

Anglo-Celtic Roots

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The *Buenos Ayrean*, a new ship of the Allan Line, made several voyages from Glasgow to Québec. On board when she arrived on 6 June 1881 was a party of 45 children from the Quarrier's Society, including Chris MacPhail's grandfather, the 8 year-old Robert Mitchell. The *Buenos Ayrean* was described as "the ugly duckling" of the Allan Line's trans-Atlantic fleet, due to her heavy superstructure and square, ungraceful lines. However, she was fast and efficient, being the first steel-hulled ship in the North Atlantic service. She was scrapped in 1910. Courtesy: Anuta, Michael J. *Ships of Our Ancestors*. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983.

The President's Column

BIFHSGO could be described as homeless. Our telephone is answered by voice-mail. E-mail is forwarded to personal e-mail accounts. Equipment the Society owns is stored in individuals' basements or in a cupboard cadged from Library and Archives Canada (LAC). The Society address is a Post Office box.

We depend on volunteers for this distributed system to work for us. You will find most of their names in the annual report included with this issue. I'll resist repeating them here but want to recognize three: Jeanette Arthurs, who faithfully checks our Post Office box, Caroline Herbert, who checks the voice-mail, and Mark Lloyd, who distributes the monthly e-mail newsletter.

Voice-mail and e-mail—technologies of the 20th century—mean savings and convenience. There are more technologies to come in the 21st. I heard a term new to me the other day—Silver Surfers. Family history is one of their prime interests. Statistics show that, while visits to archives have stagnated, virtual visits to their websites continue to grow. LAC is working to make more of its holdings available on-line. The National Archives at Kew has the aim of being able to meet 90 per cent of service demands with an on-line resource within the next five years. Do you know about the on-line resources now available? Are you ready to take advantage of new ones?

To continue to succeed BIFHSGO must be ready to help you. It must also adopt 21st century technologies in its internal operations. E-commerce is growing by nearly 40 per cent a year because it is convenient and makes for affordable administration. The Board that is now ending its term has made a start in the exploration of on-line services for membership renewal and conference registration, with payment by credit card. The trend is clear. We can only continue to provide and improve the good service that most members appreciate by keeping up with technology. That will be a challenge for the incoming Board.

John D. Reid

Notes From the Editor's Desk

In the following pages Nicola Hadwen recounts, in a charmingly exuberant style, her great-grandfather's contribution to our knowledge of Arctic animals and parasites. At ten years of age, she must surely be the youngest writer published in *Anglo-Celtic Roots*.

Last spring, Murray Watkins supervised the investigation of a group of Carleton graduate students into the experiences of a sample of English immigrants to Canada. As Murray explains, in his write-up of the findings, among the numerous volumes about various immigrant categories "[t]he English are conspicuous by their absence." This article helps to fill the void.

Also in this issue, Robert Watts shares the results of his travels and other forms of research into the history of his Scottish ancestors, Garfield Clack tells of his search for an ancestor that covered England and South Africa, while Patricia Roberts-Pichette follows the Middlemore Home children to the Maritimes.

With this issue I am ending three years as the Editor. During this time I have had the pleasure of getting to know many BIFHSGO volunteers and to experience at first hand their generosity in sharing their expertise. I have been continually amazed at the willingness of so many members to knuckle down and produce an article and to put up with the to-and-fro of the editing process. The Society is very fortunate in being able to tap so many talented writers for its publication. I am happy to be passing the "red pen" to Chris MacPhail, who has been the director responsible for A-CR for the last two years. In this capacity, he has not only steered the publication through the lay-out and printing process but has been ready to help out, often at short notice, in many general editorial matters. He is, therefore, well prepared to take on this new role.

Irene Kellow Ip

BIFHSGO SATURDAY MEETING REPORTS

Watts and Related Families in Dunfermline, Fifeshire, 1750–1914[©]

BY ROBERT WATT

This article is based on the presentation made to the BIFHSGO meeting in October 2005. Before his appointment as Chief Herald of Canada in 1988, Robert Watt held a number of positions involved with the preservation of Canadian history, including archivist for the Public Archives of Canada, Chief Curator of History at the Vancouver Centennial Museum (now the Vancouver Museum) and later Director of that museum.

Introduction: It started with the Bible

The subjects of my family history have been the direct line ancestors and collateral branch relations of my paternal great-grandfather, a country schoolmaster, David Brand Watt. This ancestor was born 11 August 1849 in Dunfermline, the ancient royal capital of Scotland, and died 5 March 1936 in Polmont, near Falkirk, west of Linlithgow. (Figure 1). He served as headmaster at Muiravonside Parish School, just southwest of Linlithgow, and lived in the stone schoolhouse, where he and my great-grandmother raised their children.



Schoolhouse and met its current owner, who turned out to be the son of a boyhood friend of my grandfather. Alison and I also visited the church where the family had worshipped from 1875 to at least 1920. There, in the church graveyard, we saw the beautiful Celtic cross monument marking my great-grandfather's burial place. He himself had set it up in memory of his son George, my father's namesake, who was killed in France in World War I. On the same trip we travelled to Dunfermline for the first time and visited the grounds of the ancient Abbey, where I later discovered a number of Watts are buried. We also toured the North Church, which many of them attended in the 1850s, 60s and 70s, as well as some of the surrounding

The search

The family Bible

My research began with a family Bible. The opening page of entries, which begin in 1814, appear to have been made by my g g g grandfather, John Watt who, I later discovered, was a baker in Dunfermline. The entries, which include John's birth date and that of his wife Isabel Cant, reach back to the 1770s. At the time, I did not realize how valuable the family Bible was in allowing me to go back into the 1700s with the certainty that I was dealing with the correct Watts, but subsequent research proved its worth over and over.

In the steps of my ancestors

Although I did not begin my researches in earnest until 2001, I earlier made some important visits and contacts. In 1981 my wife Alison and I travelled to Scotland, where we visited the old Muiravonside



Figure 1: David Brand Watt

villages, such as Carnock and Crossford, where Watts and related families had lived and worked from at least 1750.

Later visits to more distant sites reinforced my belief that seeing the places where one's ancestors lived is invaluable to the writing of a fully rounded family history. Even when one knows that the landscape has changed—the settlements have grown, streetscapes are different, buildings have disappeared, roads have been realigned—in the broadest terms the feel of the countryside and the communities where one's ancestors lived are still there. In my case, Dunfermline, West Lothian, Linlithgow and Muiravonside are still recognizable in some of the details. Glasgow is another matter!

Sources

What sources have I used? In a phrase, any I could get my hands on. Most, if not all of them, will be familiar to you but perhaps the way in which I have used and combined them will be a little different. In the second part of this paper, I will give some specific examples of combinations used to prove facts, discover new ones, match up seemingly disparate information and so on. At the outset, I want to say that I feel especially fortunate on two counts. First, the most concentrated period of my research has coincided with the rise of the Internet and its move to a central position in genealogical research with the explosion of on-line indexes and digitized record images that has transformed what the Scots might term "Outwith" Scotland research. A related factor is the availability and reliability of personal computers and software for family historians, which have dramatically altered the options for storage, organization, retrieval and analysis of information. Second, I have been especially lucky to have a loving and understanding spouse, who has been prepared for some years to have me devote some of the family resources to collecting on-site data that have to be purchased and for numerous trips for the purpose of meeting relations living in places as far away as New Zealand and Peru, making oral history recordings, looking at records and gravesites, and getting a sense of landscapes.

Of course I have sought out and consulted official records of all sorts, via the Internet and in on-site research, especially in Edinburgh, but also in Dunfermline, at the Carnegie Library, in Falkirk and at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa. The records have included post 1855 Scottish civil registrations,

old parish registers, censuses, wills and testaments, sasines, valuation rolls, maps, photographic collections and cemetery records. Several of these specialized sources, such as maps and photos, are now coming on-line e.g. the Ordnance Survey maps of Scottish cities and towns in the 19th century from the National Library of Scotland and the Virtual Glasgow series from the Mitchell Library in Glasgow. To a lesser extent I have used similar records in Canada, the U.S. and England. Mrs. Cruden has consulted the same types of records in New Zealand and I have received copies of all her work. Visits to relations and productions of oral history recordings have been undertaken whenever the opportunity arose in British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, Nova Scotia, Chicago, Washington State, Scotland, England, Wales, the Channel Islands, the North Island of New Zealand and Peru. During visits with relatives I have often been shown, and loaned, excellent and important photographs and documents, including a number of war diaries from the Boer and First World Wars. Of course artifacts also surface at such visits: medals, very recently a top hat, a sampler of the Moirs completed by one of John's great-granddaughters, Maggie, in Dunfermline in 1883 (Figure 2) and a child's toy.



Figure 2: Family sampler

Now, with enough material of many kinds, I have started to draft chapters. The first of these, the introduction to my book, has been published on-line by the Fife Family History Society at www.fifefhs.org, I am also using secondary sources, such as published histories of Dunfermline and Glasgow in the 19th century. These sources include a beautiful copperplate etching of the skyline of Dunfermline in 1746, a fascinating illustration of a weaving loom from Reverend Chalmers' *History of Dunfermline* in 1844 and an engraving of a Settler's house in the Waikato Valley in New Zealand in 1864, from *The Illustrated London News*. This comprehensive approach is not especially new and will be familiar to many family historians. In my case, however, the Internet lies at the heart of my research, together with consultations of microfilms of Old Parish Registers (OPRs) and censuses for Dunfermline and surrounding parishes. These microfilms were borrowed, using the Family History Centre (FHC) loan system, from the local centre on Prince of Wales Drive, Ottawa, whose staff have been so kind and supportive.

Professional resources

In the mid-1980s, I used a professional searcher for the first time. In that pre-Internet, pre-digitization era, I employed the late Kathleen Cory to see if anything more could be found about John Watt and his antecedents. She did find the birth and marriage records of John's father and mother, George Watt and Helen Morgan, and the names of his paternal grandparents, John Watt and Agnes Blackader. She also explained that, because the pertinent OPRs for



Figure 3: Dunfermline skyline. Source: Engraving from a painting by Miller, published in Fernie's *History of the Town*, 1815.

Dunfermline before 1750 were missing, I could not extend the direct line back beyond John Watt, the wright in Carnock who was the grandfather of John Watt of the bible. But she and her assistant did discover something really wonderful—the testament dative (produced in the absence of a will), which gave a full inventory of the moveable estate of George Watt, who died in 1814. His creditors—two Dunfermline manufacturers—created the inventory. Since so few smallholding farmers like George Watt left wills, it gives an excellent idea of how George and his wife Helen lived. Kathleen found this document by consulting printed indexes at the National Archives of Scotland (NAS), where she also found abstracts of sasines, the special Scottish record that governed land transactions. Several of the sasine abridgements related to farmland acquired by George Watt between 1787 and 1810 in Crossford, a small village a few kilometres west of Dunfermline. Ultimately, her findings made it possible for me to follow the fate of these lands up to 1838, when they passed out of Watt hands. Today, these testaments are indexed and the documents themselves available on-line from the NAS. Needless to say, I am glad George owed money or I would never have been able to learn so much about him or to paint such a detailed picture of his life. I was able, for example, to use the on-line First Statistical Account of Dunfermline Parish to gain some sense of how he farmed and what crops he probably planted and harvested.

New Zealand researchers

While Mrs. Cory was at work, I made a contact with the overseas correspondent of the New Zealand Genealogical Society, Angela Finnerty, in an effort to find out more about the family of a woman named Maggie Nicol. Maggie had written a letter to her parents in 1881 from a place called Ngaruawahia, which can even be found in contemporary atlases in the centre of the North Island of New Zealand. The original letter had been tucked away in the family bible, and my great-uncle Bill, one of the schoolmaster's sons, noted on the letter that Maggie was his cousin but the relationship was not clear to me at the time. Maggie turned out to be the fourth and youngest daughter of James Watt (1809–82), my paternal g g grandfather, and Jane (or Jean) Brand (1804–86). Once I knew of this relationship from some of the copies of records that Ms. Finnerty sent me, I could match Maggie with the Margaret entry (b.1842) in the family bible.

One of Maggie's descendants, Lois Cruden, was already hard at work on a history of all the descendants of Margaret Watt and Alexander Nicol. We immediately agreed to share information. This sharing, which began via regular mail, has deepened and extended over the last 10 years and led ultimately to a visit to New Zealand and a family reunion organized by Lois in February 2005. In her I discovered not only a relation but a real kindred spirit, an excellent, informed and careful researcher and a tireless correspondent and seeker of information. As we entered the 21st century, we switched from snail-mail to e-mail, often with a daily or semi-weekly update of results.

Establishing a goal

In 2001 I began to devote significant time and resources to the Watt project and decided what the boundaries and the nature of the history were to be. In spite of the strong patrilineal focus of the family Bible entries, I knew I wanted to start with two ancestors in the past and come forward in time. So I decided to search for as many of the descendants of John Watt and Isabella Cant, the Bible's original owners, as I could. I also decided that I wanted not only to establish solidly proven family pedigrees for the various resulting lines, but to write a full history, with as much social, political and economic context as I could provide.

ScotlandsPeople

For the past five years my major research tool has been the official Internet site of the General Register House in Edinburgh: www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk. It is no exaggeration to say that well over one half of all the basic information I have found has been through use of this site. Even for the OPRs, which are also indexed, I have found it very easy to find the correct reference on *ScotlandsPeople*, borrow the relevant microfilm via the FHC, find the record and make a research-purposes copy there. The census records, which are now all on-line, have provided a wealth of information on occupations, style of residence, and neighbourhood context for hundreds of people who are part of my project.

Organization of records

As the results of my searches started to accumulate, there was the inevitable issue of how to keep and organize them. Since I am not very computer literate, my son Michael, who believes in nothing but Macs, came to my rescue and found the Reunion program in

2002. I have been using it ever since and now have thousands of records, in text form and in a picture database, which are regularly backed up. The program has lived up to all my expectations and seems to suit someone like me who is not a computer whiz. Basically, using *ScotlandsPeople* indexes and image downloads, and OPR and census images obtained via Net index and straight searching then FHC microfilm borrowing, I have been able to find at least 85 per cent of all the descendants of John Watt and Isabella Cant.

The results

The lineage of John Watt, my g g grandfather, and Isabella Cant

From just these two approaches, one based on the Internet and the other on microfilm, I now have pedigrees that show most of the descendants of John and Isabella. They had nine children: George, Mary, John, James, Margaret, Richard, Robert, Robert, and Isabella. Three (Mary, Robert I and Isabella) died young. Their oldest son George died before his parents, in 1831. Their son John, as mentioned earlier, went to Belfast and only one child, born to him in Dunfermline before that, is known. Their daughter Margaret did marry in the 1840s but left no known descendants. Their son Robert II remained single and left no known descendants. Their son Richard may not have married but did have a son who married and had two girls who died young before 1865. Their son James (b.1809) left the largest number of known descendants.

James Watt, my g g grandfather, and Jane (or Jean) Brand

For the last two years my research has been focused on the children of James and his wife Jane Brand. James was born in Dunfermline in 1809 and died there in 1882. His wife, Jean Brand, daughter of David Brand and Jean Fotheringham, was born in Kincardine on Forth in 1804 and died in Dunfermline at her son-in-law's home on Buffies Brae in 1886. She and James were married 3 June 1834. Between 1835 and 1849, James and Jane had six children.

Their eldest daughter Jane married a weaver, Thomas Moir, 1 January 1855—the first day of civil registration in Scotland. The second daughter, Isabella Cant Watt, married a soldier, George Page, (Figure 4) who became a weaver and then a metalworker in the iron and steel industries in Glasgow after 1864. The third daughter, Janet, married another weaver, James Inches, in 1862. The fourth daughter, Margaret, was



Figure 4: George Page in doorway of a confectionary shop operated by his second wife, Priscilla Major Page.

the first of the family to leave Scotland, immigrating to New Zealand in 1864 where she married Alexander Nicol, a mason and builder, on landing. John, the first son, died young, living only from 1846 to 1848. The second son, David Brand Watt, had become a teacher by the time he married Janet Turner of Cambusnethan, Lanarkshire, a school sewing mistress, in 1876. Jane and Thomas had 12 children, three who died young; Isabella and George had 12 children, six who died before age ten; Janet and James had four children, one died as a young woman, perhaps in childbirth. Maggie and Alexander had nine children; one died young. David and Janet had 10 children; one of their six sons died in World War I.

Now I am following the histories of five great lines: the Moirs, Pages, Inches, Nicols and Watts. Four of these have deep roots in late 18th century Fifeshire, in the Dunfermline area. The Nicols may have lived in Edinburgh for some time, coming across the Forth briefly in the 1830s and 1840s, perhaps for work. As mentioned, they were the first to leave Scotland, although by 1914 there were Moirs in New Zealand, a discovery made as a result of Lois Cruden's sharp eye and long memory.

The work in the civil records, OPRs and censuses, made it plain that up to World War I, with three exceptions, all these families belonged to what were

then referred to as the labouring or working classes.

- The Moirs were weavers, first in the handloom and then in the powerloom industry, in Dunfermline. Thomas's father, William, however, became a sheriff officer in Dunfermline and then a property owner on Campbell Street.
- The Pages were wrights—joiners and carpenters, although George's father was a soldier. George and Isabella's eldest son, James Watt Page, became a railway accountant in Glasgow in the 1890s.
- The Inches were all weavers.
- The Nicols were masons and builders and then, in New Zealand, farmers.
- John Watt was a master baker, as was his son James (although he was a weaver at times) and his son Richard. James and Jean's son, David Brand Watt, seems to have been the first to really make a change and move into what we would think of as the academic or professional sphere, by becoming a schoolteacher and ultimately the father of at least three teachers. The timing and background of his training provides the first of two specific examples of sources and research approaches I would like to describe.

David Brand Watt, my great-grandfather

Up to 2004 no one in the family knew anything about how or when David Brand Watt became a teacher, although the censuses and civil registrations made it clear that from 1876 onward he was a schoolmaster. First I checked, via the Internet, with both the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, to see if he was a graduate of either. He was not.

After discovering through reading that Scottish education underwent major reform in 1872, which among other things replaced church and landowner teacher appointments with governance by elected Parish school boards, I started to look for the records of the Muiravonside Parish School Board. Again, via Internet enquiry, I was referred ultimately to the archivist at the Falkirk Archives, which are just a few kilometres northwest of Muiravonside. Happily, the records have survived, not only of the Board but also of the teachers' weekly log that every schoolmaster was required by statute to maintain.

On my next visit to Scotland, I consulted these records on-site and found a gold mine. First, the Board minutes provided a full record of the competition in

the summer of 1875, which led to my great-grandfather's appointment in September of that year. The details of the competition also revealed that David was already a teacher at a school in Newmains, Lanarkshire, very near the birthplace of his future wife, Janet Turner, and it seems likely that this is where they met, as they were married less than a year later.

Further, the minutes showed that David had taken his training at something called the E.E.C. College. This stumped me but the Falkirk archivist gave me further vital assistance and referred me to Dr. Andrew Bain, a retired professor of Scottish education, who lives in Linlithgow. Dr. Bain has been wonderfully helpful. By letter, he explained that the E.E.C. College was the Edinburgh Established Church College, a well-known and respected teacher-training institute. He also went to Edinburgh to visit a colleague who is the archivist in charge of the education archives attached to the University of Edinburgh. By a minor miracle, both men were able to locate the class records for David Watt, which confirmed that he was a student at the College and revealed that he achieved very good marks, giving him a first class certificate, in 1869–1870. (Figure 5) So we might term this the internet/original sources/volunteer expert approach.



Figure 5: David Brand Watt with pupils outside Muiravonside School ca. 1895

A Tale of Three Jeanies

My second example combines the use of a professional researcher, oral interviews, the discovery of caches of photographs and documents, the deciphering of artifacts, as well as the use of the

Internet and massive assistance from volunteers, librarians and archivists.

Some years ago, the then oldest living member of the Page family reported that George and Isabella's first daughter, Jean Brand Page, born in Govan in 1870, who married William Gunn, the son of a crofter from Caithness, in Glasgow in 1895, had emigrated to Nova Scotia just before World War I, settled there and had no children. I checked the records at the Nova Scotia Archives in Halifax on-site and couldn't find them. I was about to start the numbing task of wading through the unindexed ships' passenger lists for Halifax arrivals 1911–13, when I happened to read a back issue of *Family Chronicle*, in which there was an ad for a large pay-as-you go site www.grl.com, created by a Torontonionian. The ten dollars I paid for a week's access may well be the best single investment in my project thus far. The search engine is a powerful and versatile one. First I tried entering William Gunn and Nova Scotia and got no matches. Then I thought that perhaps they did not go to Nova Scotia but somewhere else in Canada and so I changed the province to Ontario and found them, all in two minutes! They had moved to Ingersoll, where William died suddenly in 1922. Via the *grl* site I was able to order a copy of Jean Gunn's death record that, among other things,

revealed that her brother Thomas, then living in Chicago, was the informant. I next turned, via Internet, to the Ingersoll chapter of the Ontario Genealogical Society sites and found references to William and Jean's deaths. I was able to order copies of the newspaper references, via the Net, from the Ingersoll group. When they arrived I was startled to find that Jean and William had a daughter, Jean.

Still sticking with the Ingersoll group, I located the daughter's marriage, to a Mr. Hunter, in 1931. I then tried to find the Hunters, first using the telephone

directory for Woodstock, where the Hunters lived at the time of their marriage. One of the Hunters whom I called suggested that I try a Mr. Hunter in London, the Head of the Clan Hunter Association in Canada. I found the clan's site on the Net and, within days,

reached Mr. Hunter, who proved to be enormously helpful. He, his wife and daughter used the Ontario Cemetery Finding Aid, visited a London cemetery and checked obituary indexes at the Public Library in London—all without charge. This effort led to the discovery of the daughter's gravestone, giving her dates of birth and death—1908 and 1952.

This new puzzle was solved rapidly as the obituary check led me, by phone, (using *superpages.ca*) to one of the deceased's daughters—another Jeanie. When I explained what I was doing and how I had been unable, via research by cousins in Scotland, to locate any Jeanie Gunn born anywhere in Scotland in 1908, she explained that the answer was easy. Her mother had been adopted as a young baby. She was born out of wedlock and the daughter had both her birth certificate and a copy of the legal agreement whereby the father guaranteed support, a copy of which she sent me along with other material. Once again, using *scotlandspeople*, U.S. census sites, message boards and sites for vital statistic records in California, I have been able to reconstruct the whole history of the parentage of Jeanie II, her grandparents and her half-sisters and -brothers in Scotland, Canada and the United States.

As a final step, with a tip from John at the local FHC, I was able to wade through the ships' passenger lists for 1911 at Quebec—the death record for William and Jean made it clear that they had arrived in Canada in 1911. After several nights of tired eyes I found them; William came first, sailing from Liverpool in July, and Jeanie and Little Jeanie came after, sailing from Glasgow in October. All this flowed from a chance reading of an ad and a fine and rich Internet site. It is a reminder to try to think beyond the known and try to work in another direction. It is a reminder, also, of the incredible resources that are appearing almost weekly on the Internet, and a well-known caution to treat family lore carefully. In this case, the true story was

that the couple had immigrated to Canada before World War I.

Once started it is very easy to think of more and more examples of approaches to family research and problem solving and the many opportunities now available. As you may have gathered, thanks to electronic searching, personal visits, tremendous help from professionals and collections custodians of all sorts, I have been able to learn a great deal about my ancestors and their related families.

The mystery of John Watt's untimely death

I will close with a final example showing how OPRs can help to confirm details, in this case, from another source. When I looked at the family Bible, it struck me that John Watt had died at an unusually young age, even though I knew that disease could strike swiftly and fatally at any time of life in the early 19th century. Then I read that a terrible cholera epidemic had hit Dunfermline and many other Scottish towns in late 1832 and, since the Bible recorded his death as 9 October 1832, I wondered whether he might have been a victim. When I received the OPR Dunfermline burial register at the FHC, I found that my hunch had been right. John Watt died of cholera on that day and was buried on the tenth. Based on other sources, he was probably buried in a special mass grave on the north side of the Abbey grounds, without doubt greatly mourned by his wife, family and friends, especially those in the Incorporation of Bakers.

Conclusion

Family history has always been fun and rewarding, but surely no more so than at present as new sources located far away are being brought right before us through the power of technology and as many libraries and archives are now devoting tremendous resources to making older records and documents accessible on-line.

© Copyright to Robert Watt

There are only two lasting bequests we can give our children ...
one is roots; the other wings. (anonymous)

FAMILY HISTORY RESEARCH

The Middlemore Project: Part VIII

The Switch to the Maritimes[©]

BY PATRICIA ROBERTS-PICHETTE

This article is the eighth in a series and describes the first five years of Mr. Middlemore's activities in the Maritimes. The next article will continue the story.

Moving to Halifax

We reached Halifax on the morning of June 3rd [1893], and as we neared the quay our party broke into well-omened and hearty cheers on recognizing Mr. Middlemore waiting to receive us. (Price, 1894).

Thus the Rev. Price described the arrival of the first group of Middlemore children, 90 in number, to be landed in Halifax at the Deepwater Terminus. It was probably a bright sunny day, in the high teens with a cooling breeze. The children were under the care of the Rev. Clement Price and Mrs. Hawkes, matron for the group. Mr. Middlemore himself had arrived in Halifax about 10 days earlier (C.E.H. Annual Report for 1893). He had come early in order to inspect the (temporary) accommodations, present letters of introduction, consider the applicants for children and familiarize himself with the surroundings before the children arrived. It was just as well he did, because he found the accommodations arranged for them in the Sailors' Home rough and unsuitable and some of the people he met cold and reluctant to receive the children. Thankfully, with more information, the coolness and reluctance were replaced with help in finding suitable accommodation and a warm welcome for the children. With the proffered assistance, Mr. Middlemore arranged accommodation for the boys at the Boys' Industrial School on Quinpool Road (Figure 1) and for the girls at the Women's Christian Temperance Union, on the corner of Sackville and Grafton Streets.

Despite the fact that Guthrie Home had not been reopened, Mr. Middlemore did not easily make up his mind to bring the 1893 group to Nova Scotia. He received the approval of the Homes Committee in light of the success of the previous ten years of settlement in New Brunswick as well as the probability of saving £200 in ocean transportation, but these factors were insufficient. He sought specific advice and assistance

from General J. W. Laurie who, as M.P. for Shelburne, Nova Scotia (until 1891), had supported assisted child immigration to Canada during the 1888 parliamentary debates—he had been involved with settlement and inspection of Mrs. Birt's children in Nova Scotia. In the C.E.H. Annual Report for 1893, Mr. Middlemore wrote that General Laurie had kindly given him letters of introduction, letters of commendation and valuable advice based on his own experience. General Laurie also wrote to John Carling, Minister of Agriculture, about Mr. Middlemore and his program, requesting him to use his influence to ensure that the arrival of the children would be smooth (Letter from Laurie to Carling, 13 May 1893, RG76 Immigration Series 1-A-1, Vol. 62, File 2869, Part 1*). This request presumably meant that the children should be disembarked as quickly as possible after arrival—disembarkation was often delayed because of deficiencies in the Halifax landing facilities. During



Figure 1: Boys' Industrial School Quinpool Road, Halifax (ca. 1880). Built in 1871, it was known formally as the Protestant Industrial School. Source: Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, who granted permission for its use. Accession no. 1975-194, no. 24. Photographer: W. Chase.

the 1888 House of Commons Debates on the Estimates (Immigration, p. 1167), General Laurie intervened saying:

While on the item for Immigration expenses I should like to ask if it is probable that any accommodation will be afforded at Halifax to immigrants...[they have] no other accommodation at present than a freight shed, and it is very severe on women and children coming in an inclement season of the year that they have no place to obtain warmth and food. It seems to me that accommodation should be provided for rather than leave them as they are now among the sheds.

General Laurie's remarks (supported of course by others) had the desired effect. Edwin M. Clay, Immigration Agent at Halifax, reported in 1889 that plans had been prepared, and in 1890 that passengers were now being landed at the new immigration sheds. He noted that they were better than the freight sheds because they separated freight from passengers, but many improvements were still needed.

After his arrival in Halifax, Mr. Middlemore wrote to John Lowe, Deputy Minister of Agriculture (and a personal friend), requesting an appointment in Ottawa once he had finished his work in Halifax. He wanted to explain why he was settling the children in the Maritimes in 1893 and to request him to "kindly instruct the Immigration Agents in Halifax and St John to render me what assistance they can...[to] my party of little immigrants." In the postscript he added, "General Laurie's influence and recommendation have induced me to bring my children to Nova Scotia this year" (RG76, 28 May 1893).

Unfortunately, during this period, departmental changes were underway in Ottawa and the responsibility for immigration was moving from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior. Neither General Laurie nor Mr. Middlemore, however, knew exactly when particular bureaucratic changes for immigration were implemented, even though the Government decision for the transfer had been made in 1892. Given the disruptions that occur today when reorganizations are made within or between departments, it would be difficult for people not directly involved to know exactly when the personnel actually moved and exactly who was to be responsible for what. Both the Secretary of Agriculture, John R. Hall, and Mr. Lowe wrote to their opposite numbers in Interior to pass on the requests. Mr. Hall, as the result of General Laurie's letter, also wrote Mr. Clay on 22 May 1893, instructing him to

give to Mr. Middlemore all the assistance within his power to give as an immigration agent (RG76).

As already indicated, the children arrived on 3 June 1893. On the same day, Mr. Clay replied to Mr. Hall, saying that he would give Mr. Middlemore "all the assistance necessary for the proper care of his party of boys and girls." On the same day, the Assistant Secretary of Interior Lyndwode Pereira (no doubt reporting to Mr. Hall) wrote to Mr. Clay saying, "It is understood that a party of children from Birmingham, England brought out by Mr. John T. Middlemore, have arrived or will shortly arrive and be distributed in the Maritime Provinces, and I am to request you to render all possible assistance to Mr. Middlemore in connection with them." (So much for good internal office communication—two letters to the same person from the same office on the same subject 12 days apart!)

Unfortunately, it was two hours before the children were allowed to disembark. They must have been totally frustrated. They had arrived; they were excited; they were eager to greet Mr. Middlemore as they could see him waiting for them; and, most of all, they wanted to get off the ship and enter Canada. Mr. Middlemore must have been shocked by the delay because he expected the children to be disembarked immediately on docking, just as in Quebec City. There the children were then taken to a separate place on the docks for their immigration formalities, separate from all other passengers. In his defence, Mr. Clay knew of the deficiencies in the immigration sheds and probably thought it best to disembark individual adults and families before disembarking a group of 90 immigrant children, ranging in age from five to eighteen years. Once off the ship, the immigration formalities had to be completed before the children could be taken to their accommodations at the Boys' Industrial School or the Women's Christian Temperance Union. They must have been totally exhausted by the time they arrived at their accommodations after all the excitement and the letdown.

During the immigration process, or shortly afterwards, Mr. Middlemore must have complained about the delay to Mr. Clay because, four days after the arrival of the children, he again wrote to Mr. Hall, but in a totally different tone,

In reply I may say I have offered to render any assistance possible to Mr. Middlemore But he don't appear to care for it. His children are located over a

mile & half from here, so I cannot go there to work for him. I have offered him all the assistance possible, he don't want it. I can do no more.(RG76).

The children spent the day after their arrival, a Sunday, quietly, recovering from the previous day's excitement and frustration and preparing for their departure to their new homes. About noon on Monday, 5 June, the Rev. Price and 41 children left by the Intercolonial Railways for Fredericton (Figure 2). It was a hot, dusty trip, the temperature away from the coast ranged between 25°C and 28°C that week in New Brunswick (Environment Canada www.climate.weatheroffice.ec.gc/climatedata). The party had to leave the train at Fredericton Junction at 4:00 a.m. on Tuesday morning and wait four hours for the Fredericton train (Price, 1894). The Saint John railway agent reported that the children had spent 22 hours on the trip and that he had seen them sleeping on the floor of their car (RG76). For the next several years, the group going to Saint John and western New Brunswick took the Dominion Atlantic Railway to Digby, the ferry to Saint John and a train to Fredericton, thus avoiding the four-hour early morning wait at Fredericton Junction.

At the York Street Station, Colonel and Mrs. Maunsell met the children. As the leaders of the local oversight committee, the couple had overseen the children's care ever since the first group had arrived in 1885. The party was taken to the Fredericton Drill Hall where the Maunsells had milk and buns waiting, presumably after the children had had a good wash and tidy up. Then the settlement procedures began. Prospective settlement families had been invited to come to the Drill Hall, where they were formally interviewed before they could be "qualified" to receive a child. Each family knew that there was no guarantee that they would return home with a child. There were never enough children to fill the requests of all the qualified applicants.

Although a confidential report was required on each prospective family before they could be informed of the children's arrival, each family also had to be interviewed to qualify for a child. Even if approved, there may not have been a child of the age or gender wanted by the family, or the offered child may not have been acceptable for some reason and been refused. Most of the children were taken to their new homes before Tuesday evening but it was four days before all the children were paired with families. For those children not settled on the first day, it must have been disturbing to see their friends and perhaps their



Figure 2: Intercolonial Railway Station, Halifax (ca. 1910). The station facade is partially blocked by the enclosed staircase down to the main entrance. Source: Canada. Dept. of Mines and Resources / Library and Archives Canada / C-019262.

siblings departing with their new families. There were always some families who could not come on the specified day and delays could be incurred because of efforts to ensure, if at all possible, that siblings were placed close to each other, if not in the same family. Those settling the children took these matters very seriously. At the end of the week, after all the children had been settled, the Maunsells took the Rev. Price to visit children settled in previous years in the Fredericton area. In so doing, they also met some of the children who had been settled earlier in the week and found them happy and anxious to show off their new homes (Price, 1894).

Once the New Brunswick group was on its way, Mrs. Hawkes left for Prince Edward Island with four boys and two girls to meet Mrs. Hogg (who became the head of the Island oversight committee) and to help her with the settlements. Meanwhile, Mr. Middlemore superintended the settlement of the remaining children in Halifax and then made plans for their ongoing oversight. By the time he left for Ottawa, Mr. Middlemore had set up a local oversight committee under Francis Partridge, Canon of St. Luke's Cathedral, Halifax. He had also arranged for Miss Emma Stirling to take into her Hillfoot Farm in the Annapolis Valley any child who, for any reason, might need to change settlement family. Miss Stirling would then find a new place for the child to be settled. (C.E.H. *Annual Report* for 1893).

Changes in procedures and laws relating to immigrant children

Mr. Middlemore probably did not foresee the variety or magnitude of the operational and procedural changes inherent in his decision to settle children in the Maritimes instead of Ontario, especially since his decision followed so quickly on immigration becoming the responsibility of the Department of Interior (with inevitable changes). First there was the disembarkation delay, next he found that railway travel in the Maritimes was not free for assisted immigrant children as it had been in Ontario. Undoubtedly, when Mr. Middlemore met his old friend Mr. Lowe in Ottawa, he not only explained his reasons for going to the Maritimes, but also described his experiences at the wharf, raised the issue of the railway charges and asked for advice. Mr. Middlemore also wanted to meet Mr. Burgess in Ottawa but, unfortunately, there was a mix-up in the mail and the letter explaining that Mr. Burgess was away did not reach Mr. Middlemore. On 9 July 1893, as he was leaving Canada, Mr. Middlemore again wrote to Mr. Burgess expressing disappointment at not meeting him. His explained that his main purpose was to request him to use his influence “to procure the cheapest possible railway accommodation...[as] [f]ormerly our railway transit was free & if this can be procured for us next year, your kindness will be very warmly appreciated” (RG76).

Mr. Burgess, without meeting Mr. Middlemore but perhaps influenced by Mr. Lowe, instigated a flurry of correspondence. It started on 4 August 1893 with a letter to the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals, followed by letters to and from the General Manager of Government Railways, the General Manager of the Intercolonial Railways of Canada in Moncton and the Intercolonial Railways General Passenger Agent. Notification dated 27 September 1893 reached Mr. Burgess saying that there would be a reduction in fares for Mr. Middlemore’s juvenile immigrants and their caregivers but that free passage could not be granted (RG76). With so many people involved, a decision was reached remarkably quickly. Mr. Middlemore had certainly expected free railway passage so that having to pay full fares in 1893 meant a reduction in the expected savings. Reduced fares would still mean higher overall cost in future years, but not as high as in 1893.

The biggest changes were procedural, relating to the children’s documentation. Until 1888, the Department

of Agriculture required each agency to submit a list of the children it brought annually to Canada. The Middlemore lists were all produced on plain paper with a covering letter from Mr. Gibbens, manager of Guthrie Home. In 1889 two lists (one for the agency’s children, another for workhouse and similar children) were required of each agency (presumably a change implemented following the 1888 debates in the House of Commons), and these had to be signed by the Immigration Agent at the port of entry. In addition, the names and addresses of the settlement families of the workhouse children had to be provided. It must have been a retroactive order, as the August 1888 Middlemore lists bear the following handwritten certification: “I certify that the children named in this list arrived at this port on the 23rd June 1888 by S.S. Lake Superior and proceeded to Mr. Middlemore’s Home at London Ontario.” Dated and signed “Montreal June 14 1889, John Daley, Dominion Immigration Agent” (RG17 Vol. 590, File 66626). The arrival date and ship in the certification are those of Mr. Middlemore’s second group, not the third group. Mr. Gibbens had sent the lists of the first two groups to Mr. Lowe, Deputy Minister, Department of Agriculture, on 19 July 1888, and that of the third group on 7 September 1888. The misinformation would indicate that the new process was implemented in a hurry and Mr. Daley took time to deal with the 31 groups (totalling 2,236 children) that entered Canada through Montreal in 1888. The group of 48 Middlemore children that arrived in August 1888 was not included in Mr. Daley’s annual report for either 1888 or 1889.

Until 1892, the certification remained the same—a simple statement, at the end of the list of children, that so many children had arrived on a certain date on a certain ship. Then came the passing of *The Canada Evidence Act of 1893*, which came into effect 1 July 1893, by which a signature had the effect of an oath. It also meant the use of government forms and more thorough checking. The 1894 Middlemore lists make the changes clear. Two sets of printed forms were sent to all the agencies, one for the agency’s children (Form A) and the other for the workhouse children brought over by the agency (Form B). Each form required the date of departure, the date of arrival, the name of the ship and the name of the person in charge. After the children boarded, the Canadian agent completed and signed a statement at the end of the list on Form A or Form B which read:

I hereby certify that the above-named children in number, are of a desirable class, and have been duly placed on board the S.S. in charge of

[Signature and date]

At the port of entry, a statement had to be signed by the person in charge of the children and witnessed by a Justice of the Peace. The statement on Form A was:

IAgent for having a Distribution Home at do solemnly declare that the (No.) children named in the following list are brought to Canada for the purpose of settling therein, that they have NOT been the inmates of a workhouse and that they have passed a satisfactory medical inspection at the port of departure, and I make this a solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath, and by virtue of *The Canada Evidence Act 1893*.

(Signature).....

Declared before me

at thisday ofA.D. 18.....

(Signature).....

Form B was similar except for the words between “the following list” and “for the purpose of,” which read, “having been inmates of workhouses, are brought out under the authority of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.”

Once the children had been through Customs in Halifax, the Immigration Agent wrote, as the final comment on the sheet,

I hereby certify that the above-named children,...in number are of a desirable class and have been duly landed at Halifax in the charge of ...

[Signature and date]

These forms had to be accompanied by the medical reports of each child, with a declaration by the doctor that the child (or children) was suitable for immigration. Prior to this time, all the Middlemore children were medically inspected before departure, but their medical reports were not sent on to the Department of Agriculture or, if they were, they are no longer in the government files.

From at least 1888, after the workhouse children had been settled, the agency was required to send the names and addresses of the settlement families to the Immigration Agent. Mr. Gibbens had supplied all the

previous lists, and Mr. Middlemore may not have been aware of the specific requirements. The new requirements and the possibility that some of the instructions may have been confusing probably contributed to the difficulties faced by Mr. Middlemore and Mr. Clay in 1894. The lists of the children settled through the C.E.H. from 1893 onwards (except for the list of 1893 C.E.H. children) are to be found in the RG76.

The next four years (1894–97)

As indicated in Part VII, in early 1894, Mr. Middlemore received notification from the office of the High Commissioner (Sir Charles Tupper), London, England, that only those agencies with establishments to receive children would be allowed to arrange for children to emigrate. Surprisingly, Mr. Middlemore responded by writing to Mr. Lowe (instead of Mr. Burgess) stating that, in 1895, he would reopen Guthrie Home or establish a fresh Home in Nova Scotia. He added that he had excellent oversight committees in each province and that Miss Stirling would take any returned children until she found new homes for them. He requested Mr. Lowe to send a cablegram to the High Commissioner or himself, authorizing the 1894 group of children. Mr. Lowe responded by sending the information on to Mr. Burgess on 25 May and Mr. Burgess had a telegram sent on 26 May to Mr. Middlemore: “Bring children as usual.” It was followed by a confirmatory letter of the same date, signed by Lyndwode Pereira, which included the following:

A cable message was despatched to you on the 26th instant, advising you that you might bring on your party of children as usual, the explanations afforded in your letter being satisfactory to this Department. I am to add that copies of this letter and Mr. Lowe’s letter on your behalf, are being forwarded to the High Commissioner for Canada, for his information (RG67)

Because the 1893 group of children had been kept on board ship for so long after docking, Mr. Middlemore wrote to Mr. Lowe on 31 May 1894 (perhaps on Mr. Lowe’s advice when they met in Ottawa) to inform him that his next group would leave Liverpool on 5 June 1894 and to request him to use his influence to have the children disembark on arrival (RG76). On 12 June 1894, Mr. Lowe passed the information to Mr. Burgess. Although there should have been plenty of time to get the information to Halifax, something went seriously wrong. The children arrived on 15 June 1894, but the information was not passed on to Mr.

Clay until 22 June and, again, it was at least two hours before the children were disembarked.

Mr. Middlemore and Mr. Clay met at least once in Halifax in 1894, when Mr. Middlemore must again have complained about the delay in disembarkation. Mr. Clay, on the other hand, must have asked Mr. Middlemore for the names of workhouse children settled in 1893 together with the names and addresses of the receiving families—a list that should have been sent in after their settlement, given what happened in previous years. In addition, Mr. Clay lent Mr. Middlemore some letters dealing with requests for children. Mr. Middlemore agreed to provide the list and return the letters.

But Mr. Middlemore did not respond as quickly as Mr. Clay thought he should. In his letter of 13 July 1894 to Mr. Hall, which contained the list of Middlemore children brought to Canada in 1894, Mr. Clay complained about not receiving the list of workhouse children settled in Prince Edward Island in 1893 or the borrowed letters. He concluded:

I consider Mr. Middlemore one of the Greatest Lions I ever met, and one not to be depended upon. He will get ahead of us if it is possible. I beg to ask the Department take this matter up, and request Mr. Middlemore to supply the names and addresses of all children placed out in this province and P.E.Island ... and failing this he be refused the landing of any more children in Canada.

Across this letter, in a different hand and undated, is written: “Middlemore has furnished Dept with the addresses of children placed by him but does not mention PEI.” Meanwhile, Mr. Middlemore on 15 July sent the letters and list to Mr. Clay (RG76).

There followed more correspondence about the matter, across the Atlantic and between Ottawa and Halifax, before everything was settled. On 18 July, Mr. Clay wrote again to the Department in Ottawa saying that he had received the requested information and letters and concluded: “I may have been a little hasty in reaching the conclusion I did but I expect a man to keep a promise when he makes it. No doubt he will be more careful in the future.” Mr. Middlemore, in a letter to Mr. Clay dated 7 August 1894 from England, said that he had sent the information and letters on 15 July. After noting that the work in Canada was heavy and that he had difficulty in keeping pace with his engagements, Mr. Middlemore added, “If I come to Nova Scotia next year, I shall bring a secretary with me or engage one in Halifax...I shall be greatly obliged

if you will send me a line acknowledging the receipt of this letter and of the others I sent you on July the 15th.” [The letters were duly acknowledged.] On 8 August 1894, Mr. Clay wrote again to Mr. Hall, including a list of the workhouse children settled in Canada in 1893 and 1894, together with their ages and addresses. No workhouse children from the 1893 Middlemore group were settled in Prince Edward Island (RG76).

Mr. Middlemore must have been concerned about what he considered damage to his reputation as a result of his differences with Mr. Clay and Mr. Clay’s reactions. To repair the perceived damage, in early 1895 he asked Joseph Chamberlain, British Colonial Secretary, and Lawley Parker, Lord Mayor of Birmingham, to write letters in support of his work and character. He had these letters lithographed and sent to Mr. Lowe and Mr. Burgess. The perceived damage to his character was not Mr. Middlemore’s only problem. He did not reopen Guthrie Home and, on 3 April 1895 (about 12 months after he wrote to Mr. Lowe about his plans), the main building of Hillfoot Farm burned down, destroying all contents but, thankfully, there was no loss of life. Although Miss Stirling gained a reputation for her advanced farming techniques, some people opposed her activities and there were suspicions that the fire had been started deliberately (*The Halifax Chronicle*, 4, 5, and 13 April 1895). Miss Stirling suffered smoke inhalation and went to Halifax where she stayed until July. She then left Canada never to return.

Perhaps Mr. Clay did not appreciate being instructed by his Deputy Minister and others to be helpful to Mr. Middlemore and resented the way Mr. Middlemore did business, i.e. corresponding with a deputy minister instead of with his (Mr. Clay’s) office. Although he had admitted that perhaps he had been hasty, Mr. Clay was not through with Mr. Middlemore. As the 1894 children did not disembark immediately on arrival, Mr. Middlemore wrote to Mr. Burgess on 8 June 1895:

I shall be specially glad if the party could be allowed to land as soon as possible after the ship touches the wharf. Last year the party had to wait for a couple of hours or more while some formalities in regard, I think, to a doctor’s certificate were attended. One of my matrons who was ill at the time was unfit for this extra fatigue, & had to keep her bed for a fortnight in consequence of enduring it. All our children leave England with health certificates.

He also wrote “a private and confidential letter” to Mr. Lowe asking for assistance. Mr. Lowe responded by

writing a personal letter to Mr. Burgess on 22 June 1895, which included:

[He] is exceedingly anxious about a party of children whom he has sent out to Canada on board the “Carthaginian”, which sailed on the 18th inst. He says he knows I have now no official connection with the Immigration administration, but come suite of his very long personal friendship with me, I having visited him in England many years ago and overlooked his operations, he applies to me to ask you to direct Mr. Clay, of Halifax, to afford as much helpful facilities as possible, instead of keeping the little ones on board two hours after the arrival of the vessel at Halifax, the same as happened last year. Of course I have no title to make to you any requests of this sort, but still from my very high regard for the character of Mr. Middlemore and the value which I know his work has been in the past, I should feel personally obliged if you would have effect given to his request as I have above repeated it. (RG76)

As a result of these letters, Mr. Clay received a telegram and a confirmatory letter, both signed by Mr. Burgess, instructing him to “Look out for J. T. Middlemore’s party Carthaginian sailed eighteenth instant. Kindly afford every helpful facility and if possible avoid detention on board vessel which occurred last year.” The children arrived on 28 June 1895 and on 3 July, in a letter to Mr. Hall that included the list of Middlemore children, Mr. Clay wrote, “They were all well and landed without delay as their papers were all ready.”

Presumably, when Mr. Middlemore left with his party in June 1895 for Nova Scotia, he was aware of the fire at Hillfoot Farm, but may not have been aware of Miss Stirling’s plans. No doubt he learned about them soon after his arrival. One of the reasons Miss Stirling did not leave Nova Scotia until July was that she wanted to see Mr. Middlemore (he arrived 28 June) to request his help in resettling her children. This is speculation, as the available Home Committee minutes start in 1896 and the C.E.H. *Annual Report* for 1895 makes no mention of Miss Stirling and her plight. Given the help Miss Stirling had given Mr. Middlemore, it is likely that Mr. Middlemore put her in touch with some of his contacts in Ontario because at least some of her children were settled in that province (Bainbridge, 2004). As he went on to Ottawa after the children were settled, Mr. Middlemore may have taken some of Miss Stirling’s children with him.

Mr. Clay’s annual report, dated 31 December 1895, contained information about juvenile immigrants:

[W]hile the total number [of children] was much smaller than the previous year, and below the average of former years, I can safely say they have been of a superior class and I have no doubt that this has resulted largely from the careful inspection made both before leaving the old country and after arrival here. Mr. Middlemore again made the Maritime Provinces his field of distribution, and I feel safe in saying that few or no complaints will be made by parties taking any of Mr. Middlemore’s children.

I might mention under this head that during the early part of the year it was my privilege, under instructions from the department, to visit a number of Mr. Middlemore’s children in this province and Prince Edward Island, and, with one exception, found both children and guardians well satisfied; the exception being a lad placed in Prince Edward Island who seemed to be suffering from what might be called ‘chronic stupidity’. (Clay, 1896)

Mr. Middlemore was happy with the 1895 arrival arrangements for the children. He wrote to Mr. Burgess on 13 May 1896 to advise him when the next group of children would depart for Nova Scotia and added, “I may add that it is reported to me that Mr. Clay was most kind and helpful to us last year” (RG76). No doubt he had also been informed of Mr. Clay’s visits and was pleased with his report.

The Canadian Middlemore Home at Fairview Station

The closure of Hillfoot Farm would have placed Mr. Middlemore in a precarious position because he had no distributing home in Canada (although he still owned Guthrie Home). He must have apprised his oversight committees of the situation, in order to determine whether or no the members would agree to take on the extra work that was likely to arise when any child failed to give satisfaction or when settlement families did not live up to their agreements. The committees must have agreed but, apart from visits managed each year by the staff visiting from England (and they rarely filled in the visitor forms), most of the reports on the children from 1894 to 1896 were written reports by the settlement families, on handwritten forms sent out and received by John Naylor—a friend of Mr. Middlemore and member of the oversight committee in Halifax. Mrs. Hogg, in Prince Edward Island, sent in reports of the children settled there (C.E.H. Settlement and Reports Folios for 1893–97). This situation meant that Mr. Middlemore was not completely fulfilling his own rules about visiting the children. No doubt the government inspectors were

visiting the workhouse children settled by Mr. Middlemore.

Mr. Clay, despite his glowing commendation of the Middlemore children in his report for 1895, was apparently still suffering from Mr. Middlemore's attitude and influence. He was clearly concerned that Mr. Middlemore was breaking the regulations. Before he could have received Mr. Middlemore's commendation from Mr. Burgess, Mr. Clay wrote, on 18 May 1896, to the Secretary of the Interior:

Mr. Middlemore simply places his children in institutions in this city until they are provided with homes, I think it would be much better if he had a home of his own so that in case a child did not turn out well, there would be a proper home to which they could be returned (RG76).

Three days later, on 21 May 1896, *The Halifax Herald* published the first public evidence that Mr. Middlemore was planning to open a new Home in the Halifax area. The article, based on information from Mr. Naylor, a real estate agent, reported that Mr. Middlemore proposed establishing a home for boys and girls in the suburbs of Halifax and that he (Mr. Naylor) was looking for a suitable location. Mr. Middlemore, again in 1896, preceded his children to Halifax, probably to inspect the locations found by Mr. Naylor, choose one and arrange for alterations. Other reasons must have been to find a suitable person to appoint as a visitor and to oversee alterations of the selected property.

Before he left Canada, he went to Ottawa to see Mr. Burgess and, no doubt, Mr. Lowe. As he was leaving Canada, he wrote to Mr. Burgess, on 23 July 1896, that he had appointed Charles E. Wainwright of Halifax as visitor for the children. In the same letter, he requested free rail passage for Mr. Wainwright when visiting children. Again there was a flurry of correspondence and, eventually, Mr. Wainwright received a permit to travel at one cent per mile on the Maritimes section of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Suddenly and unexpectedly, in January 1897, Mr. Wainwright resigned and, shortly afterwards, John S. Rough, an Englishman, was appointed "Nova Scotia Middlemore Home manager and visitor." Mr. Rough and his family left immediately for Halifax and the letter writing about rail fares began all over again. (RG76, C.E.H. Committee Minutes, January–March 1897).

Mr. Naylor's search for a property was successful.

Fifty acres with a house and appurtenances was found on the western shore of Bedford Basin, just outside Halifax at Fairview Station, near Rockingham. It was purchased for \$5,000. Exactly when it was purchased is not yet known but it is likely that Mr. Rough and his family moved in shortly after they arrived. Mr. Rough would have had to oversee the addition of the new \$1,000 wing to the house and any other necessary alterations (C.E.H. *Annual Report* for 1898). It was not long before he started his visits. The transfer of the deed is dated 9 March 1899 (Nova Scotia Registrar of Deeds Book No. 323, pp. 280–287), long after Mr. Middlemore took possession of the property (probably early in 1897). The new home was opened in November 1897.

Endnote

1. The Halifax Protestant Industrial School opened in 1867 to provide basic vocational (e.g. boot and shoe making, carpet cleaning, bush skills such as kindling production) training for truant and wayward boys from the local community. Since many of the boys could not read or write, it also provided eight hours of rudimentary general education.

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The Arctic Expeditions of Dr. Seymour Hadwen

BY NICOLA HADWEN

Nicola is 10 years old. She has always been interested in the history of her family and enjoyed hearing about her great-grandfather's expeditions in the far north. These accounts inspired her to research the life of Dr. Seymour Hadwen. Nicola is looking forward to her next genealogical project, which will likely be on her grandfather, who has travelled through the world as a diplomat. Nicola has a brother and sister and a dog named Toffee. She likes cross-country skiing with her friends at a local club, running, basketball and generally having fun with her many friends. This article is based on the project for which she received a BIFHSGO award at the Ottawa Regional Historica Fair in April. (See A-CR Summer 2006.)

Because it is important to know about your family history, I decided to research Dr. Seymour Hadwen, my great-grandfather. My grandfather has always talked about his father's amazing expeditions in the Arctic and has shown me pictures and an autobiography on Dr. Hadwen. I, therefore, decided to find out what was so interesting about my ancestor and what history I was missing out on.



Soon I was caught in a web of interesting facts. What better way was there to express them to people than by writing a story? This account describes everything my great-grandfather did with reindeer and answers the following questions: What was so important about reindeer? Why did he make five important reindeer expeditions to the Arctic? Was it all worth it?

If you have the time and patience to read on, you will almost be able to feel the cold wind and the hardship he went through.

The parasite pioneer

Seymour Hadwen was born in Lancashire, England, in 1877. Gaylord Hadwen was his father and was the

owner of a cloth making company. He had a (now considered large) family of seven children. They moved twice from England to France. When hard times came and their father died, the oldest son moved his brother Seymour and his five sisters to Duncan, B.C. There they started a holly farm that is still running. (I know because I visited it.) Time passed, but the oldest son never left the farm and the sisters (except one) never got married, partially because there were not many men after the First World War. Beginning in 1889, they did everything they could for Seymour to attend McGill University. In this day and age you do not see sacrifices like that, except in the movies.

Although his family warned him against it, he decided to study the science of being a vet. That's right, he became a veterinary surgeon, which led him to all sorts of thrilling and (literally) chilling adventures that I shall take you on.

Reindeer facts

The reindeer is a hooved animal related to other kinds of deer. It is well suited to the Arctic because it has broad hooves, which allow the reindeer to walk, and to dig for food, in deep snow. The hooves are also flexible and can be spread out to carry the animal on the soft snow and in mosses and swamps during the summer.



Figure 1: ISAAC SEYMOUR ANDRE HADWEN (1877—1947).
 Source: *Royal Society of Canada (RSC), Proceedings and Transactions Third Series XLII (1948): p.97.* Reproduced by permission of RSC.

Reindeer are plant eaters and usually spend most of the day eating. In winter, when food is frozen and scarce, reindeer eat lichens and moss. They eat leaves and herbs when they are available.

Both female and male reindeer have antlers, unlike the deer we see in warmer parts of Canada. Even though it is hard to tell, if you use a measuring stick and are actually able to get close to a reindeer, you will find that males have larger antlers than females. (Figure 2)

Reindeer herding is well known in Siberia, Norway, Sweden and Mongolia. However, until 1935, it was not known in Canada. The Inuit were just hunters and gatherers, not farmers. They were used to killing caribou, which are wild reindeer. They had never thought of domesticating them because they never needed to.

Reindeer? **Reindeer?** As in Santa? They don't exist! Well, that is not true. Reindeer is just a fancy word for a domesticated caribou. From 1891 to 1902, 250 reindeer were brought by ship to Alaska from Lapland. (Lapland is the northern, Arctic part of Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia and Siberia.) The reindeer were brought because the Inuit (formerly called

Eskimos) in Alaska were starving due to a wild-food shortage.

Now I will tell you about the five Arctic reindeer expeditions of Seymour Hadwen.

Although Seymour Hadwen was a veterinary surgeon, he became more interested in bacteria and disease in animals. As a result of his new passion for bugs, he became the world's leading expert on reindeer and made five Arctic expeditions to study them.

His first expedition was in 1920. The United States government had asked for an official inspection of the reindeer in Alaska. Their numbers had grown a lot (from 250 to 200,000). However, the poor animals were dying for some unknown reason. Guess who got the job of finding out why—the one and only Seymour Hadwen.

Seymour Hadwen went on an adventure—a thousand-mile adventure by dogsled, up the Yukon River to Alaska, to study reindeer to be exact. What an adventure it turned out to be! Here is a quote from his autobiography that shows how hard the trip was:

Next morning we were going east on the broad Yukon River. We found it very hard going. Our coast sled had runners 24 inches apart; whereas the hard padded trail we followed was just 20 inches wide. The sled kept

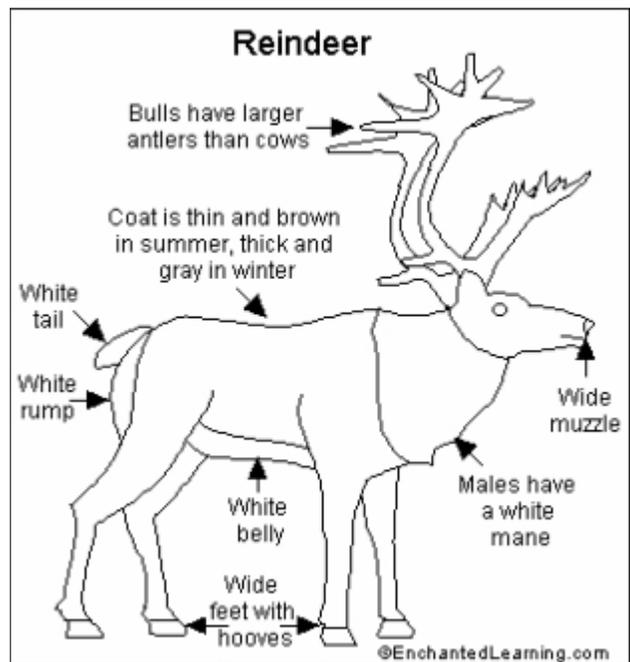


Figure 2: Annotated reindeer sketch.

sliding off on one side, then on the other; when one-stepped off the trail the snow was deep.

After a lot of research and backbreaking work, he realized that the small, yet devious, warble fly had decided that the perfect place to lay its many eggs was in the body of the huge and unfortunate animal, therefore, killing it.

Although the warble fly was to blame, the fact remained that poor management by the Inuit played a major part in the problem. As hard as they tried, the Inuit were “overgrazing” the reindeer. Overgrazing is a fancy word for not moving the reindeer to new feeding land enough. Therefore, the reindeer were wallowing in their own droppings, which led to the infestation of those horrid flies.

The journey to Alaska was also interesting because he visited a whaling station. Fortunately, whaling stations no longer exist.

It was interesting to see whales at close range. They were cutting up three of them when I landed we were told that they had killed 600 this season. I feel so sorry to see so many of those fine animals being killed in such an unsportsmanlike manner; the whale has no chance at all; they hunt them in small boats. On the bow is mounted a large canon which shoots a large harpoon with an explosive bomb and to this is attached a heavy line so that the poor whale has to give up very soon.

In 1922, after he returned from Alaska, he was asked to go to Labrador to inspect reindeer herds there. He was a recognized expert in reindeer by this time.

Following this expedition, he married and went to Lapland, the home of reindeer herding, for his honeymoon. On this third expedition, he found that the reindeer had the same parasite problem as the Alaskan ones.

In 1934, he made a fourth trip to the Arctic to study reindeer—this time to Ellesmere Island, which is one of the most northerly islands in the Arctic Ocean. He went by sea, courtesy of the RCMP patrol ship, *Naskopi*. His mission is described in his own words,

I was asked to report on the suitability of the territory visited for reindeer herding and to study the diseases, biology and management of Arctic sled dogs and to collect parasites of all kinds.

Then, in 1939, came his fifth and most important reindeer expedition. The Canadian government had ordered hundreds of reindeer to be brought (i.e. walked) from Alaska to the Mackenzie Delta, The

Inuit in northern Canada were starving, due to a seal and fish shortage. Why not, then, treat them to reindeer straight from Alaska? The government had decided to take a herd of 3,700 reindeer a distance of two to three thousand miles. It took the herd five years to reach their home destination. The following is a quote from a Vancouver newspaper:

There was nothing quite like it in history, that deliberate removal of a great herd of reindeer from, Alaska to the Mackenzie Basin in Canada, thousands of miles across the roof of the world.

At the request of the Canadian government Dr. Hadwen flew north to join the odd caravan and to advise on care and disposal of the animals at journey’s end.

The dogs of the north

Magnificent, majestic and strong, they are the oxen of the north. Who are they?

During his reindeer expeditions, the only way to travel to the reindeer was by dogsled. He found the Inuit dogs to be amazing animals and he also became an expert on them. **I have** to tell you about them.

Seymour Hadwen first took an interest in “Eskimo” (now called Inuit) dogs while studying reindeer in Alaska. As there were few roads, in order to observe and travel with reindeer herds he had to travel long distances by dogsled. In fact, on one journey he travelled a thousand miles by dogsled in the winter. He said, “I always feel when travelling to the “North Country” that I have really got there when I hear a chorus of howls from the dogs.”

There are two different types of Inuit dogs—the first one is the **Siberian** and the other is the **Husky**. An easy way to tell which is which is to look for two simple characteristics: the Siberian is more fox-like and the Husky is wolf-like. They have everything that a dog under those conditions should have:

1. Great foot padding to protect them from ice and snow
2. Muscular legs
3. Great endurance and speed in and out of the job
4. Powerful lung and heart capacity
5. Fantastic and useful instincts

Cross-breeding

Until his dying day, Seymour Hadwen discouraged the cross-breeding of Inuit dogs with other breeds. The reason was not that he did not like other dogs (he had a

terrier at home) but that no other dog could survive and work in the severe, northern conditions.

Inuit dog food

Pulling a sled in a very cold climate is very hard work. If the dog is to perform at its best, it has to have a proper diet. Seymour Hadwen studied the diet of the working Inuit dog. He insisted that they be fed only salmon (and an occasional treat of seal and maybe whale—but not too much because this will result in stomach worms). He had noticed that many owners were feeding their dogs mere oatmeal and eggs. They would then whip the dogs for being slow, when they were not running well; it's like running a car without the right gas. But now, thanks to Seymour, it's salmon (a real breakfast) for all.

Dogsled harnesses

As he was fixing everything else, he saw that the dog harnesses in Canada were not working as well as they could. You may not know that a dog team consists of 11 dogs. He noticed that they were pulling in single file, which he thought was insufficient and said so. By changing the arrangement to five pairs and one leader (which he noticed in Alaska) and using a different harness (a double tress) to hook them up with, the dogs pulled the sled faster and with less effort:

Conclusion

As I said, I wanted to describe everything my great-grandfather did with reindeer and answer three questions:

What was so important about reindeer?

As I said before, reindeer have provided a source of food for many cultures. In 1935, the Canadian Government felt that Canada's Inuit could be added to that long list of cultures that were reindeer herders. Inuit in Canada were dying of starvation because the fish and seal supply was running out. So the government decided to take a large herd of 3,700 reindeer from Alaska to the Mackenzie Delta, a distance of two to three thousand miles. It took the herd five years to get to their home destination.

Why did Dr. Seymour Hadwen make five important reindeer expeditions to the Arctic?

Because of his expertise in animal disease, he was assigned to many different jobs concerned with the welfare of reindeer. He became the world expert on the health of reindeer. His expeditions helped reindeer become a wonderful food source in Canada's Arctic,

for a time. He made sure that the herd of reindeer from Alaska was well taken care of when it arrived.

Was it all worth it?

This is the answer you have all been waiting for: Did he do it all in vain? Did the reindeer become a major food source? Or did the Inuit die? What happened?

The Reindeer Project was a...complete failure!

In the end, it was not a question of the power of government to help the Inuit, but a question of culture. The Inuit were hunters and gatherers and they just did not have it in them to be herders and farmers. The Inuit gave up on the reindeer. The reindeer answered the call of the wild, were set loose and became undomesticated!

However, although the project was a failure, the experience for Seymour Hadwen was not.

- He became a pioneer in animal parasites.
- His knowledge of warble and nose flies allowed him to help other animals such as horses, cows, pigs and buffalo.
- He studied how Arctic animals, such as snowshoe hares, change colour in the winter.

So, in my opinion, his work with reindeer was not in vain. That goes to show you that every cloud has a silver lining!

Fun Facts

American Kennel Club

Because of his expertise and interest in Inuit dogs, the American Kennel Club asked Dr. Seymour Hadwen to write the standard for the Inuit dog. Before you say "what the heck is that?" I will tell you. The American Kennel Club is like a dog dictionary. It describes the height, weight and characteristics of a dog breed. In competitions, the judges use it to judge each dog.

The not so "boaring" war

Seymour Hadwen, after graduating from McGill University, went all the way to Africa to take care of the many warhorses needed in, and bred for, the Boer War. Although the ride by boat was a good one, by the time he got there the darn war had ended! The trip was not in vain though because he seized the opportunity to study the native life and animals.

The king of beasts

As a result, many years later, while living in Canada, he was called to cure the famous MGM lion (i.e. the

lion who used to roar before movies), which had fallen ill. To this day, my grandfather still remembers, in the 1930s, receiving that famous telephone call in Toronto and saying: “Daddy it’s the people from Hollywood.”

Hadwen Island

If he was so famous, why doesn’t he have an island named after him? After all, every famous person has an island. Well, the truth is that he does.

Hadwen Island is in the Mackenzie River Delta in the North West Territories. It is just off the shore of Tuktoyuktak (which means “reindeer that look like caribou” in Inuit). This town was the place where they dropped off the reindeer after their long trip from Alaska.

The boulevard of Hadwen dreams

Not only does he have an island named after him but he has a street too. His last job was with the Ontario Research Foundation and, when it moved to Mississauga, they named the street after him.

How I did my research

1. I had to look at Seymour Hadwen’s autobiography. It’s over 300 pages long and isn’t exactly organized in any way. I had, therefore, to read a lot of stuff to figure out his Arctic trips. The dates were confusing. But eventually I figured it out.
2. Seymour Hadwen liked to take pictures, so we have lots of them. On the backs, there were descriptions of what he was doing.
3. He also wrote letters about his Arctic adventures. They are difficult to read because his writing is so small.
4. I also got valuable information from my grandfather, John Hadwen, who lived with Seymour Hadwen and remembered interesting things that were useful in my research.
5. Last, but not least, I was curious about what happened to the reindeer. So, I Googled “reindeer” and that’s how I found out that the project was a complete and utter failure!

Canada’s Invisible Immigrants[©]

BY MURRAY WATSON AND

THE CARLETON UNIVERSITY GRADUATE ORAL HISTORY CLASS OF 2006¹

Murray Watson was a Visiting Professor in the history department at Carleton University from January to April 2006. He is an Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Dundee, in Scotland. His research interests are migration and oral history. He published Being English in Scotland in 2003. At Carleton University he worked with Professor Bruce Elliott, who wrote the chapter on the “English” in P.R. Magocsi, Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples, (Toronto), 1999.

Immigration has been a central element in the making of the Canadian nation, from the arrival of John Cabot, through Confederation, to the present day. Arguably the most influential group of immigrants has been the English. Yet, paradoxically and compared with other immigrant groups, there has been a paucity of scholarly interest in the English.



Walk between any university library shelves and you will find volume after volume about the French, Scots, Irish, Italians, blacks, Hungarians, Poles, Greeks, Americans, Dutch, Ukrainians, Mennonites and many others that make up the mosaic of modern multicultural Canada. The English are conspicuous by their absence. It was for this reason that a Carleton University graduate class decided to undertake oral history research, interviewing a small sample of postwar English immigrants to Canada.

According to Patrick Dunne:

Until very recently the English have not been regarded in Canada as a distinct ethnic group. Rather they have

been viewed as one of the country's founding "races", as a kind of core community around which other "ethnic" communities developed. As a result, in spite of the emphasis Canadians have placed on multiculturalism, the English have never aroused the same interest or received the same attention as the Irish, the Scots, the Ukrainians, the Finns, and a host of other ethnic groups.²

Professor Philip Buckner opined that the English in Canada "have yet to find their historian,"³ and in research carried out at the University of Calgary, Judith Barge concluded, "of the many groups of people that make up the population of Canada the British (sic) have probably been studied the least. This is most likely because they are not regarded as foreign."⁴ Ethnologist Pauline Greenhill also commented on the "neglect of the English as a cultural group in Canada,"⁵ and went on to suggest "the English have not been considered an ethnic group" because "they are usually located in the domain of power."⁶ Strangely, this lack of interest in English immigrants is not confined to Canada. Dominant groups of English immigrants have only recently been studied in Scotland, by Murray Watson,⁷ and in Australia, by Al Thomson and Jim Hammerton.⁸ Both of these studies described the English as "invisible immigrants," and this would certainly seem to be the case in Canada as well.

In the twenty-five years after the Second World War, there were very significant numbers of English immigrants arriving in Canada. This was not surprising, given the propensity to emigrate from the U.K. at that time, combined with Canadian government policies to attract immigrants from there. England traditionally provided the largest numbers and was the preferred source of immigrants for Canada. As early as 1919, at the Daughters of the Empire annual conference, delegates passed a resolution wanting new Canadians to be "100 per cent British [mainly English] in thought feeling and language."⁹ After the Second World War, Mackenzie-King, the prime minister said:

The policy of the government is to foster the growth of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation and vigorous administration, to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can be advantageously absorbed in our national economy...the people of Canada do not wish as a result of mass immigration to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population.¹⁰

There was an intrinsic racism built into this policy, seeking immigrants that were White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs). It was clear from subsequent investment in the promotional infrastructure in England where the preferred source of immigrants was to be found.¹¹ In 1955, the minister of immigration announced in Parliament:

We try to select as immigrants those who will have to change their ways least in order to adapt themselves to Canadian life and to contribute to the development of the Canadian nation. This was why entry into Canada is virtually free to citizens of the U.K. [largely England], the U.S., and France so long as they have good health and characters. That is why deliberate preference is shown for immigrants from countries with political and social institutions similar to our own.¹²

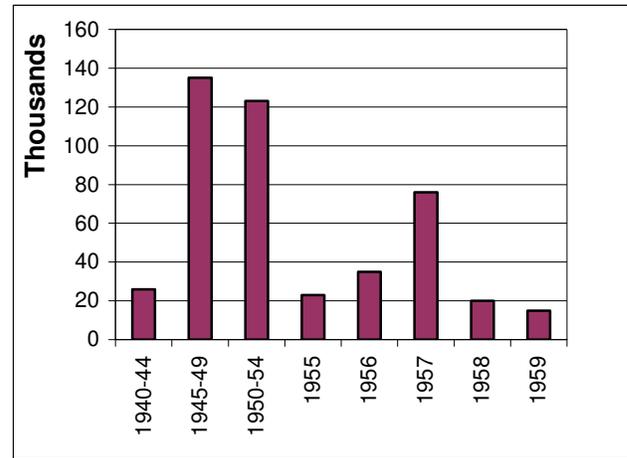
This policy continued until the numbers of English and other British immigrants started to decline.

The preference for England as the preferred origin for immigrants was confirmed in a revealing analysis by Kerry Badgley who found, in government papers, what he described as "a plan rife with deception."¹³ Badgley discovered that ministers and officials sought to commemorate, in a blaze of publicity, the arrival of the millionth postwar immigrant in 1954. Given a sceptical and somewhat xenophobic Canadian public, the government wanted to show the benefits immigrants brought to the country. In a rash of interdepartmental communication, photogenic and other attractive candidates were put forward to represent the ideal immigrant. The majority of the proposals given serious consideration were Englishmen and English women, supplied by the High Commission in London. Because of the contrived nature of this publicity stunt, however, the plan was eventually dropped, with government officials fearing media ridicule. Badgley concluded that the Canadian government "wanted to be perceived as bringing only the best and the brightest prospects to Canada, and they wanted to be associated with, primarily, British [mainly English] immigrants."¹⁴

In terms of numbers, between 1945 and 1967 some 2,500,000 people from Britain and 27 other European countries entered Canada as immigrants. Additionally, there were 240,000 Americans and 600,000 from other places.¹⁵ Intriguingly, from the perspective of this study, few government statistics broke down British immigrants into English, Welsh, Scots and Northern Irish. One exceptional source (see Graph 1) shows a surge of English immigration in the years immediately

after the Second World War and a smaller peak after the Suez Crisis in 1957. In this period the English were numerically the most significant group of immigrants. This can be seen in Graph 2, which shows the English as a proportion of all immigrants. The interesting phenomenon in both graphs is the decline in numbers of the English. This general trend continued throughout the remainder of the twentieth century and by 1994 the numbers of English immigrants arriving in Canada had fallen to 4,600, or around two per cent of all immigrants.¹⁶

It was against this background that we decided that our class oral history project should involve interviewing postwar English immigrants, currently living in the Ottawa area. Incidentally, Ontario, followed by British Columbia, is the most popular area for English



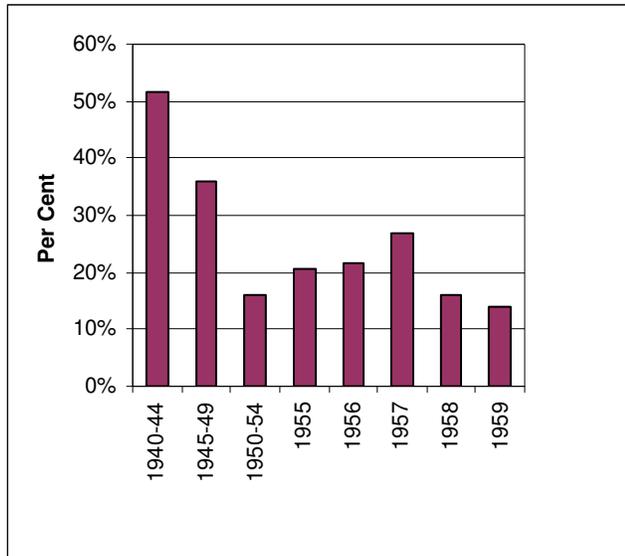
Graph 1: English Immigrants 1940-1959. Source: 1961 Annual Report, Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration

Table 1: Testimony topics—Oral history sample

<u>Themes/issues discussed</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Work & career	8
War	8
Communication & family networks	8
Space & environment	7
Recreation	7
Expectations of Canada	7
Changing views of England	7
Canadian identity & citizenship	7
Cost of living/housing	7
Return visits to England/family	7
Language	6
Migration and moving	6
Education	6
Neighbourhood & ethnicity	5
Childhood	5
Cultural life	4
Social networks	4
Own children	4
Motherhood	4
Francophone/Anglophone issues	3
Food	3
Opportunities in Canada	3
Weather	3
Motivation	3
Immigration formalities	3
Gender	2
Aboriginal culture	2
Religion	2
Clothing	1
Nostalgia	1

migrants. The British Isles Family History Society of Greater Ottawa and a local English country-dancing group kindly helped to find volunteers to be interviewed. A total of eight immigrants were interviewed. There were five women¹⁷ and three men, whose average age was 65. The average length of time living in Canada was 42 years, the longest being 50 years and the shortest 29. This is, of course, a very small sample, given the constraints of a class project. It needs to be recognized that it is not statistically representative of English immigrants in Canada. That said, it is one of few studies of Canada's largest immigrant communities. Of particular benefit is the fact that oral history generates rich content, providing a level of detail about the personal experience of migration in a way that few documentary sources do. Migration scholars Colin Pooley and Ian Whyte lament that conducting studies of immigration when you cannot interview the migrants is "like doing a difficult jigsaw in the dark."¹⁸

The testimonies of our eight contributors did not disappoint and produced a wealth of detailed information. While each testimony described uniquely personal and individual experiences, there were significant elements of similarity and crossover between the testimonies. Much of what was described was consistent with the aforementioned oral history studies of English immigrants to Scotland and Australia, as well as Jim Hammerton's earlier small-scale study about English immigrants to Canada.¹⁹ The methodological approach adopted used open-ended questions, starting with an invitation for the



Graph 2: English as Per Cent of All Immigrants

Source: *1961 Annual Report*, Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration.

interviewee to tell their life story. In this way it was the interviewees who set the agenda; they decided what they considered important in their lives and their experience of immigration.

Once all the interviews were completed, they were transcribed²⁰ and rigorously analyzed in class. Some 30 common themes were identified. Table 1 shows what these were and indicates the number of interviews where these themes formed part of the discourse. What the table does not show is that many of these themes were interrelated, conforming to Michel Foucault's perceptive observation that "the world as we know it is a tangled profusion of events."²¹

Source: Oral testimonies for this study

Hammerton²² found that the experience of twentieth-century English immigrants to Canada had all the hallmarks of Oscar Handlin's concept of the emigrant's "epic story,"²³ though the twentieth century experience was considerably less harsh than that of a century earlier. In many respects our testimonies corroborated Hammerton's findings. Our immigrants faced struggle, financial hardship, family separation anxieties and challenges adapting to an alien though partially familiar cultural, economic and political environment in Canada. Resonating with Hammerton's interviewees, we also found an enthusiastic adoption of the nationality of the host

country. Coincidentally, this mirrored much of the experience of English immigrants to Scotland and, to a lesser extent, Australia.

In an article of this length it is impractical to review thoroughly the complexity and interconnectedness of what we found. Accordingly we will restrict our analysis to the topics of reconstruction of national identity, the impact of changing methods of transportation and communications, and the putative links between the influence of war and the perceived safety, and other attractions of Canada's wide, open spaces.

Turning to the latter first, we were initially surprised about the frequent references to the Second World War. Arguably this should have come as no surprise, as we had invited the interviewees to tell their life stories; the war and its aftermath would have played a significant role in their lives. Jean Evans who arrived in Toronto from London in 1956 recalled:

All of my elementary schooling took place in London during the war, during the bombs falling and everything. So that had a big impact, it's hard to say how, so when you take other actions later on and look back and you wonder if it was something that happened there. Certainly after the war ended...London was still very much of a wreck, there was (sic) still huge areas of bombed places and had never been fixed up, [and] we were still under partial rationing. There were many other types of restrictions....People were gonna wipe us out...because we are all gonna, we [were] all gonna be blown to smithereens so that's the only thing I can think, which I do a lot now, is why I did leave, you know, I've been going over that, what really made me leave.²⁴

As you can see from Table 1, reference to the war was commonplace. Charlotte Hinton, who came to Montreal in 1967, recalled a bomb-scarred Liverpool, dive-bombers and barrage balloons. She also remembered being chased by submarines when her family returned to England from Argentina.²⁵ Sarah Brummell who emigrated to Calgary in 1958 had two Dutch parents and remembered that:

Both my parents had gone through the war and one of the prayers we said every night before going to sleep was 'please let there not be any more war'. You know, so I guess that my parents thought that being in Canada was a little bit further away from the conflicts [Suez and the Cold War] that they could see boiling up in Europe.²⁶

The aftermath of the war and its consequent privations also had an impact on persuading people to come (or escape) to Canada. When Penelope Reed, who came to Montreal in 1960, went baby sitting for Canadian families based in postwar Germany, she was impressed by their friendliness and her introduction to chocolate chip cookies.²⁷ Jean Evans' first impressions of Canada were of

a double-decker sandwich with a toothpick in the middle and a dill pickle on the side. Very Canadian. And stuff like tuna fish, ketchup everywhere. That was new....During the war the amount we got for rationed food, we often got a non-rationed allotment of what we called bully beef 'cause that's what the soldiers used to call it ...and it was hideous... that's one of the things I'll never eat...its so disgusting....At the time when I left we still didn't have a big variety of things in stores like fruit and vegetables and that was a big change here...I can't remember when I first ate broccoli but I'd never eaten it in England.²⁸

Another food that stimulated memories of wartime deprivation was recalled by James Elliott who emigrated to Montreal: “[I] don't think I tasted a banana until I was about seven...in those days shops had white plastic bananas and I wondered what they tasted like.”²⁹ And, according to Charlotte Hinton, “the nicest part of Canada was Friday. Friday when I went shopping and filled up the fridge with marvellous food....In England it would have been very difficult to bring up four children.”³⁰ Canada was perceived by most immigrants as being the land of plenty and opportunity.

Related to the theme of wartime experience were discourses about the empty space and the open, wild environment in Canada. Many of the contributors commented about the scale, size and emptiness of Canada. George Innes, who immigrated in 1958, was struck by the harsh rugged Canadian landscape compared with the greener, rolling hills of England.³¹ Comparisons were made with the population density of England and how this overcrowding acted as a disincentive to return. Charlotte Hinton again: “The house that I had in England was very tiny. [Pointing at photo] See that was my house there, just half a house like Coronation Street.”³² Margaret Bell, from Brighton, was struck by the scale of Canada when she arrived in 1968:

Everything was very new. I mean Calgary in '68 was, it was enormous, in the sense that it was spread out over a huge area even then, and now it's so, it just felt so

completely different...[after] a long time living here I was asked 'would you ever go back to live in England?' and I'd say 'no I'd never go back to live in England'....overpopulation [in England], that really only struck me probably within the last couple of years, in the sense of there being so much pressure on the landscape and on the infrastructure, you know, the roads, the houses...I've always been aware that of the open spaces over here versus the east and south of England, the smallness and everything you know very close together and the density of development...you know there are actually some quite unpleasant things happening over in Britain and certainly in southeast England.³³

Similar sentiments were expressed in a number of the other testimonies along with tales of enjoyment of outdoor pursuits readily available in Canada, but not in England. Interestingly, similar reactions were expressed in the testimonies of English immigrants to Australia and Scotland. Catherine Parr and her husband deliberately escaped from the overcrowded, crime-ridden stress of southeast England to the remote emptiness of the Isle of Mull, in the western isles of Scotland.* They also admitted to being further away from the threat of the Cold War. The Green family moved to the neighbouring Isle of Lewis for similar reasons. And when Ronald Regan's “Star Wars” policy threatened to turn the island into a nuclear listening post Amanda Green led protest marches in the streets of Stornoway, the island's main town.*

From what these testimonies are telling us, it would not be unreasonable to develop hypotheses suggesting relationships involving the propensity to migrate and the appeal of safer, less crowded destinations that are perceived to be freer from the risks of violence from crime and war. From such a small sample, and in the absence of more rigorous research, it would be unwise to conclude that such a relationship exists. Nonetheless, our class research project indicates that further research could be of benefit to immigration policy-makers in the Canadian government, as well as to migration scholars throughout the world.

In their study of postwar migration to Australia, Hammerton and Thomson found that:

The transformation of transport and communications technologies—from ocean liners and aerogrammes to jumbo jets and email—changed the ways in which migrants moved from one country to another, and altered relationships within extended families that straddled the globe.³⁴

We found that this applied in Canada too. Some of our immigrants made the journey across the Atlantic by sea, but most came by air. Memories of departure and the journey were vivid and evocative. Penelope Reed recalled:

We landed at Dorval which was not as it is today, it was two Nissen huts. My husband went through one line; I had to go through another because I was emigrating. I remember being on the plane as we were flying over Greenland [and] just after we got to Greenland before we came over Newfoundland the pilot told us all to look out, it was a propeller prop plane, four engines, told us to look out of the right hand side window and we flew over icebergs and it was just absolutely amazing and that we had to put down at Gander because the planes had to put down to refuel, and incidentally about three years ago I did a tour of Newfoundland and 50 per cent of the people on the tour all asked the tour guide if we could go to Gander. We were spending the night near Gander. [The tour guide] asked 'why?' and we said 'because that's our entry point to Canada.'³⁵

Nearly all departures involving separation from parents, siblings and other immediate family brought tensions and sadness, as the following testimony extract from Margaret Bell reveals:

We flew to Canada....I actually left Brighton by train and I'm convinced that my Mom was really upset. I don't remember being upset at all; I mean to me it was just, it was just an adventure. I don't remember my Dad, he, he was always very quiet and didn't say much. Ten months later we were on a charter flight back to visit...so it very soon became obvious, or it must have been obvious to my parents that although we were 3,000 miles, no more than 3,000 miles across the Atlantic, it really wasn't the end of the world, you know that we would be visiting.³⁶

The speed, convenience and falling relative cost of air travel facilitated routine visits back to England and for immigrants to keep in touch with their families and friends. Paul Brummell, who arrived in Canada in 1957, recalled some of his return trips:

It was in '63, um, because my grandmother got sick and my mother wanted to go and see her, and they'd come to Canada in '61. I think. My grandfather wanted to see his sisters who were still alive. He had two sisters plus four brothers. One of the sisters only died four years ago, aged...she made a hundred. She was the youngest, and they left her in England when he came to Canada, he would have been...I think he was sixteen or seven...sixteen. It was easy to go back. I could fit right in. My accent would drift back so people could

understand me. I knew the currency. I knew my way around. I knew how to go places. Something I had to adapt were the prices a little bit, they were very expensive, and they had inflated a lot in the seventies. So I found it fine. And then, so I was back in '63, and then in '66. I was there on a flying visit on my way back from Turkey, and then in '68 I went to Oxford for four years. We got married there. So I've been there quite a bit. But always I figured I was Canadian.³⁷

The last comment is significant, but more of that below.

In many respects, the testimonies recorded for this study are family stories and stories of adaptability to a new culture. Distance between family "back home" in England and the nuclear immigrant family in Canada was shrunk by the jet age and developments in information communications technology. This distance, however, stretched with the onset of ageing and the loss of English-based relatives. Additionally, with the immigrants' own children being brought up as Canadians, forging careers in Canada and having grandchildren in Canada, Canada became the more significant focus for family life. As we have seen, Paul Brummell considered himself Canadian. He took out Canadian citizenship in 1967, Expo year. We also saw Margaret Bell becoming disillusioned about life and conditions in England, preferring Canada. Indeed, all our interviewees perceived themselves to be Canadian, and taking on citizenship was common. It would be wrong to conclude that this was always the case, and that all English immigrants reoriented their sense of national identity to their new country of residence—Canada. Hammerton found evidence of identity confusion.³⁸ And, of course, we must not forget that all of our interviewees maintained links with England through membership of the British Isles Family History Society of Greater Ottawa and/or participation in English country dancing.

In an article of this length it is impossible to do justice to the wealth of evidence found in the oral testimonies. We have also failed to solve the conundrum of why English immigrants to Canada—a land of immigrants—have failed to attract the interest of academic, or government researchers, in the way other immigrant and ethnic communities have. Surely this gap must be filled. Canadian research funding bodies take note.

Endnotes

1. This paper is based on oral history research and analysis carried out by the following Carleton

- University graduate students and course tutor Dr. Murray Watson in February and March 2006: Sharon Arsenault, Stacey Campbell, Adriana Gouvea, Michael Hartmann, Kristy Martin, Erika Reinhardt, Pascale Salah, Mary-Ann Shantz Lingwood, Andréa Ventimiglia.
2. P.A. Dunne, *Gentlemen Immigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier*, (Vancouver), 1981, p. 2.
 3. P. Buckner, "English Canada—The Founding Generations: British Migration to North America 1815–1865," *Canada House Lecture Series, No. 54*, (London), 1993. There are, nevertheless, a small number of publications that are about English immigrants. In addition to a few diaries and biographies, the most common are about English orphans and war brides; the latter were of course considered to be Canadian, having married Canadian military personnel.
 4. J.V. Barge, *British Immigration to Canada 1945–1984: An Explanation of the Perceived Environment*, Unpubl. MSc Thesis, University of Calgary, 1987.
 5. P. Greenhill, *Ethnicity in the Mainstream: Three Studies of English Canadian Culture in Ontario*, (Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press), 1994, p. 22.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
 7. M. Watson, *Being English in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 2003.
 8. A.J. Hammerton, and A. Thomson, *Ten Pound Poms: Australia's Invisible Migrants*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 2005.
 9. H. Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century" in G. Tulchinsky, (ed.), *Immigration in Canada*, (Toronto: Copp Clark), 1994, p. 305.
 10. A. H. Richmond, *Post-War Immigration in Canada*, (Toronto), 1967, p. 3.
 11. See Barge, *British Immigration to Canada 1945–1984*, amongst others.
 12. Canada, *House of Commons, Debates*, 1955, p.1254.
 13. K. Badgley, " "As Long as He is an Immigrant from the United Kingdom": Deception, Ethnic Bias and Milestone Commemoration in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1953–1965," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Fall 1998), pp. 130–44.
 14. *Ibid.*
 15. B. Broadfoot, *The Immigrant Years: From Europe to Canada 1945–1969*, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre), 1986, p. 2.
 16. *Profiles United Kingdom, Immigration Research Series*, (Ottawa: Government of Canada), 1996, p. 4.
 17. One of the women was born in mainland Europe married to an Englishman.
 18. C. G. Pooley, and I. D. Whyte, *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A Social History of Migration* (London: Routledge), 1991, p. 4.
 19. J. Hammerton, "Migrants, Mobility and Modernity: Understanding the Life Stories of English Emigrants to Canada, 1945–1971," *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2003, pp. 160–69.
 20. All the interviews and transcriptions were carried out by the graduate students identified in endnote (1) above. The recordings and transcripts have been archived in Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa. All the interviewees have been given pseudonyms to provide anonymity and confidentiality.
 21. M. Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in P. Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought*, (London: Penguin), 1991, p. 89.
 22. A. J. Hammerton, "Migrants, Mobility and Modernity."
 23. O. Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of Great Migrations that Made the American People*, (Boston: Little), 1951.
 24. Interview with Jean Evans, (pseud.).
 25. Interview with Charlotte Hinton, (pseud.).
 26. Interview with Sarah Brummell, (pseud.).
 27. Interview with Penelope Reed, (pseud.).
 28. Interview with Jean Evans, (pseud.).
 29. Interview with James Elliott, (pseud.).
 30. Interview with Charlotte Hinton, (pseud.).
 31. Interview with George Innes, (pseud.).
 32. Interview with Charlotte Hinton, (pseud.).
 33. Interview with Margaret Bell, (pseud.).
 34. A.J. Hammerton and A. Thomson, *Ten Pound Poms*, p. 13.
 35. Interview with Penelope Reed, (pseud.).
 36. Interview with Margaret Bell, (pseud.).
 37. Interview with Paul Brummell, (pseud.).
 38. A.J. Hammerton, "Migrants, Mobility and Modernity."
- * The interviews with Catherine Parr (pseud.) and Amanda Green (pseud.) were carried out by Murray Watson in 2001. The recordings and transcripts are archived in the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh, Scotland.

FROM THE 2005 CONFERENCE

Searching for Elusive Eliza: An Africa-England Odyssey

BY GARFIELD CLACK

Garfield Clack, a member of BIFHSGO, has had a lifetime career in research, mostly in the social sciences, in Africa, England and Canada. He emigrated to Canada from England and has lived in Ottawa for over half his life. He began serious amateur genealogy-writing after his retirement in 1993.

Who was Eliza?

Great-grandmamma Eliza died 50 years before I was born but was a great problem to me. Her maiden name, Potter, and date of birth were in a family Bible. Her marriage took place in the Cape Colony but I had no information about where she was born or her parentage. It took seven lean years to find out. As usual, there were some red herrings. A possible illegitimate birth and initially illegible census records posed problems. The main clues coalesced around a chance kinship link, a naming pattern, and the English Poor Laws. A witness and a rare shipping list set the findings in concrete.



The Bible and parish registers

Eliza Potter first appeared as a name written in a family Bible. The Bible gives only her name and date of birth and lists her children. There is no reference to parents or place of birth. The entries were all inscribed by one hand, seemingly at one time. The Bible itself had been published and printed in London in 1876. The entries had likely been copied from an earlier Clack Bible.

Serious research into family history began in 1993, when the 1845 record of marriage of Thomas Clack and Eliza Potter was found in the parish register of the Wesleyan Methodist church in Grahamstown, Cape Colony. Then, in 1994, a brief notice of Eliza's death was found in *The Grahamstown Journal* but, again, no information was given about her parentage or place of birth. However, the age at death—52 years and 6 months—supported the date of birth given in the Bible.

The search in southern Africa

Eliza could have been born in any one of a number of countries or places—a daunting research project. After an unsuccessful scan of the IGI, I decided to concentrate first on the possibility that she was born in the Cape Colony. I looked at all available parish registers in the eastern Cape and all official Death Notices of Potters to be found anywhere in southern Africa during the 19th and early 20th centuries. I then searched civil registration records, passenger lists, government gazettes, commercial directories and newspapers. I examined books, journals and other accounts of settlers in the Cape, together with records that had come to light about the activities of Thomas Clack. None of these mentioned Eliza at all, except her death.

Records of the 1820 Settlers, a British assisted-emigration venture, provided a false lead. A William and Hannah Potter, with two young daughters, had settled in an area close to Grahamstown. Eliza could have been a daughter, born to these Potters eight years after their arrival, or have been a relative who joined them some time before 1845. At first, a barely legible Death Notice for Hannah Potter looked hopeful but proved abortive.

By 1996, Eliza Potter's ancestry was still an unsightly dead branch on an otherwise healthily growing family tree. As a final check, two professional genealogists of repute in Grahamstown were, in turn, given the task of finding her parents and place of birth in southern Africa—again without success.

Across the water to England

Thomas Clack, Eliza's husband, had immigrated to the Cape Colony from "Goosey, near Wantage," in Berkshire, between 1841 and 1845. The likely reason for Thomas's and his brothers' emigration was that those were hard times for labourers in southern England, but they may also have been encouraged by a

maternal uncle, who had resided in the Colony since



Figure 1: The Clack homestead at Sweetkloof, Sidbury. Thomas and Eliza spent many years here.

1820.

A preliminary check had been made in the IGI for Berkshire, Oxfordshire and adjoining counties but there were no obvious candidates. A short list of two possible Eliza Potter entries was flagged because of timing and proximity to Thomas's birthplace. One was in Berkeley, Gloucestershire, and the other in Caversham, Oxfordshire.

Berkeley, which is about 52 miles east of Goosey, was possible but unlikely, given the Clack family's status as village labourers. Oops! *That* Eliza Potter had died in England.

Caversham is about 26 miles from Goosey, but *this* Eliza was also put aside because, on the basis of the birth date given in the family Bible, she was born three weeks before her parents' marriage in 1828. She was then baptized as a Potter, daughter of George and Martha Potter. The parish register for Caversham gives no dates of birth. Thus the search rested for about three years.

An area search for possible Potters

While pursuing my Clack ancestry, during a tedious area search of parishes that were five, then 10 miles, around Goosey (a chapelry of Stanford in the Vale), an eye was also kept on the Potter name but there were no likely candidates.

Naming patterns

Some light dawned in December 1999. A naming pattern had proved useful in finding a Scottish

ancestor, and it suddenly hit me that the "George" in the name of the second son of Thomas and Eliza Clack, Thomas George Potter Clack, was as likely to refer to a George Potter, Eliza's father, as to George Clack, Thomas's father. The other Clack children's names did not, at first, seem to form any pattern but with Thomas's and the Caversham Eliza's grandparents and parents in place, a naming pattern emerged.

Thomas and Eliza's children, taken in birth order, were named:

Martha Ann	Martha was Eliza's mother; Ann was Thomas's mother
Henry James	Henry was Thomas's grandfather; James was Eliza's grandfather
Thomas George Potter	Thomas was the father; George Potter was Eliza's father

There were 11 children altogether but, after the third, no clear naming pattern emerges. The early pattern was suggestive, although hardly conclusive. Martha and Ann were also the names of Thomas's grandparents, and Eliza's grandmother on her father's side was a Martha. The pattern encouraged me to further pursue this Eliza.

A possible kinship link: a marriage, a Mary and a Martha

While reviewing the details of Thomas Clack's siblings during the naming pattern exercise, I remembered that one of Thomas's older brothers, Henry, had married a Mary Wooldridge. The Caversham Eliza's mother had been a Martha Wooldridge, suggesting a possible connection.

These findings were initially encouraging. Eliza's mother had been baptized in Sparsholt. Henry had married Mary in Stanford in the Vale, but her parish was given as Sparsholt, a distance of only three to four miles from Goosey and Stanford in the Vale. However, while Sparsholt parish register entries had been included in the IGI listings, there was no Mary Wooldridge baptized there, whereas all of Eliza's mother's siblings had been so baptized.

The plot thickened. There was a suitable Mary Wooldridge baptized in Burford, just 15 miles to the north of Stanford in the Vale and another in Hungerford, 15 miles to the south. I wondered if either of these Marys were related to the Wooldridges in

Sparsholt and, if so, how closely. After much poring over parish registers, the IGI and, again, scarcely legible 1841 Census returns, no connection could be established for at least two generations back.

Where to next? It occurred to me that some years from the Sparsholt parish registers may be missing in the IGI. Aha! That was it! The years from 1812–1972 had been extracted for the IGI but, for procedural reasons, the names for these years had not yet been included. The Bishop's Transcript of the Sparsholt parish register was then consulted and yielded the fact that "Mary, daughter of Richard and Rachel Wooldridge" had been baptized on 6 January 1818.

Henry Clack had married the Caversham Eliza Potter's aunt. The trail was now very fresh but I did not know how this kinship could be relevant to an Eliza's presence in the Cape Colony in 1845.

Eliza the orphan and the English Poor Laws

Eliza's parents had both died before she was two years old. Who had looked after the orphaned Eliza? The film of the 1841 Census returns for Sparsholt—held in Salt Lake City—was determinedly illegible. The poor law records, however, might indicate who had looked after Eliza.

For centuries parishes were responsible for administering poor relief. The Overseers of the Poor kept records of the income and expenditures. These records for Caversham survive and show that regular sums were paid to George Potter until he died and, then, to Martha Potter until she was buried in August 1831.

From 1831 to 1835 the payments were for "Geo. Potter's child" and were made two or three times a year, at irregular intervals rather than fortnightly, but there was no mention of Eliza or the payee.

In 1834, there was a new Poor Law Act, which ordered the formation of poor law unions, each under the administration of a Board of Guardians, to whom the parish overseers reported. The minutes of the first meeting of the Board of Guardians of the Henley Union for November 1835, in which Caversham was incorporated, are very instructive:

Potter...Eliza...living at Sparsholt. Allowed 2s 6d per week and 10/- for clothing to Michls last as per agreement of the Overseers, before the parish was in the Union, and 1s 6d per week from Michls last

The two parishes had collaborated. But a new and tougher administration reduced Eliza's allowance by 40 per cent—more hard times.

The minute books for the five years to 1840 make no further reference to Eliza Potter. There was, however, an entry for Eliza in March 1840 giving her age, "Potter Eliza, Age 11, Amount of weekly relief 1s 6d, Residence Sparsholt." Later minutes, up to and including 1843, contain no further entry for Eliza.

It was initially clear that Eliza lived in the village or parish of Sparsholt from the age of about two until she was at least eleven years old. It is likely that she was living with her grandmother, Rachel Wooldridge, and Rachel's youngest daughter Mary until Rachel died in 1836.

Mary would then have been eighteen years of age and would have been the logical person to be responsible for the care of Eliza. Later, a legible copy of the 1841 Census enumeration of Sparsholt, at the Berkshire Record Office, confirmed that Eliza Potter, aged 12, was living in a dwelling on West Street together with Mary Wooldridge, a governess.

Eliza's emigration to the Cape Colony: a rare passenger list

How did Eliza get to the Cape Colony, where she married Thomas Clack in 1845? Thomas was living in Goosey in 1841. Henry, his older brother, married Mary Wooldridge in Stanford in the Vale, in February 1842, and William Henry Clack was born to Henry and Mary in the Cape Colony in 1843. Eliza Potter was twelve years old in 1841. She probably accompanied her aunt and uncle to the Colony in 1842 or 1843.

Nineteenth century lists of passengers disembarking at ports in southern Africa are both scarce and singularly uninformative about passengers, other than the wealthy or well qualified. Artisans and others of the "settler" class are mostly listed as a number traveling in "steerage." By great good fortune, a passenger list in *The Grahamstown Journal* included some Clacks traveling in steerage. The ship was the *Bromleys*, which arrived in Algoa Bay in January 1843, after a voyage of 11 weeks. Among the passengers were "Mr and Mrs Clack, Eliza Potter, Alfred and Robert Clack." Eliza's name gives assurance that the "Mr and Mrs" were Henry and Mary.

That marriage witness

A Mary Clack was witness to Thomas Clack and Eliza Potter's marriage. It had been thought that this Mary

Clack could have been an older sister of Thomas, born in 1811. However, *that* Mary married and lived out her life in England.



Figure 2: The family grave in the Methodist churchyard, Sidbury. Thomas and Eliza were likely buried here.

Henry and Mary Clack (b. Wooldridge) had only the one child, born in 1843 soon after their arrival in the Colony. Henry must have died some time before 1848, as Mary Clack, a widow, married William John Bruce, a butcher, in Grahamstown in 1848. Mary Bruce died in 1879, aged 60, and was buried in Sidbury, adjacent to a large Clack family gravesite in the Methodist churchyard. The information on the tombstone confirms that she had been born as Mary Wooldridge. There were other Mary Clacks, but none of them could have been the witness at Eliza's wedding. The witness was her aunt Mary—another loose end knotted.

A matter of age and legitimacy

How valid is that date of birth in the family Bible? If accurate, Eliza was born three weeks before her parents' marriage and baptized as a Potter (not a Wooldridge) thirteen months later. There are three possible sources of explanation for this discrepancy: the parish register; the Bible; some arrangement of the sequence of events. One can only speculate at this stage.

The chronological entries in the parish register of baptisms allow one to discount an error in this source, unless the person who performed the baptism and/or made the register entry wittingly, or unwittingly, omitted the matter of illegitimacy. Were there witnesses at the ceremony? There are too many

imponderables but the register, as a source of error, must be deemed unlikely.

The fact that Eliza's age at death matches the Bible date to the month supports the Bible entry. However, one must ask whether the Bible could have been the source of the age given in the newspaper's notice of death, and is thus invalid as an independent source of evidence. Possibly.

Perhaps the year of birth in the original Bible, or the available copy, had been wrongly entered as 1828 rather than 1829, and the error carried over to the newspaper notice. Perhaps the date in the Bible was contrived to make it appear that Eliza was a year older at marriage, where, unusually, no age was given in the register. She was then barely seventeen years, at most.

Again, if Eliza was illegitimate, could she have been born on the date given in the Bible, but in seclusion or at another place away from Caversham? Could a thirteen-month old child have been well swaddled for baptism, in 1829, as an infant?

Two other references to Eliza's age already mentioned should be weighed in the scales. First, the age given in the Poor Law minutes of 17 March 1840 is eleven. If she was only barely eleven, then she was born in 1829. But if she was only a week or two short of twelve, on the day the report to the Board was penned, it could have been appropriate to list her as twelve rather than eleven, thus supporting an illegitimate birth in 1828.

Second, her age, as given in the 1841 Census return, was twelve years on 6 June 1841, giving a birth year of 1829 and supporting her legitimacy. However, instructions on age recording given to the census enumerators were confusing, in any event, but "age at last birthday" is a standard bureaucratic rule. If Eliza was just short of thirteen years at the time, she would have been born in 1828 and it is possible that her aunt Mary, as informant, was not sure of Eliza's age.

There would seem to be no clear determination of whether or not Eliza's birth was legitimate. Not that this kind of legitimacy seems to bother us much in this day and age although it would have been of concern to Eliza's church and to her contemporaries. The knowledge would likely have affected both the way she was treated in her early years and the way in which she would have come to regard herself.

As is common with many family history matters, would that there were a way to consult Eliza herself, or, better still, her parents.

FAMILY HISTORY—TECHNIQUES AND RESOURCES

The Bookworm

BY BETTY WARBURTON

Three recent events have led me to think about emigration from Scotland to Canada. The first is the planning of the BIFHSGO conference in September, with its emphasis on Scotland. The second was the talk at the June meeting by Lucille Campey about her recent publication *Les Écossais: the Pioneer Scots of Lower Canada 1763–1855*. The third was a recent donation to the Brian O'Regan Memorial (BOM) Library.



This donation was a big black binder from Donald McKenzie, entitled *Index to Scottish Immigrants, 1870–1880*. It contains alphabetical lists of Scottish passengers on ships sailing from Glasgow to Quebec City—one for each year from 1870 to 1880. Anyone who has searched the microfilms of passenger lists will realize that this is a true labour of love—especially when you learn that Mr. McKenzie uses a card index and a typewriter. He tells me that he is continuing to index the lists and is currently working on the year 1884.

I was surprised at the number of books dealing with emigration from Scotland that the BOM library owns. There are five of Lucille Campey's publications:

- *After the Hector: Scottish pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773–1852.*
- *Les Écossais: the Pioneer Scots of Lower Canada 1763–1855*
- *The Scottish Pioneers of Upper Canada, 1784–1855: Glengarry and Beyond*
- *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River*
- *A Very Fine Class of Immigrants: Prince Edward Island's Scottish Pioneers, 1770–1850*

The library also has:

- Fleming, Rae Bruce (editor). *The Lochaber Emigrants to Glengarry*
- Neville, Gerald J. *Lanark Society Settlers: Ships' Lists of the Glasgow Emigration Society, 1821*
- Whyte, Donald. *A Dictionary of Scottish Emigrants to Canada before Confederation. (Volumes 1 and 2)*

The Printed Page

BY GORDON D. TAYLOR

Family Tree Magazine, Vol. 22, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, (2006)

Family Tree Magazine is a monthly publication from the United Kingdom. It is published by ABM Publishing, Ltd. and is available in the U.K. by subscription or by single issue at a newsstand. The price of an annual subscription by airmail to an international address such as Canada is £69.50.



Family Tree Magazine is a journal that I wish I had examined much earlier in my family history research. In addition to the 80 plus pages of each number there is a cover CD that relates to the content of the issue. The emphasis of each report is in the selection of online data and where they can be obtained.

My initial interest in the magazine was a four-part article entitled "Your Family in Ireland" by Chris Duncan. The articles appeared one a month in the January to April 2006 issues. Titles and bibliographic details are as follows:

1. "Register offices, national archives, family history societies" January 2006, pp. 40–41. Part 1, pp. 28–34, January 2006, Part 2, pp. 26–20, February 2006.
2. "Griffiths Valuation, wills, census and BDM," February 2006, pp. 40–41.
3. "Culture, geography, maps, monumental inscriptions, heraldry," March 2006, pp. 40–41.
4. "Migrations, occupations and military sites," April 2006, pp. 40–41.
2. "Ancestors at Work" by Neil Storey.
 - The Railway Man, Part 1, Station staff, pp. 13–16, March 2006, Part 2, Permanent way and footplate staff, pp. 26–30, April 2006.
 - Warreners and Game Keepers, pp. 21–25, June 2006.

A related item "Maps and Ireland" complemented each of the articles. The four articles bring together in one place many valuable online sources of Irish genealogical information. The Irish articles are well sub-headed as "Irish Ancestry Online."

Two other themes were developed in the issues I had available:

1. "Sailing to South Africa, Parts 1 and 2", by Rosemary Duncan Smith,

The South African reports contain a chronology of British settlers—when they went. The period covered is 1795–1910.

I recommend that any family historian with an interest in the British Isles should become familiar with and make use of *Family Tree Magazine*.

BIFHSGO LISTINGS

Members' Surname Search

BY ERNEST M. WILTSHIRE

These charts are provided to enable BIFHSGO members to share in common research. If you locate one or more of the names you are researching in Table A, note the membership number (No.) in column four.

Using this Membership Number, contact the member listed in Table B. Please note that each member may be searching several names. So be specific when communicating with them. Good luck.

TABLE A (Names being searched)							
Name Searched	Location (Chapman Code)	Year	Mbr. No.	Name Searched	Location (Chapman Code)	Year	Mbr. No.
Allan	LKS, SCT	1780-1900	1046	MacConachie	ARL SCT DEV, DOR, SOM ENG	Pre 1371 1371	1048
Campbell	ARL SCT DEV, DOR, SOM ENG	Pre1371 1371 +	1048	Macomber	ARL SCT DEV, DOR, SOM ENG	1349- 1585	1048
Comber	ARL SCT DEV, DOR, SOM ENG	Pre 1371 1371 +	1048	Polley	ESS ENG	1600- 1900	1046
Fores	YKS ENG	1790-1914	1046	Revie	LKS SCT	1810- 1900	1046
Lloyd	IRL	1810-1939	1046	Trigg	CAM & HRT ENG	1750- 1856	1046
Lotan	ENG	1780 +	1046	Wilford	BKM & NTH ENG	1811- 1902	1046

TABLE B (Members referred to in Table A)			
Mbr. No.	Member's Name and Address	Mbr. No.	Member's Name and Address
1046	Linda & Pierce Reid 32 Annesley Ave., Toronto ON M4G 2T7 E-mail: reidlinda@rogers.com	1048	Christopher McComber 802-272 Bronson Ave. Ottawa ON K1R 6H9 E-mail: ccwm3359@yahoo.com

Occasionally, due to a lack of space, names published in *Anglo-Celtic Roots* may be restricted to six per individual. If this should occur, the remaining names of interest will be published in a future edition. If the members have Internet access and they give permission, all of their names of interest are published on the BIFHSGO website at: www.bifhsgo.ca.

Many BIFHSGO members belong to Genealogy societies that cover the areas detailed in this Members' Surname Search list. If you would like to loan your quarterly journals or other pertinent documents to members with an interest in the same geographical area that you are researching, please contact them directly and arrange to exchange information at the monthly meetings.

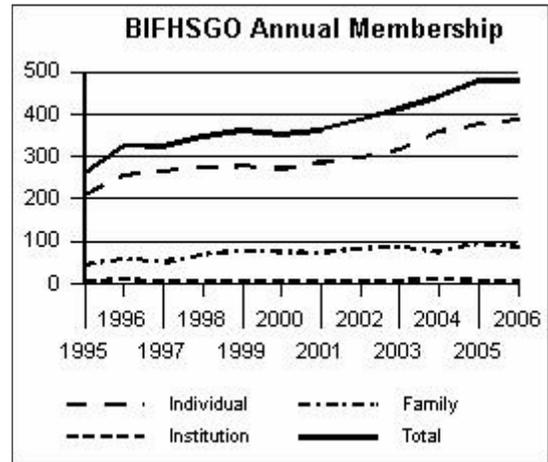
Membership Report

BY DOUG HODDINOTT

As predicted in the last membership report, we are heading for another record membership for 2006. As of 11 July 2006 there are **482** memberships, **30** ahead of the **451** at the same time last year and surpassing the 2005 year-end total of 480. The 2006 figures include **50** new memberships. We continue to be encouraged by large attendance at the monthly meetings and good retention of society memberships. The number of previous year memberships that have not been renewed has been reduced to 52 (10.8%) compared with 67 (15.1%) at this time last year.

Membership in the Society has picked up considerably in the last five years, reaching a record 480 at the end of 2005. We anticipate that the 2006 Fall Conference will again result in about 24 new memberships. The 482 year-to-date memberships for 2006 already

surpass the 2005 year-end total as shown below:



Annual Membership Summary (to July 2006)

Category	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Individual	210	257	267	276	278	272	287	300	317	359	377	388
Family	45	60	51	69	79	75	73	83	88	75	95	87
Institution	7	10	5	4	6	7	4	5	8	10	8	7
Total	262	327	323	349	363	354	364	388	413	444	480	482

New BIFHSGO Members to 12 July 2006

Mbr. No.	Name	Address	Mbr. No.	Name	Address
1041	Ms Carol May & Mr. Richard ANNETT	Stittsville, ON	1046	Linda & Pierce REID	Toronto, ON
1042	Mrs. Patricia TODD	Orleans, ON	1047	Darlene NOBLE	Ottawa, ON
1043	Mr. Robert Paul BRADLEY	Ottawa, ON	1048	Mr. Christopher McCOMBER	Ottawa, ON
1044	Ms Audrey M. DOIG	Ottawa, ON	1049	Dulcie I. McCLURE	Kelowna, BC
1045	Mr Melvin James CAMPBELL	Bath, ON			

Obituaries

Rhoda Ann Atkinson

Rhoda Atkinson, a member of BIFHSGO since 2003, died 29 June 2006. Together with her husband Richard, Rhoda had volunteered with the Telephone Tree contact team for the past two years.

Michael Balchin

Michael Balchin, a member of BIFHSGO since 2002, died 15 August 2006. Michael had been a BIFHSGO speaker and a reporter for *Anglo-Celtic Roots*.

Guidelines for Submitting Articles for Anglo-Celtic Roots

BY IRENE KELLOW IP

If you have some material, which you think might make an interesting article for *Anglo-Celtic Roots*, but are not sure how to get started or how to organize it, contact the editor for assistance. Unless otherwise stated, the copyright of all material submitted remains with *Anglo-Celtic Roots*. Once you have your article written, please adhere to the following guidelines.

General

Deliver your article in electronic or CD format to the Editor, BIFHSGO.

MSWord™ is preferable but WordPerfect™ is acceptable. Editing and subsequent exchange of drafts will be in MSWord 2000 format. Final editing and composition (layout) will be based on MSWord.

Do not format the pages (headers, footers, page numbers, frames). Formatting will be done as part of the composition and lay-out.

Length often depends on the topic being covered. However, an article of over 3,000 words may have to be returned to the author for major cuts. Occasionally, a very long article has been published in two parts. The editor's decision on length is final.

Please provide a brief biography that may be used to introduce the article, and indicate any particular and relevant qualifications (e.g. Certified Genealogist) that you wish to have included.

Text

Use Times New Roman 11-point font.

Use single-spacing, block paragraphs and leave a line between paragraphs.

Use a hierarchy for headings and subheadings:

1, 2, 3...;

1.1, 1.2, 1.3...;

1.1.1, 1.1.2, 1.1.3...

Do not use the footnote/endnote feature of the word processing software. Insert the numbers manually and list the corresponding notes at the end of the article.

References/Bibliography

Document all sources of quotations in endnotes.

Document all original sources of information in endnotes.

List all material sources of general information, especially those that might assist other researchers.

Use the following format for references or bibliography: Author, *Title*, place published: publisher, year, page no.

In the case of newspapers, check the name carefully, e.g. is "The" part of the banner?

Illustrations

Do not embed illustrations or captions in the text but send them in a separate file/disk. The images should be in an acceptable format (TIFF, JPEG) in as high a resolution as possible.

Always refer to illustrations in the text and indicate any preferences about location.

If they are not your own illustrations, check the copyright requirements and that you have permission to use them.

Add a list of the illustrations at the end of the article, with captions. Add sources if necessary.

Why pay money to have your family tree traced?

Go into politics and your opponents will do it for you. (Mark Twain)

**BRITISH ISLES FAMILY HISTORY SOCIETY
OF GREATER OTTAWA
Calendar of Events**

Saturday Morning Meetings

at
Library and Archives Canada
395 Wellington Street, Ottawa
Contact: 613-234-2520

*Members are encouraged to arrive at 9:30 a.m. when the Discovery Tables open.
Free parking on the east side of the building only*

14 October 2006, 10:00–11:30 a.m.	Leave No Stone Unturned!— <i>Terry Findley, BIFHSGO Member</i>
4 November 2006, 10:00–11:30 a.m.	Ghosts of the Great War— <i>Tony Atherton of the Ottawa Citizen</i>
9 December 2006, 10:00–11:30 a.m.	More Great Moments in Genealogy— <i>BIFHSGO members</i>

2006 BIFHSGO 12th Annual Conference—Celebrate Your Anglo-Celtic Roots!

at
Library and Archives Canada
22–24 September 2006
featuring Scottish genealogist David Webster,
Marketplace, One-on-one Consultations, Pre-conference Seminars

Local Research Resources

BIFHSGO Library: The City Archives, 111 Sussex Drive, Ottawa, ON 613-580-2424 ext 13333
Tuesday to Friday: 9 a.m.– 4 p.m. Saturday 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. (except holiday weekends)

Library and Archives Canada: 395 Wellington Street, Ottawa, ON 613-996-5115
Monday to Friday: 8:30 a.m.– 5:00 p.m. Registration Desk & Reference Rooms and Library Circulation Services
(except statutory holidays) Copying Services (from 9 a.m.)
Daily: 8 a.m.– 11 p.m. Reading and Consultation Rooms

Note: Renovations to public research areas are scheduled until September 2006. Researchers are advised to call ahead for up-to-date information: 613-996-5115 or toll-free 1-866-299-1699 Canada and USA.

Family History Centre (LDS): 1017 Prince of Wales Drive, Ottawa, ON 613-224-2231
Tuesday to Thursday: 9:30 a.m.– 3:30 p.m., 6:30 p.m.– 9:30 p.m.
Friday 9:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m., 6:30 p.m.– 9:30 p.m.
2nd & 4th Saturdays: 9:30 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.

Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec: 855, boulevard de la Gappe, Gatineau, QC
Monday to Friday: 8:30 a.m.– 4:30 p.m.,
Tuesday & Wednesday: 7 p.m.– 10 p.m. 819-568-8798

Articles for *Anglo-Celtic Roots*

Articles, illustrations, etc., for publication in *Anglo-Celtic Roots* are welcome. Please contact: The Editor, editoracr@bifhsgo.ca. The deadline for publication in the next issue is Saturday, 21 October 2006.