Lakefield Lock and Embankment Cultural Landscape Project

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By Ashley Wauthier and Chris Pavlos

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Supervising Professor: Prof. Heather Nicol

Trent University

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Written By: Ashley Wauthier and Chris Pavlos

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Introduction

Lakefield is a village that is located ten minutes north of Peterborough, Ontario alongside the back of the Trent-Severn Waterway. It has a long history and was first settled in the early nineteenth century. Some of the earliest settlers in the village were well known in the nineteenth century and were also highly regarded. Their names are recognized even today. These settlers include the Strickland family – Colonel Samuel Strickland, Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill – as well as John Hull and Samuel Dickson. These influential settlers, amongst many others, were instrumental in shaping the existing cultural and economic landscape of the Otonabee riverbanks in Lakefield. Some of the landscape changed even after settlement had already started in the area. Originally, it was the lumber industry that was instrumental in the creation of the cultural landscape of Lakefield. The businesses that flanked the sides of the river included several different kinds of mills, which harnessed the power of the river to function. The potential capital that could be gained by the exploitation of the river's resources was realized with the construction and opening of the Lakefield branch of the Trent-Severn Waterway in the 1880s.

This paper will discuss the history of the village of Lakefield and the history of the Trent-Severn Waterway. It also examines the history of the Lock and Canal in Lakefield and the different industries it supported in the village, as well as the key settlers and key historical actors in the area. Both primary and secondary sources were used for this particular project in which a literature review and methods used will be discussed in this paper. A glossary of terms is located at the end of the paper of the different types of mills that were located along the waterway in Lakefield. The Trent-Severn Waterway is

386 kilometres long and is located in Central Ontario.¹ Many dams and canals were built along the waterway, to encourage transportation and the movement of goods and services. The mills that were located along the shore of the waterway all relied on its water power. In development, it seemed that everyone needed access to the power and access provided by the water, the dams and canals.

The literature review and methods section of the paper discusses the secondary sources that were used for this project. Several books were written about Peterborough and the Kawarthas and the history of not just the city itself, but of the surrounding area. Lakefield, although a small village, has quite a long history dating back to the early nineteenth century and there are books written about the village, including the one that was published by the Lakefield Historical Society. Not only are books written about the history of the village itself, but there are also diaries that have been kept and published. These diaries, those of Samuel Strickland, Susanna Moodie, and Catherine Parr Traill are considered to be a part of that history. They were three of the first settlers in Lakefield and their diaries were eventually published. Although these diaries are considered to be primary sources, it is Samuel Strickland's book that has been more useful for this project. Strickland had made a name for himself in Lakefield in building his business and owning land in the village, which will be discussed later on. Next, the methods are discussed in this paper. Archival research was the main method that was used for this project. There were many documents that were located in the archives that were useful for this project. There such things were land claims, deeds, pictures, and diaries that were analyzed in order to write this paper. Photographs have been a very important part of this paper and

¹ Parks Canada. http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/on/trentsevern/index.aspx. Accessed March 3, 2010.

they have been critically analyzed and discussed later on. Next, we discuss the settlers and key actors in the village of Lakefield as they have been very important in the cultural landscape of the surrounding the shore of the Otonabee River in Lakefield. Businesses were built up and therefore the canal and dam were built and power sent to each of the businesses in order for them to be able to work properly as well as for the economic purposes of the village. This leads into the discussion of the different industries that were developed. These industries include mills, lumber, power, and other businesses such as blacksmiths. Finally, after much analysis and critical thinking about what was seen not only in the archives as well as what was read in documents as well as our secondary sources, we have come up with our conclusions based on a comprehensive research process.

Literature Review and Methods

This project focuses on the geographical sub-fields of cultural and historical geography. Cultural geography is an important field and contested as to its methods and usefulness.² In his book *Cultural Geography*, Don Mitchell explores the methods of current cultural research as well as initiates a way to look at cultural change and the products of these changes.³ The book explores an array of scholars to create a critique of the discipline. Mitchell argues that the best way to study cultural geography is to take it back to its roots. Throughout the book he speaks about a 'new cultural geography' which, he claims, has as its founder, Peter Jackson.⁴ American cultural studies, he argues, are rooted in environmental determinism where British cultural studies are rooted in folk

² R. J. Johnston et al. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000).

³ Don Mitchell. *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction*. (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2000) xiv.

cultures and 'culture wars'. Mitchell also discusses the relationship between history, environment and culture. Environmental determinism is how physical environment affects social habits that get passed down; it is also a method of displaying power and control. 6

A less geographically focused discussion on landscapes and their originality is found in J. B. Jackson's book *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. The book is a collection of essays based on lectures given by the author, each looks at a different aspect of the cultural and physical landscape.⁷ For the purpose of the book Jackson does not use the artful version of the term landscape but states, rather, that a landscape is "a portion of land, which the eye can comprehend at a glance." This study of American corporate commercial and residence landscapes indicate how the political and social impacts of human living play on the natural environment, and how those create everlasting visible scars on the landscape that dictate future actions.⁹

This project relies on visually comprehending the history of a place. Standing at one end of the new high level bridge going into Lakefield and looking south down the river one takes in an expanse of history. Either side of the river has been purged of its historic structures through a series of natural and human made actions. The physical alteration of the landscape can be seen by looking at the concrete banks of the engineered river.

⁴ Mitchell, 42.

⁵ Mitchell, 42.

⁶ Mitchell, 17.

⁷ John Brinkenhoff Jackson. *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) ix.

⁸ Jackson, 3.

⁹ Jackson, 39.

On a more localized scale of reading landscapes and culture Thomas McIlwraith wrote a book entitled Looking for Old Ontario. McIlwraith starts his book with an anecdote about taking a photograph of a simple agricultural scene, that upon further investigation he begins seeing the deeper context of the land. 10 He suggests that the exceptions to the vernacular are those which attract more attention by standing out. Yet every view of the planet shows an imprint of its past. 11 However, to McIlwraith, it is not the obvious that shows the most about an area but those smaller lesser known places that are often overlooked, because of the difficulty in the exploration of these spaces. ¹² In his chapter entitled 'Power and Mills', McIlwraith states that "the original Ontario landscape is handmade."¹³

Considering the significance of the lumber trade and the difficulty in settling the Lakefield area this is an important statement. Building on this idea, McIlwraith discusses the various structures which came with water power and how these building became obsolete as technology changed.¹⁴ Yet, it is the description of how the mills and power stations moved over time to accommodate nature and modernizing technology that will aid in understanding the landscape of Lakefield. Today, if one were to look for evidence of the existence of many of the structures and changes made to the shores it would take careful observation of the stonework. McIlwraith's statement that the original landscape of Ontario is man-made is seen distinctly within this project. The lesser known places that McIlwraith talks about in this case are not so true. Each of the mills and business of

¹⁰ Thomas F McIlwraith. Looking for Old Ontario. (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing Inc., 2000) preface.

¹¹ McIlwraith, 16. ¹² McIlwraith, 16-30.

¹³ McIlwraith, 203.

¹⁴ McIlwraith, 213-216.

the Lakefield waterfront were well known it is their ownership and the ebb and tide of their successes.

Understanding Lakefield:

In terms of understanding the village, it is necessary to examine it at several different scales. First, Lakefield is part of the Smith-Ennismore-Lakefield Township and Peterborough County. The county as a whole has many different physical attributes that both helped and hindered settlement and growth. For example, a book dedicated to Peterborough Counties centennial is called *Peterborough: Land of Shining Waters* is informative about the area settlement and the general knowledge for area. It focuses on important buildings, institutions and prominent players in the creation, and growth of the county. More importantly, however, is the connection the book makes to the water and the county's connection to its many water features and its part in the waterway. For the purpose of this report it provides yet a wider scope to the physical area which we will be studying. Unfortunately the book lacks the potential to be anything more than a guide to social attitudes. Lakefield has a unique village community feel and is regarded by its residents as deeply unique. This book *Peterborough: Land of Shining Waters* devaluates the local pride which radiates from the village.

For a true social history of the village of Lakefield the Lakefield Historical Society's book *Nelson's Falls to Lakefield: A History of the Village* is apt at displaying the local pride and vigor. The book was a project that took several years to compile and is filled with pictures, personal anecdotes and other primary documents.¹⁷ The book is

¹⁵ City of Peterborough. Peterborough: Land of Shining Waters.

¹⁶ City of Peterborough.

¹⁷ Lakefield Historical Society. *Nelson's Falls to Lakefield*. (Lakefield Historical Society, 1999) opening remarks.

broken up into events, people/businesses, and places in Lakefield's past and present.

Each section has old photographs and copies of original documents with explanations and sometimes narratives from oral histories.

For the purposes of this project the Industry, Modernization, New Arrivals and Trails, Rails and Water, chapters have been most researched, the last of which looks at the various modes of transportation which brought prosperity and leisure to Lakefield. Lakefield was home to several native inspired canoe companies and other boating companies owned by local entrepreneurs who also played major roles in the construction of the locks and other industries. The Modernization chapter discusses the rivers role in providing electricity very early on around 1889. The book discusses the very first contracts for public lighting and power for businesses powered by "Lakefield Electric Light Company".

As a resource this book was recommended by the Historical Society itself as a starting point for the social aspects of the Lakefield landscape. The information provided in this book is compiled from the resources that will be used for our final report. The main one of these is the collection of a former long-term resident and local historian Bob Delledon. The collection includes many years worth of collected archival information, photographs, newspapers, and local histories. As a collection the information is useful. The book, on the other hand, has proved to be a useful tool in the mapping out of history. Although written by local historians, the content is skewed to that of the interests and memories of the people directly involved in Lakefield and their collective information on the village.

¹⁸ Lakefield Historical Society, 165-175.

¹⁹ Lakefield Historical Society, 147-149.

The village of Lakefield is just one of many places which falls along the Trent-Severn Waterway. The creation of the waterway as a whole system was wrought with scandal, intrigue and delays. Lakefield was no exception. James Angus' book A Respectable Ditch: A History of the Trent-Severn Waterway 1833-1920 provides an indepth political perspective to the building of the canal and lock systems along the waterway. Angus claims that the events of the waterway parallel the creation of Canada.²⁰ Further than drawing parallels, Angus provides a comprehensive look into the primary documents surrounding the creation including government papers, private letters and diaries.²¹ The building of the Lakefield lock was part of a project to allow steamers to get passed rapids and waterfalls and thus extending and shortening the routes.²² For Angus, the politics of the situation, which abounded in Central Ontario at the time are mirrored in the politics which surrounded the men and their businesses along the canal. Some of these include the role of businessmen vs. the role of politicians and the wealthy when it came to the decisions and usefulness of the canal.

The information for the second section of the Lakefield project came from several diaries from local settlers. The diaries chosen are famous pieces of Canadian literature that have given many generations of Canadians deep insight into life as a settler in early Canada. Three siblings of the Strickland family, Samuel Strickland, Catherine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie, all kept thorough accounts of their lives in the Lakefield area. Susanna Moodie's diary Roughing it in the Bush is a staple in many history, English and women's studies classes. As an upper class woman from England that was both excited

²⁰ James T Angus. A Respectable Ditch: A History of the Trent-Severn Waterway 1833-1920. (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 1998) xii.

²¹ Angus, xi. ²² Angus, 157.

and interested in the prospect of living in the Canadian backwoods and goes into great detail about living in a very rural setting out in the bush without many neighbours nearby. However, as time wore on her letters home and diary entries become more desperate as her place as a woman in Canada becomes drastically different from her life back home. Her sister Catherine Parr Traill was written in the same context as a new immigrant to the country. However, unlike her sister she was more optimistic with her situation, even following her husband Thomas Traill's death and her subsequent poverty. Both of these books and their authors provide some of the most renowned quotes and explanations of the river and its effect on the village and its industries. These quotes and verbal images will give a starting point and background for our cultural landscape. It will give a comparison to what is seen both today.

Finally, Samuel Strickland wrote a two volume book entitled *Twenty-Seven Years* in Canada West or the Experience of an Early Settler. As one of the earliest settlers to the area he settled vast tracts of land and became a major contributor to the local economy. He was invited by a family friend James Black in 1825. Due to his ability to easily make friends, persevere through hardships and to take advantage of situations he earned prosperity. His connection to the history of Lakefield is far reaching and has sustained itself over many generations. Indeed, many of the great businesses and heritage sites of Lakefield have connection to the Stricklands and much of the Lakefield landscape has been influenced by the decisions and whims of the various members of the Strickland family.

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²³ Susanna Moodie. *Roughing it in the Bush*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc, 1962).

²⁴ Catherine Parr Traill. *The Backwoods of Canada*. (London: McClelland & Stewart Inc, 1989).

²⁵ Samuel Strickland. *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West or the Experience of an Early Settler*. (Tokyo: Charles E Tuttle Company Inc, 1970) Peterborough Historical Society, 13-15.

When looking at the diaries of these settlers several things become very clear.

Class structure is very evident in their writings. These were not 'average people' with previous knowledge of living rough, or those who had previously worked for a living.

The family have always taken the creative licence with the events could heavily skew the perceptions of the book. Samuel Strickland was a mastermind of business and politics, something he passed on to his children. Yet, his book deals very lightly with the decisions that were made politically or in connection to his businesses. Again these can only provide an insight into how the family perceived themselves as members of the Lakefield community.

Methods:

In the discussion of the many sources of information about Lakefield and the lock system many methods have come to light. The most obvious of these is archival research, which is looking at primary resources such as diaries, letters, and newspapers. However, also significant are bills of sale, contracts, bills of sale, and court and government documents. Aside from the basics of archival research, using these documents and resources to their fullest advantage is quite necessary and important for understanding the history of the village and how it evolved. Lakefield and its canal came to its prime in the age of photography. This means that the ever-changing banks of the Otonabee River in Lakefield have been documented extensively, each stage being recorded as it was at almost any given moment in time, from varied angles and vantage points along the river.

Many important photographs have been found in our research. Some of these photographs can be located in *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*

²⁶ Lakefield Historical Society, 14-16.

by Peter Burke and have been used in this project. Historians are only recently beginning to use photographs for substantive research and not just for illustrations.²⁷ The importance of visual evidence to this project is integral to its completion, because many of the buildings are not always properly recorded in the records, or were only there for such a short time. Using photographs, as evidence does not concern artistic value but rather the images involved.²⁸ Some disadvantages of using photography are that it can be manipulated by the photographer. Beginning in the 1930's in the United States the term 'documentary photography' was created, referring to the use of photographs as documents of change and everyday life.²⁹ These can often be manipulated to give a certain image by using certain angles, props, lighting and developing techniques.³⁰ In the case of the waterway photos, this space was seen as a source of wealth and power. This may have an effect on influencing which parts of the bank ever photographed with the most frequency, or in the dominant portrayal of certain buildings over others. It is important to not overlook the smaller pieces of the landscape in favor of the foreground, as well to acknowledge the movement and growth that is displayed in the photographs. This source reflects on the message found in the book *Looking for Old Ontario*, where the key is to understand the surroundings not the implied context of the photo.

Lakefield has a vibrant community of historians with many tales to tell of the village's history. This meant the necessity of conducting interviews and conversations with various local historians and community members, or to utilization of the tools of oral history. According to David Dunaway the use of interviews and stories as an

²⁷ Peter Burke. Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence. (New York: Cornell University Press, 2009) 10-11.

²⁸ Burke, 19.

²⁹ Burke, 22.

academic research method did not occur until the mid 1980's, when students of the post-war years began their research with new recording methods unknown to their predecessors.³¹ In "Oral History: How and Why it was Born", Allen Nevins argues that oral history is the political and social structures and decisions that become the focus of historic debate, and in doing this the memories, and personal anecdotes that create every-day life are lost.³² Critics of this approach often default to the faults of human memory and their ability to alter situations by emotion.³³ The interview design and transcription become the highlights of creating a reliable history; a researcher must be able to understand the differences between fact and emotion.³⁴

Overall this project is multi-dimensional. Each aspect takes on a new form that requires further inspection. In the course of this research more areas and ideas for collecting information have been found. Yet, getting to know surroundings for more than their first impressions is essential to this project. Trusting instincts to look deeper than the surface has been important to all levels and at all stages of the project.

³⁰ Burke, 23-24.

³¹ David K Dunaway ed. *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*. (California: AltaMira Press, 1996) 7.

³² Allen Nevins. "Oral History: How and Why it was Born" in *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*. Edited by David K Dunaway and Willa K Baum. (California: AltaMira Press, 1996) 31.

Anthology. (California: AltaMira Press, 1996) 90-92.

Key Settlers and Key Actors

There was much settlement around the dam in Lakefield. Each settler played a role in reshaping the landscape of the banks of the Otonabee River in Lakefield. Each brought their entrepreneurial skills to the businesses which were built in this area. They each had political connections, access to capital, as well as their technical knowledge.

The most famous settlers in the village of Lakefield are the Stricklands. Members of the Strickland family first moved to Canada West from England in 1825. First to come was Samuel, followed by two of his sisters Catherine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie.

The sisters both moved to Canada West in 1832. It was Samuel, however, who settled and had his business around the Lakefield dam. Strickland owned much property in Lakefield, which included his mill and as well as his house, both located near the dam.

In addition to the Strickland, John Hull also owned property in the Lakefield area. He is a man who owned Hull's Mill, a flour mill, along the shore of the Trent-Severn Waterway in Lakefield. His mill was located on the west side of the Otonabee River. There was some dispute about the land that Hull's Mill was located on as well as the dam that was built on the Otonabee River. This dispute was between the Hull, the Lakefield Lumber & Manufacturing Company, and the Federal Government. This dispute will be discussed later on.

Another property owner was Samuel Dickson, who founded the Dickson Mill.

Dickson came to Canada from Ireland in the year 1830. Although he did not have a job right away, he did like the area when he moved to the country and decided to stay.

³⁴ Hoffman, 94.

During this time, the lumbering industry was booming.³⁵ This was a good time for Dickson to start his lumbering business because he could have a lot of business from the residents and other companies around.

There are several other key members whose stories have yet to be entirely deciphered. Some of these include: the owners of the Cavendish Lumber Company, the Browns of the Brown Canoe Company, as well as other owners yet to be determined.

History of Lock and Canal in Lakefield

Construction and problems

The development of the Trent-Severn Waterway from Peterborough to Lakefield opened up a line of navigation for 126 miles, from Healey Falls to Balsam Lake.³⁶ It required the 9-mile construction of the Otonabee River. Developing this section of the Waterway would involve many delays and hazards.³⁷ One of these would be directly connected to the ownership and construction of the original dam, and the extended period of time in which a final decision on the construction of the canal was being withheld. Overall, although it is the main focus of this research, the construction of the canal and lock in Lakefield was actually a secondary feature in the transformation of the east and west banks of the Otonabee.

The dam at Lakefield, even before government involvement, was the central means of controlling and redirecting the rivers flow. In 1833, James Herriot built the original dam out of timber.³⁸ In 1838, the dam, as well as a grist and saw mill, both of

³⁶ Angus, 221. ³⁷ Angus, 221.

³⁵ City of Peterborough. Peterborough: Land of Shining Waters. Peterborough: City and County of Peterborough, 1967.

³⁸ Lakefield Historical Society. From Nelson Falls to Lakefield, 21.

which Herriot had built, went up in flames.³⁹ Around a decade later the dam was replaced by the firm of Strickland and Reid.⁴⁰ The exact position of this dam is currently unknown, although there are a few plans of a proposed dam that date to this period of time.

This is where the connection between the dam and the construction of the waterway begins. T.S. Rubidge, a government engineer who was in charge of the canal works at Cornwall on the St. Lawrence River, was charged in 1881 with the task of obtaining "surveys for a system of canals etc whereby connection may be made between the Bay of Quinte and Georgian Bay." In late 1882 work commenced on lock stations at Buckhorn, Burleigh Falls and Fenelon Falls, to ensure the success of these in terms of water levels the government authorized repairs to a now leaky dam at Lakefield. This work is described in a summary written by Roland Clement Strickland in a letter to the Peterborough Examiner. In this letter Strickland described the 1882 report from Ontario Department of Public Works as follows:

In the early part of 1882, the Ontario Department of Public Works, was notified that in accordance with an injunction granted by the Court of Chancery Messers R& G Strickland intended lowering the dam at Lakefield 32 inches below the height it had been kept for a number of years, unless the Government would purchase the structure for \$3,000, grant them several unreasonable privileges and assume all responsibility regarding the height at which it had been maintained...The necessary examination was made... and the sum of one thousand dollars and an undertaking on the part of the Province to permanently maintain the dam at the height at which it had previously been kept was offered Messrs. Strickland... but this was refused...while these proceedings were pending... the Dominion Government had decided that the dam was required in connection with the Trent Valley Canal scheme and consequently the [federal] Government made arrangements with Messrs. Strickland and had taken control of the works.⁴³

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³⁹ Lakefield Historical Society, 21.

⁴⁰ Lakefield Historical Society, 21.

⁴¹ Angus, 163.

⁴² Angus, 164.

⁴³ Roland Strickland. The Peterborough Examiner. 18 July 1884.

It was furthered on in this letter when Strickland mentioned that the federal government then paid Strickland \$1,000 for the dam and a \$3500 to allow for the adaptation of their raceway, and mill machinery amongst other things which would be affected by the increased level of water coming over the dam. 44

Following these arrangements, bidding occurred for the construction of a new wooden dam at Lakefield to replace Strickland's. The contract was awarded to Charles Wynn, with construction occurring between 1883 and 1884. This alteration could be said to be the event that sparked the intense development along the banks of the Otonabee at Lakefield, thus releasing the entrepreneurial drive which would transform the cultural landscape. By 1888 maps of the area depict a number of mills both above and below the bridge on the east side of the river.

This rapid development occurring between 1884 and the 1890's had important implications for the construction of the canal system. When Rubidge prepared his report in 1882 his suggestion was to run the canal along the east bank of the Otonabee from the beginning of the system to the end. 46 However, due to the rapid growth of the mills and a very difficult set of rapids, along the route leading from Peterborough to Lakefield, it was determined that a new alternative must be found. This alternative was found by Nichol Hugh Baird. The suggestion was to have the canal leave the river at the upper end of Little Lake, then parallel to the west bank, pass through the village of Peterborough then re-enter just below the present location of Trent University. A further cut of about one

⁴⁵ Angus, 168. ⁴⁶ Angus,

eighth of a mile would be made in Lakefield to get passed the mills there.⁴⁷ In doing so. the grist mill owned by W. Hull, the only mill on the west bank at Lakefield, suffered when the canal was put in (see page 21 for more information).

In 1895, on the eve of an 1896 federal election, the Conservatives granted contracts for the section of the canal that went from Peterborough to Lakefield. This



contract went to Messrs. Aylmer Love and Brown of Toronto on August 25, 1895. 48 Significant to this phase of construction was the use of concrete. This would be the first lock in Canada to be

Figure 1: construction of the dam and canal Photo

credit: L.H.S

constructed using concrete.⁴⁹ The engineer of

the project, R.B. Rogers, had designed a specific style of construction and dry mixing of the concrete that would limit the amount of water damage and cracking.⁵⁰ Rogers, concerned that contractors would skimp of the amount of concrete necessary petitioned the government for separate contracts of Portland cement.⁵¹ Work began on August 19th, 1895; the exception to the concrete construction was the dam. The dam constructed by Charles Wynn needed to be replaced, to do so Rogers designed an ordinary timber dam with stop log openings with walls of concrete along the upper face of the foundations.⁵²

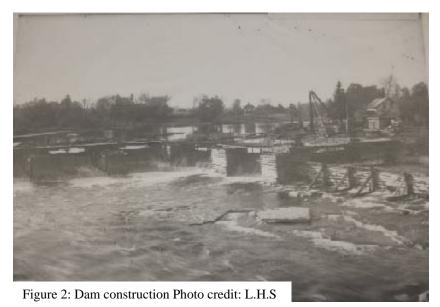
⁴⁷ Angus, 221. ⁴⁸ Angus, 222.

⁴⁹ Angus, 223.

⁵⁰ Angus, 222-224. For more information on this process and its outcomes, please see this source.

⁵² Angus, 224. This dam by 1920 was suffering heavy damages. On March 3rd, 1920, a contract was awarded to F. R. Wilford of Lindsay to repair the dam (TSW AR 1920 page 31). In March of 1922 the

By June 1899 construction was partially completed and Brown, Love and Aylmer as was customary for the times was claiming underpayment for their work.⁵³ The construction was not completed until June 1900 and the outcome of the claims was not



determined until 1906
when a few of the Court
of the Exchequer awarded
a few of the minor claims
were in the contractors
favour while others were
turned down.⁵⁴

In summary the

construction of the canal and locks in this area were instrumental to the creation of the physical landscape of Lakefield. Heavy alterations were made to the banks of the river but to the river bottom itself. This construction in it affect on the cultural landscape is minimal in comparison to the many reconstructions and phases of the dam. It is the dam which provided the water levels and harnessed valuable power for the mills in Lakefield.

Lawsuits and the aftermath

The construction of the dam, canal and other modern technologies that came with them (power canals, bridges etc) greatly altered the Lakefield landscape. These alterations left landowners on either side of the river with land that was altered as well. There is a great deal of correspondence between barristers, ministers and the Valuator

work was progressing well until a deep fault/gully was encountered which required extra concrete to be poured at the bottom of the fault. Work was largely complete by December 1922 (TSW AR 1922 page 8).

53 Angus, 226.

⁵⁴ Archival File RG 12 Volume 471 File 4253-21.

Mr. Aylsworth over the period of time during and after the construction of the canal.

These documents range from simple correspondence, damage reports and appraisals to full court documents concerning such cases were taken directly to the courts.

One example of such a court case is by J.H. McWilliams of a much respected Lakefield family. Below is the letter he wrote seeking compensation for damages to his property. He lived at Lot 4 just south of the bridge.

JH McWilliams letter dated May 19th 1899

To Richard Rogers Esq

Dear Sir,

I write you to say that I would ask for an aw-ard for damages done to my lot No.4 South of Concession or Bridge Street, owing to the surface water, and also to street being raised in front of my lot for the approach to the High Level Bridge.

Trusting that you will the give the matter your prompt attention. I remain yours respectfully signed, JH McWilliams.⁵⁵

Another such incident occurred with Mr. William Ash owner of the Lakefield Hotel.

Both of these incidents were investigated by the Crown Valuator and terms were meted out. Their significance lies in demonstrating the all round effect that the construction of the waterway created. These were just the minor damages caused by the construction of the dam and its after-effects. Some instances show the owners knowingly purchasing land that was slated to be 'devalued' as its structures stood in order to try and gain compensation from the government. Others like Mr. Hull the owner of the mill on the east bank of the Otonabee sued the government for wrongful encroachment onto property.

John Hull was involved in a lawsuit regarding the property his flour mill was located on. This dispute was regarding the changing hands of the lease. Previous to

⁵⁵ J.H. McWilliams. *Land Damages RG 12 Vol 484 Department of Transportation*. Right of Way lands and buildings.

Hull, Joseph William D'Arcy owned the property. D'Arcy passed the land on to Hull in 1871. Since Hull had taken ownership of the property, there have been questions as to who owned the property. Although exchange of property took place so early, the court cases did not actually start until 1902. The court was questioning whether or not D'Arcy was married when this was done. If D'Arcy was not married, then the purchase of the land would not have gone through.⁵⁶ If he was married, his wife's name would have to be written in the deed. It is not clear as to why this was an issue. Hull offered to purchase the land from D'Arcy, which he owned with his brother. Hull offered to purchase the land from the gentlemen for the amount of \$1200, with \$400 cash down, the rest paid over one to two years with an interest rate of 6%. ⁵⁷ In this court case judgement was given to Hull in the amount of \$10,500 for his property on August 18, 1904. However there was a small portion of land that was still protested.⁵⁸ In 1904, there were answers that were provided to this protest. First, the federal government would take possession of the land in 1896 and waived the question of who owned the property.⁵⁹ The defendant also had to produce an affidavit that showed in 1871 that the law firm of Dennistoun, Fairbairn, and Cassels had acted as Hull's buyer. 60 The law firm then wrote a letter to Mr. D'Arcy asking him to let them know what his wife's name was so that the deed could be properly filled out.⁶¹

This was not the only dispute that Hull was involved with. Hull was involved in a trial in regards to the lease of the property. A lease was produced at the trail that was dated on November 22, 1890. The lease number was 8512 and it was between the Queen,

⁵⁶ Ottawa National Archives. RG 12 Volume 523 File 4616-27. Retrieved February 18, 2010.

⁵⁷ Ottawa National Archives. RG 12 Volume 523 File 4616-27.

⁵⁸ Ottawa National Archives. RG 12 Volume 523 File 4616-27.

⁵⁹ Ottawa National Archives. RG 12 Volume 523 File 4616-27.

the Lakefield Lumber & Manufacturing Company ('Assignees of Roland Clement Strickland and George William Ross Strickland of Lakefield, and John Hull. When the Lease was renewed, it was done so to the Dickson Company located in Peterborough, Ontario as lease no. 16669 (No. 27). 63 There were several reasons for this lease agreement. An order that was dated October 19, 1883, states that the federal government purchased the dam that was built on the Otonabee River and had been formerly owned by Strickland. Along with the ownership of the dam, some property was also sold by the Strickland's. The federal government purchased the dam and some of the land 'for the purpose of improving and maintaining the navigability of the said River.'64 One of the conditions of the sale was that the Stricklands and Hull were entitled to the excess water. This excess water was not needed for any sort of maintenance for navigation. This situation was somewhat complicated due to the court case, Hague versus Irwin, because it needed to be decided who received how much of the excess water. The court case had determined that the Stricklands 'entitled to maintain the said Dam to a height of 43 inches lower than the apex of the Dam which the Government built at Lakefield.'65 This had an impact on how much water as well as how much horsepower in which could be produced. The outcome of the division of the excess water was that there was an agreement made by the federal government and the Department of Railways and Canals to create and therefore maintain head gate for the power canal, which was a part of the construction

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⁶⁰ Ottawa National Archives. RG 12 Volume 523 File 4616-27.

⁶¹ Ottawa National Archives. RG 12 Volume 523 File 4616-27.

⁶² Parks Canada Document (will come in to find the file number before it is handed in to the office), Lakefield Dam, Present Lease No. 90-039-610-13, Summary of Leases & Files (1836-1980), Mac Ellis, December 1980. Department of Railroads and Canals Lease No. 8512.

⁶³ Parks Canada, Lease No. 8512.

⁶⁴ Parks Canada, Lease No. 8512.

⁶⁵ Parks Canada, Lease No. 8512.

project that was started in 1885.⁶⁶ Judging by this court case, it appears that the Stricklands leased or sold their rights to the water on the east bank of the Otonabee River to the different businesses that had developed during the 1880s.⁶⁷

On February 25th, 1898, Roland Clement Strickland was involved in another court case. When the Dam was being built, there was damage done to another property due to flooding.⁶⁸ There was approximately 1½ acres that were flooded from the dam and the water went as high as 43 inches in 1885, according to Mr. Rogers.⁶⁹ Strickland's lawyer negotiated no more than fifty dollars to be paid by Strickland in order to cover the damages caused by the flood. A surveyor was offered to Mr. Rogers to make sure that the amount offered was appropriate.

Another court case involving property in Lakefield was John H. McWilliams case. This court case was regarding the raising of the street in front of his property to accommodate the high level bridge that was to be built. There was damage done to McWilliams' property during this process. A claim was made deriving from the drain in the canal that froze up and therefore stopping McWilliams' cellar drain. When the court case started, it was December of 1899 and the damage that was done would not be known until the spring of 1900, and therefore the extent of the damage could be determined. McWilliams was offered a sum of \$225 of the damages done to his property, which he declined. The damages had an effect on the value of the property. The value was estimated to be roughly \$500 to \$700, meaning the property had depreciated. In

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⁶⁶ Parks Canada, Lease No. 8512.

⁶⁷ Parks Canada, Lease No. 8512.

⁶⁸ File 108,396 of 168,980.

⁶⁹ File 108,396 of 168,980.

⁷⁰ Ottawa National Archives. RG 12 Volume 484. Retrieved February 18, 2010.

⁷¹ Ottawa National Archives. RG 12 Volume 484.

⁷² Ottawa National Archives. RG 12 Volume 484.

order to restore the property to be as it was before the damage, the cost would have been the same, considering the house and building needed a new foundation.⁷³ In the spring time, this is something that is almost impossible to fix due to the start of the construction of the bridge as well as the floods that tend to happen during the season. McWilliams was offered another amount of \$400, which the defendant was hoping would be accepted. The final sum awarded to McWilliams was \$300.⁷⁴

In 1908, the Dickson Company also put forth a claim also for damages to their water power rights.⁷⁵ The court had decided that the Dickson Company should be entitled to uninterrupted use of the available water power and therefore free to use it as they wish. It was also the court's opinion that the government be responsible for any restrictions of power that have resulted from the 'government works below.'⁷⁶ The company was even further awarded the entitlement and therefore making the government responsible for any infringement that may have occurred on potential water power rights 'between the claimants' present point of development and their lowest point of ownership, subject to, and qualified by, the concurrent riparian rights of the Crown as owner of the land on the opposite (or Smith) side of the River.'⁷⁷

Industry in Lakefield

Lumber

The development of the lumber trade in Lakefield predated much of the construction on the river discussed in the previous chapter. Lumber in this area is what brought much of the economic activity and drive to expand milling operations to

⁷³ Ottawa National Archives. RG 12 Volume 484.

⁷⁴ Ottawa National Archives. RG 12 Volume 484.

⁷⁵ Ottawa National Archives. RG 13-A-2 Volume 91. Retrieved February 18, 2010.

⁷⁶ Ottawa National Archives. RG 13-A-2 Volume 91.

Lakefield. Howard Pammet wrote A Survey of Kawartha Lumbering (1815-1965) an unpublished paper on the role of the Lumber industry along the Otonabee River. 78 He describes various eras of the Lumber trade and in some cases has a direct mention of Lakefield. He begins with the Pioneer Period, which he stated lasted from 1815-1854.⁷⁹ Predominant European views of the time saw nature as an enemy to be destroyed and controlled. Samuel Strickland, a land speculator in 1828, saw lumber as a profitable resource if one had the capital to invest first. 80 The lumber industry began as a remote market that (prior to 1937 the Kawarthas had only 4 saw mills) marketed mainly squared masts of high quality timber that went to Britain through Quebec. 81 In 1836 Susannah Moodie writes in her diary that the lake near her home is full of logs being run down the river. 82 By 1844 John and Ira Cook and the Gilmour Company were cutting just North of Lakefield. 83 However by the 1850's there was a shift in demand to sawn lumber which ran parallel to the opening of the American market.⁸⁴ In 1850 Gilmour and Co built the first lumber cribs in Lakefield.⁸⁵ Also in the 1850's, it became clear that although lumber barons were well settled and comfortable enough to intermarry and create partnerships, there were still major disputes to be settled. Nearly all logs during this period were floated down the stream to various mills, including those in Lakefield, causing the

⁷⁷ Ottawa National Archives. RG 13-A-2 Volume 91.

⁷⁸ Howard Pammet. A Survey of Kawartha Lumbering (1815-1965). As transcribed in 2010 by Dennis Carter-Edwards.

⁷⁹ Pammet.

⁸⁰ Pammet.

⁸¹ Pammet.

⁸² Pammet.

⁸³ Pammet.

⁸⁴ Pammet, 13.

⁸⁵ Pammet, 13.

population to expand drastically from 100 people in 1860 to 400 only a decade later. 86 A.R.M Lower (quoted in Pammet on page 31) he describes the mills of the area:

The ravenous sawmills in the pine wilderness are not unlike the huge dragons that used in popular legend to lay waste the country and like dragons they die when their prey, the lordly pines are all devoured.⁸⁷

August 1897 saw the Dickson Mill Company announced the reopening of its two lumbering camps in Cavendish for timber to be sent to their mills in Lakefield and Peterborough. Not all companies were this lucky following the depression of the 1870's and 80's. In the same year Rahbun Lumber Company was forced to close its sawmills in Lakefield. 99

The Evolution of the Study Area Landscape: The Lumber Complex

In terms of this particular study the lumbering industry of interest lies on the east bank at the southern most end of the study area. It was a lumbering complex which was built and rebuilt several times as ownership changed hands and fires destroyed the

buildings (Figure 1). This complex is still in existence, though the original buildings have now been removed. It operated until recently as a Portland Cement Company and is currently the home of Lakefield Research.

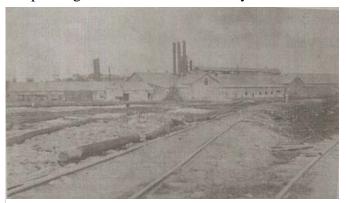


Figure 3: Cavendish Lumber Company Complex and Rail lines. Photo credit: L.H.S.

⁸⁶ Pammet, 17.

⁸⁷ Pammet, 31.

⁸⁸ Pammet, 33.

⁸⁹ Pammet, 34.

This complex began its existence, at earliest note in the 1860's as the Lakefield Lumber Co. A saw and shingle mill owned by Roland and George Strickland was situated near the water. ⁹⁰ The company had cribbed and filled in the banks of the river with sawdust in front of their timber stores, on June 1st, 1892 three piles of 10,000 feet

each of lumber were rendered useless by
fire.⁹¹ In 1902 the Lakefield Lumber Co
transferred hands and was renamed
Lillicrap, Tate Lumber Co. A new
sawmill was built in Lakefield in 1902 by
the Lillicarp Tate Lumber Company.⁹²

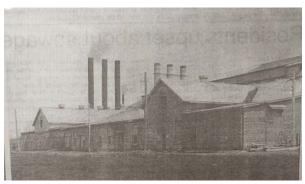


Figure 4: The Lakefield Cement Co (1906) Formerly Canvendish Lumber Photo credit: L.H.S

This particular mill that was built was a circular facility that was 25,000 to 30,000 feet per diem. ⁹³ This facility was a new type of mill and there was no extra cost in building this instead of a type of mill that was known at the time. This mill was to have all the modern machinery that was available at the time and was to be provided by a well-known company from the City of Peterborough, the William Hamilton Company. ⁹⁴ The plan to build this sawmill took quite some time, but in June 1902 it was finally given the 'go ahead'; it was to be built with all of the proper machinery. The residents of the mill site area wanted to know some of the facts surrounding the mill: how it was built and what kind of work was being done within the mill. One of these facts was that the foundation on which the mill was built, was concrete throughout. ⁹⁵ The fact that everything was standing on a concrete floor, meant that the work could be done in a considerably faster

⁹⁰ Diane Robnik. *The Mills in Peterborough County*. Trent Valley Archives, 2006, 206.

⁹¹ Robnik, 206-207.

⁹² Robnik, 25.

⁹³ Robnik, 25.

manner and appropriate amount of time. 96 Other facts include that this particular mill was built along the lakeshore, with the lumber being pulled into the mill from the north end of the building.⁹⁷ Out of all the workers employed in this mill, it was the man who was running the saw who had the control over the water. 98 The lumber went through the rollers to what was called the 'edger'. The 'edger' was considered to be a very fine, heavy machine. 99 After this process, the lumber then went through a trimming machine and towards the sorting platform. 100

The company again switched hands in 1906, when it was bought by Cavendish Lumber Company. According a photograph dated 1906 (Figure 2), the buildings were already being used as a cement works as well. In 1907 a fire destroyed much of the establishment. 101 It remained in Cavendish's hands for a time and ran as both a Lumber and Cement Company until becoming simply the Portland Cement Company at Lakefield. 102

⁹⁴ Robnik, 25.95 Robnik, 25.

⁹⁶ Robnik, 25.

⁹⁷ Robnik, 25.

⁹⁸ Robnik, 25.

⁹⁹ Robnik, 25.

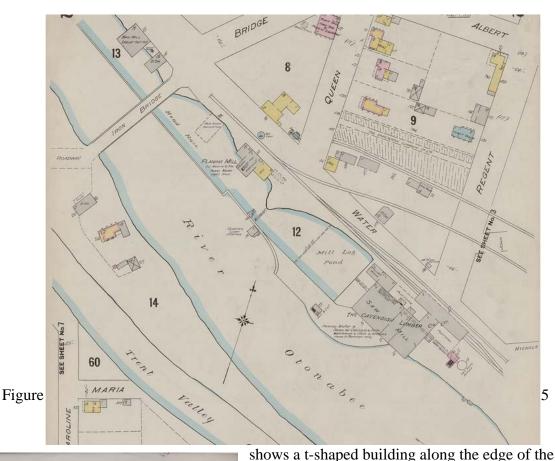
¹⁰⁰ Robnik, 25.

¹⁰¹ Robnik, 55-56. There is an interesting remembrance by Norman Bolton, the child of a former mill worker. Published in the Lakefield Leader, June 27, 1974.

Mills

As mentioned previously the construction of the dam was critical to the growth of industry along the banks of the Otonabee River. Below (Figure 3) is a 1911 fire map of the study area which shows the development along the banks with a description of each of the businesses. The buildings of interest here are the buildings south of the bridge on the east bank. The dotted line is a stone foundation of a former mill, the t-shaped building is listed as a planing mill. ¹⁰³

Figure 5: September 1911 Fire Plan of Lakefield published by Chas E Goad- section 2 of 7. Accessed at Library and Archives of Canada. MIKAN No. 3827163



¹⁰² Exact dates unknown.

Figure 6: Bapties/ Moore Planing Mill Photo credit: L.H.S

In the bottom right corner is the Cavendish Complex mentioned in the aboved section. The smaller building on the east bank along the edge of the river is Leggots Power house (to be mentioned) and above the bridge to the North is a Blacksmiths Shop owned by a man named Kidd. Above that is another mill.

water just south of the bridge. The building was a planing mill built in 1872 by Peter Baptie and managed by James Moore. 104 The Lakefield Planning mill was purchased from Baptie in 1893 by G.M. Bellasis and expanded its work to include matching,

moulding, turning, and band-sawing. 105 Moore maintained a position at the mill in the capacity of manager. The mill remained in operation until at least 1920. This building also served as the village's only fire protection and housed the village fire hoses. 106

By 1908 the mill behind the Baptie/Moore mill was owned and managed by James Moore's son F.J. The mill went up in flames caused by a fire in the chimney on January 22nd, 1908. 107 The fire also caused damages to the Lakefield Milling Company located just a few feet away, owned by J.W. Cornish. McAllister formerly owned the

Cornish mill. 108 Assumed to be the McAllister Rolling/ Grist Mill. Shown only as a foundation in most photographs and plans. It was characterised by its three and a half storey frame with dark wooden siding and Carriage entrance at the back. (Please see Figure 7: the building with the dot above it is thought to be Appendix C for a photograph of the back).



the McAllister Grist and Roller mill. Photo credit: L.H.S

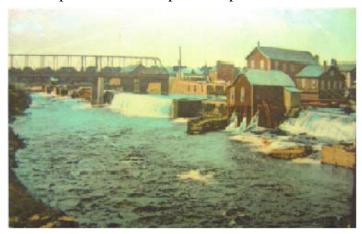
Figure 9: Ruins of Hulls Mill. Photo credit: Figure 8: Hulls mill in operation Photo credit: L.H.S			
L.H.S	104	Robnik, 25	
	105	Robnik, 27	
	106	National Archives of Canada. RG 43, Peterborough Examiner, April 12, 1920	
	107	Robnik, 72.	
	108	Robnik, 71-72.	

The other milling building of interest was the Hull Lakefield Flouring Mill, which was built 1865 by John Hull. The building was known as the "Kachewahnuek Mills" or the Lakefield "Roller Mills.¹⁰⁹ Hull's mill was the only one along the west bank of the river. Interesting to this particular site is that Hull ran his own power canal (Figure 8). The mill ran three runs of stones, which ground 4-5 thousand barrels of flour a year.¹¹⁰ The mill was ceased production and dismantled in 1920 (Figure 9).

Other Buildings of Interest:

Leggot Power House was located on the east bank just below the Baptie/Moore mill. It was a small building, which sat out from the power canal and provided power for

the Cavendish Company and the power for the city of Lakefield. S.R Leggot owned the electric light portion and the powerhouse owned by the Dickson Co. 111 Mr. Trude Leggot was present at the mill



on April 12 1920 when the building was

Figure 10: Leggott Power House front right of the photograph Photo credit: L.H.S

destroyed by fire most probably caused by a short circuit. 112 (Figure 10)

Robnik, 125 and 135. The case of Hull vs. The Crown debates the compensation paid to him following the constructin and development of the Trent Severn Waterway through Lakefield.

¹¹⁰ Robnik, 135

National Archives of Canada. RG 43, Peterborough Examiner, April 12, 1920

¹¹² National Archives of Canada. RG 43, Peterborough Examiner, April 12, 1920

There were several other buildings on interest that shaped the landscape of the Otonabee in Lakefield. These buildings though significant have few records other than a few photographs and oblique mentions. Please see the Appendixes for photographs of these.

Conclusions

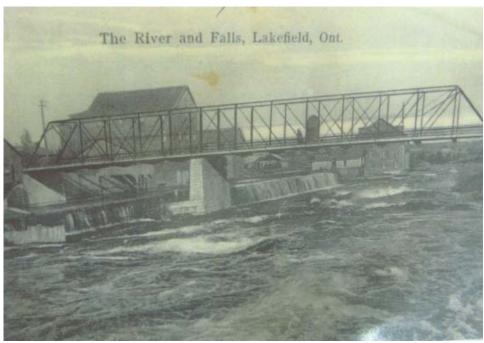
The Otonabee River had provided a valuable transportation network for Ontario that aided both business and leisure. At Lakefield the construction of the Trent-Severn canal, dam and locks not only physically altered the landscape but was evidence of the

importance of water power to industry. A complicated history of damming the water at Lakefield gave way to a rapid but important set of changes to the cultural landscape on the banks of the river. The men who owned and worked at the businesses, mainly mills based on the lumber industry, provided an ever changing set of buildings and people. The buildings became an integral part of the historic fabric of Lakefield. Many of these buildings slowly lost their commercial significance once the use of mechanical water power was slowly being replaced by more modern methods. Although, none of these buildings are still in existence they still prove to be a source of memory and collective heritage for Lakefield residents who have a connection the river and the commercial and recreational activities which occurred there. Unfortunately many of the buildings changed hands frequently and records were scarce, or incomplete. In connection history of the landscape provided here is far from complete. There is still a great deal of change and important history to record. Many of the buildings have been recorded however their details, and in some cases, their exact locations are still unknown. In the end this is a brief summary of the cultural and historical landscape, which was developed between the midnineteenth to early twentieth centuries.

Appendix



Appendix A: Arial photograph of study sight C. 1970. Courtesy of the Lakefield Historical Society. Please note none of the industrial buildings mentioned in the report remain. Most of the mills had been shut down or replaced by more efficient electric powered buildings. Large building in the middle of the river is the modern hydro-power station Lakefield Historical Society, Postcard Collection



Appendix B: Photograph of study area early 1900's with the exception of Hulls Mill.

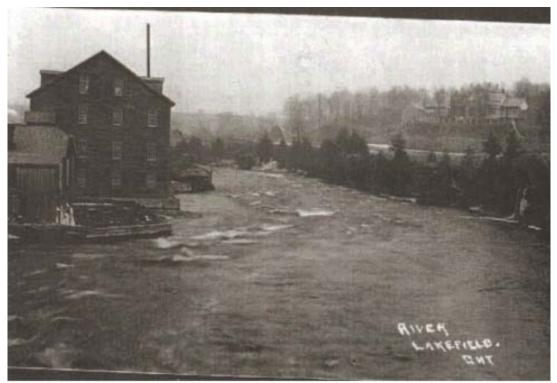
Buildings from Left to Right: Grist Mill, Baptie/Moore Planing Mill, Cavendish Lumber Company, Leggots Power house, and Lakefield Woolen Mill. Lakefield Historical Society: Grant Collection

Appendix C: Back view of the McAllister/Cornish Grist Mill. Lakefield Historical Society: Grant Collection





<u>Appendix D:</u> The foundation of McAllister's grist/roller mill beside the Baptie/Moore Mill. Parks Canada Trent Severn Waterway Archives.



Appendix E: Lakefield Woolen Mill. Originally owned by the Stricklands in the late 1880's and was dismantled by the early 1900's. Photograph Courtesy of The Lakefield Historical Society: the Delladone Collection. Note: the building in front of the mill is Leggotts power house. Parks Canada Trent-Severn Waterway Archives



Appendix F: Wooden foundation of Woolen mill to the right. The wooden fenced in area is thought to be the ruins of Leggotts power house. Lakefield Historical Society: Delladone Collection



Appendix F: Construction of the dam, removing the wooden timber cribs and replacing them. Lakefield Historical Society: Delladone collection.



Appendix G: Construction of the dam. Lakefield Historical Society: Delladone collection



Appendix H: Construction Lakefield Historical Society: Delladone collection.

Glossary

The following is taken from 'The Dictionary of Human Geography' by R. J. Johnston, Derek Gregory, Geraldine Pratt, and Michael Watts. 113

Settlement Continuity – This is the preservation and maintenance of settlement areas, settlement systems as well as territorial structures which typically happen in rural areas. In case of the Lakefield Locks and the settlement surrounding them, the locks do have to be maintained in order for such things as flooding, for example, do not happen

The following is from the book 'The Mills of Peterborough County', written by Diane Robnik. 114

Flax mill – flax is spun at these factories and then manufactured

Fanning mill – these mills separate the grain from the chaff. A fan was located in the back produced enough wind to blow away the debris letting the grain through the vibrating screens.

Gristmill – a different type of facility in which grain is ground into flour with a millstone. Stone was used over metal because millers thought metal should not come into contact with food

Planing mill – lumber is surfaced in this type of mill. It is also referred to lumber being manufactured according to how a customer would like it to be done.

Roller mill – the metal roller is used in this mill, which is a faster way to grind the grain. Using a metal roller, the flour then becomes finer than if a metal roller were not used. The rollers ran at various speeds because if they ran at the same speed, the grain would

¹¹³ R J Johnston, Derek Gregory, Geraldine Pratt and Michael Watts. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2000.

seem as if there was nothing done to it at the mill. The slower roller held the grain while the faster roller cut the grain. This is a process where flour and bran were mixed in together. This type of process was quite expensive and therefore the more thriving mills had them rather than all mills.

Sawmill – this facility cuts logs into boards in which the boards are run through a series of saws

Steam mill – a mill that is powered by steam using a boiler. This mill did not need a river or a stream as an energy source. It is typically used alongside sawmill.

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