowland and Highland settlement, 1830's through 1850's. (Canada Co.)

Huron County

87 Tuckersmith
 88 Hay
 89 Stanley
 90 Goderich
 91 Hullett
 92 Colborne
 93 Ashfield
 94 W. Wawanosh &
 E. Wawanosh

- Mixed Highland and Lowland settlement, 1830's onward; heaviest concentrations in Tuckersmith, Grey, Tuckersmith, Howick, Morris, Turnberry and Ashfield. (Canada Co.)

(Continued)

Huron County (Continued)

95 Morris
96 Perth
97 Howick
98 Turnberry

Bruce County

99 Huron
100 Kinloss
101 Culross
102 Kincardine
103 Greenock
104 Bruce
105 Saugeen
106 Elderslie
107 Brant
120 Lindsay
121 St. Edmunds

- Highlanders from Argyllshire, also some Lowlanders; chiefly after 1840. (Canada Co.) Heavy settlement in all townships.

Grey County

108 Bentinck
109 Glenelg
110 Normanby
111 Egremont
112 Proton
113 Artemisia
114 Osprey
115 Collingwood

- Initial settlement consisted of Highlanders in Bentinck, Glenlg, Sydenham during 1840's; later mixed Highland and Lowland settlement throughout the county, Lowlanders pre-dominating in Normanby and Egremeont (post 1850). Heaviest concentrations were in Sydenham, Egremont, Glenlg, Bentinck and Collingwood.

(Continued)

Grey County (Continued)

116 Sydenham

117 Sullivan

118 Derby

119 Keppel

Elgin County

122 Southwold

123 Dunwich

124 Aldborough

122a Yarmouth

- Argyllshire Highlanders, 1819; originally settled in Selkirk's Red River Colony. Heaviest concentration was in Aldborough and Dunwich. (part of Talbot settlement.

Middlesex County

125 Mosa

126 Ekfried

127 Caradoc

128 Lobo

129 London

130 Westminster

131 N. Dorchester

132 W. Nissouri

133 E. Williams

134 W. Williams

- Heavy Highland settlement, beginning in mid-1820's. Largest concentrations were in Westminster, London, Mosa, Ekfrid, Williams and Lobo.

Kent County

135 Orford

136 Howard

137 Harwich

138 Camden

- Lowland settlement in all but Dover, beginning during 1820's; Dover was site of abortive Baldoon Settlement established by Lord Selkirk in 1803 - contained small no. of Highland families.

(Continued)

Kent County (Continued)

139 Chatham

140 Dover

Lambton County

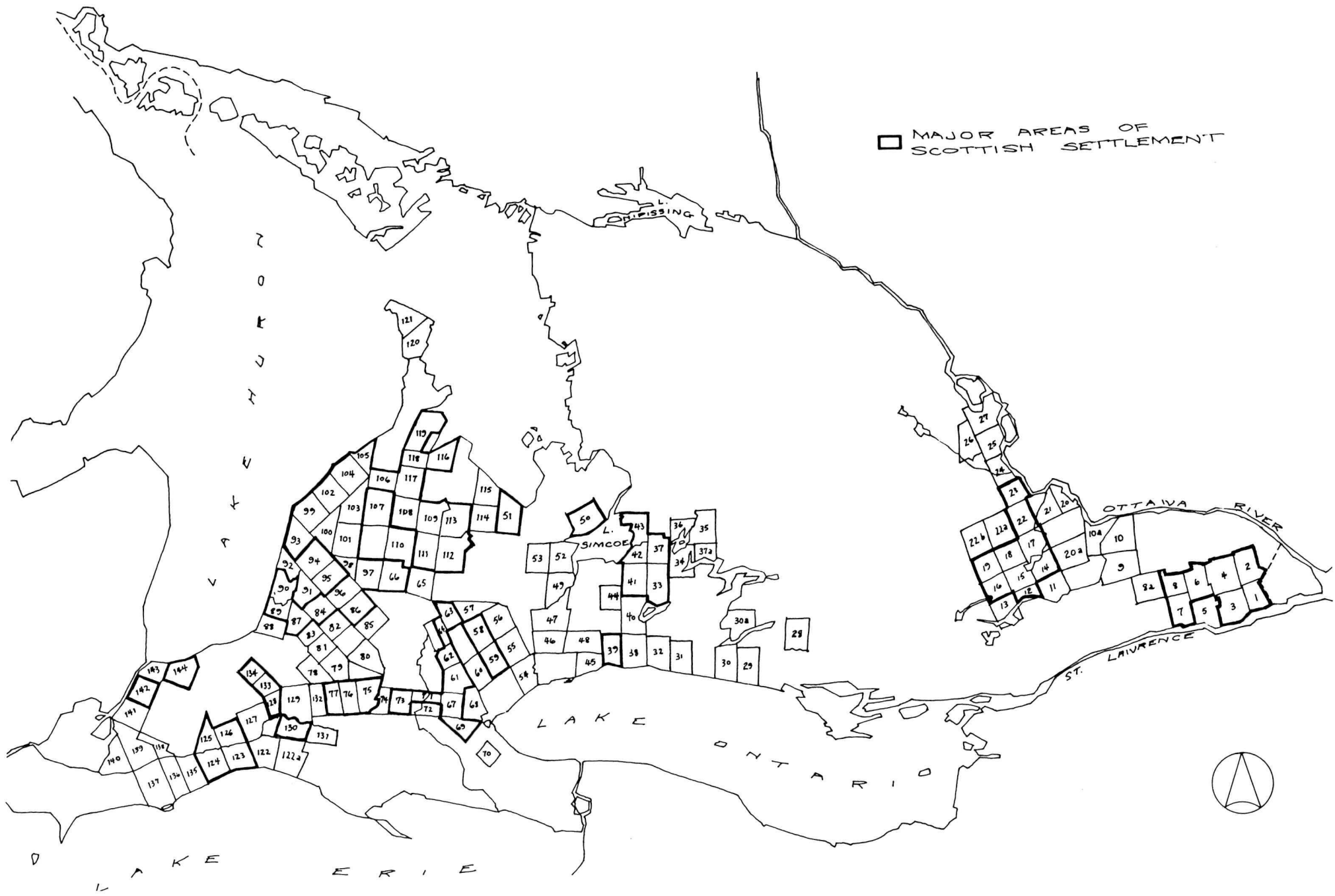
141 Sombra

142 Moore

143 Sarnia

144 Plympton

- Group of Selkirk's Highlanders settled in Sombra during the 1820's; Lowland settlement in Sarnia, Plympton and Moore beginning in 1833. Moore and Plympton contained largest Scottish populations.



Footnotes

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(Toronto, 1961 (revised), Appendix. See also "German Settlement
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- 2b H.C. Pentland, "The Development of a Capitalistic Labour Market
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- 3 See Norman MacDonald, Canada, 163-1841; Immigration and Settlement
(Toronto, 1939), pp. 44-46 for details.
- 4 Ibid., p. 499
- 5 A sketchy study on co-relations between place names of Scotland
and Ontario is presented in an article by James M. Cameron,
"An Introduction to the Study of Scottish Settlement in Southern
Ontario -- A Comparison of Place Names", Ont. History, (Sept. 1969),
pp. 167-172.
- 6 Robert Gourlay, cited in MacDonald, p. 499.
- 7 See Edward Mills, "Settlement, Transportation and Boundary Maps,
1880-1882", CIHB Research Section; esp. Maps 1826, 1851 and 1881.
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- 10 Harry H. Guest, "Upper Canada's First Political Party," Ontario History
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there is a chain of them linked from Halifax to Quebec, Montreal, Kingston,
York, Niagara and so on to Detroit."

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- 13 Ibid., p. 24
- 14 Jean S. McGill, A pioneer History of the County of Lanark, (Tor. 1968), p. 61
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- 16 Quoted in MacDonald, p. 251
- 17 See MacDonald, pp. 186-201 for details
- 18 A.C. Casselman, in his dissertation "Pioneer Settlements in Upper Canada" in Canada and its Provinces, (Toronto, 1914), vol. 17, lists 40 such societies during the period; see also Cowan (revised ed'n) p. 209-10.
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- 20 John Howison, Sketches of Upper Canada, (Edinburgh, 1821), p. 173.
- 21 A.F. Hunter, "The Ethnographical Elements of Ontario", O.H.S. Papers and Records, III, 1901, p. 181.
- 22 H. McColl, Some Sketches of the Early Highland Pioneers of the County of Middlesex, (Toronto, 1904)
- 23 Wilfred Campbell, The Scotsman in Canada, (Toronto, 1911), I, p. 229-230
- 24 James Scott, The Settlement of Huron County, (Toronto, 1966), pp. 23-4, 57-63

- 25 A.B. Cutts, 203, also Robina and Kathleen Lizars, In the Days of the Canada Company, (Toronto, 1896) p. 117, for description of the "Colbourne Clique" of Goderich.
- 26 Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America, p. 133
- 27 Hunter, 190
- 28 Cowan (196, revised), 213
- 29 H.C. Pentland, "The Development of a Capitalistic Labour Market in Canada", p. 459
- 30 R.L. Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, 1613-1880, (Toronto, 1946), p. 62
- 31 Pentland, 461
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- 39 E.R. Ermatinger, The Talbot Regime, (), p. 106
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- 46 Jones, Hist. of Agriculture, p. 62
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- 49 Cutts, p. 205
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Irish Settlement in Ontario

by Edward Mills
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Irish Settlement in OntarioChronological Development:

The Irish constituted the largest single ethnic group apart from native-borns in the province of Ontario during the 19th century. By 1871 no county contained fewer than 1,000 persons of Irish origin. Consequently their impact upon characteristics of the province was both wide-spread and profound. This paper will attempt to examine the general background behind the Irish immigration, the areas of greatest concentration, and general characteristics of settlement.

Despite the fact that the Irish ultimately became the most numerous group to enter the province, their initial settlements began relatively late in relation to those of other groups. Prior to 1815 little Irish emigration occurred. Although later trends suggest otherwise, the Irish were not a migratory race by inclination; despite rapid over-population and a precarious economy, they showed a marked hesitancy to leave their native soil until forced to do so by a drastic post-Napoleonic economic slump. This trait applied chiefly to the native Catholic population, as the Dublin Evening Post observed in 1815:

One of the peculiarities which distinguish the character of the native Irish, is a vehement and, in many instances, an absurd attachment to the soil on which they are bore....This applies more

particularly to the Catholics, for the principal immigrants of Ireland are the Presbyterians of the North.¹

This distinction between northern Protestants (Ulstermen) and southern Catholics is one which must be made in dealing with Irish immigration, for the two groups possessed distinctive traits which were reflected in the nature of their migrations and settlements.

Apart from a brief influx during the 1801-2 period, usually of prosperous individuals or retired soldiers who managed to acquire land or position, the Irish were not present in significant numbers in the province prior to 1815. A few made their presence conspicuous by their active opposition to the early Scottish and Loyalist elite which excluded them from its ranks.²

During the post-Napoleonic period the social and economic situation in Ireland became increasingly dangerous. The country, whose major crop had consisted of the potato since its introduction during the previous century, had experienced a drastic increase in population during the corresponding period which the vegetable could precariously sustain on a subsistence level. Periodic failures of the potato crop during the following decades resulted in immediate and desperate crises for the inflated population which in turn resulted in famine, strife and agrarian agitation.

From an economic aspect the country suffered from chronic and chaotic ills. Almost no industrial base existed beyond the northern Ulster counties, and even there it consisted, apart from Belfast, of a cottage-based weaving trade carried on by tenant farmers and their families. Apart from a small professional sector Ireland lacked a stable middle-class. This role was filled to an extent by a nebulous tenant farmer group which existed somewhere between the ranks of the landed gentry and lowest peasants. With overpopulation the stature of this group became increasingly insecure due to constant subdivision and reduction in the size of the farms coupled with the absence of any formal leasing system, which left them virtually at the mercy of their landlords. By 1815 a 30 acre plot was considered as a large farm and ranked its occupant as a prominent land holder.³

Overpopulation resulted in a greater tenant population than the land could feasibly support. As a result the gentry could offer lands for rent to the highest bidders who would then attempt to meet payments through the sale of cash crops. The potato, which could yield maximum quantities from a minimum amount of land, was relied on for personal consumption.

Throughout the country, but particularly in the south, there existed a massive pauper group who lived under frequently incredibly primitive conditions, possessing no

land or economic base and depending largely on seasonal employment and begging for their livelihood.⁴ In times of famine the already precarious position of this group became desperate, with explosive consequences.

The immigration which began in 1815 was caused by the deteriorating situation in the homeland. Paradoxically, the first groups to respond to the situation were not those at the bottom of the social strata but rather those from the relatively more secure class of farmer weavers. This was due both to their looser sense of attachment to the country and to the absence of any form of aid for emigration which restricted departure to those who had means enough to afford passage. Two-thirds of Irish emigration between 1816 and 1820 consisted of Ulstermen.

Motivation for their departure came from both pressures in agriculture and recession in the Irish linen trade.⁵

During the pre-1818 period they showed a marked preference for the United States over British North America as their destination. This was due to cheaper fares, easier land acquisition (the Upper Canadian land-granting system was notorious for its inefficiency) and greater economic opportunities. After 1818 the situation changed somewhat, as the United States imposed greater restrictions and the fare rates shifted in favour of the British colonies. Many Ulstermen arriving at New York during this period were induced to move to Upper Canada by the British agent,

A.C. Buchanan, who was authorized to offer £10 to settlers of apparent loyalty who were willing to settle in the British province.⁶ An estimated 4,000 Irish Protestants took up the offer between 1816 and 1825, moving initially to York, with many eventually settling in Cavan and Monaghan townships in the Rice Lake region.⁷

Other groups of Irish who arrived during this period included half pay soldiers who settled in the Lanark military settlements in 1816, establishing a strong Protestant community along the Rideau.

In 1818 the British government experimented in assisted emigration whereby groups of settlers would be sponsored by responsible individuals who would locate them on free 100 acre tracts. Richard Talbot, a distant relative of the well-known Col. Thomas Talbot, undertook such a scheme, and sponsored 172 experienced Protestant farmers from Cork. A small proportion of them located in Goulbourne township in Carleton County, while the majority settled in London township under the direction of Col. Talbot where they apparently formed a prosperous farming community.⁸ Talbot's settlement above Lake Erie subsequently received additional numbers of self-sponsored Ulster immigrants.

The bulk of Irish immigration during this initial period was self-sponsored, however, and this wave served to set the pattern of Ulster settlement in the province. Large numbers moved into the front counties bordering on Lake Ontario,

taking up lots not claimed by United Empire Loyalists. Back concessions in virtually all of the counties fronting on Lake Ontario began acquiring substantial Protestant Irish populations, establishing a trend which continued for the following two decades. A leading Canadian historian has observed of this influx:

...the Ulster Protestants almost turned Upper Canada into an Irish community... they went in behind the original settlers all along the "Front", taking up the second and subsequent tiers of townships and penetrating out to the water's edge where land remained, as in Peel.⁹

The early trends in Irish emigration gave cause for concern among domestic authorities who decried the drain of skilled farmers and artisans which the country could ill afford to lose. During the 1820's and early 30's a disproportionate majority of Irish emigrants continued to be Ulster farmer-weavers, while masses of roaming paupers remained behind. A government commission lamented:

...the present emigration from Ireland does not relieve us from those classes that it would be most desirable to part with... the voluntary emigrants, for the most part, consist of families possessing capital, whilst our paupers remain at home...¹⁰

Several notable attempts were made to reverse this trend. In 1822 a prominent Upper Canadian attorney named Peter Robinson was appointed by the British government to recruit Irish paupers from agrarian hotspots in southern Ireland as a means of easing pressure there. He was authorized to offer free transportation, land, implements and rations to selected candidates. As a result 568 peasants were assembled and shipped to Upper Canada in 1823, where they were located in pre-constructed cabins in Pakenham township, Lanark County. The experiment was controversial if not particularly successful. The group's arrival triggered off immediate conflicts with previously settled Irish Protestants and Scots, while many of the new settlers proved incapable of coping with land clearance and abandoned their farms. After three years only 120 out of 182 family heads retained possession of their lands.

Despite its mediocre results, a second and more massive settlement was undertaken by Robinson in 1825. This time 2,024 Catholic paupers were selected from disaffected districts and transported to the Trent River-Rice Lake region where they were settled on and in the vicinity of the site of Peterborough. As a means of relieving the domestic pressures in Ireland the experiments were costly failures; the high per-capita cost of shipping and outfitting the settlers prohibited initiation of a program extensive enough to deal with the large surplus population. From an Upper Canadian standpoint

it had mixed but largely positive success; while some observers were critical of the inability of the settlers to cope with the Canadian environment¹¹, their progress in the Peterborough area generally matched the average rate throughout the province, particularly in areas where they intermingled with pre-established settlers of English or Scottish origin.¹²

Self-financed emigration continued to fluctuate with the fortunes of the sickly Irish economy; an easing in conditions during the early 1820's slowed the flow, but mass evictions of tenants by landlords who were converting their lands to grazing and continued depression in the textile industry after 1826 caused record numbers to depart, occasionally with landlord assistance, but usually at the emigrant's expense. The bulk of those reaching Upper Canada continued to be Ulster Protestants, usually small farmers, who were highly adaptable to the new environment. Upper Canada between the years 1815 and 1840 was essentially a frontier agricultural community, offering good opportunities to settlers possessing the experience and preferably the cash necessary to meet the initial outlay. The Ulster farmer-weavers were ideally suited to this environment; they showed a marked ability at land clearing, possessed adequate cash, or the means of earning it¹³, and readily assimilated themselves into the social milieu of the province. Ulster settlement remained concentrated in south-central Ontario, with successive waves pushing farther into the interior,

moving into back counties such as Victoria, Ontario, Wellington, Simcoe and Dufferin, and augmenting already extensive settlements in the front counties and in eastern Ontario. The opening up of the Huron Tract prompted establishment of large Ulster communities in south-western Ontario during the mid-1830's, particularly in Perth, Huron, Wellington and Grey Counties.

With the exception of the Robinson experiments, Irish Catholic settlement in Upper Canada was almost non-existent prior to 1827. Until that time they showed an overwhelming preference for migration to the United States, where a higher state of industrialization offered the prospects of wage labour. Upper Canada was regarded as a dismal alternative:

It is not well for those who are thinking of leaving their beloved homes in Ireland (wretched though they are) to think of Canada as a home... the employment which grows from enterprise which grows from freedom are not to be found in Canada. It is a second edition of Ireland, with more room.¹⁴

The emergence of wage employment which accompanied the growth of public works projects--particularly canalization--during the latter part of the 1820's served to divert growing numbers of Irish into Upper Canada. A substantial unskilled labour force began to emerge composed almost

exclusively of Irish Catholics, with violent clashes with other ethnic groups becoming almost invariable features of areas in which these work crews congregated. In the Rideau Canal region some 2,000 Irish labourers jealously guarded their monopolies on construction jobs. A number settled in the vicinity of villages along its route where they either farmed or acquired employment in local industries.¹⁵ Upon the canal's completion a large group moved on to Bytown where they displaced the French Canadians from the lumber industry. Protection of their monopolies was enforced by the threat of physical violence which reached remarkable proportions in the area during the 1830's. A somewhat exaggerated newspaper report reflects the fear which their activities provoked:

...in Bytown, there is a band of desperadoes, who entirely swarm the place; a French Canadian is not allowed to live there, if he is caught on the bridge, he is thrown into what is called the kettle (a whirlpool) and that terminates his miseries, but if caught in the woods or town, these 150 Shiners, as they are denominated, beat and injure them so that few recover.¹⁶

The Welland Canal attracted even larger numbers who congregated in towns and villages along its route--particularly in the vicinity of St. Catherines and Thorold--where they established early ghettos and a similar record of violence.¹⁷ Unlike the Rideau region, however, they failed to establish permanent rural populations in the Niagara

region, remaining concentrated almost entirely in local urban centres, with a large proportion moving south to the U.S. during economic recessions.

The Irish Catholics, unlike Ulstermen, suffered from the marked disadvantage of being foreign in language, religion and social background from the society they were settling amongst. Poverty and a usually inadequate background in agriculture frequently rendered them incapable of clearing, let alone farming, 100 backwoods farms. Consequently assimilation into Upper Canada's rural agricultural society was both socially and economically a difficult undertaking for them. At the same time, a marked preference for wage-labour, no doubt rooted in both the work patterns of their homeland and widespread myths about the high wages and quick fortunes to be made in America, contributed to the formation of a predominantly landless Irish Catholic labour force whose cohesiveness served to both defend monopolies of jobs and resist the disorganizing effects of new and alien social conditions. Public works projects and lumbering which required extensive gang labour encouraged the formation of such large close-knit groups and in turn fostered the growth of fledgling ghettos on the outskirts of Upper Canadian towns: York, Kingston, Bytown, Cornwall, Belleville, St. Catharines and London were all sites of extensive construction or lumbering projects during the 1830's and were therefore among the earliest to acquire Irish Catholic populations.

Rural regions where such work was available also acquired settlements of this nature: Lanark, Renfrew, Frontenac and Peterborough counties were among the first.

Apart from such regions of industrial development, Irish settlement in the province consisted predominantly of Ulster farmers until 1840. They continued to comprise 2/3 of the immigration from that country during the 1830's according to the reports of A.C. Buchanan, the chief emigration agent.¹⁸ Much of their settlement during this phase was concentrated in the south-western region of the province, particularly in counties lying within the Canada Company's tract such as Huron, Wellington and Perth, where relatively high land prices generally restricted settlement to immigrants with some financial means.

After 1840 however, Ulster immigration to the province abruptly dwindled to a trickle, as the main flow was diverted to other parts of the British Isles.¹⁹ It was replaced by ever-increasing numbers of unskilled southern Irish cottiers and labourers. Decreased fares and recurring agricultural crises were now facilitating the emigration of poorer classes. Upper Canada, which remained an unattractive alternative for those who could not gain passage to the United States, rapidly acquired a large labour force which its limited economy was hard pressed to accommodate. Apart from public works, urban construction and lumbering, the only large source of employment offered to such immigrants

was in farm labour, for which many of them were apparently ill-equipped. Buchanan reported:

...We receive in Canada quite too large a proportion of mere labourers, that is, persons who can only use the spade and pick axe. Unless when some extensive public work is in operation, there is much less demand for persons of this class in the province...and these form the principal mass of emigrants that preceed to the United States.²⁰

The shift from Protestant farmer to unskilled Catholic labourer in Irish immigration had profound consequences for the subsequent development of the province: "The new immigrant was a labourer, with no background of self-help beyond the indifferent cultivation of his potato patch, hampered by ignorance of the land and of the language..."²¹ Despite a constant drain of a large proportion of these immigrants to the United States, Catholic Irish settlement grew during the early 1840's. Previously established pockets were enlarged, reflecting the propensity of the Irish to settle amongst kin who frequently had sponsored their passage in the first place. Heaviest concentrations occurred in the Ottawa-Rideau and Niagara districts, although new settlements also emerged in south-western Ontario, particularly in Perth, Huron and Middlesex counties, undoubtedly

facilitated in large part by the extensive road and utility construction required to accommodate the rapid growth of settlement in the region.

In fact an interesting co-relation emerged between Irish immigration to the province and its economic growth during this period. 1840 through 1842 saw a rapid acceleration in Irish immigration, but an economic slump which occurred during 1842 resulted in a cutback in public works projects and widespread unemployment. A massive emigration of labourers to the United States occurred, and Irish immigration figures dropped from 25,532 in that year to 9,728 in 1843, the bulk of whom were relatively prosperous Ulster farmers.²² Immigration gradually accelerated again with a return of prosperity, until by 1846 it reached 21,049.

1847 marked a turning point in Upper Canada's development, and again it was linked intricately with Irish immigration patterns. In that year the province received an unprecedented glut of Irish; between 60,000 and 70,000 were shipped to Canada after Ireland experienced a disastrous potato crop failure. Famine and disease caused a complete collapse in Ireland's social and economic structure, demanding drastic measures:

The actions of the British government, torn between the harsh doctrine of Political Economy and whatever humanitarian feelings existed in the breasts of its members, were inadequate to meet

the crisis. Hundreds of thousands, perhaps a million, died before the famine ended and there began in the spring of 1847 a panic emigration of the diseased and destitute, far different from the orderly and relatively well-financed movement of population that had taken place during the first six years of the decade.²³

For the first time emigration began removing people from the very bottom of the Irish social order. Landlords began financing large scale emigration of cottiers and paupers from their lands in order to transform them into pasturage, while others received assistance either from relatives in North America or the sale of personal possessions.²⁴ By 1851 the cottier class had been virtually eliminated by this exodus. The United States imposed stiffer immigration laws which effectively barred the most destitute from landing there, with the result being that Upper Canada received a disproportionately large share of the most diseased and disabled. Immigration facilities were inadequate to deal with the glut, and many were shipped directly inland to Upper Canadian ports where serious outbreaks of cholera occurred. Of an estimated 60,000 who arrived in 1847, 30% had died by the end of the year, while 30,000 of the healthiest had crossed into the United States.²⁵ The province was faced with the problem of absorbing a group of people who were incapable in most cases of anything but the most menial labour. A.B. Hawke, the

Upper Canadian immigration agent, reported that "more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the immigrants this year have been Irish, diseased in body, and belonging to the lowest class of unskilled labourers. Very few of these are fit for farm Servants..."²⁶ Cecil Woodham-Smith writes of the situation which emerged as a result of this influx:

...the famine emigrants were the reverse of pioneers. They had not set out to find wider horizons but had fled from hunger and pestilence. They were miserably poor, and many were forced to stay where they landed because they had not a penny to go further. Most of them had been, or were at the moment, ill. And though they might be said to have lived by agriculture, since they had tilled their potato patches, they were without knowledge of cultivating other crops and often could not handle any tool but a spade. A group of people could hardly have existed less fitted, physically and mentally, to subdue the wilderness that the Irish of the famine emigration. Only an exceptional few, under ten per cent, it is estimated, became farmers...²⁷

Stiffer immigration and quarantine laws in the following two years eased the situation somewhat, although famine emigration continued until 1851. A policy of attempting to settle these people in rural areas was initiated, following

the theory that employment as farm hands for established settlers might train them to become backwood farmers.²⁸ This proved largely unsuccessful since the Irish were incapable of such work and were rapidly rejected as farm labourers by Upper Canadian farmers. Their essential helplessness and vulnerability served to aggravate racial and religious tensions in rural districts. Protestant Ulstermen sought increasingly to differentiate themselves, and the Loyal Orange Order, active in the province since the 1820's, became the major instrument for accomplishing this. The rural environment, already a difficult milieu for the Catholic Irish to adapt to in the earlier era of relatively orderly settlement, was virtually impossible for the famine immigrants to cope with, and most began to gravitate back to urban centres of the province or to the United States.²⁹ Toronto, as the largest city in the province, received the greatest number, and contained an Irish population of 11,000 in 1851.

Urban population figures are misleading in assessing the distribution of the famine Irish however, for of 176,267 persons of Irish origin in the province in that year, only 14% or 24,751 were classified as urban dwellers. Almost half of these were concentrated in Toronto. Even during the following decade, when the Irish consolidated themselves into a distinct urban labour force, the proportion assessed as urban amounted to no more than 16% of the provincial total.³⁰

This discrepancy can be explained by two factors: the Ulster Irish, whose numbers in those figures and who were predominantly rural, still comprised the largest proportion of Irish in the province, while the Catholic labourers generally settled on the outskirts of towns and cities where land was cheapest or squatting was feasible and were therefore assessed as rural dwellers.

Irish immigration rapidly tapered off during the 1850's. By mid-decade it had dropped to a small trickle and ceased to be a factor in the province's growth. The subsequent period was one of economic and social consolidation.

The timing of this final influx of Irish immigration was significant, for it roughly coincided with the first industrial boom period in the province which was heralded by a decade of railroad construction and urban growth.

After an initial period of instability, the Irish managed to consolidate themselves as the chief labour force in the province and thus continue in the role they had played during the earlier canal and lumbering era. They continued to compete fiercely for employment and defend their monopolies against intrusion by other groups. In doing so they maintained a form of group security while at the same time contributing to the establishment of a truck system in the province whereby the labour force lived largely at the mercy of employers who easily capitalized on the situation. Kenneth Duncan observes:

It is evident that the Irish labourer bore some of the economic cost and most of the social cost of public works built in Canada West in the period of greatest expansion. In effect he subsidized the canals and railways because he was consistently underpaid, often cheated, and sometimes not paid at all.³¹

The impact of this Irish labour force upon Ontario towns and cities during their first period of industrial growth is revealed by census figures for the years 1851, 61 and 71. The following chart contains the Irish population and its percentage of the total population of the six largest urban centres in the province during this period:

<u>City</u>	1851		1861		1871	
	<u>Irish pop.</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Irish pop.</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Irish pop.</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Toronto	11,305	35%	12,441	27%	24,100	40%
Hamilton	4,687	33%	4,149	21%	8,900	33%
Kingston	4,396	37%	4,104	28½%	6,611	55%
Bytown	2,486	32%	3,249	20%	8,021	33%
London	1,877	27%	2,149	18%	5,379	35%
St. Catherines	1,093	25%	1,363	20%	3,031	39%

1851 was a year of flux, with an inflated, highly transient Irish population drifting into urban centres from rural regions. A Hamilton newspaper of the time commented:

This city seems to have been made a kind of rallying point for those who cannot get employment

in this section of the country. Everyday the poor emigrants are seen coming into the city to seek the shelter they cannot find in the country.³²

As previously stated, the following decade saw a consolidation of the Irish communities, as employment patterns emerged and excess population drifted off, usually to the United States. By 1871 urban industrial expansion was again occurring with an accompanying upswing in the size and proportion of the Irish labour force. Expanding city boundaries undoubtedly accounted for a marked climb in Irish populations, as outlying ghettos were incorporated into the urban areas. Throughout the period they comprised the largest single ethnic group in the major cities and in many of the smaller towns where similar patterns were occurring.

The rural distribution of Irish during the post 1851 period is more difficult to access. As virtually all counties contained sizable Irish populations by this time, a list of those counties containing heaviest concentration has been compiled:

<u>County</u>	1851		1861		1871	
	<u>Irish pop.</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Irish pop.</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Irish pop.</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
York	9,241	20%	7,687	14%	17,067	28%
Carleton	8,231	35%	7,134	25%	16,774	77%
Simcoe	8,106	30%	9,342	20%	25,840	45%
Durham	7,811	25%	6,973	18%	17,242	49%
Peel	7,346	30%	5,456	20%	7,484	-

<u>County</u>	1851		1861		1871	
	<u>Irish</u> <u>pop.</u>	<u>% of</u> <u>Total</u>	<u>Irish</u> <u>pop.</u>	<u>% of</u> <u>Total</u>	<u>Irish</u> <u>pop.</u>	<u>% of</u> <u>Total</u>
Leeds	6,926	25%	6,272	17%	11,202	-
Huron	4,673	20%	8,313	13%	23,740	36%
Wellington	5,638	20%	7,522	15%	23,981	38%
Hastings	6,615	25%	7,170	17%	20,408	42%
Lanark	5,798	20%	4,909	17%	16,507	50%
Northumberland	5,295	17%	5,004	13%	13,349	-
Wentworth	5,235	20%	3,922	13%	7,837	-
Grenville	5,220	20%	4,462	17%	16,812	-
Grey	2,951	23%	6,263	17%	23,511	40%
Peterborough	4,216	27%	5,133	20%	15,287	50%
Perth	3,281	20%	6,294	18%	16,575	35%
Middlesex	3,805	13%	4,721	9%	21,190	31%

A similar pattern to that in urban centres occurred. Between 1851 and 1861 many of the older heavily populated counties in the eastern and central portions of the province experienced a period of decline, although newer outlying counties showed small gains. The heavy increases shown in the 1871 census must be qualified; Daniel Lyne, in his thesis on Irish immigration during this period, points out that the proportion of Irish born in the homeland varied widely from those listed as being of Irish descent, thus indicating that much of this increase was due to a high birth rate in Upper Canada rather than a sharp upswing in rural Irish settlement.³³ Nevertheless a trend of consolidation occurred, with definite

regions of high concentration emerging. Carleton County, with an overwhelming Irish majority of 77% contained the highest proportion by 1871, followed by Peterborough, Lanark and Durham counties. Large Irish populations in other counties such as York, Simcoe, Huron, Wellington, Grey and Middlesex were off-set to a degree by the total population densities of those counties. Some counties which contained a high percentage of Irish in 1851 dropped off sharply by 1871, although their populations increased; Peel, Leeds, and Wentworth are examples.

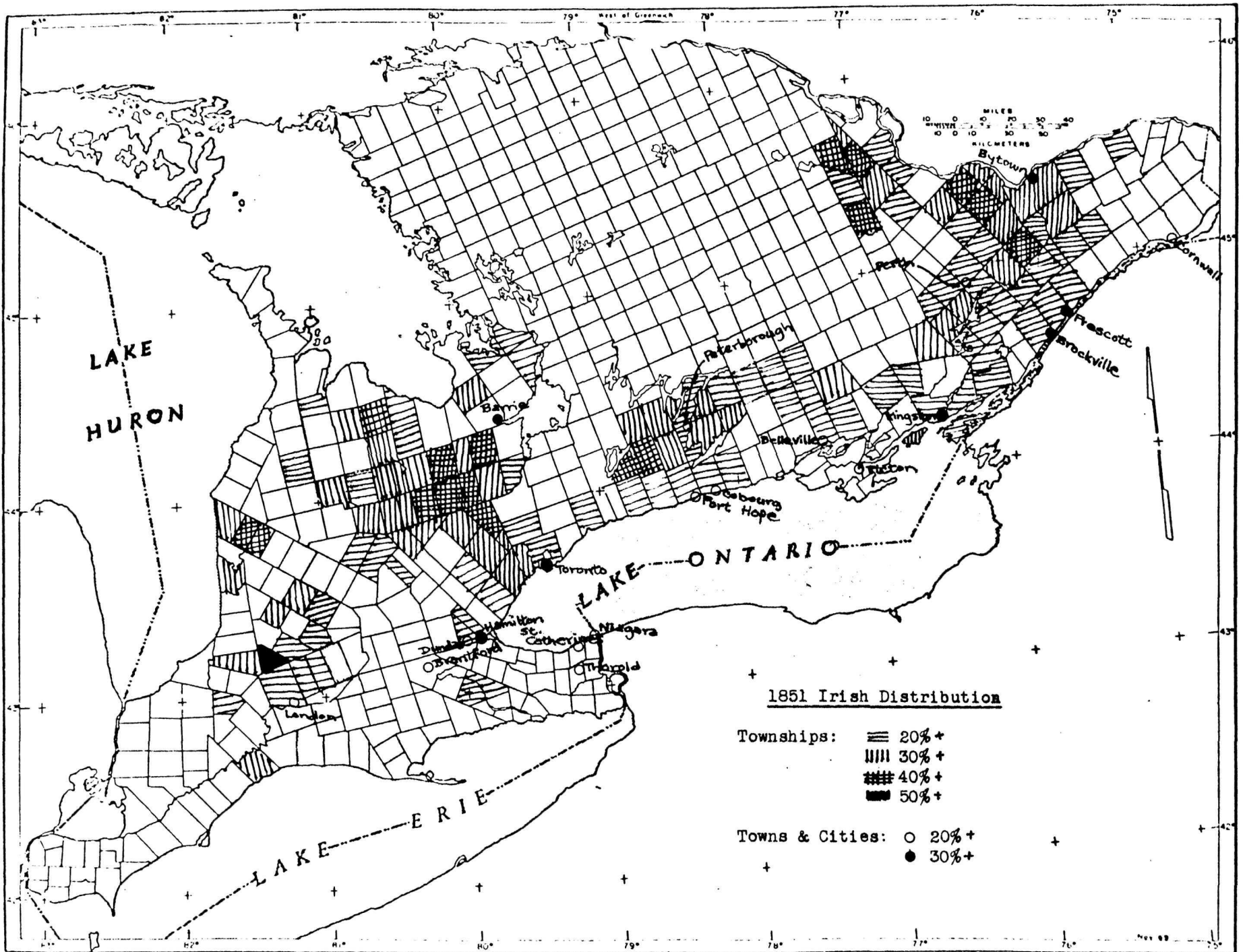
Thus Post-1851 rural census statistics are potentially misleading in tracing Protestant and Catholic settlement patterns. Apart from northern districts and isolated pockets, little new settlement occurred after 1860, and since all Irish immigration had virtually ceased after 1855, such settlement as was undertaken was by previously established individuals or second-generation offspring.*

In fact the most significant fluctuation which occurred involved depopulation in previously heavily-settled rural areas. Counties initially settled by Ulstermen, particularly in central and south-western counties, experienced a shift,

*George Spragge, in his article "Colonization Roads in Canada West", Ontario History, vol. 49, points out that Irish immigrants nevertheless constituted the largest single group of settlers during the initial period of settlement along colonization roads in the shield region.

with large numbers of original occupants moving out, to be replaced by new groups who seized the opportunity of buying at low prices.³⁴ The Irish Catholics, along with French Canadians, frequently entered regions they had not previously occupied in this manner, thus maintaining high Irish populations, but entailing a change in groups.

Enduring settlement patterns by the two Irish groups were largely formed by the 1850's in rural Ontario. Major concentrations of Ulstermen remained located in central and south-western Ontario, while Catholics prevailed in eastern counties, outlying lumbering regions, the Peterborough-Lake Simcoe region and most towns and cities excluding the western-most portions of the province. The map on the following page indicates townships, towns, and cities in which the Irish collectively constituted over 20% of the population. It must be borne in mind that many of the areas containing heavy percentages at this time--Rendrew and Grey counties for example, were relatively sparsely settled, while central counties such as Ontario, York, and Halton contained substantial Irish populations which nevertheless constituted less than 20% of the total.



Characteristics of Irish Settlement

As may be deduced from the first part of this paper, the characteristics of Irish settlement varied widely between Ulster Protestants and Southern Catholics. Ulstermen, who had been transplanted from England and Scotland to the northern Irish counties during the 18th century, do not appear to have evolved significantly different traits during their period of separation. The native Irish, however, possessed distinctive traits which clearly differentiated them from other ethnic groups settling in Ontario.

The Ulstermen's propensity for settling amongst English and Scotch communities reflected the similarity of their social characteristics; early observers were generally lavish in their praise of all three groups, although some singled out the Protestant Irish as the most adept settlers in the province.³⁵

Statistics of emigration agents during the pre-1830 phase indicate that the majority of Ulstermen arriving in British North America at that time were small farmers by profession.³⁶ The wealth they possessed fluctuated with current economic conditions in Ireland; during periods of relative stability they were frequently well-financed from liquidation of their assets and able to outfit themselves immediately upon arrival, thus enjoying a rapid rate of development in Upper Canada. In periods of stress, they were usually more destitute and thus less capable of quickly

establishing themselves; under such circumstances they were forced to seek supplementary employment in order to equip themselves:

Arriving in the Upper Province, they generally hire out their children to the old settlers, if they are strong enough for labour. Their wives also, when not encumbered with young children, procure employment as spinners, etc. while their husbands proceed to York, for the purpose of obtaining land from the Executive government... men of more experience...advise him to hold his location ticket, and to labour for hire with some farmer until he can provide himself with the proper means for cultivating his own land.³⁷

The settlement patterns of Ulstermen were determined to a large extent by their relatively late initial arrival and the fact that they emigrated independently rather than under government-sponsored colonization schemes. Consequently they were less prone to settle in concentrated pockets, but rather acquired lots individually, frequently in regions which had already been extensively settled by other groups. In the central portion of the province their settlement often entailed the acquisition of lots left vacant by earlier Loyalist and American settlers or purchase of partially cleared land from initial occupants, usually in rear concessions rather than along lake and river frontage.

It was in this manner that an extensive integration of Protestant British groups comprised of Ulstermen, English, lowland Scots and earlier Loyalist-Americans occurred, forming an enduring social status quo in the province.

While their separation in Ireland does not appear to have caused distinctive traits to have separated the Ulstermen from their English and Scottish kin, economic conditions in Ireland quite certainly did. The Ulstermen immigrating to Upper Canada were almost exclusively farmers. As may be recalled, Ireland, unlike England and lower Scotland, did not possess a stable industrial base. Thus those Irish immigrants classed as artisans were generally farmer-weavers rather than industrial craftsmen. The group lacked a diversity of skills possessed by similar groups from England and Scotland which would lead to distinctive architectural features in their settlements. This trait was further encouraged by the unfavourable economic climate in Ireland which was not particularly conducive to architectural exuberance. A survey conducted in 1841 revealed that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the country's structures were simple mud houses.³⁸ When the unstable position of the farmer weavers is recalled, it appears unlikely that they were in a position to indulge, as tenant farmers, in elaborate house construction. Thus they brought with them to Upper Canada no particular heritage or skills in house construction, and were therefore likely to be highly influenced by local trends, a trait which their

propensity for intermingling amongst other groups encouraged. Thus the observations made by William Dunlop on house construction during the 1830's was highly applicable to Ulstermen:

We build very ugly houses in Canada, very ill laid out and very incommodious; but this is our misfortune, not our fault, for there are no people on the face of the earth more willing to learn, and if by chance a man once lays out a cottage a little neater than his neighbour's, you will see it immitated for ten miles on each side of him along the road. Therefore, if you will bring out with you a set of neat designs and elevations of a small house, it will not only enable you to build a good house yourself, but you will become a public benefactor, by showing to the whole of your neighbourhood how they may do the same.³⁹

1851 assessment statistics for townships which contained heavy Ulster populations indicate that, as with most counties throughout the province, frame structures were by far the most popular, followed by log; brick and stone were rarely used. The following list gives a sampling of house construction in heavily settled Irish protestant townships at that time:

<u>County</u>	<u>Township</u>	<u>Stone</u>	<u>Brick</u>	<u>Frame</u>	<u>Log</u>	<u>Shanties</u>
Durham	Cavan	17	2	202	332	67
	Clarke	33	14	554	537	96
	Darlington	15	93	644	359	120
	Hope	8	26	481	262	56
	Manvers	2	--	22	172	149
Peel	Albion	3	10	106	429	19
	Caledon	8	3	45	340	34
	Chinguacousy	13	55	330	672	87
	Toronto	31	67	600	367	89
	Toronto, Gore	2	11	53	212	15
Simcoe	Gwillimbury	1	32	111	145	5
	Mono	10	--	10	381	1
	Tecumseth	2	21	61	468	--

Proportions of brick structures increased during subsequent decades as the inhabitants reached later stages of settlement and could afford to indulge in such houses.

A further heritage transported to Upper Canada from Ireland was one of religious conflict. The Orange Lodge emerged in Upper Canada within a few years of its inception in the homeland.³⁸ In the rather limited areas where Protestant and Catholic Irish settlement came in contact during the pre-1840 period, the Lodge served as a rallying point for the Ulstermen. The organization subsequently played a predominant role in retaining a sense of cultural identity

amongst Irish Protestants, an identity which became increasingly cherished as Irish Catholic numbers increased. The Order reached the pinnacle of its strength and influence during the 1850's and sixties. During this period local lodges were maintained throughout the province. Their prevalence in individual counties serve as a rough indication of a continuing cultural identity amongst Protestant Irish. The following chart lists counties containing the heaviest concentrations of Orange Lodges in 1861:⁴⁰

<u>County</u>	<u>Lodges</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Lodges</u>
York (incl. Toronto)	84	Ontario	32
Simcoe	65	Perth	30
Durham	58	Wellington	30
Huron	48	Leeds	34
Carleton	42	Bruce	31
Frontenac	42	Peterborough	26
Hastings	42	Northumberland	23
Middlesex	41	Waterloo	23
Grey	37	Grenville	21
Lanark	32	Oxford	19
		Wentworth	19

In all, the province contained some 990 Orange Lodges in that year, giving a fair indication of both its influence and the size of the Irish Protestant population.

Architecturally, the lodges do not appear to have possessed any strikingly distinctive features. They were

usually austere structures, closely resembling rural school houses in appearance, and frequently possessing solid shutters on windows...⁴¹

The Irish Catholics, whose initial arrival in the province did not occur until the mid-1820's, brought with them, along with religious, language and ethnic distinctions, social traits which singled them out as unique in the eyes of the pre-established population of the province. Their responses as immigrant settlers reflected the patterns of their homeland. During the 1820's and 1830's, 9/10 of the population of Ireland was engaged in agriculture.⁴² The living conditions of the vast majority were, as previously stated, extremely poor. The social system which evolved to accommodate the extremely overpopulated environment and alienated land system entailed the emergence of a semi-transient farm labour force. Families of cottiers grouped together in small villages, travelling daily to tend their plots during the growing season and foraging for work throughout the country during the remainder of the year. This semi-transient state forced the emergence of social units based on work gangs containing the males of such families and villages.⁴³ As agricultural conditions deteriorated during the 1830's, these units began converging en masse on the few industrialized urban centres of the country particularly in the northern counties, where they came in direct competition with the Ulster Protestants who had

held a monopoly on such positions. This had the effect of diverting what had initially been an agrarian problem into one with religious overtones which escalated with the deterioration of the country's economy. A mood of hopelessness bred in turn a growing lethargy and sense of futility which found an outlet in factional and religious disputes.

Such conditions naturally affected the settlement characteristics of the cottiers. The housing conditions of this essentially landless and transient social group were extremely poor. The 1841 census revealed that 40% of the population lived in mud huts of 1 room, while 37% had 2 to 4 room dwellings. It was common for several families to share one house.

The housing was...miserable; the traditional cabin, one storey high, one-roomed, mud-walled, hearthless, housed the majority of the population. This kind of dwelling was cheap, easily constructed and even more easily destroyed.⁴⁴

Given such a social background, it is not surprising that the Irish Catholics had difficulty adapting to the Upper Canadian environment, particularly to the prospects of land clearance and mixed farming on 100 acre lots. The Robinson experiments of 1823 and 1825 revealed the potential difficulties of integrating them into the Upper Canadian milieu. Despite the fact that log structures were constructed in advance for them, and farm implements and food rations

supplied for the first year, the rate of success was low in the Pakenham settlement, while the incidence of social conflict was high. An early observer of the Pakenham and Ramsay contingent wrote:

I saw many of the Irish emigrants that Peter Robinson brought out to Canada. Two shiploads came to settle near the Rideau; they drove away a small Scotch settlement with their outrageous behaviour, and then, having no foreign foe, the passengers of one ship drew up, with sprigs of shillelah, and fought the passengers of the other ship.⁴⁵

It is interesting to note that the Peterborough settlers of 1825 constructed temporary mud huts on the site of the future town upon their arrival, while awaiting the completion of their log cabins:

The arrival of the poor immigrants from Ireland has given us some variety...Their huts look very odd, being made with poles standing up and interwoven with boughs or branches of tress, with mud plastered over all. They live in these until log shanties are ready for their families in Douro.⁴⁶

The waves of self-sponsored Irish Catholics which began entering the province during the mid-1820's were primarily interested in wage labour rather than in farming. Hence during the initial period of canal construction and lumbering

their settlement patterns, like those in their homeland, were of a transient nature.⁴⁷ Frequently employers constructed rough shanties to accommodate the labourers; even in centres where a permanent source of employment fostered a more stable Irish population, their standards of living remained conspicuously low, as an early observer of Bytown noted:

It is a singular fact too, with the Irish, that if they can get a mud cabin, they will never think of building one of wood. At Bytown, on the Ottawa, they burrow into the sand-hills; smoke is seen to issue out of holes which are opened to answer the purpose of chimneys....If you build for them large and comfortable houses, as was done in the place above-mentioned, so that they might become useful labourers on the public works, still they keep as decidedly filthy as before.⁴⁸

The continuing poverty of the Irish labourers retarded their assimilation into rural society in the province. Land purchase could only be financed by years of wage labour under conditions which in fact encouraged the retention of social patterns characteristic of the homeland. The labour gang became a way of life for males, while housing consisted of ghettos in the vicinity of employment centres which restricted contact with non-Irish inhabitants. Land purchases, when made, were usually in the vicinity of such locations. Their success as farmers was further hampered under such circumstances

by isolation from the influence of more progressive groups which they might otherwise have imitated, as had occurred in the Peterborough region. Years of competition for employment served to encourage a defensive and hostile attitude towards other groups, while the essentially clannish and gregarious nature of the Irish made the prospect of purchasing land in isolated out-lying areas unattractive to them.⁴⁹

Townships in which heavy Irish settlement had occurred by 1851 showed a relatively slow rate of growth, with large percentages of structures in the log and shanty categories*:

<u>County</u>	<u>Township</u>	<u>Stone</u>	<u>Brick</u>	<u>Frame</u>	<u>Log</u>	<u>Shanties</u>
Carleton	Fitzroy	2	--	75	172	121
	Gloucester	12	--	28	260	100
	Huntley	4	--	4	184	152
	Nepean	21	--	21	306	238
	Osgoode	--	--	32	164	272
Russell	Cumberland	1	--	54	46	115
Hastings	Tyendenaga	10	4	217	443	194
	Hungerford	2	--	69	187	221
Lanark	Montague	22	--	29	287	150
	Pakenham	6	--	54	88	--
Peterborough	Douro	1	--	11	164	86

*Township selection for this chart and the preceding chart on Protestant Irish house construction was determined by comparison of 1851 Ethnic Origin and Religion statistics. Those used were ones in which either group appeared to constitute a clearly predominant portion of the population, and had been settled for a reasonably long length of time.

<u>County</u>	<u>Township</u>	<u>Stone</u>	<u>Brick</u>	<u>Frame</u>	<u>Log</u>	<u>Shanties</u>
	Smith	15	--	24	289	17
	Otonabee	15	2	151	322	98
	Ennismore	1	--	--	46	32
Victoria	Emily	8	--	35	300	87

It was in the urban centres of the province that the impact of the Irish Catholics was ultimately greatest. An outlying ghetto composed almost entirely of Irishmen became a common feature of Upper Canadian towns and villages during the 1850's, with railroad facilities, local industries, and public works projects determining their location. Corktowns, cabbagetowns, and slabtowns, characterized by small, roughly constructed and tightly sandwiched structures were frequently located on land subdivided by the owners of such industries, as occurred in Hamilton, which possessed a particularly large and distinctive Corktown in the vicinity of the Great Western Rail Road yards. A resident of the district has remeniced:

Often in Corktown, when you built a sturdy home with four walls, a man might buy the lot next to you and, after viewing the situation, ...construct a dwelling with three walls, leaning cosily against his neighbour's house...⁵⁰

During the second half of the nineteenth century the Irish continued to monopolize the urban industrial labour force in the province, with a corresponding increase in

the size and prosperity of the Irish quarters; building construction became more sophisticated, with wood occasionally giving way to stone and brick where local supplies were available. As following generations were assimilated into the broader social milieu, such quarters gradually passed out of Irish hands, usually into those of subsequent labour groups, particularly Italians, after the turn of the century.

Townships Containing Large Concentrations of Irish Settlement

The following chart and map delineate townships in which heaviest Irish settlement occurred. They are based on a variety of sources: A.F. Hunter's "Ethnographical Elements of Ontario"⁵¹ served as a base, with additional information being taken from 1851-81 census reports and local histories.

Because the Irish constituted the largest single ethnic group apart from native-born Canadians, the chart remains far from comprehensive; by 1871 every county apart from sparsely settled outlying ones contained at least 1,000 Irish inhabitants. Townships listed are those in which evidence of extensive initial Irish settlement occurred, or in which large Irish populations existed by 1881. Attempts have been made to distinguish Protestant and Catholic settlements based on ethnic and religious census statistics.

Townships Receiving Extensive Irish Settlement

Prescott County

- 1 East Hawkesbury
 11 Plantagenet
- Irish Catholics, post 1848.

Glengarry County

- 2 Kenyon
- Irish Catholics, small numbers.

Stormont County

- 3 Roxborough
 4 Cornwall
 5 Finch
 6 Osnabruck
- Irish Catholics, initially around town of Cornwall during 1830's; later waves after 1848.

Dundas County

- 7 Winchester
 8 Williamsburg
 9 Mountain
 10 Matilda
- Irish Catholics; heaviest concentrations in Matilda, Mountain, and Winchester.

Russell County

- 13 Clarence
 14 Cambridge
 15 Russell
- Ulstermen, intermixed with other British groups in uplands, beginning circ. 1820. Later influxes of Catholics during late 1840's. Largest concentrations were in Cumberland.

Carleton County

- 17 Gloucester
 18 Osgoode
 19 Nepean
 20 N. Gower
 21 Marleborough
- Ulstermen in Gloucester, Osgoode, Nepean, Marlborough, Goulbourn, March, Huntley, Fitzroy, beginning in 1819; Catholics in Huntley and Goulbourn in 1823 (Robinson settlement), later as canal workers in Nepean, N. Gower, Gloucester. Heaviest concentration in Nepean; also large numbers in Goulbourn, Huntley, Gloucester, Osgoode, Fitzroy, N. Gower.

(Continued)

Carleton County (Continued)

22 Goulbourn
 23 March
 24 Torbolton
 25 Huntley
 26 Fitzroy

Lanark County

27 Montague
 28 Beckwith
 29 Ramsay
 30 Pakenham
 31 N. Elmsley
 32 Drummond
 33 Bathrust
 34 N. Burgess

- Ulstermen, beginning in 1819-20 in Montague, N. Elmsley, Ramsay, Pakenham, Beckwith; Catholics in Ramsay and Pakenham, 1823 -- Robinson settlement; later Catholics in Drummond, Bathurst, Burgess, Montague, N. Elmsley beginning during construction of Rideau Canal System.

Renfrew County

35 Bagot
 36 Admaston
 37 Ross
 38 Westmeath
 39 Bromley
 40 Brougham
 41 Grattan

- Irish Catholics initially during 1830's and 40's in conjunction with lumbering; continued settlement during 1850's and 60's. Heaviest settlement in Admaston and Grattan.

Leeds County

44 Kitley
 44a S. Elmsley
 45 Bastard
 45a S. Burgess
 46 S. Crosby
 47 N. Crosby

- Irish Protestants to Bastard township during 1830's; Catholics to Kitley, S. Elmsley, Crosby (N. and S.) Most extensive settlement in Front of Lansdowne, Bastard, Burgess, Crosby.

Frontenac County

48 Pittsburgh
 49 Howe Island
 50 Wolfe Island
 51 Kingston
 52 Loughborough
 52a Bedford

- Irish Catholics to Pittsburgh, Loughborough, Kingston, Wolfe and Howe Islands, beginning during 1820's in conjunction with canalization, public works and lumbering. Largest numbers in Pittsburg, Kingston and Islands.

Lennox and Addington

53 Ernestown
 54 Amherst Island
 55 Camden
 56 Sheffield

- Irish Catholics, beginning in 1825 in conjunction with lumbering; 1850 in Sheffield. Heaviest concentrations were in Camden, Sheffield.

Hastings County

57 Hungerford
 58 Thurlow
 59 Huntingdon
 60 Madoc
 60a Tudor
 60b Limerick

- Extensive Protestant settlement in Thurlow, Sydney, Hungerford, Huntingdon, Madoc, Marmora during the 1800's. Catholics to Rawdon, Tudor, Limerick and Clare during late 1830's and later.
 - Rawdon, Huntingdon, Madoc and Sidney contained largest numbers during post 1851 period.

(Continued)

Hastings County (Continued)

61 Marmora
62 Rawdon
63 Sidney



Prince Edward County

64 Ameliasburgh
65 Hillier
66 Sophiasburgh
67 Hallowell
68 Athol
69 S. Marysburgh
70 N. Marysburgh



- Protestants (from County Down) in all townships but most heavily in Hallowell; Catholics in Athol and Hillier.

Peterborough County

71 Asphodel
72 Dummer
73 Otonabee
74 Douro
75 Smith
76 Ennismore
77 N. Monaghan



- Protestants to Asphodel, Otonabee, N. Monaghan, Smith, Douro, Dummer, beginning 1818; Catholics initially to Smith Ennismore in 1825 (Robinson settlement), later to Douro, Otonabee, Asphodel.

Northumberland County

78 S. Monaghan
79 Hamilton
80 Haldimand
81 Percy
82 Seymour
83 Murray



- Heaviest settlement in Percy, Seymour, Haldimand and Hamilton; initially Ulstermen, particularly along lakefront.

Durham County

84 Hope

85 Cavan

86 Clarke

87 Manyers

88 Darlington

89 Cartwright

- Irish Protestants in all townships, beginning during pre-1820 period; Irish Catholics (Robinson settlement) in Cavan, 1825.

Victoria County

90 Emily

91 Verulam

92 Somerville

93 Ops

94 Fenelon

95 Bexley

96 Laxton

97 Digby

98 Longford

99 Elden

100 Carden

101 Mariposa

- Irish Protestants first in Emily, 1821; in Fenelon and Verulam 1832-4; Bexley and Somerville during 1860's; also in Mariposa.
- Irish Catholics first in Emily, 1825 (Robinson settlement), Verulam during 1830's; Bexley, Laxton, Digby and Longford post 1860. Greatest concentrations of Catholics were in Ops and Elden (1826) and Carden (1860).

Ontario County

102 Mara

103 Brock

104 Reach

105 Pickering

York County

106 Scarborough

107 York

108 Etobicoke

109 Vaughn

110 Markham

111 Whitchurch

112 E. Gwillimbury

113 King

- Ulstermen in Etobicoke, York, Scarborough, Vaughn, Markham, King, Whitchurch, E. Gwillimbury, beginning circ. 1820, heaviest during 1830's; Irish Catholics sparce outside Toronto.

Simcoe County

114 W. Gwillimbury

115 Innisfil

116 Tecumseth

117 Essa

118 Tossorontio

119 Adjala

120 Nottawasaga

121 Flos

122 Medonte

- Ulstermen, beginning 1830 -- extensive settlement in W. Gwillimbury, Tecumseth, Innisfil, Essa, Tossorontio.
- Irish Catholics also beginning 1830, in Adjala, Vespra, Flos, Medonte, Nottawasaga.

Peel County

123 Tossorontio

124 Chinguacousy

125 Toronto Gore

126 Albion

127 Caledon

- Heavy settlement by Ulstermen, all townships, beginning pre-1820.

Halton County

128 Nelson
 129 Trafalgar
 130 Esquising
 131 Nassagaweya

- Heavy Ulster settlement, all townships,
 beginning pre-1820.

Wellington County

132 Erin
 133 Eramosa
 134 W. Garafraxa
 135 Peel
 136 Maryborough
 137 Arthur
 137a Puslinch
 137b Guelph

- Irish Protestants, most extensively in
 Arthur and Peel.

Dufferin County

138 E. Garafraxa
 139 E. Luther
 140 Amaranth
 141 Mono
 142 Mulmur
 143 Melancthon

- Extensive Ulster settlement, beginning
 1823 in Mono and Mulmur, 1830's in
 Amaranth, Melancthon; subsequent heavy
 waves of Protestant and Catholics during
 1840's.

Grey County

144 Artemisia
 145 Holland
 146 Sullivan
 147 Glenelg
 148 Normanby
 149 Euphrasia

- Extensive Ulster settlement, 1837 onwards.

Wentworth County

150 Flamborough (East & West)

151 Ancaster

152 Beverly

153 Barton

154 Saltfleet

- Irish Catholics, initially during construction of Burlington and Desjardin canals in 1820's; later waves post 1847, particularly to Hamilton. Scattered Irish Protestants in rural regions.

Lincoln County

155 Grantham

156 Niagara

- Irish Catholics during construction of Welland Canal, post 1825; heaviest concentration in vicinity of St. Catherines.

Welland County

157 Stamford

158 Thorold

159 Humberstone

- Irish Catholics (predominantly) during construction of Welland Canal, principally in towns along rte. -- Thorold, Port Robinson, Welland, etc.

Haldimand County

160 Dunn

161 Canborough

162 N. Cayuga

163 Seneca

164 Oneida

165 Walpole

- Irish Catholics, heaviest concentrations in Walpole and Seneca.

Norfolk County

166 Woodhouse

167 Windham

168 Walsingham

- - Primarily concentrated in Walsingham.

Elgin County

169 Yarmouth

170 Southwold

171 Dunwich

- Mostly Protestant Irish in Talbot settlement; heaviest concentration in Southwold.

Oxford County

172 Dereham

173 Norwich

- Scattered Irish settlement, both Protestant and Catholic; relatively sparse.

Waterloo County

174 Wellesly

- Small Irish population, scattered.

Perth County

175 Morington

176 North Easthope

177 South Easthope

178 Ellice

179 Downie

180 Blanshard

181 Hibbert

182 Wallace

182a Elma

- Mixed pockets of Ulster and Catholic settlement; Ulstermen predominant in Blanshard, Morington. First influx into Downie, 1832; continual settlement until 1850's, with greatest numbers concentrated in Hibbert, Blanchard, Downie, Morington, Elma and Wallace.

Huron County

183 McKillop

184 Goderich

185 Ashfield

186 W. Wawanosh

187 E. Wawanosh

- Mixed Catholic and Protestant settlement, heaviest in McKillop; began in 1830's in Goderich and McKillop, continuous until 1850's.

Bruce County

188 Brant
 189 Arran
 190 Carrick
 191 Culross
 192 Greenock
 192a Elderslie

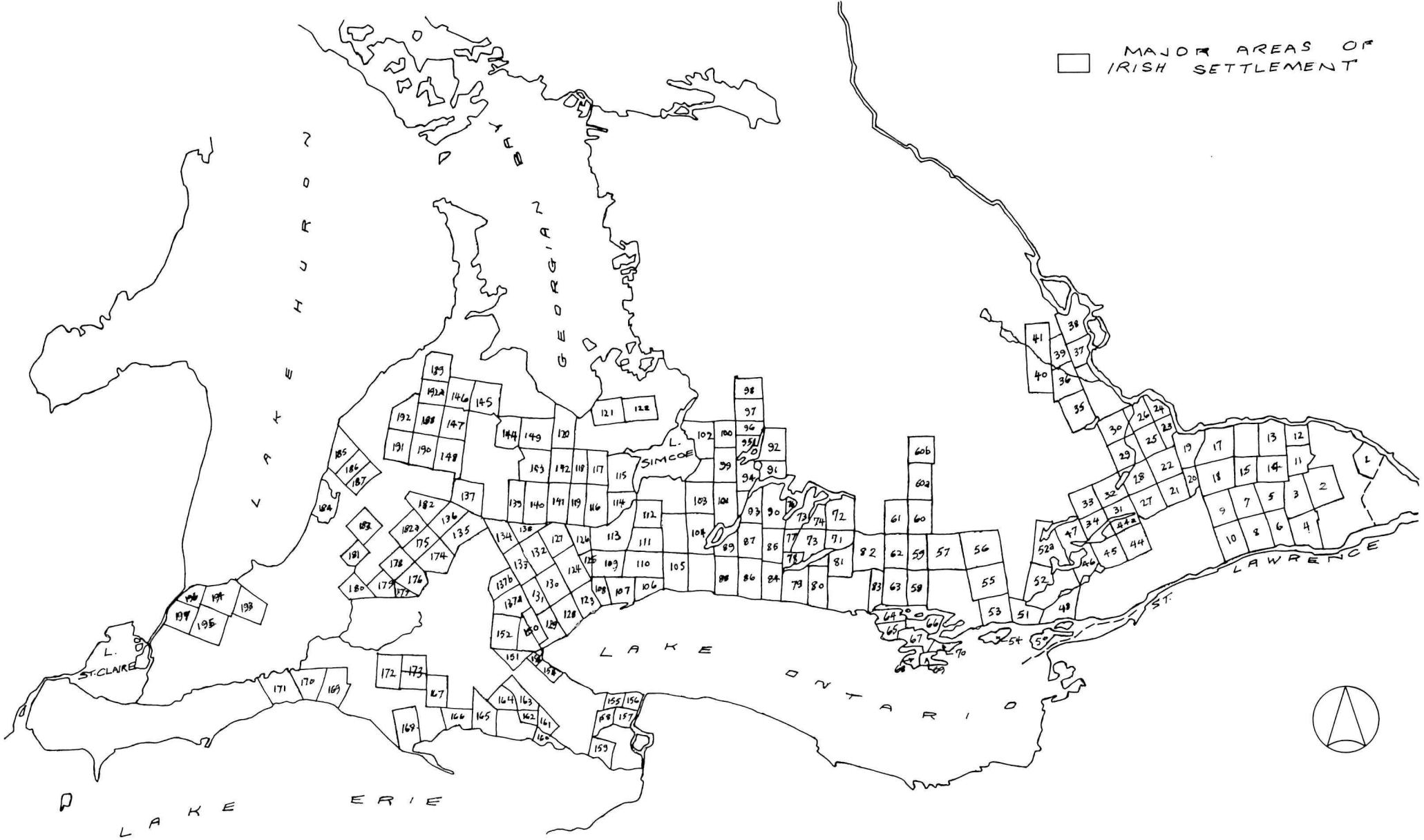
- Mixed Irish settlement in Arran and Brant (predom. Protestant); Catholic settlement in Carrick, Culross and Greenock, post 1848. Largest numbers in Arran, Elderslie, Brant and Greenock.

Lambton County

193 Warwick
 194 Plympton
 195 Enniskillen
 196 Sarnia
 197 Moore

- Protestant Irish, beginning during 1820's; heaviest concentrations in Warwick and Moore.

MAJOR AREAS OF IRISH SETTLEMENT



Footnotes:

- 1 W.F. Adams, Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World the Famine, (New Haven, 1932), p. 116.
- 2 H.H. Guest, "Upper Canada's First Political Party", O.H., vol. 54, 1962, pp. 275-296.
- 3 Adams, Ireland and Irish Emigration, pp. 39-40.
- 4 Arthur Young, writing in the late 18th century, described how wandering families settled in any convenient place, for example an undercut bank where, "with a few sticks, furze or fern, they made up a hovel much worse than an English pigsty, supporting themselves by work, begging and stealing..." in Thomas W. Freeman, Pre-Famine Ireland, (Manchester, 1957), p. 148.
- 5 Adams, p. 119.
- 6 Norman Macdonald, Canada 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement, (Toronto, 1939), p. 25.
- 7 Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America, 1783-1837, (Toronto, 1928), p. 81.
- 8 E.A. Talbot, Five Years' Residence in the Canadas, (London, 1824), I, p. 164.
- 9 A.R.M. Lower, Colony to a Nation, (Toronto, 1949), pp. 185-6.
- 10 Devon Commission of 1835, cited in Freeman, Pre-Famine Ireland, p. 38.
- 11 Samuel Strickland, Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West, I, p. 91.
- 12 Ibid., I, p. 134.
- 13 Adams, p. 174.
- 14 Quoted in Cecil Woodham-Smith, The Great Hunger: Ireland, 1845-49, (New York, 1964), p. 205.
- 15 See Jean S. McGill, Pioneer History of the County of Lanark, (Toronto, 1968) for description of growth of canal towns.
- 16 Brockville Recorder, Oct. 23, 1835, quoted in M.S. Cross, Frontier Thesis and the Canada, (Toronto, 1970), p. 97.

- 17 Jubilee History of Thorold Township and Town, pp. 69 and 80: "The Irishmen working on the canal came chiefly from Cork and Connaught, and many were the fights that took place between the two classes, who retained their ancient tribal hatred for each other."
- 18 Adams, p. 192.
- 19 Ibid., p. 220.
- 20 Ibid., p. 219.
- 21 Adams, p. 339.
- 22 Frances Morehouse, "Canadian Migration in the Forties", C.H.R., IX, p. 311.
- 23 Kenneth Duncan, "Irish Famine Immigration and the Social Structure of Canada West", in W.E. Mann, Canada: A Sociological Profile, (Toronto, 1968), p. 2.
- 24 Daniel Colman Lyne, "The Irish in the Province of Canada in the Decade Leading to Confederation", unpublished M.A. Thesis, (McGill, 1960), pp. 28, 34.
- 25 Duncan, "Irish Famine Immigration", p. 3.
- 26 G. Tucker, "The Famine Immigration to Canada, 1847", A.H.R. XXXVI (1930-1), p. 537.
- 27 Cecil Woodham-Smith, The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845-1849, pp. 263-4.
- 28 Frances Morehouse, "Canadian Migration in the Forties", C.H.R. IX, p. 320.
- 29 Duncan, p. 6.
- 30 Lyne, "Irish in the Province of Canada", p. 63.
- 31 Duncan, pp. 9-10.
- 32 Quoted in Duncan, p. 5.
- 33 Lyne, pp. 358-9. For example, in Simcoe County, where the Irish constituted 45% of the population, only 27% were born in Ireland; similarly in Carleton County, only 21.5% of its 77% Irish population was born in the homeland.

- 34 Morehouse, p. 328.
- 35 William Dunlop, Tiger Dunlop's Upper Canada, (Toronto, 1967 reprint), p. 148: Dunlop observes "that the linen-weavers from the north of Ireland (a steady race of expatriated Protestants) make the best choppers native or imported, in the province."
- 36 Adams, P. 239.
- 37 E.A. Talbot, Five Years' Residence in the Canadas, II, p. 215.
- 38 Freeman, Pre-Famine Ireland, p. 151.
- 39 Dunlop, Tiger Dunlop's Upper Canada, p. 178.
- 40 From a list in Lyne's thesis, p. 378.
- 41 V. Blake and R. Greenhill, Rural Ontario, (Toronto, 1969), p. 73.
- 42 Adams, p. 59.
- 43 Duncan, p. 11.
- 44 Freeman, p. 148.
- 45 Capt. James E. Alexander, Transatlantic Sketches (London, 1833)--excerpt in G.M. Craig. Early Travellers in the Canadas, (Toronto, 1955), p. 86.
- 46 Frances Stewart, Our Forest Home, (Montreal, 1902), p. 85.
- 47 W.H. Smith, Canada, Past, Present and Future, (Toronto, 1852), pp. 195-5.
- 48 Alexander, in Craig, Early Travellers, p. 117.
- 49 Adams, p. 118: "Catholics tended to go where other Catholics had gone before, and laborers to follow laborers; but far more influential than either were the geographical ties which sent the inhabitants of an Irish village to a single community in America, even over many generations."
- 50 J.G. O'Neil, "Chronicals of Corktown", Wentworth Bygones, #5, 1964, p. 36.
- 51 A.F. Hunter, "The Ethnographical Elements of Ontario", O.H. Papers and Records, III, 1901, pp. 180-199.

