

At the Confluence of Two Rivers: Man versus Nature in an Industrializing Community, Guelph, Ontario, 1827-1927

The natural resource base and hilly topography of the settlement site chosen for Guelph would have a durable influence on the economic base and the built environment of the community. The settlement site chosen by the Canada Company was at the confluence of the Speed and Eramosa Rivers and it was expected to have the mill seat potential for over a dozen milling enterprises along the course of the two rivers near the location planned for the Guelph settlement. The natural resource bounty included a forest floor with the high quality of soil needed for wheat production. It held an abundance of the amber-hued, dolomite limestone stone for quarrying and construction that gave the regional market centre a distinctive streetscape. The watershed boasted creeks and springs that would sustain population growth and a brewing industry into the next century. Late nineteenth century manufacturing growth reconfigured the social geography of the town and accentuated the class structure and residential segregation. With industrialization came the pollution and physical growth that would negatively impact the natural environment. However, the beauty of the rivers offered Guelphites recreational respite from the problems associated with industrialization.

The following paper utilizes the abundance of local history resources on that are available via the archives of the Guelph Civic Museums, the archives and stacks of the Guelph Public Library, the Wellington County Museum and Archives and the publications of the Guelph Historical Society. Important primary sources such as the John Galt,

Autobiography of John Gal, 2 vols. (London: Cochrane & McCrone, 1833) are available through rare book room of the McLaughlin Library at the University of Guelph. I would like to thank the staff members at these public institutions for their assistance. I appreciate the special permission access granted to the St. Joseph's archives. The Guelph Historical Society has succeeded in making the history of Guelph accessible via its many publications. Since the mid-1960s, the society has published local history as a feature of its public education mandate. A variety of editions of their journal, *Historic Guelph*, *The Royal City* were used in compiling research material for this paper. The GHS also published two comprehensive volumes on the history of Guelph that proved useful: Leo A. Johnson, *History of Guelph, 1827 – 1927* (Guelph: Guelph Historical Society, 1977) and Dawn Matheson and Rosemary Anderson, eds. *Guelph: Perspectives on a Century of Change, 1900-2000* (Guelph: Guelph Historical Society, 2000). I am grateful to the GHS for facilitating access to past and more recent issues of their journal. All in all, these outlets for the study of local and public history have been integral to assessing the long-term relationship between the natural and the built environments in Guelph, Ontario over the first hundred years of the city's history.

The rich resource potential and dramatic topography of the site of the Guelph settlement figured largely into John Galt's ambition to establish a planned community in the Guelph Block. By 1856 Guelph was an incorporated town and the county seat of Wellington County. Even though a third of the lands in the county were poorly drained, most could still be cultivated.¹ The lands in the immediate vicinity of the Guelph settlement were of such prime potential that the Canada Company demanded steep prices per acre at a time

that free land was still available in Upper Canada.² Town lots in Guelph sold for forty pounds sterling.³ Galt envisioned a bustling business centre that would attract newcomers with skills and capital to invest. By 1840 the settlement was a growing commercial hub and home to a wide range of skilled tradesmen. Guelphites welcomed nascent resource-based industrial growth and prospered as the town became an important agricultural market centre.

John Galt's design plan for the town also showcased the natural visual vistas that the hills rising from the river valleys offered. He utilized their appeal in his promotional concept for the community. Due to his friendship with Bishop Alexander Macdonnell, Galt chose a "beautiful central hill" for the Catholic Church glebe.⁴ In the past, Galt leveraged this friendship to find the means of earning an income to support his family. Guelph's Catholic Hill would dominate the skyline for generations to come and the succession of larger and more substantial churches, the Loretto Convent, rectory, and Catholic schools adorning the precipice towered over the business district. By 1900, the massive Church of Our Lady Immaculate signaled that the centre of town was ahead.

By also offering free land grants to churches synonymous with affluence, such as the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, Galt hoped to use churches as a marketing tool to draw tradesmen and settlers with money to invest to the Guelph settlement and in turn secure profits and prestige for the Canada Company. Galt planned prime sites for the Church of Scotland and the Church of England within his fan-shaped town plan replete with impressive visual vistas. The Presbyterians built the original St.

Andrew's Church, known as the 'Scotch Church',⁵ on the southern fringe of Market Square where it remained until the site was sold to build City Hall in 1855. The new St. Andrew's Church was built north of the central business district at the corner of Norfolk and Suffolk Streets. The original St. George's Church built in 1833 was renovated and expanded until the St. George's Square site would not meet the size requirements of the congregation. The location on Wyndham Street was abandoned so the old St. George's could be replaced in 1871 by a far grander structure on the banks of the Speed across from Douglas Street.⁶ With the church gone, St. George's Square was home to a salt works as well as mercantile, financial and other business establishments.

In time other significant hills in Guelph were prestige areas in the built environment. Across the Speed River to the east of the spot where the first tree was felled to found the town, the treed expanses of a prominent hill would give way to park lots and farms that would one day become a post-industrial neighbourhood catering to wealthier Guelphites. To the south, a mix of housing and farms graced the rise of a prominent hill along the Dundas Road. The hilltop, formerly the property of farmer and cattle breeder F.W. Stone, became the location of the Ontario Agriculture College in 1874 – the precursor to the late twentieth century University of Guelph. Off in the distance to the north-west an impressive but more isolated hill was home to the Hussey farm. In 1862 it was bequeathed to the Sisters of St. Joseph to found St. Joseph's Hospital and House of Providence.⁷ The visual appeal of town's site and its economic potential of the hinterland were utilized in marketing strategies for the community long after 1927. In 1926 Guelph was a test market community and advertisers noted that the natural beauty

of Guelph with its treed hills and river valleys helped make the community “a good place to live and a good place to work.”⁸ Most residential areas had nearby park land and tree lined streets. Except for the post-1900 concentration of industry in St. Patrick’s Ward to the southeast of downtown and the residual affect of the concentration of late nineteenth century manufacturing in the city core, the city’s wards had a low density mix of industrial, commercial and residential land uses well into the twentieth century.

While Galt’s original planning design for the community and its echoes had longevity, Galt’s career in Guelph did not. Galt was recalled in 1929 due to fiscal and administrative conflicts with the Board of Directors of the Canada Company, the company was still important to the growth of the community for many years. Local milling demand was answered by the Canada Company Mill in December 1830.⁹ Civic leaders assumed the leadership of local growth and succeeded in orchestrating joint stock ventures and bonusing schemes to improve road access to Guelph in the 1840s, attract branches of the Grand Trunk and Great Western rail lines in the 1850s and recruit tradesmen and investors to diversify the local economy throughout the nineteenth century.

Table I - Profile of Guelph in 1847

(Source: Key entitled The Town of Guelph Contained, *Plan of Guelph 1847* by Donald McDonald, Map Collection, Guelph Civic Museum)

General

- ◆ Population – 1,480
- ◆ Houses – 384

Industry

Grist Mills –	4 (13 runs of stones)	Saw Mills	2
Tanneries –	4	Distilleries	4
Brickyards –	1	Coach Makers	1
Iron Foundry –	1	Pump Makers	2
Cabinet Makers –	11	Tinware Factory	1
Carding Machine -	1		

(Note: no quarries listed yet 21 stone masons in business statistics.)

The entries in Guelph's census and assessment rolls in 1861, 1871 and 1881 indicate that prior to larger scale factory production in the eighties and nineties, most Guelphites lived near their places of employment.¹⁰ Mill workers lived within walking distance of mills, stone masons and quarrymen resided reasonably close to the town's quarries, clerks and shopkeepers lived in neighbourhoods ringing the business core of town and iron workers live within walking distance of the concentration of metal trades in the centre of town. In 1894 entrepreneur and factory owner, George Sleeman, unveiled a proposed street railway system and in September of 1895 it would change the residency patterns of the pedestrian city of the mid-nineteenth century. He built the line as an investment and as a means of getting his workers to his Silver Creek Brewery facilities on the western edge of town for their various shifts. Blue collar workers were able to live farther from work and avoid the escalating cost of rents and home ownership near the city centre. Eventually the line was taken over by the City in 1903. Despite the street railway, Guelph remained a somewhat compact pedestrian city. The further separation of home and work for employees that would come with the age of the automobile was more apparent in the mid- twentieth century. By 1927 it was not yet felt in a transformative way. City planning reports indicate that the steep slopes of Guelph's larger hills impeded residential growth to the end of World War II.¹¹

Beyond Market Square and the growing commercial district surrounding it, a low density mix of early industrial employment, residential development and an eventual periphery of family farms characterized the interface of man and nature as quarries, mills and

breweries were the engines of growth related to the natural environment. Significant ridges and layers of limestone were available for quarrying and stone cutting along the river valleys to the south-west and south-east of the commercial core of town. Leanne Piper has done an extensive study of the Guelph quarrying industry and she notes “[t]he area’s limestone is a distinct colour and consistency, and it proved to be the ideal raw material for a generation of skilled yet distinct trades- stone cutters, stone masons and stone-carvers.”¹² The large magnesium content made it easier to quarry because it was softer than greyer limestone with lower magnesium counts. Also, it was available in outcroppings and ridges as well as bedrock layers close to the surface. The lack of proper local clay for a brick works contributed to the widespread use of local stone from mid-century to the 1890s when bricks were very in fashion as building materials and were shipped into the city to meet this demand. Gilbert Stelter has concluded that the pre-nineties use of local stone “resulted in a remarkably homogeneous, unified townscape of public buildings, churches, businesses and homes.”¹³ He also notes that the use of stone in nineteenth century buildings in Galt (Cambridge), Kingston and Guelph made them resemble lowland towns in Scotland.¹⁴

The Wellington County Court House completed in 1843 was one of the early institutional buildings constructed from Guelph stone. The stone was quarried onsite as in many of the early stone homes in Guelph.¹⁵ Piper notes that until 1850 most buildings in Guelph were wooden. The extensive stands of timber in the area and local sawmills were asset as the town grew. After 1850, stone became a preferred building material and it figured largely in the building boom on upper Wyndham Street after the Grand Trunk Railway cut a

swath across Market Square and pushed commercial development north of the market grounds in 1856.¹⁶ The new Opera House at the north-west tip of Wyndham Street and a variety of new business blocks on both sides of the street gave an air of permanence and beauty due to the use of local stone. At the top of the eastside of Upper Wyndham Street the 'New' Wellington Hotel was an imposing flatiron structure that was part of the stone construction boom on the east side of Upper Wyndham from 1875-1876. Next to the Alma Block an impressive Masonic Building graced the streetscape and other stone edifices filled the east side of the street down to the federal building on St. George's Square.¹⁷ Unfortunately, the barrier created by the rail line led to the gradual deterioration of the business potential of the older business area to the south-east of Market Square along Dundas Road.¹⁸ However, the new stone business blocks along Wyndham Street reflected the affluence that accompanied mid-nineteenth century growth.

Builders and stone masons could purchase stone from a variety of quarries in the west end and to the north of the Speed embankments on Bristol Street, Essex Street and along the Waterloo Road extension of Market Street. South of the river there were quarries near Water Street and further south along what is currently Stone Road. In St. Patrick's Ward at south-east end of town, there were two large quarries along Huron Street. Further to the east beyond the town limits, the quarry on the Guelph Reformatory grounds was initially worked by inmates sentenced to the institution by the courts. This quarry began in 1911 and it was still in production long after 1927. Reformatory stone and convict labour built the prison's gates as well as the decorative walls, the bridge that crossed the stream on the grounds, and the man-made series of ponds.¹⁹ The apron of the prison

farm's grounds where these water and stone features were constructed became a favorite picnic grounds for working class families at the south end of town.

Like stone and timber, water was important natural resource. George Sleeman's Silver Creek Brewery drew clear, clean water from Silver Creek to support the brewery business he started in 1850. After 1868 the business would be managed through several economic downturns by his sons. Unfortunately, the Ontario Temperance Act in 1916 would require the shutdown of the brewing of beer requiring the business to subsist on the sale of malt and gingerale.²⁰ In 1927 Harry Sleeman reopened the brewery as the Sleeman Spring Bank Brewery Company Limited.²¹ The Sleemans' leading local competitor, Thomas Holliday went into business in 1856 and, like Sleeman, Holliday would pass the management of his business to his sons. The Holliday brewery had popular brands like Kent ale but the growth of the Holliday brewery was continually out paced by the Sleeman business. When George Sleeman introduced the use of bisulphate of soda as a stabilizing additive in 1874 his business decision facilitated the expansion of his sales market beyond his strong local and regional markets and precipitated the need to add a new bottling plant to meet the new demand for his products. Two decades later the Sleeman products entered for competition won a number of prizes at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago.²²

The milling, tannery and saw mill enterprises in town augmented the number of early industries born of the water-based potential of Guelph's location. Allan's Mill and Goldie's Mill were multigenerational family businesses like the Sleemans' and the

Hollidays' enterprises. As was the case with many smaller mills dependent on the mill seats available along Guelph's two rivers, Allan's and Goldie's mill works harnessed local water power until stream power became more important to milling and brewing after 1880. The Allan and Goldie families dominated the local industry in the late nineteenth century. Like David Allan, owner of Allan's Mill, James Goldie turned a very prosperous business over to his sons. David Allan purchased the Canada Company Mill in 1832 but when it was not suited to expansion he built the larger Allan's Mill that was five stories high and had 7 runs of stones.²³ He operated the mill until his death in 1850. James Goldie operated the Speedvale Mill from 1859 and in 1866 he sold it two years after acquiring the rebuilt People's Mill that had been restored after a fire in 1864. His products earned a fine reputation across the Dominion of Canada and in 1892 his son, Thomas B. Goldie, was the President of the Dominion Millers' Association.²⁴

In 1867 Guelph was an affluent, mid-sized commercial city on the threshold of industrialization. Forty years later, it was finally attracting the breadth and scale of industry that the Board of Trade, the municipal council and other civic boosters had hoped would materialize by 1880. Guelph was an English town on Canadian soil that was proud of its conceptual link to the Guelph dynasty of the English Royal Family.²⁵ This did not mean that Guelphites did not relish the new nationhood of the Dominion of Canada. However, the community's enduring pattern of ethnicity bound the majority of Guelphites proudly to Queen and Empire. In 1881, 39 percent of residents claimed English heritage.²⁶ After 1871 the in-migration of English skilled craftsmen met the labour needs of Guelph's carriage works, distilleries, agricultural implement makers,

manufacturers of sewing machines and organ and piano factories. A set of statistics published in England by Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners in 1870 informed prospective emigrants that Canada offered good wages and employment for 15,000 labourers for railway work, 1,500 mechanics of all kinds and 6,500 female domestic servants.²⁷ The town of Guelph was the beneficiary of the willingness of mechanics to leave England and start a new life in Canada.

In 1879 Guelph became an incorporated city and the civic politicians, entrepreneurs and professionals in town banded together to offer joint stock schemes and tax deferrals in their campaigns designed to draw new industries to Guelph. By 1890 Guelph was an industrial city with an economy dominated by mills, foundries and factories. However, it never fulfilled the scale of industrial growth that fed expectations. Between 1881 and 1901 the population rose from 9,890 to 11,496.²⁸ In 1901 the industrial base of Guelph was tied largely to agriculture and iron works but since 1881 it expanded in scope and employment opportunities. Skilled labour remained an important feature of the work force but unlike in the forties, fifties and sixties, when a paucity of work for the unskilled Irish moderated Irish Catholic immigration to the town, Guelph's manufacturers had more and more employment for unskilled workers as they became increasingly mechanized. The carpet and textile mills like Armstrong McCrae and Company, the Knitting Mills of Francis Smith and Clark and Thompson's Carpet Works were among the employers who offered less skilled employment. Industrial Employers who still required skilled tradesmen after the 1860s included the Bell Organ Company, the Raymond Sewing Machine Company and its early competitor, Osburn and Wilkie

(Guelph Sewing Machine Company), the J.B. Armstrong Company (carriage works), Gowdy's Agricultural Works and the Crowe Iron Foundry. The industries established in the late nineteenth century ringed the commercial heart of the city and the accompanying congestion and pollution. While some industrialist like Charles Raymond built impressive homes on the fringe of the city core near their enterprises, other affluent Guelphites preferred the low density, fashionable residential district on a hill across the Speed River in St .George's Ward. The crowded downtown became a mix of carriage works, agricultural implement makers, melodeon manufacturers, organ factories, sewing machine factories, woolen mills, carpet mills, furniture manufacturers, clothiers, boot and shoemakers, and confectioners. Meanwhile it remained the key agricultural centre for the County and it continued to be a wholesale and retail centre.

Few manufacturers had over 100 employees but several factories reached the threshold of 200 or more employees by the 1890s. Leo Johnson notes that the 1893 *Guelph City Directory* identifies the Raymond Sewing Machine Company, the Bell Organ and Piano Factory and The Woolen Mills of McCrae and Company as manufacturers that met this threshold.²⁹ While the second local phase of large scale industrial development was still two decades away, in 1894 George Sleeman negotiated a Charter to build a electrified street railway system able to transport shoppers to the central business district and carry employees back and forth to work along a north-south and a western loop thereby allowing Guelph's real estate speculators to make profits as workers moved further from the city core.³⁰ In 1881 Irish Catholics, the young and the least affluent Guelphites peopled the lower cost neighbourhoods on the fringes of the community.³¹ In time, Sleeman's line not only allowed families more residential choices, it carried them to his

recreational properties in the north end at Riverside Park and far beyond Guelph to Puslinch Lake where he owned a hotel.³² Picnicking, fishing, rowing and swimming were key local recreational past times for Guelphites well into the 20th century. In 1945 the Guelph City Planning commission praised the recreational and economic benefits of the city's location as follows: “[s]ituated at the heart of the finest agricultural district in southern Ontario, of great natural beauty , and high up in the sources of the Grand River, Guelph offers the very finest environmental living conditions.”³³

Residents at the south-east end of town experienced a less idyllic set of environmental living conditions to 1927. In 1910, St. Patrick's Ward was a predominantly blue collar area with a growing recent immigrant population of Italians, Germans and English residents. Around the turn of the century, the town's earliest Italian immigrants came to find work in railway construction, create roads, lay water pipe and do heavy manual work in new factories. The collapse of water pipes around town and the resulting water contamination created a temporary demand for unskilled workers to dig trenches for replacement pipes. Additionally, the declining quality of the local water supply due to crumbling infrastructure and contamination prompted the search for a safe supply of water that would lead Guelph to establish its long-term policy of tapping into the Arkell Springs as a safe water source.³⁴ Yet, the immigrant workers who dug the ditches for new water pipes west of the Speed River had the misfortune to live in a ward where the problems of water-born disease would be a serious issue before World War I. A lack of civic responsiveness to their plight and new heavy industry on their door steps threatened

the health of the newcomers and established residents alike in St. Patrick's. Residential infrastructure improvements in the ward were not addressed until 1919.

The neglect of the area by City Hall did not mean a general lack of interest in St. Patrick's Ward residents.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches all had mission branches in the working class neighbourhoods of Guelph's St. Patrick's Ward. Offering Sunday Schools, church services and adult education their representatives worked in close physical proximity to capture the hearts and minds of locals and meet the pressing basic family needs of the area. Catholics and Protestants alike made a commitment to public service. This altruism, however, did not inspire the missionaries from the prominent downtown congregations to protest the congestion, pollution, overcrowding and sanitary problems associated with rapid industrial and residential development in the east end. It appears that the do-gooders from the old stone churches in the city centre were relieved that the religious and educational outlets they founded, and the growing number of local immigrant-owned stores scattered among the neighbourhoods in St. Patrick's, helped to create a separate, complete, isolated, self-serviced community. The Catholic mission church was replaced by Sacred Heart Church in 1925 and the area had new Presbyterian, Anglican, and Methodist churches as well as elementary schools for Catholic and Protestant children to attend. By 1930s, Italian residents were able to shop near their homes at Valeriotte's Groceteria and Veroni's bakery.³⁵ Some initiatives related to self-sufficiency created

friction among the Italian newcomers and other ethnic groups in 1911. According to Pat Bowley,

The houses and businesses built in St. Patrick's Ward by Italian-Canadian immigrants were unique in Guelph. Many homes were large to accommodate nuclear and extended families as well as boarders. Vegetable gardens were everywhere; small livestock and poultry often shared the backyard; grape arbours were common. By 1911, the non-Italian residents of St. Patrick's Ward began to object to the large homes the newcomers were building, and in response to their concerns the city appointed a building inspector and arranged a system of building permits to control building operations.³⁶

Yet, the flagrantly myopic business ethics of City officials was revealed by the refusal of City Council and the Water Commission to address the infrastructure related sanitary crisis reaching alarming proportions in St. Patrick's Ward in the same year.³⁷

By 1910, the constant problem of contaminated water and the resultant local recurrence of typhoid in addition to the spread of infectious diseases like tuberculosis and small pox prompted the Sisters of St. Joseph to build isolation cottages on their grounds. In the so-called Protestant domain civic leaders would support the fiscal demands of establishing an isolation hospital adjacent to the General Hospital in 1912. However resentment met attempts by Alderman Coffee and other leaders representing St. Patrick's Ward when civic improvements like repairs to water lines, the removal of cesspits and the construction of sidewalks were brought to city council.³⁸ Five years later, Dr. Howitt, the Medical Officer of Health, warned that damaged water pipes and the congestion of outdoor conveniences in the crowded neighbourhoods stretching from the river to the rail

lines and beyond in that ward could cause a serious local epidemic.³⁹ While the water service to nearby factories was upgraded, many women were forced to carry water from neighborhood pumps to their homes. Cracked and broken water pipes in St. Patrick's were escalating the problems of residential water contamination. Unfortunately, the repairs required to insure a safe residential supply of water to St. Patrick's Ward were delayed until after World War I. The Grand Trunk rail line that ran just north of Elizabeth Street at the northern limit of St. Patrick's Ward was increasingly demarcating a class line between the working class below the hill and the more affluent neighbourhoods atop the hill beyond Elizabeth Street.

The pre- World War I initiative to create an new industrial corridor within in the east end amid the many social issues related to health was touted as a way of expanding employment opportunities for the European and British workers who resided in these neighbourhoods. However, it was really calculated to stimulate residential land sales and the profit motive remained supreme. Publisher J.W. Lyon amassed a fortune from his Guelph-based World Publishing Company and he subsequently invested heavily in real estate in the south-eastern regions of the city. He fed on the broader community's desire to finally reach the level of industrialization once envisioned for the 1880s. Lyon offered factory developers 120 acre parcels of free land to the total of eight land grants if industrialists located in the east end.⁴⁰ Lyon planned to reap profits from selling the surrounding residential land. The efforts of Lyon and other boosters helped to attract sixteen new businesses to the city by 1914.⁴¹ By attracting heavy industry like the Guelph Stove Company and the International Malleable Iron, Lyon contributed to Guelph's first sustained demand for semi-skilled and unskilled workers as promised publicly. Workers

home surrounded these new industries and the sanitary problems of the east end were further complicated by the new pollution associated with heavy industry.

Table II – Profile of Guelph in 1927

(Source: Canadian Business Research Bureau Pamphlet, June 1926, Collection, Guelph Civic Museum)

- ◆ City slogan – “A good place to work and a good place to live.”
- ◆ 49 miles from Toronto, 28 from Hamilton, 78 from Niagara Falls
- ◆ Population Growth: 1890 – 10,000; 1921 – 18,128; 1926 – 19,500
- ◆ Diversified industrial base: hats, lawn mowers, linens, furniture, motor bodies, carpets, furnaces, culverts, malt products, rubber footwear

The history of development in Guelph, Ontario from 1827 to 1927 underscores that the location chosen for the Guelph settlement by Canada Company Superintendent John Galt was sound. The mill seat potential of the two rivers spurred the development of successful grist mills and saw mills, there was soil suited to growing wheat and other grains, and a vast stone reserve for quarrying. This resource base, its geographic location and local investment in transportation made Guelph a key distribution, wholesale and retail centre by the mid-nineteenth century. After 1880 manufacturing development brought profits and while Guelph did not become the industrial giant imagined in the 1880s, by 1919 the City had 90 manufacturers.⁴² Unfortunately, increasing pollution and residential segregation were byproducts of the arrival and expansion of industry in Guelph.

Industrial development failed to obliterate the original town plan and its use of hills as visual vista and heritage stone buildings of the nineteenth century were still in evidence

in the city centre and the older neighbourhoods. Economic diversity accompanied industrialization but milling and brewing remained features of the economic base. Guelphites continued to appreciate the recreation potential of the local natural environment. Local waterways drew crowds to the 23 acres of recreational land in Riverside Park in the north end of the city and the Speed and Eramosa River offered picnickers, boaters and fishermen a break from the workaday world. By 1920, the community had 8 other parks that brought the total acreage in recreational parkland to 150 acres.⁴³ Despite the scars of transportation links, neighbourhoods, commerce and industry on the landscape, the city's tree-lined hills, winding rivers valleys, and recreational areas recalled the natural beauty of the locale chosen by John Galt in 1827.

¹ "Industrial Analysis of the City of Guelph" (typescript document), City Of Guelph, 1963, p. 33. Archival Collection, Guelph Civic Museums, Guelph, Ontario.

² Leo A. Johnson. *History of Guelph, 1827-1927* (Guelph, 1977), p.128. Farm lots sold for \$2.00 cash or a fifth down and \$2.50 an acre on credit.

³ Ibid.

⁴ John Galt. *Autobiography of John Galt*, II (London, 1833), p. 62.

⁵ Ross Irwin. "Guelph Market Square", *Historic Guelph, The Royal City Vol. XXXIV (1994-1995)*, p. 26.

⁶ For information on St. George's Anglican Church in the nineteenth century see Gerald. J. Stortz. "Arthur Palmer: Founder and First Rector of St. George's Anglican Church, Guelph", *Historic Guelph, The Royal City*, Vol. XXV (1986), pp. 50-67.

⁷ Hussey Deed, Archives of St. Joseph's Hospital, Guelph.

⁸ *Market Data for Guelph, "The Trial Market City"*, pamphlet published by the Canadian Business Research Bureau, 1926, p. 2. Archival Collection of the Guelph Civic Museums, Guelph, Ontario.

⁹ David Allan. *About Guelph: Its Early Days and Late*. (Guelph, 1939), p. 9.

¹⁰ From my quantitative analysis based on household and neighbourhood reconstruction using the 1861, 1871 and 1881 manuscript census and assessment rolls for Guelph.

¹¹ *Guelph, Planned progress for the Next Fifteen Years, Report prepared for the City Planning Commission (November 1945)*, p.5. Archival collection of the Guelph Civic Museums, Guelph, Ontario.

¹² Leanne Piper. "Quarries and Quarrymen: The Limestone Industry in Guelph", *Historic Guelph: The Royal City*, Vol. XLVI (2007), p. 5.

¹³ Gilbert Stelter. "Chapter Four: Buildings and Guelph's Character", *Guelph: Perspectives on a Century of Change, 1900-2000*. (Guelph, 2000), p. 181.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Piper, "Quarries", p. 7.

¹⁶ Johnson, *Guelph*, p.199.

¹⁷ Ruth and Eber Pollard. "Guelph's Building Boom of 1875-1876", *Historic Guelph, The Royal City*, Vol. XX (1981), pp. 53-63.

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- ¹⁸ See Florence C. Partridge. “F.W. Stone, His Homes and Family”, *Historic Guelph, The Royal City*, Vol. XXXVIII (1999), pp. 9-22.
- ¹⁹ Piper, “Quarries”, p. 12 and Nick Brouwer. “The Big House”, *Historic Guelph, The Royal City* Vol. XXXIX (2000), p. 8.
- ²⁰ Steve Thorning. “Chapter Three: Doing Business in Guelph”, *Guelph: Perspectives on a Century of Growth, 1900-2000*. (Guelph, 2000), p. 159.
- ²¹ Tony Shaman. ‘Guelph’s Master Brewers and Maltsters’, *Historic Guelph: The Royal City*, Vol. XXXVIII (1999), p. 31.
- ²² *Ibid*, p. 27.
- ²³ Allan, *About Guelph*, p. 10.
- ²⁴ Debra Nash-Chambers. “Thomas Goldie”, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. XII, 1891-1900 (Toronto, 1990), p. 378.
- ²⁵ Galt, *Autobiography, II*, p.100 and Johnson, *Guelph*, p. 13.
- ²⁶ Figure for percentage of English enumerated in the 1881 *Census* for Guelph, Ontario.
- ²⁷ Harvey J. Philpot. *Guide to the Canadian Dominion*. (London, 1871), p. 132. McLaughlin Library, University of Guelph.
- ²⁸ Johnson, *Guelph*, p. 254.
- ²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 265.
- ³⁰ Sleeman had affordable fares of 5 cents in the daytime, rush hour fares for worker of 8 fares for 25 cents and 10 cent fares between midnight and 5 a.m. so that workers could live in the neighbourhood served by his rail lines in the lower cost areas opening up further from the city centre. Many of these areas had been held by speculators in anticipation of future urban growth. See Johnson, *Guelph*, pp. 286-287.
- ³¹ Based on statistical profile from my quantitative household reconstruction using the 1861, 1871 and 1881 census and assessment rolls for Guelph.
- ³² Johnson, *Guelph*, 286 and Thorning, “Chapter Three”, p. 159.
- ³³ *Guelph Planned Progress*, 1945, p. 5.
- ³⁴ Johnson, *Guelph*, pp. 277-278.
- ³⁵ Pat Bowley. “The Italian Community in St. Patrick’s Ward Guelph, Ontario 1900-1939”, *Historic Guelph, The Royal City*, Vol. XXXIII (1994), p. 64.
- ³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 61.
- ³⁷ Johnson, *Guelph*, pp. 276-277.
- ³⁸ See Dennis O’Keefe. “The Disclosure of Obscurity: Dennis Coffee – An Irish Catholic of Nineteenth Century Guelph”, *Historic Guelph, The Royal City*, Vol. XXXIII (1992-1993), p. 68 and Johnson, *Guelph*, pp. 297-299.
- ³⁹ Johnson, *Guelph*, p. 298.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 297.
- ⁴¹ Thorning, “Chapter Three”, pp. 152-154 and Johnson, *Guelph*, pp. 297-299.
- ⁴² *Guelph, Ontario, The Royal City*, Booklet, Issued for the Mayor and Council of the City of Guelph (Guelph, 1919), p. 13.
- ⁴³ *Ibid*.