CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii
LIST OF FIGURES iii

I. THOMAS BURROWES: A MAN OF MANY PARTS 1

II. BURROWES AND THE RIDEAU CORRIDOR 4
(i) The Early Years, 1796-1826 6
(ii) Overseeing Construction, 1826-1832 11
(iii) Overseeing the Operation, 1832-1846 18
(iv) The Burrowes' Family, Home and Society 30

III. THE LATER YEARS, 1846-1866 30

IV. THOMAS BURROWES: SURVEYOR, ILLUSTRATOR, ARTIST 41
(i) The Coverage
(ii) The Content

V. EPILOGUE. 54

ENDNOTES 56

APPENDIX I. 70

APPENDIX II. 75

BIBLIOGRAPHY 90
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am particularly aware that this study has benefitted from the specialised services of others. At the Public Archives of Canada, Messrs. David Walden and Glen Wright have been consistently cooperative and, perhaps more importantly, productive, in handling my vague queries about sources and best approaches to sources. At the Archives of Ontario, Mr. John Mezaks has never failed to respond courteously and effectively to my frequent calls for assistance which are often hurried and ill-timed; his colleague, Mr. David Russell, was also very cooperative. George Henderson of Queen's Archives is another source of valued advice and service. It would be remiss of me to fail to award recognition to these individuals for the substantive contributions they have made to my research.

Ms. Joan Knox is thanked here for the modern function of the secretary; that is, she has introduced me to, and assisted me with, my first relationship with a word processor. I owe her thanks for her patience as an instructor and imagination as a "trouble shooter" when I went wrong. And as usual, the duo of George Innes and Ross Hough did sterling service in providing me with high quality photographic and cartographic services. Their contributions are also much appreciated, especially as they are often called upon to provide illustrations at short notice in the midst of busy schedules.

Finally, "Maplehurst" is now in the responsible and sensitive hands of the Flatters' family. I thank them here for their enthusiastic cooperation in showing me their, and Thomas Burrowes', home.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Artistic World of Thomas Burrowes.</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Burrowes' view of the entrance to the Rideau at Bytown.</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Burrowes' view of the works at Lower Brewer's.</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A detail of the construction at Lower Brewer's.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A detail of the construction at Lower Brewer's.</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Steam power on the Rideau.</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The main carriers on the Rideau.</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Emerging communities: Richmond.</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Emerging communities: Perth.</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Emerging communities: Belleville</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Burrowes at Bytown?</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Burrowes' family at Sydenham.</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12(a)</td>
<td>Burrowes' Pine Tree.</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Maplehurst.</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The &quot;front&quot; of Maplehurst from the north-west.</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Maplehurst from the south-west.</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>The &quot;back&quot; of Maplehurst from the south-east.</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Maplehurst from the north-east.</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>The Naval Reserve boundary stone at Maplehurst, dated 1833.</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>The Bolton coat of arms.</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig.</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Burrowes' burial plot, Cataraqui cemetery.</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Edwin Annesley Burrowes, 1823-64.</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Edwin Annesley Burrowes, 1820-62.</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Burrowes' sketch and plan of Lower Brewer's in the Baird papers.</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>John Burrows'(a) and Thomas Burrowes'(b) plans of Merrick's Mills.</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>&quot;Maplehurst&quot; as &quot;Mount Bolton&quot;.</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THOMAS BURROWES: A MAN OF MANY PARTS

Thomas Burrowes represents an important figure in the history of the Rideau corridor, having played several roles in the settlement and development of that region during the first half of the nineteenth century. His roles were diverse. His first contact was as a British soldier brought to defend the country and served in the garrison at Kingston for several years following the War of 1812. Later, after a sojourn in Britain, he returned to Canada and joined Colonel By's staff on the Rideau Canal project, acting variously as surveyor, engineer and overseer of works during the construction phase and ensuing early years of operation. Following his eventual retirement from the Rideau, he settled outside Kingston, close to Kingston Mills, in a house overlooking the southern approaches to the waterway with which he had been so closely associated. There, he farmed, served his community as postmaster and participated in various societies and social organisations. And it was there that he died in 1866, to be buried in the Cataraqui cemetery on the outskirts of Kingston.(1)

But it is as a prolific artist that Thomas Burrowes has attracted the most attention. Some 115 water colours.
and sketches in the Ontario Archives constitute one of the largest collections of renderings of the physical environment, cultural landscapes and social history of eastern Ontario during the formative years between 1828 and 1866. Qualified though they may be as works of art, the comprehensiveness of their coverage, the faithful rendering of detail in the scenes depicted, and the apparent lack of imaginative manipulation of the subjects make them attractive and valuable sources for the students of this region and period. Indeed, while they have been used as illustrative fillers in various books, reports and pamphlets, they have yet to receive the comprehensive analysis and interpretation they deserve.

Another intriguing dimension of this study is the confusion caused by the presence of two Burrow(e)s, Thomas and John, on the Rideau Canal. During the early years, they each spelled their name Burrows, although Thomas inconsistently added an "e"; both were surveyors, although it would seem that it was John, the professionally trained surveyor, who initiated Thomas into the art and science; both were artists of the Rideau, although John achieving in talent what Thomas did in sheer volume of output; both were Overseers of the Works of their respective sections of the Rideau project. It is not surprising, therefore, that contemporary archivists and scholars, let alone the Board of Engineers in the nineteenth century, confused their
identities. Luckily, the attempted clarification of the confusion has served to provide us with details of the careers of these two important historical figures. (2) The problem could have been even more complicated as there was a third Burrows in the employ of the Civil Establishment of the Rideau Canal, and another John Burrows at that. A "Lock Labourer" at Smith's Falls, the second John Burrows' death in 1836 "by an accident whilst in the execution of his duty" did serve to eliminate a potential element of further confusion. (3)

It is for these reasons that this study attempts to develop a fuller picture of, and broader context for, Thomas Burrowes. The coverage is patchy, the record incomplete, but it is hoped that not only will this study serve to substantially amplify what is known about this important figure in the history of the Rideau, but will also demonstrate that he merits more recognition and further research.
The Early Years: 1796-1826

Born in Worcester, Worcestershire, England, on October 27th., 1796, Thomas Burrowes enlisted with the Royal Sappers and Miners at the age of sixteen, serving from April, 1813 until his discharge on February 7th, 1824.(1) Burrowes claims that he served in the Canadas some nine years which suggests that he arrived late in 1813. Nothing is known of his early years of service although it is claimed that he arrived at Kingston in June, 1818.(2) Kingston at this time was undergoing considerable change. It had entered the 1812 War as a mere village of some 1,000 people occupying 150 houses clustered around the market place, churches and court house. The war had seen the addition of some 4,000 military personnel to this community and between 1812 and 1820, another 250 houses were constructed to accommodate the population which had increased to 2,000. Many of the military had left following the end of the war but a garrison remained, manning the defences which had been considerably strengthened during the previous years. Burrowes and his fellow soldiers were a colourful, if occasionally, a troublesome, presence in the town, frequenting the many taverns and unlicensed groggeries
such as the "Freemasons", "Old King's Head", "Rob Roy", "Bottle and Glass" and many others. (3)

Domesticity enters Burrowes' life on August 27th, 1819 with his marriage to a local town girl, one Grace Rodgers. A year later, on July 28th., their eldest son, Thomas George, was born at Kingston. The family was soon to leave the town, however, and their second son, Samuel William, was born on June 12th, 1822, at Isle aux Noix, on the north shore of Lake Champlain. (4) Thomas Burrowes' company was ordered home later in that year and the family returned to England in September, 1822. (5) His service with the Sappers and Miners was soon to be ended and Burrowes recorded that "I applied at the earnest entreaty of my good father, for permission to purchase my discharge from the corps which was ultimately granted." (6) On February 7th., 1824, Thomas Burrowes' years as Corporal in the Corps of Royal Sappers and Miners concluded and he returned to civilian life. (7)

The family's stay in England lasted just over three years. But on the death of his father, and "having a wish to return to Canada", Thomas Burrowes left England in the late summer of 1826, and brought his family back to Canada. (8)
Overseeing Construction, 1826-1832

On his return to Canada in 1826, Burrowes turned to his military contacts for potential employment and was recommended by Colonel Durnford for a position as Overseer of Works on the Civilian Establishment of engineers and surveyors being assembled for work on the Rideau Canal. By's establishment consisted of a civilian corps of engineers and surveyors, Royal Engineers, Royal Sappers and Miners and day labourers. The chief post in the civilian establishment was that of chief Clerk of Works, under whose supervision and control functioned the Overseers of Works, Paymaster and technical staff. (9) Burrowes arrived at Hull on September 23, 1826 and was engaged as Overseer, so commencing an association with the construction and operation of the canal which was to last some twenty years until his retirement in 1846.

Probably falling back on training and experience acquired during his service with the Miners and Sappers, Thomas Burrowes participated in the preliminary preparations for the construction of the canal. He also had the benefit of his association with a fellow Overseer, his namesake John Burrows, who had received his articles as a provincial land surveyor in December 1820. It was he who trained Thomas
Burrowes, John Burrows recollecting that

I was employed as a draftsman and Sworn Surveyor Mr. T. Burrowes as a person who had served several years in the army and raised to the Rank of Corporal in the Royal Sappers & Miners - and it gives me pleasure to say he now is also a Sworn Surveyor, which Situation he got through a Certificate I gave him that he had been employed several years under me for by Act of Parliament no one can be licensed without such Certificate.(10)

With such qualifications, Thomas Burrowes' responsibilities increased. Ross, in one of his tantalizing references to sources which other researchers have been unable to locate, quotes from Burrowes' "field notes":

During the winter of 1827-8 and in March 1829, I was employed to make a survey of the whole Canal Route and Rideau River carefully, a distance of about nine miles; also the Ottawa River from Lots 39 and 40 downwards for about 9 miles to Green's (Island); and of the lower part of the River Gatineau to the first rapids, about 3 1/2 miles; and of Ordnance Lands.(11)

Ross claimed in his book to possess the map which Burrows produced from this survey. Other comments from this missing source refer to the conditions under which the surveyors, engineers and "navigators" toiled, Burrowes reporting that "During August of 1830, out of 1,316 men employed between Newboro and Kingston Mills, no less than 787 were sick with fever and ague, and the number of deaths was 56."(12) In another source, Burrowes records that "In the Early part of
the year 1829 I was ordered to Brewers Upper Mills, and placed under the command of Captain Briscoe R.E. in charge of the works there about to be commenced."(13) In July of that year, a request for the survey of Kingston Mills found Lt. Briscoe "confined to his house by illness" and he sent for "a Mr. Burrows(sic) from Brewers Mills who is now employed about it, and...I pointed out to him the distance to which I thought the survey should extend."(14) But Burrowes could not escape the "ague" either and was himself confined to his bed for much of the latter part of 1829, attempting to continue with his duties as best he could. He reported that he had been completely disabled by the "Lake fever" but that "not withstanding was compelled occasionally to attend to my duty."(15) Whether he was well enough to effect the survey requested is not known but the boundaries of the military reserve there were to be of concern to Burrowes in the future. The immediate interest of the military in the site at Kingston Mills was not motivated by the need for land for the locks alone. Also, there was concern that the naval dockyards at Point Frederick were vulnerable to American naval attack and alternate sites were sought throughout the Bay of Quinte. The final recommendation was to develop

...the Entrance to the Canal at Kingston Mills the principal Depot for the Naval Stores, provided the ground be capable of
being thoroughly fortified, being free from any apprehension of nautical Attack, to which Kingston Dockyard is subject, as well during the absence of the Fleet, or in the case of that even meeting with adversity of any sort, and being also far more subject to land Attack than the Inland Position of Kingston Mills. (16)

The Kingston Mills reserve was to be an extensive one, the boundaries of which were to be questioned later by Thomas Burrowes when his own lands in Kingston Mills abutted it a decade later.

Apart from disease and health, Burrowes had also to contend with his own disposition. Burrowes had confrontations with his superior, Clerk of the Works N.H. Baird, and was later suspended for "impertinent conduct to Capt. Victor R.E. when employed at Dows Great Swamp". (17) A later document lists persons dismissed, "some of them have been taken back being acquainted with some of my servants." Thomas Burrowes was one of them. (18) Such was his return to favour that, according to Ross, Burrowes was sent by Colonel By on a reconaissance survey of the proposed Trent waterway in the year 1830, Ross further arguing that two of the water colours produced by Burrowes represent this expedition. (19) Certainly, By had been pressing for an increase in pay for "Mr. Burrowes" to 13/- per day; the Board of Engineers agreeing that "From the explanation given by Lt. Col. By relative to Mr. Burrows(sic), the pay of 13/- per day is not
now considered too large, and, therefore, under the circumstances of this particular work."(20) Later developments were to question which of the Burrow(e)s By was referring to here, Thomas or John. Both were favoured employees, however, and such was the high regard with which Thomas was held by Colonel By that there was strong support for his reappointment as Overseer of the Works when the permanent staff was established on completion of the construction, it being argued that

Mr. Thomas Burrows(sic) is strongly recommended for this situation he being perfectly acquainted with the works and everything connected with the canal from Kingston Mills to Jones Falls and during the period he has been employed on the Canal he has faithfully discharged his duty and is very highly spoken of by Captain Briscoe and on account of his services I also beg to recommend that his pay should be increased to 10/0 per diem.(21)

A fact which was to cause some considerable confusion later, let alone acrimony, was the appointment of John Burrows as Overseer of Works at the Bytown end of the canal at a salary of 13/- per day:

Mr. J. Burrows having faithfully discharged his duty and been employed on the Canal from the commencement is recommended for his present rate of pay which includes all allowances except travelling expenses when on duty during the period he shall remain on the canal his duty will be to inspect and superintend the Works from Bytown to the first Rapids, a distance of 63 1/2 miles.(22)
Better qualifications, experience and seniority may have merited the difference in remuneration but there was to be considerable confusion and acrimony caused by By's recommendation of two Burrow(e)s, and at different scales of pay.

**Overseeing the Operation, 1832-1846**

If it was considered that Burrowes had distinguished himself during the surveying and construction of the canal, his efforts were no less vigorous in overseeing the continued and efficient operation of the new system. That they were appreciated is suggested by the approval of the recommendation that "Messrs Thos and John Burrowes(sic), now holding the appointments of Overseers of Works, be appointed Clerks of Works, on the 4th. or Junior Class."(23) A later communication regarding the "Superannuation Fund" for the "Civil Branch of the Royal Engineers Department" referred to Thomas and John "Burrows"(sic), Clerks of Works.(24)

This interchangeable spelling of their names by Thomas, in particular, had caused considerable trouble in the past, the wrong "Mr. Burrow(e)s" receiving the benefit of By's commendations and recommendations for rewards for services rendered. Thus, on January 19th., 1835, John Burrows was informed that his salary as Overseer of Works
would be at the rate of 10/- per diem, a decrease from his earlier rate of 13/- per diem; in protesting this treatment, John Burrows reviews his service on the Rideau and provides us with a comprehensive catalogue of duties performed by the Overseer of Works:

draftsman, charge of the stores, with keeping the store ledger and other books, securing the rents from individuals occupying Government land on the line of Canal, attending the Government arbitrator for settling claims for damage, Surveying portions of land flow'd(sic) by the raised water of the Rideau River, forming the plans and making out the specifications for 20 arbitrations, with occasionally visiting the works.(25)

That he had performed these duties well in By's estimation is clear, the decrease in salary being attributed to a confusion of the two Burrow(e)s, John commenting that "Mr. Thomas Burrowes though of the same name spoken is not the same spelt(sic) and is no relation."(26) Thomas Burrowes' memorial alluded to the same point, "there is another person beside myself of the name of Burrows in the Royal Eng. Dept. Rideau Canal" but he went on to argue, after listing several of John Burrows' deficiencies, that "no person doubts that he receives that increase of pay which was intend(sic) for me".(27) The eventual promotion of both men to Clerk of Works, hopefully, resolved the issue.

The responsibility for ensuring the uninterrupted operation of the locks and canal navigation required
considerable effort. Thus, there were problems with the lower lock gates at Kingston Mills because of "the increased pressure caused by the height of water in Lake Ontario which is higher this season than in 1834 & 1835 and the inclemency of the weather."(28) Despite herculean efforts on the part of Burrowes and his crews, he was obliged to report back to his superior, Captain Bolton, "I have the mortification to report to you that after the greater part of the week being spent in endeavouring to pump out the lower Lock at Kingston Mills, I have been (so far) unsuccessful."(29) Pumping had started at 10.00 p.m. one Wednesday, continued through the next day and night but with slow progress, because of the "want of a sufficient number of men". By 1.00 p.m. Thursday, the water level was down from nine feet to four feet, but the planking on the dams was weak and required repairs. Pumping continued into Friday and again the water level was lowered to four feet but with his men exhausted, Burrowes went to request assistance from the military at Kingston. The Royal Engineers at Fort Henry did not cooperate but Colonel Hughes of the 24th. Regiment allowed volunteers to assist Burrowes and fifty men and four N.C.O.'s were engaged at the labourer's rate of pay. By 12.00 midnight, the water level had been reduced to a mere five inches above the sill but again the men began to fail. On Saturday, exhausted and cold and with the weather turning to Snow, the men refused to work. The task has exceeded the
capacities of the men and Burrowes recognised this commenting:

...what an immense advantage would accrue to the Service by employing a Steam Engine of 12 or 15 horse power on occasions of this kind, as although the work may be performed by manual labour, the progress of it depends so much on the state of the weather, the disposition of the Men employed, and various other causalities which the Steam engine would either obviate, or render of such small comparative importance that its application appears to me to be most desirable.(30)

By May, the problem was in hand and the locks were ready for that season's commencement of navigation. Whatever the limitations of human labour, Burrowes' appreciated the efforts of the men of the 24th. Regiment and he sent five shillings to Sergeant Delany "to treat such of the men as you thought most deserving the Night you were at the Locks and he feels thankful to you for your exertions that night and will not forget to represent your conduct as such."(31) Lieut. Colonel Hughes, Commanding Officer of the 24th., was not impressed by a mere tipping of his men and threatened to sue Burrowes unless they were paid according to the civilian rates for labour rather than the military.(32) After several exchanges of correspondence, the issue was resolved, Burrowes receiving the support of his superiors who commented on "the zeal & ability [with which] he performed the arduous duties of the Clerk of the Works on the Kingston side of the Rideau Canal."(33)
Burrowes was required to demonstrate further ingenuity when one of the steamers, the Bytown, ran aground in November, 1836. The newspaper is quite terse in its report of what must have been a considerable project. Burrowes oversaw the construction of a temporary dam upstream of the steamer and, when the volume of water was sufficient, let it off downstream to the site of the grounded steamer, and thus "bore her out of danger". (34) It is not surprising that the local newspaper carried advertisements calling for tenders for the government contracts for excavation in the offending area between Brewer's Mills and Kingston Mills. (35)

But the general routine of work was more prosaic than these occasional exciting, if arduous, crises. As surveyor and Overseer or Clerk of Works, he was responsible for the preparation for, and organization of, numerous projects related to the Rideau system. In 1832, Kingston Mills received his attention with soundings of the infamous shoal below the lower locks and cross sections of the dam above the locks. In 1835, the maps, sections and sketches were of the Lake Opinicon area, the Isthmus, and Long Island weir, a location where he recorded the comfort of the support presence of the steamship Bytown. In 1840, he and John Burrows cooperated in the survey of log bridges to be prepared for the Kingston-Perth road which was susceptible to flooding; later in the year, the bounds of the naval
reserve at Kingston Mills received his attention while in 1844 he prepared the detailed architectural plans of the proposed new office-cum-house for the incumbent Clerk of Works there. (36)

And then there was the paper work. Burrowes was responsible for the Kingston District section of the waterway which extended from Kingston to the Narrows, a section which included the locks at Kingston Mills, Lower Brewers (Washburn), Upper Brewers, Davis, Jones Falls, Chaffeys, Newboro and the Narrows. Despite the repeated injunctions from the Royal Engineers Office at Bytown that Order Books, Cash Books, Toll Books and records in general be kept in good order, few sets have survived for this section and those that have survived are of variable utility. Those for the Narrows, however, are notable for their coverage and detail, allowing an insight into the range of duties of the Clerk of Works, and Burrowes in particular. Communications were maintained in two ways. Burrowes travelled the system personally, visiting each lock station, inspecting the establishment and the books, his presence being recorded by a notation scrawled across the page; in this way, the Narrows' books record five visitations in 1836, four in 1837, no less than ten in 1838, and five in 1839. (37) Secondly, instructions, admonishments and general orders were transmitted by the canal navigation system, Burrowes ordering that "The lockmaster at Kingston
Mills will forward this Order from station to station to the Narrows Lockmaster and will thereby post it to Bytown." (38)

Orders such as these were concerned with book keeping, water levels, repairs, appointments to the summer and winter establishments, the organization of stores and supplies and matters of discipline and efficiency. The minutiae of Burrowes' concern included a request for returns of "the number of Iron or other Tar Barrels they have in charge, with their state of empty full or partly full. Lockmaster Sands is requested to state what Progress he has made with Painting the Lock at the Narrows." (39) On another occasion, Lockmaster Sands was contacted regarding one Michael O'Donnell, Burrowes advising him " you will dismiss him - his conduct is too flagrant." (40) Drought threatened the navigation in another year and Burrowes warned his district, "The Season hitherto proving an unusually dry one, a scarcity of water may be apprehended, to Guard against which as much as possible the several lockmasters are to take immediate steps to retain all the water they can." (41)

Burrowes received his orders from the Royal Engineers' Office at Bytown. In 1836, he was ordered to establish depots of tools at Kingston Mills, Jones Falls and the Isthmus; also it was clearly stated what his other responsibilities were:

Mr. Thos. Burrows will see that these
orders are strictly attended to by the Lockmasters in the Kingston district he will inspect the stores and books at every opportunity and will insert in the journal the result of such inspection and state when it was made any wilful neglect is to be immediately communicated to the Senr. R. Engineer and reports of the state of the stores and books will for the future be sent at the expiration of each quarter to this office.(42)

That he did not perform these duties to the satisfaction of the head office is evidenced by an admonition sent to him that "Several of the Lockmasters of the Kingston District having neglected either to keep up their journals or their entries of orders received, Mr. Thos. Burrowes particular attention is therefore called to this part of their duty which he is requested not to overlook in future".(43) He didn't and the frequent entries in the lock journals which have survived for his district attest to his vigilance during the last years of his term.

The Burrowes' Family, Home and Society, 1826-1846

Burrowes' appointment to the Civil Establishment of the Rideau Canal meant that his family moved to Hull from Bytown, arriving on 22 November, 1826 and occupied a log cabin prepared for them by Colonel By. Three days later, their fourth son was born and, being the first child born to a settler in the newly formed Rideau and Ottawa Canal District, the baby was christened John By Burrowes, also
receiving from his namesake a gift of land, Lot E on Rideau St., in Bytown.(44) Within the year, the child had died, thus becoming the first person of the new settlement to be buried there. The circumstances of the burial were later reported by Burrowes:

The spot chosen was on Sandy Hill, and was selected by John McTaggart and Self. After traversing the Ground - then in a state of wilderness - poor McT. arrived at a healthy young beech, somewhat more than a sapling, but not yet a tree. McT. was deeply affected, and while his eyes filled with ill suppressed tears, said to me: "Here, Tam, we'll just lay the poor wee King's head beneath this fine young tree." Poor ill-fated tree, a true type of the babe - not more than five or six months afterwards, some barbarous hand cut thee down.(45)

Despite his recent arrival, Burrowes and other civilians of By's staff were called upon to participate in the government and organization of the new territories. In September, 1828, a public meeting was held at Bytown to discuss the need for some form of regulation and control of their affairs:

From the peculiar situation of the Town, which is so far from the seat of Government (Perth), and has a mixed population whose varied interests often bring danger to the peace of the inhabitants and the property therein, therefore, be it resolved that the Magistrates, officers, etc. indispensably necessary be on the spot.(46)

Among the array of new officials nominated and appointed as Councillor were Thomas Burrowes and, predictably, John
Burrows. These two colleagues and co-residents of Bytown in its formative years have been immortalized in the verses of William Pittman Lett, verses which put some flesh and character on these two enigmatic individuals. He is most informative about John Burrows:

John Burrows, too, with serious air,
Sang hymns and offered frequent prayer,
And taught Sunday School with might,
To spread religion's early light,
He held a post in other years
Among the Royal Engineers,
With Colonel By, a right hand man,
His course of favor he began,
And once he owned most of the wild land,
Upon which Ottawaw doth stand. (47)

As for the namesake:

And there stands Thomas Burrows(sic), too,
As he appeared before my view,
Leaning upon his garden gate
Beside the Creek in '28;
He held of trust, an office high
Under the reign of Colonel By. (48)

By 1831, the Burrowes' family have moved to Kingston and the Kingston Chronicle and Gazette announced the auction of the premises on Lot No. 2 of the Military reserve in the Town of Kingston, being 1/5 of an acre of land and a two storey frame house "presently occupied by Mr. Burrowes". (49) Perhaps this auction marked the removal of the Burrowes' residence from Kingston to the Drummond House at Kingston Mills. Built by Mr. Drummond, the ill fated contractor for the extensive locks and other works there, this eventually became the home for the Overseer of Works and his family.
Certainly, by April, 1835, calls for tenders for the completion of the Block House at Kingston Mills announce that applications should be made to T. Burrows (sic), Overseer of Works, Kingston Mills. (50) But Burrowes still maintained an interest in the affairs of the town and like many "new Kingstonians" associated with the military establishments Thomas Burrowes participated in the various institutions and societies the town had to offer. In 1834, he is reported to have donated an Indian Chisel, Indian Pottery and three minerals to the Kingston Mechanical Institute and in April, 1836, he became a member of this society of learning. (51) More puzzling is his enrollment as a member of the newly formed "St. Patrick's Society". By birth an Englishman from Worcester, the fact that "Thomas Burroughs (sic), Civil Engineer" became a member of this ethnic society is as intriguing as is his signature at the foot of a loyal "Irish Address" together with those of eight other "Irish Inhabitants of the Province". (52)

Whatever his ethnic affiliation, there can be no doubt of his loyalty to the state. And 1837 and 1838 provided plenty of opportunity to demonstrate it. It is somewhat ironic that while the military and naval defences of Kingston had been constructed out of fear of attacks from the United States, it was internal dissent and conflict which occasioned the most extensive military activity in Kingston since the 1812 War. Popular pressure for civil
reform erupted into troublesome uprisings in Upper Canada in December, 1837, and in Lower Canada in 1837 and 1838. But of more immediate concern to Kingston, a Kingston which felt vulnerable because of the departure of its garrison to fight elsewhere and because of the proximity of the American border, was the fear of American attack. At least five American secret societies had dedicated themselves to the liberation of Canada, the most notorious of which was the "Hunters Lodge" whose members had sworn to

attack, combat, and help to destroy, by all means that my superior may think proper, every power, or authority, of Royal origin, upon this continent; and especially never to rest till all tyrants of Britain cease to have any dominion or footing whatever in North America. (53)

And, of course, Kingston was a principal target for the patriots and was central to the military situation. The garrison substantially reduced, the town looked to its own resources for its defence during the early months of the rebellion. While the military were successful in defeating the rebels in the west, the threats against Kingston continued into 1838 with some 300 to 500 "patriots" moving from Watertown to occupy Hickory Island. The local militia constituted the core of the forces which were assembled to meet this threat and Thomas Burrowes, like so many others rallied to the colours.

Major Richard Bonnycastle had been appointed Lt.
Colonel of the Militia and units from the adjoining counties of Hastings, Lennox and Addington, Prince Edward and Leeds joined the three companies of militia from Frontenac county. By February, 1838, Bonnycastle was in command of three troops of dragoons, five companies of artillery, and a considerable if variagated body of infantry and Mohawk warriors. Among these was one Lieutenant Thomas Burrowes, recently appointed to the newly formed "Third or East Regiment of Frontenac Militia". The latter had been established by the General Order dated 13 January, 1838 and the limits from which its volunteers were drawn consisted of the Eastern Addition of the Township of Kingston, Pittsburgh Township and Wolfe Island and organized in nine companies, each with its own designated bounds for recruits and responsibilities for defence in time of attack. Commanded by the local worthy, John Marks, the unit consisted of three field officers, seven captains, six lieutenants, five ensigns, four staff officers, 21 sergeants and 516 men during the crisis. Burrowes served as lieutenant in Captain Matheson's company from the first formation of the unit and he was one of the eighteen recommendations for the rank of Lieutenant advanced by Colonel John Marks, Burrowes' "Status in Life" being recorded as "Civil Engineer". In February, the Kingston Chronicle and Gazette reports that "Thomas Burrows, Gentleman" has been promoted to Lieutenant as of January 13,
1838.(58). During the following uneasy period when Kingston anticipated an imminent invasion from across the waters of the St. Lawrence, Lieut. Burrowes served in Captain James Mathewson's Company of the Third Frontenac stationed at Kingston Mills. There, he and his captain, two lieutenants, two lieutenants, an ensign, three sergeants, three corporals and 88 privates awaited the impending attack. Apart from patriotic satisfaction, his reward was also 4s.4d. a day for eight days.(59) But by September of 1838, his unit was nominating another as "Vice, or instead of" Lieutenant Burrowes who had "refused to join".(60) The next month, Colonel Marks advanced a "List of Recommendations to fill up the Vacancies in the 3rd. Regiment of Frontenac Militia", a list which was "absolutely required to complete the the Regiment for Service" and which included a replacement for the "Lieut. Thomas Burrowes, resigned".(61) No reasons are given, but it is most probable that the importance of his duties on the Rideau Canal and the commencement of navigation on that important routeway the previous year, had necessitated his resignation. Certainly, the frequency of his signature of the various lock books during 1838 suggests that he was fully engaged as Clerk of Works during that period.

The period was also traumatic for Thomas Burrowes personally. In March 1837, Grace, his wife for the past eighteen years, died at the age of 42.(62) We know litle of
the domestic arrangements of the Burrowes' household at this time although there is a record that Thomas Burrowes and John Burrows, "Clerks of Works 4 Class" were entitled to "one ration for each and one ration for each servant and one rooms fuel and candles to each per week - Lodging money if not provided with quarters."(63) The lodgings provided for Burrowes were in the "Drummond House" at Kingston Mills and it is there that he took his new wife, the former Mrs. Margaret MacDonald of Kingston, after their wedding in August, 1837, in St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, the Reverend John Machar officiating. (64) At the time of this marriage, Thomas Burrowes' family consisted of his three sons, Thomas George, Samuel William, another son who was to die at the battle of Chatanooga, Tennessee, and two daughters, Amelia and Mary Anne. By the time of the census in 1851, none of the children of the first marriage were still living in the Burrowes' household and his will dated 1865 referred only to Thomas, Amelia and Mary Anne as being still living. (65) In the thirteen years or so following his marriage to the widow MacDonald, his family was increased by another son, Francis Herbert Douglas, and six daughters, Jane Elizabeth Hannah, Ethelda Emma, Bertha, Roberta Hermia, Margaret Helena, and Belinda Edith. (66) There are suggestions that not all was well with the domestic arrangements following the second marriage, however, and a notice in the Kingston Chronicle and Gazette in 1839-40
warns that Thomas Burrowes was not accountable for any debts "contracted on his account except by the written or verbal order of Thomas or Margaret Burrowes". (67) Some twenty years later, Burrowes' will refers to these domestic problems in some more detail. (68)

While still resident at Kingston Mills and active along the length of his section of the Rideau as Clerk of Works, Burrowes appears to have been making preparations for his retirement from the Civil Establishment of that system. Like many other surveyors and government appointees of the day, Burrowes was interested in land. Within a year of his arrival in Canada he applied for a lot in Bytown in 1827. (69) In 1834, Burrowes and Robert Duff, both of the Township of Kingston, petitioned Lt. Governor Sir John Colborne, for Lot 18, Concession III, Pittsburgh township, as "the usual quantity of Land, graciously allowed by his Majesty to discharged Soldiers having now encreasing(sic) families and having the means of complying with the conditions attached to the Location Tickets of lands so granted." (70) An Order in Council of 21 May, 1834 awarded the two supplicants 100 acres each but the lot Burrowes requested in Pittsburgh had already been granted to one Captain Adam Groves. (71) Accordingly, he was awarded a location on Lot 27, Concession I, in South Crosby in February, 1835 which "appeared vacant on the Diagram of said Township" but which later proved to be claimed by Mr. Reuben
Sherwood; Burrowes was thus "deprived of his favorable location after having been put to considerable Expense and much inconvenience relating thereto." (72) He further argued that "the remaining vacant Crown lands in the neighbourhood of the Rideau Canal are of very inferior quality, and that his present Employment on said Canal prevents his seeking a Location elsewhere" (73) This request was accompanied by a recommendation of the Executive Council that because of the expense and inconvenience incurred by the previous claim that Burrowes and Duff be allowed to locate lands of "rather more value than the Lots of which they are now deprived" with an understanding that their future claims would be viewed favourably as "a reasonable remuneration for their loss and disappointment." (74) Accordingly, Burrowes petitioned for the Clergy lot 2, Concession V, containing 110 acres and Clergy lot 3 Concession IV, containing 50 acres, both lots being located in the township of North Crosby; he accompanied this request with quit claims for the lots from Messrs. McAnuly and Tett, dated 31 January, 1838 and 4, February, 1838 respectively, together with a letter from Captain Bolton asserting that the lots were "not required for use of the Rideau Canal". (75) Burrowes' petition was also dated 4 February, 1838. By 6 April, not only had Burrowes acquired the lots he requested but he had even patented them. (76) Other lands were also acquired in Pittsburgh township; thus, on 27 September, 1836, Burowes
was granted a patent to 100 acres in the northern half of Lot 8, Concession VII; on 4 December, 1838 he patented a further 200 acres on Lot 24, Concession V. (77) With some 460 acres of land and a town lot in Bytown, Burrowes, like other government officials of the day, had acquired a modest, if not extensive estate.

Burrowes did not make his eventual home in the Bedford Mills area of North Crosby, however. Rather, he sold his lands there and shifted his investment to property in the community of Kingston Mills with which he had been associated for nearly twenty years. Thus, in August, 1841, Burrowes sold lot 3, Concession IV back to Benjamin Tett, the "frontier entrepreneur" of Bedford and North Crosby townships, and in November of that year purchased the 128 acres of Lot 35, Concession IV, Township of Kingston, from John Green for L140. (78) Two years later, in January 1843, he sold his remaining North Crosby lot back to Henry McAnuly and purchased lots 10 and 11, on "the West side of the Great Cataraqui River" in Kingston township, from the Bank of Upper Canada, the 25 acres, 3 rods and 28 perches costing some 52 pounds sterling. (79) With these purchases, Burrowes had prepared an estate for his retirement. The circumstances surrounding the land dealings between Burrowes and Messrs. Tett and McAnuly involving their cooperation in such a rapid sequence of "quit claim-petition-patent-sale" was not unusual at that time and the rewards did allow
Burrowes to acquire an estate for his eventual retirement years Kingston Mills. These new lands were to prove to be the cause of considerable conflict and litigation over the ensuing years.

Whether Burrowes actually moved his residence to these newly acquired lands prior to his resignation from the Rideau Canal Establishment in 1846 is unclear. It is known, however, that in June, 1843, he was "up to the eyes in Lathe & Plaster having a thorough repair of the old house I live in in hand". (80) The Clerk of the Works' residence at the "Drummond House" was deteriorating and there were plans to construct a new residence for him. (81) It is possible, therefore, that rather than the "old house" being the "Drummond House" that Burrowes had moved by that date to his newly acquired property on Lot 35, on the valleyside overlooking the Great Cataraqui marshes.
THE LATER YEARS, 1846-1866

Thomas Burrowes is best known because of his association with the Rideau canal and, in particular, his artistic depiction of it and the surrounding area. But if he was associated with it for twenty years, it must also be recognised that he lived in the locality of Kingston Mills for another twenty years following his retirement and that he continued to paint and play a role in the local society. As farmer, post master, and local worthy, Thomas Burrowes' latter years merit some attention also.

While it has been suggested that the Burrowes' household might have moved from their Kingston Mills site home to Lot 35, Concession IV by as early as 1843, it is certain that he was established at the latter location by 1851. The move from the "Drummond House" to "Maplehurst Cottage", as the new house came to be known, also occasioned a change in career and life style. The government surveyor and engineer became a farmer, or at least a part time farmer. But this period also witnessed some uncertainty and apparent litigation over his claims to his lands. In 1848, Burrowes applied his professional skills to the production of a survey of the Kingston Mills military reserve and Lots 34 and 35 to demonstrate the discrepancy between the 1833 survey and that of "the original patent granted in 1817 to
Lt. Col. Cockburn." (1) In 1849, Provincial Land Surveyor Gibb surveyed "the Land belonging to the Ordnance reserved for the purposes of the Canal in the vicinity of Kingston Mills Lock Station"; yet again the lives of John Burrows and Thomas Burrowes come together, this survey referring to the "Boundary Stones of the Land reserved for the Canal purposes numbered XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI & XXII", noting that they were "placed on the ground by Mr. John Burrows in August 1832, under the direction of the Royal Engineers Department". (2) The survey was accepted by most of the property owners adjoining the reserve but it was noted that "Messrs. Burrowes and Donaghue, adjacent proprietors, refuse to sign the plan", their concern being the accuracy of the boundaries of lot 35; that this was a dispute of long standing and one which may have occasioned the resurvey is attested to by the statement that "An opinion in favor of the legality of the present boundaries of this Lot was given by the Attorney General for the Province of Canada West on the 19th. June, 1849". (3) This judgement did not settle the issue as far as Burrowes was concerned and a decade later he was still advancing his claim, his will referring to the expectation that "the Governor General in Council or the Provincial Government are or may be pleased to grant the prayer of my memorial now before them and restore to me the land formerly held by the Ordnance as part of the Kingston Mills Reservation but which belongs to the Lot No. 35 in the
Fourth Concession of Kingston". (4)

Despite the uncertainties of his claim to part of his lands, by 1851 he is recorded by the census enumerator as "farmer", albeit a small one, his holding consisting of 100 acres of which 75 acres were said to be "woods and wild" with the balance of 25 acres devoted to wheat, oats, peas and hay; his few livestock amounted to two milch cows and two pigs, although the reference to 20 pounds of wools and 40 yards of flannel suggest that there may have been some sheep also. (5) At this time, his family and two servants lived in a house which was described as being one-and-half storey, but it is impossible to determine whether this was the original farm house dating from the original occupation of the lot or the precursor of the structure to be known later as "Maplehurst Cottage". Burrowes' assessment for Municipal taxes in 1852 provides more details of his economic and social status. The Collector's Roll records his lands as lots 35, 10 and 11 in Concession IV, the total amounting to 155 acres valued at $1 per acre, while the house was valued at $300, personal property at $133, giving a total evaluation for taxation purposes of "real and personal property" of $488. (6)

The decade of the fifties was one of considerable change, activity and apparent stress for Thomas Burrowes. The bucolic world of Kingston Mills had been invaded by the technology of steam with the opening of the Rideau waterway
in 1832 but the advent of rail added yet another dimension of nineteenth century progress, the railroad. The Grand Trunk Railroad crossed over the locks at Kingston Mills by means of a spectacular tressle bridge, the construction of which Burrowes faithfully records in one of his water colours.(7) It also crossed his land on lot 35, some four acres of which was transferred to the G.T.R. by Margaret and Thomas in September, 1854.(8) Apart from the activity of construction and the eventual introduction of a major line of steam transport, the railroad reoriented the community somewhat by displacing the old Kingston-Montreal to the north of the new line so that houses such as "Maplehurst" found themselves no longer fronting onto the main road but set back from it by a considerable distance.

Perhaps the fullest and most intriguing insight into the life, experience and concerns of Thomas Burrowes is provided by his last will and testament prepared by him on Christmas Eve, 1857. Wills, especially if accompanied by inventories are always valuable statements of not only the material wealth of their subjects but also of their beliefs, values and attitudes towards life.(9) That of Thomas Burrowes is no exception. While generally in good health and sound mind, he does allude to "the lameness incident to the repeated attacks of rheumatism by which I have been affected" .(10) Apart from failing health, reference is also made to domestic discord which had been stressful in past
years. Reference has already been made to earlier suggestions of this as evidenced in the advertisement in 1839-40 regarding debts "contracted on his account" by others. (11) The will is more specific, admonishing his first and oldest son from his first marriage, Thomas George, "who has proved and been a most undutiful son and hath been to me a source of trouble and vexation and sometimes a disgrace for his wildness and low propensities"; Burrowes allowed this son ten pounds from his estate and urged him to "pray of Almighty God forgiveness for his continued disobedience to me, and as long as she lived to his poor dear mother". (12) The other children of his first marriage, Amelia and Mary Anne, received fifty pounds each, but they too incurred their father's displeasure for having been "disobedient though not to the same degree as their brother Thomas having been contumacious and disobedient to me and their step-mother Margaret who was most kind to them in their infancy and tender age, but in whose face and mine they rebelled and left my house clandestinely when I was in sickness and trouble and struggling hard to keep the little worldly wealth God had blessed me with together therein following the example and advice of their brother". (13) It is possible that his time of "trouble and struggling hard" was associated with his litigation over his lands which his will implies was still in progress in 1857.

The will suggests that Burrowes had been at least
partially successful in keeping together his "little worldly wealth". It refers to "all and Singular my Lands, tenements, joint Stock, Road Company Stock and all my goods and chattels and all my other affects and worldly goods". (14) More precisely, it specifies the following elements:

Stock: Kingston and Storrrington Road Company
       Kingston and Gananoque Road Company
       Kingston and Portland Road Company

Lands: Town lot 29., N. Wellington St., Ottawa.
       Pittsburgh township, lot 24, Concession V.
       lot 8, Concession VIII.
       Kingston township, Sl/2 lot 35, Concession IV.
       Nl/2 lot 35, (claimed) (15)

While these properties were to be disposed of by the executors of the will to meet expenses and pay the legacies, the home farm was left to his wife Margaret "in full and undivided possession...so long as she may continue to live or remain unmarried", the the property consisting of "the house in which I now reside and of the Farm thereto attached and of all the Stock and Farming Implements on said Farm, and of all the Household Furniture and Effects in said House". (16) This property was to be held by her in trust for their son Francis Herbert Douglas, their daughters being allowed to live there as long as they wished. But for the historical researcher, perhaps the most tantalizing bequest is that to his son, also a surveyor, of "my surveying or mathematical instruments, Plans, Manuscripts, Note books,
writing desks, and office desks, carpenters tools, all scientific and law books in my library." (17) To this point, only Burrowes' water colours have been located, although his grandson's frequent references to survey notes and note books in his Ottawa Past and Present suggests that he, at least, had access to them as recently as the 1920's. (18)

Rather than the will marking the closing of Burrowes' life and a withdrawal from outside activities, it was more of a settling of his affairs according to his wishes and preferences at that time. Certainly, he continued to be active. Indeed, the following year, 1858, sees him embarking on a new career as Post Master at Kingston Mills. (19) It would appear that the community of Kingston Mills first acquired the benefit of postal facilities in 1853, a communication dated 14 February of that year directing the Kingston Postal authorities to "open an Office at Kingston Mills, Wm. H. Deane as P.M." (20) On the resignation of Deane in 1858, a Henry Crawford was appointed to "the P.M'ship of Kingston Mills" on 26 March, 1858. (21) Within six months, Crawford had also resigned and on 17 September of that year one "Mr. Robert(sic) Burrowes is appointed to the P.M'ship of Kingston Mills, County of Frontenac, in the room of Mr. Henry Crawford." (22) The annual Postal Guides confirm that it was Thomas rather than "Robert" Burrowes who held that position from 1856 to the year of his death in 1866, his remuneration for his services ranging from some six pounds
sterling per annum in his first year to $10 in his last.(23) His tenure was not without incident or complaint. A letter of March, 1863 refers to a memorial of the "inhabitants of Kingston Mills dated 3rd. March, '63 praying for removal of Office to Cunningham Crs' of Pittsburgh."(24) Apparently Burrowes and one, Robinson, Collector of Canal Tolls, advised that "the place to which it is sought to remove the office is a Tavern", advice which elicited the opinion of the authorities that the "P.M.Gl. would consider it a most serious objection to the proposed site."(25) In June, 1866, Robert Brownley was appointed "to be P.M. vice Thos. Burrowes, deceased".(26)

Burrowes' activities also included continued manipulation of his real estate holdings. In July, 1856, he sold half of his 200 acre lot in Concession V, Pittsburgh township for 150 pounds and, two years later, he took out a 100 pounds mortgage on his other lot in Concession VII.(27) On 6 June, 1863, Burrowes entered into an agreement to convey the lands to one, Francis Muir, for 500 pounds and he used part of this money to obtain a release from the mortgage on the very same day.(28) Not until after his death, were the remaining lands in Pittsburgh and Kingston townships to be severed from the estate.

The 1861 census reveals some changes in the affairs of the Burrowes' household. Thomas and Maragaret still lived with their son and six daughters but their home is now
described as a two storey structure of stone. It is
probably this house which has survived to this day; whether
it was a new structure constructed between 1851 and 1861 is
not known and it may have been a modification of the earlier
form by the addition of a half storey. Burrowes' lands are
now referred to as the southern half of "lot 31" (sic) which
is said to consist of 150 acres of which 50 acres were under
garden, crops and pasture, the remaining 100 acres being
"wild", covered with maple, hemlock and ash woods.(29) His
farming activities were still on a small scale but there
were some indications of increased productivity; spring
wheat, peas, oats, buck wheat, potatoes and hay were
cultivated; the livestock, valued at $358, consisted of steers,
milk cows, horses, sheep and pigs; other on-farm activities
are suggested by the presence of 25 lbs. wool, 400 lbs.
butter, two 200 lb. barrels of beef and four 200 lb.
barrels of pork.(30) The Municipal Assessment Roll for the
following year records Thomas Burrowes, "freeholder",
occupying parts of lots 11, 10 and 35 in Concession IV, the
total amounting to 147 acres; the lands are valued at $7
per acre, or $1029 in total, with the house valued at $600;
personal property amounted to a modest $180, yielding a
total evaluation of "real and personal property" for
taxation purposes of $1809.(31)

One of Thomas Burrowes' last paintings depicts a very
unrepresentative scene. Unlike the renderings of
landscapes, waterscapes, lock sites and construction activities of his other paintings, this one records a gathering of family and friends at a lake near Sydenham, north of Kingston. It shows 34 people enjoying a picnic, including seven members of the family and 27 friends. Ross claims that this was painted at the request of Burrowes' eldest daughter Jane Elizabeth Hannah Foster Burrowes, to mark her engagement to the Rev. Walter Ross. (32) Could the old gentleman with the walking stick be a self-portrait of the "rheumatic" Burrowes senior?

On the 2 June, 1864, Jane Elizabeth Hannah Foster Burrowes was married to the Rev. Ross and early in the next year, Burrowes added a codecil to his will, "Many changes having in the Providence of Almighty God, taken place". (33) His wife Margaret was named sole heir to all goods and chattels, reserving only the initial bequests to the children of the first marriage and that to Francis Herbert of the particularized items of property; the new executors were Francis, his son-in-law the Rev. Walter Ross, and the Rev. John Kerr Machorine. (34) This codecil was signed on 17 Jan., 1865. On 22 May, 1866, the Kingston Daily News carried a small block announcement:

Died. On Monday, May 21st at Maplehurst Cottage, Township of Kingston, Thomas Burrowes, Esq., late of the Royal Engineer Department, in his 70th. year. Friends and acquaintances are invited to attend his
funeral, without further notice, from his residence, Kingston Mills, on Wednesday, 23rd instant, at 1 o'clock pm, Waterloo Cemetery.
Because of the novelty of the Rideau "Canal" as the world's first system of steam navigation; because of the prodigious feats of engineering ingenuity at such sites as the stairway of locks at Bytown, the stone arch dam at Jones Falls, and the Chaudiere Bridge; and because it served as a major artery of movement for immigrants and travellers between the Canadas, the Rideau Corridor received the attention of many writers and artists. The great masses of immigrants passing through the region left but little record of their impressions but the numerous ladies and gentlemen on "The Grand Tour", a class of people who had been trained in the skills of painting in water colours, were more productive.(1) More importantly, landscape sketching and painting was an important skill for military and naval officers. Such officers trained at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich and other establishments were instructed to a certain level of proficiency as topographical draughtsmen, if not artists. The military required their engineers to be able to illustrate their reports with maps, drawings and plans while the artillery and infantry officers had to be able to render drawings of landscape features, defences and enemy dispositions. The association of the military with the survey and eventual construction of the
Rideau canal and the passage through it of many officers en route to duty elsewhere in the colonies ensured the production of numerous sketches and paintings, albeit of varying quality, of the sights along the waterway. Henry Francis Ainslie (83rd. Regiment of Foot), Phillip Bainbrigge (Royal Engineers), George Seton (93rd. Regiment of Foot), E.C. Frome (Royal Engineers) all served in Canada, travelled the Rideau route and left us their impressions of the newly constructed system. (2)

But none of these recorded the landscapes and society of the past as copiously or assiduously as did Thomas Burrowes. With his 115 known water colours and a dozen or so pencil sketches, he has provided a considerable body of visual records of the land, people and society of his day so enabling us to better approach, if not completely answer, a whole suite of questions about the past. What did the region look like prior to the arrival of the surveyors and workmen? In many sections there had been two generations of settlement and development whose achievements were to be modified, if not eliminated, by the "improvements" wrought by the engineers and " navigators". How did the work progress? Little is known of the construction technology, the organization of the labour, the mundane details of the construction process. What did the system look like at the time of its completion? The manicured grounds and buildings of the present lock sites, however attractive they might
appear today, are a far cry from the working sites of the hey day of the operation of the system, let alone the first years following construction. It is questions such as these which may be approached via Burrowes' artistic work. Some may question the the artistic merit of Burrowes' paintings and drawings. Landscape painting has been described as being the world as seen through the eyes of an imagination. (3) Officers, engineers and surveyors were required to render the "real" world not the "ideal" and it is this very absence of an imagination which makes some of the early renderings so valuable as historical documents.

That some of the drawings are lacking in perspective, sense of scale, sense of colour and general technical proficiency may reflect the fact that Burrowes had not received even the utilitarian skills of the military officer. Perhaps his eleven years service as Corporal in the Royal Sappers and Miners allowed him to develop some of these but it is known that he came under the wing of John Burrows, a fellow Overseer of the Works on the Civil Establishment of Colonel By's staff. (4) Burrows claims that he trained Thomas Burrowes in the skills of surveying and prepared him for his registration as a Provincial Surveyor. John Burrow's own background included a commission in a British militia unit, the Prince of Wales' Regiment, and training as a surveyor. In 1827, John Burrows traversed the proposed route of the canal to Kingston on two separate
occasions and his diary provides a vivid account of his journey by canoe, including some simple sketches of scenes along the way. (5) Also, he too produced a set of water colours of the Rideau lock stations as they appeared at completion. These works are softly tinted drawings which record the lock sites and their buildings in the 1830's, the river, lake and canal traffic of steam boats, rafts and batteaux, but with an ubiquitous gaff-rigged sloop passing through each lock set. Whether this was Burrows' more comfortable mode of transport now that the waterway was completed or whether it was his personal protest against the onset of steam navigation is open to question. Whatever the explanation, it certainly becomes the distinguishing feature of Burrows' work. (6)

The Coverage

But it is Thomas Burrowes who merits the accolade of "artist of the Rideau" by reason of his 115 water colours and other sketches. (7) These works cover the period 1826-1861 and may be grouped chronologically into several periods of activity, each with its own regional coverage:

i. 1826-1830. That Burrowes was possessed of some artistic talents prior to his association with John Burrows is suggested by the painting of "The Twin
Falls of the Rideau" dated September, 1826, that is, immediately on joining By's staff. A handful of other paintings are dated in these years, showing that Burrowes had visited Long Island, Perth, Lower Brewers and Kingston Mills.

ii. 1830. During this year, eleven water colours may be dated ranging from the vicinity of Bytown, through Richmond and the whole extent of the Rideau to Kingston Mills. Another 36 views are of scenes from Prescott in the east to the mouth of the river Trent in the west. Seven of these are known to have been rendered in 1830 and Ross claims that Burrowes was sent on a reconnaissance survey to the mouth of the Trent river in that year.

iii. 1831-1832. During this period, Burrowes was active in the construction of the lock sites, those which are dated are of the Upper Brewers and Lower Brewers sites in particular.

iv. 1832-1845. During his years as Overseer of Works and Clerk of Works of the Kingston-Narrows district, Burrowes travelled the whole extent of the Rideau system, the views representing all the lock sites from the Isthmus to Kingston Mills, concentrating on Jones Falls and the Rideau lakes waterscapes in particular, with several of the Bytown area in the 1840's.
v. 1846-61. Four views may be assigned to this period, three being of the Kingston Mills community showing the Construction of the Grand trunk trestle bridge there in the 1850's. One, the only personal piece in the collection, is a family scene at Sydenham, north of Kingston.

Figure I, "The Artistic World of Thomas Burrowes", demonstrates the areas of Burrowes' artistic activity, areas represented by him in paintings, sketches, ground plans and engineering drawings.(8) The main regions are:

i. The Bytown-Long Island district. These views are not only of lock sites but also are full of detail of the development of Bytown in its formative years.

ii. The Rideau Lakes region. While the Isthmus-Newboro-Chaffeys-Davis lock sites are all the subject of much attention, this set of paintings is distinguished by the several waterscapes of the region and evidence of a possible exploration taken by Burrowes of a route along the Tay-Bobs Lake-Wolfe Lake-Westport route. The views of Perth and Westport are featured in this set.

iii. The Cataraqui section. This grouping centres of the construction at the sites of Jones Falls, Upper Brewers and Lower Brewers. These are remarkable
because of the details of construction activity.

iv. The Kingston Mills community. An extensive collection of plans accompany Burrowes' paintings of the locks and hamlet at Kingston Mills. Because of the chronological coverage, they provide a comprehensive coverage of the fabric of this community.

v. The St. Lawrence-Bay of Quinte region. Apart from the waterscapes of the Thousand Islands and Long Reach sections, the views in this set focus on the communities of Prescott, Brockville, Bath, Napanee and Belleville.

Of some significance is the absence of material for the section running from the Isthmus to Long Island. Ross argues that there were paintings of the locks at Smiths Falls, Edmonds, Kilmarnock, Merrickville and Burritts but that these have been lost since.(9) The only other explanation is that the work which has survived reflects the region with which Burrowes interacted most during his travels associated with his duties.

The Content

The major contribution of Burrowes' work is in presenting a record of the appearance of the region prior to
the construction of the canal, the actual processes involved in the construction itself and representations of the various vessels which used the waterway. Ross quotes Wilfred Campbell's comments on the personnel involved in the construction of the Rideau canal:

They were a generation of plodding, staid, careful and contented, exact and honest artisans and toilers from the old land, of the slower but more solid methods, and controlled by a class of military officers who were for the most part skilled engineers and artists who could draw a map or plan or sketch a picture with equal exactness and idealism...(10)

Burrowes' exactness is more to the fore than his idealism. He, together with Burrows, Bainbrigge and others painted the staircase of the first eight locks at the junction of the Rideau and the Ottawa River, soon after the completion of the system.(11) All the elements of the contemporary landscape and socio-economic fabric are represented. Colonel By's house is located on the hill to the left; Sterling's Brewery and the steamboat wharf are at the water's edge; the eight locks and the Sappers' Bridge crossing them at the top are clearly identifiable; the royal Engineers' Office and the Commissariat Store are recorded facing each other across the locks; even the several buildings of the Barracks Hill, together with a company of Royal Sappers on parade, are all recorded for posterity. It is primitive, if exact, landscapes such as
this which Burrowes produced all along the route of the new waterway.

Another location which attracted the attention of several of the itinerant military and civilian artists was Jones Falls. Indeed, while several of the John Burrows' and Thomas Burrowes' paintings are of the same subject-sites, at Jones Falls they appear to have stood at the same spot when they painted their scenes. (12) Both recorded the upper locks, the basin there, the staircase of lower locks, the famous stone arch dam, the various buildings at the site, and vessels passing through the system. But how were these landscapes produced? How did the artists obtain the vistas and perspective they represented? Even allowing for a severe clearing of all the lock sites to facilitate construction and an ensuing regeneration of the forest over the last century, it is not possible to locate a vantage point where the complete system at Jones Falls is discernible in one panorama. The topography there simply does not allow it. While military topographic artists are credited with an eye for detail and a penchant for versimilitude, they do appear to have been gifted with the powers of levitation. Or else they exercised considerable imagination. A detailed examination of the paintings suggests that most of Burrows' and many of Burrowes' subjects are oblique views from vantage points elevated above the available topography. In this way, they were able
to transcend the limitations of site and render a view of the subject which was faithful to detail but artificial, if effective, in its perspective.

At several sites, Burrowes has provided a sequence of sketches and paintings over the construction period and first years of operation. Perhaps the single most detailed rendition of the construction activity is that of Kingston Mills; the site is stripped of trees, construction is proceeding apace at the locks with the Steamer "Pumper" moored at the foot of the works as a work vessel. (13) The rigours of repair work and maintenance are represented in the views of Davis and Long Point Locks. But the best construction sequence is provided for the works at Lower Brewer's Locks. The 1827 sketches record some of the buildings but it is the view painted in 1829 which represents the scene as it appeared soon after Burrowes' arrival to work under Lieut. Briscoe. He is looking to the southwest at the land which has been cleared along the banks of the Cataraqui Creek and over the extent of the eventual lock site there; the original buildings are represented, together with others constructed to accommodate the workers there; construction has commenced and several workers are employed in excavating the site for the locks. The next view is dated 1831-32; Burrowes has moved his vantage point to look to the west over the construction proceeding at the locks; the masonry work is in progress and tripods have
been erected for raising and lowering the materials; several work gangs are recorded performing their unidentified tasks at various locations on the site. A view painted in 1832 shows the completed locks and is devoid of any evidence of construction or workers. The set is completed by John Burrows' softer rendering of the same location in 1835. Perhaps this sequence is the best set of representations of the development of any lock site of the system over such a short period of time.(14)

Burrowes' sketches are replete with representations of the contemporary traffic along the system. The earliest pictures include a whole range of small boats including the large eight man transport conoes carrying their three gentlemen passengers, smaller skiffs, row boats and rafts of logs.(15) The renditions of the canal in its early years of operation record faithfully the steam boats with their tall smoke stacks travelling through the islands of the Upper Lakes, entering the locks at Jones Falls, or unloading at the wharf at the northern entrance to the system.(16) But these were the power units; the bulk carriers were the barges they hauled and the view of Davis Locks shows five of them, apparently loaded with a cargo of grain and deck passengers, poling their way from the locks to the steamer "Bytown" waiting for them out of view.(17) Despite John Burrows' preference for his sloop, the Rideau was very much a steam system and Thomas Burrowes' representation of the
Steamer "Hunter" proceeding "down" to Bytown gives an impression of how the first steamer "Pumper", renamed "Rideau" for the occasion, must have appeared to the sparse population along the route. One of the passengers on the maiden voyage commented on the local reaction and recalled

...the astonishment of the surrounding neighbours, who flocked to the shore as she passed through these heretofore unnavigable waters. The reiterated shouts of the thunderstruck inhabitants rent the air, and the kindly feeling displayed by the Indians can hardly be described;...These natives of the forests were living on the banks of Indian Lake, forty miles in the interior, and on the boat entering that lake, they formed themselves in front of their camp - number about forty or fifty men, women and children, with two Union Jacks floating in the air, shaded with the dark green foliage of the darkening pines; they gave three cheers and fired a folie de joie that would not discredit a regularly organized corps.

Such an evocative description as this underscores what Burrowes did not record. There is little social content in his views. Bytown, Richmond, Perth, Kingston Mills, Prescott, Bath, Napanee and Belleville are recorded as assemblages of buildings and historians turn to these views for details of the physical fabric of these communities. The rural landscape of snake fences, clearings and log cabins is also included as foreground or background to other subjects but the people are missing. As a surveyor-cum-engineer Burrowes' concerns were quite prosaic and his illustrations were working documents; consequently,
most of his paintings are "landscapes without figures". The exception is the picnic scene at Sloat's Lake(20), and one wonders whether the artist painting the Sappers' Bridge, one of the gentlemen in the canoe crossing Rideau Lake and the solitary figure waiting for the ferry at the river Trent may be whimsical self portraits.(21)

But not all of Burrowes' paintings are prosaic, lacking in sensitivity. His representation of the islands of Mud Lake (Newboro Lake) invokes the image of Casson's "White Pine", even if Burrowes' rocks and trees lack the texture and vitality of the more acclaimed work.(22) Similarly, several of the waterscapes of the Rideau Lakes capture the lighting and reflections typical of the scenery there and were perhaps more interpretive pieces where Burrowes allowed himself a reflective interpretation of the beautiful world in which he worked, through which he travelled so often and with which he had become so familiar.
EPILOGUE

No obituary has been found for Thomas Burrowes. His death was marked by the brief announcement of his funeral and the various records associated with the processing of his last will and testament. The eventual fortunes of his family are also obscure.

Because of the efforts of A.H.D. Ross' efforts, the lives of his parents, the Rev. Walter Ross and Jane Elizabeth Hannah Foster Burrowes, are quite well documented. Their story was linked to the Rev. Ross' ministry at Beckwith in the Presbytery of Lanark. By the time of his death in 1881, he was the father of four children, two of whom, Thomas Burrowes and Ethel Helena, carried the Burrowes' family names. (1)

In January, 1867, another of Thomas Burrowes' daughters, Ethelda Emma, left the family on marrying one R.G. Breeze of Oshawa. (2) This union was witnessed by the only brother, Francis Herbert Douglas Burrowes, but by 1871 he appears to have left the Burrowes' household. Certainly, the census of that year records Margaret continuing to occupy the Burrowes' homestead on Concession IV, Kingston township. But the household has shrunk to a widow and four spinsters, Bertha, Roberta, Margaret and Edith. (3)
The Burrowes' estate was also contracting, or at least shifting. In April, 1867, Margaret Burrowes sold the 100 acres in Lot 24, Concession V for some $1,000; in 1874, a further 100 acres in Lot 8, Concession VII was transferred to F. Muir in conformity with the earlier agreement to convey and in return for a settlement of $2,000.(4) On January 23, 1874, the widow Burrowes deeded the home farm, Lot 35, Concession IV, to W.H. Ewing $4,400.(5) Later, in the 1880's, "Maplehurst" was occupied by one Henry Bolton and renamed "Mount Bolton". Where the Burrowes' family moved to with this dissolution of their holdings on both sides of the Great Cataraqui River is not known but with them went the papers and paintings produced by Thomas Burrowes.

But "Maplehurst" remains, if in a modified form. A painting dating from the 1890's gives some indication of how the original structure must have appeared during Burrowes' latter years there.(6) Its elevated site overlooks the community of Kingston Mills stretched out along the old Montreal road and the entrance to the Rideau flanked by the marshes and granite bluffs of the Cataraqui. It constitutes an interesting relic of the family's presence there and an evocative reminder of Thomas Burrowes' half century of association with the Rideau corridor.
ENDNOTES

THOMAS BURROWES: A MAN OF MANY PARTS

1. To date, most of the details regarding Thomas Burrowes' life and background have been derived from A.H.D. Ross, *Ottawa Past and Present*, Musson Book Co., Toronto, 1927, and Ross' undocumented notes and comments accompanying the Burrowes' Collection of water colours at the Archives of Ontario.


THOMAS BURROWES AND THE RIDEAU CORRIDOR

Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs 1976, p.93; note that Burrowes' birthplace is mistakenly recorded as Worcester, Massachusetts in R. Legget, Rideau Waterway, University of Toronto Press, 1955, p.210; details of Burrowes' military service are recorded by Burrowes' himself in his "Memorial" dated May 1st., 1834, P.A.C., MG 13, WO 44, Vol. 23, Item 19.

2. Ross, ibid.; Bush ibid.


4. Ross op. cit.

5. Ross ibid.; Bush op. cit.


7. ibid.

8. ibid.


12. ibid.
18. P.A.C., R.G. 8, "C" Series, c52, p. 115
19. A.O., notes accompanying Thomas Burrowes' prints, P.A.O.
22. ibid.
26. ibid.
27. ibid.
29. P.A.C., R.G. 8, "C" Series, C 59, p.159, Burrowes to
Bolton, 23 April, 1836.

30. ibid.


32. ibid., Letter from Col. Nicolls to Col. Eden, 19 Sept., 1836.

33. ibid.

34. Kingston British Whig, 24 November, 1836.


36. Engineering and Architectural Plans, Parks Canada, Cornwall.


38. ibid., Order book, Thomas Burrowes to lockmasters, 22 Nov., 1845.

39. ibid., 30 April, 1834.

40. ibid., Burrowes to Sands, 4 May, 1836.

41. ibid., Burrowes to lockmasters, 23 June, 1841.

42. ibid., R.E. Office to Burrowes, 2 March, 1836.


44. Ross, op. cit., p. 55.

45. ibid., p. 56; see also P.A.C., M.G. 24 (19), Christie Papers, Vol. 5, ff. 1615-1616, Burrowes to Christie, 21 June, 1843.

46. Ross, op. cit., p. 110.

48. ibid., p. 19.

49. Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, September 17, 1831.

50. ibid., April 29, 1835.

51. ibid., June 7, 1834; April 13, 1836.

52. ibid., March 16, 1836; April 11, 1838.


57. ibid., Vol. 27, Correspondence of Frontenac Militia, 29 Jan, 1838, "Return of Recommendations for Appointments".


60. P.A.C., R.G. 9, Series I, B 1, Vol. 27, 29 Sept.
1838, "Half Yearly Return of Recommendations and Appointments".


63. P.A.C., R.G. 8, "C" Series, Vol. 59, 5 June, 1837, "Reports: Clerks of Works 4 Class".

64. Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, 23 Aug., 1837, refers to MacDonald; the British Whig, 24 Aug., 1837, refers to McDonald.

65. Frontenac County Registry Office, Kingston, "Probate of the Last Will & Testament and Codicil of Thomas Burrowes of the Township of Kingston, deceased."

66. ibid.; also, Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, 6 Oct., 1838, reports birth of daughter and on 14 October, 1840, reports birth of son.

67. This runs in the Kingston Chronicle and Gazette from 24 Dec., 1839 to 25 Jan., 1840.

68. Will, op. cit.

69. P.A.C., R.G. 8, "C" Series, 20 July, 1831, By to Airey, Acting Military Secretary.


71. ibid.


73. ibid.
74. ibid.
75. ibid.
76. Ontario Archives, North Crosby "Doomesday Book".
77. Frontenac County Registry Office, Kingston, Lot Books, Pittsburgh and Storrington townships.
81. Parks Canada, Cornwall, Collection of Engineers Plans, Box 1, Bdl. 3, 23 March, 1844, "Plan of Clerk of Works Quarters and Office at Kingston Mills."

THE LATER YEARS: 1846-1866

1. P.A.C., National Map Collection, H3/430, Kingston Mills, 1848, S.P. No. 46/a, Sketch of Part of Lot No. 34, Lot No. 35 and part of the Kingston Mills reserve...

2. Parks Canada, Smiths Falls Office, Engineer Plans, R-22-138.29, "Plan shewing the Boundaries as marked on the ground, of the Land belonging to the Ordnance
reserved for the purposes of the Canal in the vicinity of the Kingston Mills Lock Station...", 7 Sept., 1849.

3. ibid.

4. Frontenac County Registry Office, Kingston, Last Will and Testament, Thomas Burrowes, 24 December, 1856,

5. Census of Canada, 1851, Mss. returns for Enumeration District No.4, Kingston Township.

6. Queen's University Archives, Kingston Township, Collector's Roll, 1852.

7. Archives of Ontario, Burrowes' water colours, Nos. 75 and 76.

8. Frontenac County Registry Office, Kingston, Deed, Sept 21, 1854, "Thomas and Margaret Burrowes to G.T.R.R."


10. Burrowes' will, op. cit.

11. ibid.

12. ibid.

13. ibid.

14. ibid.

15. ibid.

16. ibid.

17. ibid.

18. A.H.D. Ross, Ottawa Past and Present, Musson Book
Co., Toronto, 1927.

19. It is assumed that the Post Office was located at "Maplehurst".


21. ibid., Vol. 210, p. 112.

22. ibid., Vol. 210, p. 160.


25. ibid., Vol. 211, p. 155.


27. Frontenac County Registry Office, Kingston, Lot Books, Pittsburgh and Storrington.

28. ibid.


30. ibid.

31. Queen's University Archives, Township of Kingston Assessment Records, Assessment Roll, 1862.

32. Archives of Ontario, Burrowes' water colours, No. 94.

33. Burrowes" will, op. cit.

34. ibid.

THOMAS BURROWES: ENGINEER, ILLUSTRATOR, AND ARTIST


5. P.A.C., M.G. 24 (H 12), "John Burrows' Diary and Sketch Book";

6. For more details see P.A.C., Picture Division, Artist File 701-2, John Burrows.

7. The Thomas Burrowes Collection of Water Colours are
held at the Archives of Ontario, although a set of copies are held by the P.A.C. Picture Division; they are accompanied by notes and commentary provided by A.H.D. Ross, Burowes' grandson.

8. This map represents the water colours referred to above; the maps, plans and drawings found in the P.A.C. Map Division, copies of which were used at the Cornwall and Smith's Falls offices of Parks Canada; sketches and drawings which are to be found in the Baird Papers, Archives of Ontario, and which are attributed here to Thomas Burrowes.

9. A.H.D. Ross's notes accompanying the Burrowes' Collection state that some appear to be missing and refers specifically to one known to be held by someone in the Ottawa area.


11. Archives of Ontario, Thomas Burrowes' Collection, No. 13, "First Eight Locks of the Rideau Canal, the North Entrance from the Ottawa river."

12. ibid., No. 57, "Locks etc. at Jones' Falls, from the Rocky Hills southwest of them."

13. ibid., No. 72, no title, but of Kingston Mills Locks under construction.

14. This sequence consists of "Brewers Lower Mill", Archives of Ontario, Baird papers, A-2-c(i), Box 2, Env. 1; "Burrowes' Collection", op. cit., No. 67, "

15. Several of the Burrowes' views include a variety of forms of water transport. No. 14, "North Entrance of the Rideau Canal from the Ottawa River; taken from the Royal Engr. Office Bytown" has canoes, rafts and steamboats; see also No. 21, "Beckett's Landing & Ferry, Long Island Reach or still water looking towards Long Island, Bytown etc."; perhaps the best rendering of the mode of travel used by the engineers and surveyors prior to the opening of the canal is to be found in No. 33, "Upper Rideau Lake; Canoe en route to Bytown; Westport in the distance" and No. 34, "Upper Rideau Lake; from the north side of the Isthmus".

16. See Burrowes' Collection No. 57, op. cit. and No. 100, "Bay of Quinte; Stone Mills,(Lake of the Mountain) to the left, Hallowell Bay in the Distance."

17. ibid., No. 49, untitled view of Davis Mill Lock; No.
50, "Lock, Dam etc. at Davis' Mill; Barges passing from Lock to the Steamboat Bytown."

18. ibid., No. 47, "Opinicon Lake, looking to N.W."


20. Burrowes' Collection, op. cit., No. 94, "A Pic-nic at Sloat's Lake; near Sydenham, Township of Loughborough".

21. ibid., No. 11, "Lower Bytown from the Barrack Hill, near the head of the Eighth Lock and the "Sappers' Bridge"; 1845"; Nos. 33 and 34 op. cit.; No. 114, "Ferry at the Mouth of the River Trent."

22. ibid., No. 40, "Mud Lake; looking to the East."

EPILOGUE

1. Thanks to Mrs. T. Ringereide of Carleton Place for genealogical information on the Burrowes-Ross connection.


4. Frontenac County Registry Office, Kingston. Lot
Books for Kingston and Pittsburgh townships.

5. ibid.

6. Copied from a photograph provided by the Flatters.
APPENDIX I : A COMMENT ON SOURCES

The first exposure to Thomas Burrowes' work and the demonstration of its utility to students of history resulted from the use of several of the paintings by his grandson, A.H.D. Ross in his book, Ottawa, Past and Present. Other works came into the public domain with the acquisition by the Archives of Ontario of all of the water colours held by Ross in 1948. But apart from these 115 items, little other documentary material has become available although there are indications that diaries, surveys and field note books also exist. Three possible avenues of research to locate these materials would appear to be fruitful.

The Family Line

An interest in the eventual experience of Thomas Burrowes' descendants is no mere exercise in antiquarianism or genealogy, although the latter may provide important leads in the reconstruction of the family history. It is clear from the allusions in A.H.D.Ross' book that Burrowes produced documentary material in the form of journals, field notes and surveys to accompany his drawings; Burrowes' will also refers to these materials. No journals or notes have been found at the time of this writing although efforts are being made to locate them. Also, the partial coverage of
the Rideau by the surviving art work, together with references in Ross, suggest that there are other paintings by Burrowes. Such indications are sufficient to merit further investigation into the family history in an attempt at locating these missing materials.

Burrowes had two families. The children of his union with his first wife, Grace, appear to have disassociated themselves from their father before his death and are unlikely to have come into possession of any of his papers. The records suggest the following descendants:

Thomas and Grace Burrowes:
- Thomas George
- Samuel William
- A.N.O. (Edwin A.?)
- Amelia
- Mary Anne

Thomas and Margaret Burrowes:
- Jane Elizabeth Hannah Foster
- Francis Herbert Douglas
- Ethelda Emma
- Bertha
- Roberta Hermia
- Margaret Helena
- Belinda Edith

While Thomas Burrowes' will directs that his papers and books be assigned to his son, Francis Herbert Burrowes, Ross' references suggest that he had access to them, if not control of them. Certainly, he had acquired the water colours in 1907 from one of Thomas Burrowes' daughters, an aunt of his, living in Detroit, and sold them to the Ontario Archives. Ross was the son of Jane Elizabeth Hannah Foster.
Burrowes and the Reverend Walter Ross:

J. Elizabeth H.F. and Walter Ross:

Alexander Herbert Douglas
Thomas Burrowes
Donald Walter
Ethel Helena

A.H.D. Ross died on April 6, 1950 in Toronto and he was survived by his sister, Ethel Helena, with whom he lived. It would seem that any other surviving Burrowes' material would most probably be in the possession of friends or family of Ms. Ethel Helena Ross.

Royal Engineer's Civil Establishment

Burrowes' association with the British Ordnance and the Royal Engineers Office is marked by several frequent, if sporadic references in M.G. 13, Ordnance In-Letters; M.G. 55, Ordnance Miscellanea; R.G. 8 "C" Series. These are presently held by the P.A.C. It would appear that because of Burrowes' appointment with the "Civil Establishment" that W.O. 46, 47, 33 would be fruitful sources; these are currently only available at P.R.O. In particular, W.O. 55 papers refer to memoranda and memorials sent by Burrowes which were received by the Inspector General of Fortifications which may prove to be informative. Also, perhaps copies of the surveys, note books, and journals referred to by Ross were sent to Whitehall and remain in the papers associated with
the Civil Establishment.

The Baird Papers, Archives of Ontario

The Baird papers contain an item dated August 1827, which is said to consist of "field notes, memoranda, measurements and pencil sketches made by John Burrows on a survey of the Rideau Canal in August 1827. Some of these sketches appear to be the work of Thomas Burrowes: those of Brewer's Lower Mill, Chaffey's Mills, Oliver's Ferry and Ward's Mill." (Baird Papers, A-2-C(i) Box 2, Env.1)

This item is clearly a copy produced by Thomas Burrowes of an original John Burrows' journal. It has Thomas Burrowes' signature on the back cover; it also has several comments and notations added, some of which are marked by "TB". The journal opens with:

The following is a copy of the Minutes and Memoranda kept by Mr. John Burrows while on the Survey of the line of Canal from Kingston in 1827 under the Superintendence of Lt. Frome, Lt. Wallace, Lt. Smith, Mr. Mactaggart.

The journal concludes with the statement:

The preceding minutes remarks etc. copied by T. Burrows(sic). I have followed Original where the language would admit of improvement I have in many instances altered the words but endeavoured to preserve the sense however I sometimes found this so difficult a task
that I left it as I found it & copied literally.

Other comments are of 1828 vintage and are written in after the original transcription had been effected. For example, one dated October, 1828, runs "Visited White Fish falls on the 12 Oct. 1828 with Col. By, Capt. Bolton, Mr. Wallace & Mr. Burrows. The scenery of the Entrance to this river is remarkably bold & grand presenting to the eye some of the finest Alpine scenes on the river route." But this textual material adds little to our understanding of Thomas Burrowes although the occasional testy comments of the use of the term "Grindle Stone" for "grind stone" or "sand stone" furthers the impression of the strained relations between the two "Burrows".
APPENDIX II : THOMAS BURROWES' ILLUSTRATIONS

This study has referred to three principal sources of illustrative material produced by Thomas Burrowes as surveyor, engineer and artist. The major collection is, of course, the collection of his water colours at the Ontario Archives. Other materials include the sketches in the Baird Papers at the Ontario Archives and the various maps, plans and diagrams relating to the Rideau Canal which are deposited at the Public Archives of Canada. The following constitutes a listing of items located thus far and is presented here for the convenient reference of the reader.

Thomas Burrowes' Water Colours

The following listing provides the full title and text of the original water colour, where given. When no textual comment accompanies the original, an identification is provided.

1. "Falls of the River Rideau into the Ottawa River."
2. "Eastern and Greater Fall of the Rideau River; sketched from the Island in 1830."
3. "Western and Lesser Fall of the Rideau River;

5. "New Edinburgh; from the West, or Bytown side of the Rideau River above the Falls, 1845."

6. "The Great Kettle, Chaudiere Falls; taken from the Centre of the Truss Bridge."

7. "Hull, (Lower Canada), on the Ottawa River; at the Chaudiere Falls; sketched in 1830."


9. "Chaudiere Falls, Ottawa river & Wire Suspension Bridge, from West end of Upper Bytown: May 1845."

10. "View at the West end of Wellington Street, Upper Bytown, Looking East, 1845."

11. "Lower Bytown, from the Barrack Hill, near the head of the Eighth Lock and the "Sappers' Bridge"; 1845."

12. "Lower Bytown, from the East bank of the Deep Cut, Rideau Canal."

13. "First Eight Locks of the Rideau Canal, the North Entrance from the Ottawa River." 1834.

15. "Dam at the "Hog's Back", shewing the Breach in the Stone-work in 1830; Sketched in July 1845 from the Bed of the River."

16. "View from the Upper end of the Guard lock at Hog's Back looking towards Bytown."

17. "Lock, Dam, etc. at Black Rapids. Men pumping Water out of the Lock, to hang the Gates etc." 1830.

18. "Rideau River, from the Lock at Black Rapids; looking towards Bytown." 1830.

18a. "Richmond, on the River Jacques, or Goodwood, a tributary of the Rideau River, Sepr. 1830."


20. "Repairing the Waste weir Dam at Long Island: Feby. 1845. Mud creek Waste weir in the right hand distance."

21. "Beckett's Landing & Ferry, Long Island Reach or still water; looking towards Long Island, Bytown, etc."

22. "Perth, the Capital of the District of Dalhousie; from the N. East bank of the River Tay: sketched 20 Augt. 1828."

23. "Bay of Bob's Lake, from Bedards's landing. Head of the River Tay in the Distance."

24. "Green Bay, an arm of Bob's Lake; looking South 10°"
25. "Oliver's Ferry, Rideau Lake, looking towards Bytown.
26. "Lock, Dam, Blockhouse etc. at the Narrows, Rideau Lake; looking towards Kingston." 1834.
27. "Lock, Blockhouse etc. at the Narrows, Rideau Lake, the first descent from Summit towards Bytown." 1841.
28. "Westport, or Rorison's Mills, at West end of Upper Rideau Lake."
29. "Westport; Upper Rideau Lake."
30. "North West branch, or arm of West Rideau or Wolfe Lake."
31. "South West Branch of West Rideau, or Wolfe Lake, from the West bank."
32. "Clear Lake, looking East towards its outlet into Wolfe Lake."
33. "Upper Rideau Lake; Canoe en route to Bytown; Westport in the distance."
34. "Upper Rideau Lake; from the North side of the Isthmus." 1830.
35. "Residence of Capt. P. Cole, R. Engr. the Officer in Charge at Isthmus, etc. during construction of the Works from 1830 to 1832." 1834.
36. "Lock etc. at the Isthmus, the last ascent to the Summit Water of Canal from Lake Ontario." 1841.
37. "Rocky cut at the Isthmus, to join Rideau Lake and the Waters falling into Lake Ontario; looking
South. 1841.

38. "Isthmus, (now called Newborough), from an Island in Mud Lake, S. of the Lock."

39. "Mud Lake; looking to the North."

40. "Mud Lake; looking to the East." 1840.

41. "Strait or Narrows between Clear & Mud Lakes; called by the Steam boat men "the Devil's Elbow"."

42. "Clear Lake; looking towards the East."

43. "Indian Lake, from near its outlet to Chaffey's."

44. "Lock, Waste-weir, etc. at Chaffey's Mills."

Sketched 1833, coloured 1841.

45. "View of Chaffey's from the rocky hill near Indian Lake, Opinicon Lake in the distance." 1840.

46. "Opinicon Lake; looking to the West."

47. "Opinicon Lake; looking to N.W." 1840.

48. "Davis' Mill, Lock etc.: looking towards Kingston."

Sketched November, 1840, coloured December, 1840.

49. Another view of Davis Mill Lock etc.

50. "Lock, Dam, etc. at Davis' Mill; Barges passing from the Lock to the Steamboat "Bytown"." Sketched October, 1840, coloured December, 1840.

51. "Lock, etc. at Davis' Mill; Repairing the Gates & Wooden bottom of Lock; winter of 1843-4."

52. "Dam at Jones' Falls; when nearly completed, shewing the last temporary passage provided for the surplus water. 1831"
53. "The Great Dam at Jones' Falls; from the West end."
54. "Dam and Upper Lock at Jones' Falls; as seen from above, or to N.E."
55. "Bason (sic) & Upper Lock at Jones' Falls; from the East Upper end of 3rd. Lock, works nearly completed."
56. "Lower Locks at Jones Falls, and View of Cranberry Lake looking towards Kingston. Sketch taken in 1831, before the water was raised."
57. "Locks etc. at Jones' Falls; from the Rocky Hills south west of them."
58. "Wooden Dam, at the White-Fish Falls."
59. "Wooden Dam at the White Fish Falls; and Blockhouse to protect it."
60. "White Fish River & Wooden Dam, with Block House built in 1838-9 to protect it."
61. "Rock Dunder on the White Fish River, looking downwards towards the Dam."
62. "Round tail & Dam; view down the Cataraqui; sketch taken in 1830 before the water was raised in the Lake."
63. "Cranberry Lake, looking towards Kingston; Floating Bogs in the distance."
64. "View on the Cataraqui Creek; Brewer's Upper Mills in the Distance."
Excavations, Embankments etc. in progress. May, 1830."

66. Another View of Brewer's Upper.

67. "Brewer's Lower Mill; view down the Cataraqui Creek & Clearing made for the Canal. Sketch taken in 1829. Excavation for the Lock just commenced."

68. "Brewer's Lower Mill: Masonry of the Lock nearly completed; Excavation for Canal in progress, 1831-32."

69. Work completed at Brewer's Lower Mill.

70. "Saw Mill etc. at Kingston Mills, as it appeared in May, 1828."

71. "Old Saw Mill etc. at Kingston Mills; Locks in progress of Construction, 1830."


73. "Locks, etc. at Kingston Mills, the South Entrance of the Rideau Canal."

74. Kingston Mills site.

75. Kingston Mills site in 1850's.

76. G.T.R. trestle bridge at Kingston Mills in 1850's.

77. View of Kingston and Cataraqui Creek from Kingston Mills, 1830.

78. "Fort Wellington, Prescott: Sketch taken on a foggy morning; October, 1830."

79. "Prescott: preparing Ways to launch the Steamboat Great Britain, October 1830."
80. "Ogdensburgh, from the Canadian shore of the St. Lawrence, above Prescott." 1830.
82. "River Oswegatchie; from the Bridge at Ogdensburgh." 1830.
83. "View from the Beach at Ogdensburgh looking up the River St. Lawrence." 1830.
84. "View on the River St. Lawrence; Lake of the 1000 Islands; looking down, Brockville to the left." 1830.
85. "View on the River St. Lawrence: Lake of the 1000 Islands; looking downwards, Brockville in the Distance."
86. "Bridge Island and Chimney of the Burnt Blockhouse; on the River St. Lawrence, above Brockville."
87. "Gannanoque(sic); from the Middle Channel, River St. Lawrence."
88. "View on the River St. Lawrence, Lake of the 1000 Islands: a little above Gannanoque(sic), middle Channel, looking down."
89. "View on the River St. Lawrence, Lake of the 1000 Islands, in the American Channel, 20 miles from Kingston looking up."
90. "View on the River St. Lawrence: Lake of the 1000
Islands, below French Creek, looking up."

"View on the River St. Lawrence, about 16 Miles below Kingston, looking downwards, French Creek to the Right."

"View near the Head of the River St. Lawrence, Canada. Fort Henry and Kingston in the distance."

"Snake Island and the Lower Gap, or entrance to Lake Ontario from Kingston Harbour."

"A Pic-nic at Sloat's Lake, near Sydenham, Township of Loughborough."

"View near the Head of the River St. Lawrence, Canada. Fort Henry and Kingston in the distance."

"Snake Island and the Lower Gap, or entrance to Lake Ontario from Kingston Harbour."

"A Pic-nic at Sloat's Lake, near Sydenham, Township of Loughborough."

"Picton Harbour, Bay of Quinte."

"Bay of Quinte; Stone Mills, (Lake of the Mountain) to the left, Hallowell Bay in the Distance."

"Long Reach, Bay of Quinte, looking North."

"Long Reach, Bay of Quinte, looking North."

"Long Reach on the Bay of Quinte, looking North."

"Long Reach, Bay of Quinte; looking toward Indian Landing."

"Grist Mill, Saw Mills, etc. on the Nappanee River, at Nappanee Village."

"View in the Village of Nappanee." 1830.
107. "Saw Mill, etc. on the Salmon River, at Shannonville."

108. "River Moira at Belleville."

109. "Belleville; Mouth of the Moira River, Bay of Quinty(sic) in the distance."

110. "Belleville; looking East."

111. "Head of the Bay of Quinte, from the Carrying Place."

112. "Carrying Place, at the Head of the Bay of Quinte, looking South."

113. "Weller's Bay, south end of the Carrying Place."

114. "Ferry at the Mouth of the River Trent."

Thomas Burrowes' Plans and Drawings

As may be expected, Burrowes' duties as Surveyor, Overseer of Works and Clerk of Works resulted in the production of several working drawings and plans. Those listed here are the ones located in the collections in the Parks Canada offices in Smith's Falls and Cornwall. They have been arranged chronologically and the full title has been cited. The degree of originality of the works is difficult to determine in the absence of accompanying reports. While all the ones listed here were signed by Thomas Burrow(e)s, some may be original works produced independently, others may be copies drawn by him of surveys
and drawings created by others. Whatever the case, they are indicative of the type of work required of Burrowes in his various capacities and of the locations of his activities throughout the Rideau Corridor. Also, it is interesting to attempt to link some of the more technical works with the sketches produced of the same sites at approximately the same dates.

1. Plan of the Ground in the vicinity of Kingston Mills. 1829. (P.A.C., H1/440 Kingston Mills.)

2. Plan, Elevation & Sections of the Lock now in Progress at Brewer's Lower Mill. J. Briscoe, Royal Engineer in charge, but printing on plan is that of Burrowes; 11 Dec, 1830. (P.C. Cornwall, Eng. and Architect. Plans, Box 1, Bdle. 14, No. 1.)

3. Plan of Brewer's Upper Mill. Identification as above. (ibid., No. 2.)

4. Sections & Elevations etc. of the works at Brewer's Lower Mills, Rideau Canal. Signed by Thomas Burrows, O. of W. (ibid., No. 5.)

5. Plan of the Cataraqui Showing the Position of the Projected Locks for the Rideau Canal. No date but pre 1830. No signature but print is that of Burrowes. (ibid., Box 1, Bdle. 15, No. 1.)

6. Transverse sections of the Dam at Kingston Mills, Rideau Canal. Signed by Thomas Burrows, Overseer of
86

Works, R.C. Dated 26 Nov., 1832. (ibid., Box 1, Bdle. 3, No. 16.)

7. Sections of Dam at Kingston Mills. Signed by Thomas Burrows, O. of W., Kingston District, 4 Dec., 1832. (ibid., No. 22.)

8. Kingston Mills, section through centre of hole. Thomas Burrows, O.W., R.C., K.D., 1832. (ibid., No. 2.)


12. Sketch of the Waste Weir at Long Island, Showing the Levels of Sundry Points below the Coping of the Waste Weir and below the raised water, when there is 6 feet 4 ins. on the Upper Sill of the Locks. Thos. Burrowes, O. of W., R.C., 27 July, 1835. (ibid., No. 12.) It should be noted that apparently John Burrows was present at this site at this time and also produced plans and sketches there.
1838. (P.A.C., H 2/440, Kingston Mills, 1838.)

14. Perambulation Plan, Kingston District, Isthmus,  
Showing the Occupation of the Ground Reserved for the  
Rideau Canal as nearly as can be ascertained, without  
proceeding to actual Survey. Thos. Burrowes, C. of  
W., 21 Nov., 1839. (ibid., Box 3, Bdle. 1, No. 6.)

15. Perambulation Plan No. 2 Kingston Dist. shewing  
encroachment on Land reserved for the Eastern  
embankment at Kingston Mills. Thos. Burrowes, Clerk  
of Works, Kingston District, Rideau Canal, 19 Nov.  
1839.

16. Kingston Mills reserve purchased by the Navy Board and  
are required for canal purposes. Apparently Burrowes,  
23 July, 1840. (ibid., Box 1, Bdle. 3, No. 12.)

17. Sketch showing the position of the Log Bridges erected  
on the Perth Road over parts flooded by the raised  
waters at the R.C. To accompany report dated 29 July,  
1840. T. Burrowes, Cl. of Works. (P.A.C., W.O. 55,  
Vol. 875, f. 148) Note that again, John Burrows was  
involved in this project.

18. Plan shewing the proposed reservation of Land to be  
attached to the Mill Site at Kingston Mills. Thos.  
Burrowes. 23 June, 1841. (Parks Canada, Cornwall, op-  
cit., Box 1, Bdle. 3, No. 5.)

19. Plan of Clerk of Works Quarters and Office at Kingston
Page missing from the electronic edition.
7. Sketch of channel at Round Tail.
8. Sketch plan of river at Jones Falls.
9. Elevation of the ground opposite entrance to Jones Falls.
10. Sketch plan of locks at Jones Falls.
11. Section of proposed locks at Jones Falls.
12. Sketch outline of Davis' Lake.
13. Sketch plan of Davis' Mills.
14. Sketch plan of the ground at Chaffey's Mills.
16. Sketch plan of Upper Narrows.
17. Sketch view of buildings at Oliver's Ferry.
18. Sketch plan of Oliver's Ferry.
20. Sketch plan of Smith's Falls.
22. Sections at Smith's Falls.
23. Sketch plan of Edmond's Dam.
24. Sketch plan of view at Maitland's Rapids.
26. Sketch plan and section of river at Long Island.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Canada. Public Archives.

RG1, Executive Council, L Series.

RG3, Post Office, Correspondence.

RG5, A1, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries.

RG8, Series C, British Military and Naval Records.
RG9, Militia and Defence, Series I, Adjutant General's Office.
RG11, Department of Public Works, Vol. 183
RG43, Canal Branch, Correspondence and Subject Files, 1838-1936.
MG13, WO 13, Muster Books, Canadian Militia and Volunteers, 1837-50
MG13, WO 17, Monthly Returns, 1758-1865
MG13, WO 44, Department of Ordnance Canada
MG13, WO 55, War Office, Ordnance Miscellanea, Engineer Papers
MG 24, (12), John Burrows Diary and Sketch Book.
MG 24, (19), Christie Papers.
National Map Collection.
Picture Division, Artist Files.

Canada, Census. 1851, 1861, 1871. Manuscript Returns for Frontenac County.

Canada, 1856-1867. Report of the Postmaster General,
Thompson and Company, Quebec.


DeLottinville, Peter. 1979. A History of the Smith Falls


Frontenac County Registry Office, Kingston. Township Lot Books.


University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Kingston, *Chronicle and Gazette.*

Kingston, *British Whig.*


Ontario, Archives.

Baird Papers.

Picture Collection.

Ontario, Department of Energy and Resources Management.


Parks Canada, Cornwall.

Engineering and Architecture Plans on Microfiche.


Queen's University Archives.

Kingston Township Collector's Rolls, 1852, 1862.


Fig. 1 The Artistic World of Thomas Burrowes
Fig. 2 Burrowes' view of the Bytown entrance to the Rideau.
Fig. 3 Burrowes' view of the works at Lower Brewer's
Fig. 4  A detail of the construction at Lower Brewer's
Fig. 5  A detail of the construction at Lower Brewer's
Fig. 6  Steam power on the Rideau
Fig. 7  The main carriers on the Rideau
Fig. 8  Emerging communities: Richmond
Fig. 9  Emerging communities: Perth
Fig. 10  Emerging communities: Belleville
Fig. 11  Burrowes at Bytown?
Fig. 12 Burrowes' family at Sydenham
Fig. 12a  Burrowes Pine Tree
Fig. 13 Maplehurst
Fig. 14  The "front" of Maplehurst from the North-West
Fig. 15  Maplehurst from the South-West
Fig. 16  The "back" of Maplehurst from the South-East
Fig. 17  Maplehurst from the North-East
Fig. 18 The Naval Reserve boundary stone at Maplehurst, dated 1833
Fig. 19 The Bolton coat of arms
Fig. 20  Burrowes' burial plot, Cataracui cemetery
Fig. 21 Edwin Annesley Burrowes, 1823 - 64
Fig. 22 Edwin Annesley Burrowes, 1820 - 1862
Fig. 23  Burrowes' sketch and plan of Lower Brewer's in the Baird papers
Fig. 24 John Burrows' (a) and Thomas Burrowes' (b) plans of Merrick's Mills
Fig. 25  "Maplehurst" as "Mount Bolton"