



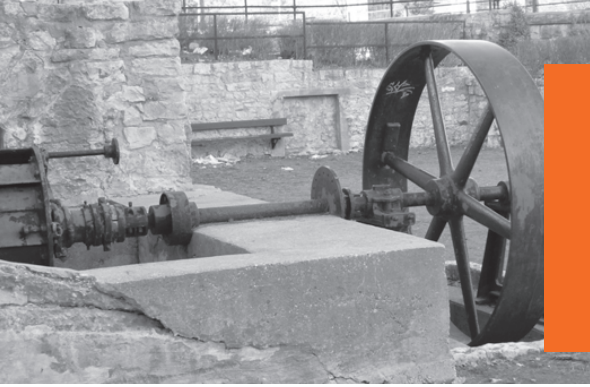
ARCHITECTURAL  
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# ACORN

FALL 2017

# REMEMBRANCE

VOL. 42  
ISSUE 2



# CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS

Remnants of the Past – ACORN Spring 2018

◀ Photo Susan Ratcliffe, 2008

A remnant is defined as a remaining piece or surviving trace when the greater part of an entity is gone. Ruins of former buildings and landscapes, abandoned public works, and relocated fragments of a lost community sometimes attract attention as remnants of an important activity from Ontario's past. Even better, some are now enjoying active preservation or repurposing.

The Spring 2018 issue will look at both rural and urban examples where surviving traces remain to draw links to valued heritage and historic continuity. Articles should be a maximum of either 500 or 1000 words in length and "encourage the conservation and reuse of structures, districts and landscapes of architectural, historic and cultural significance to inspire and benefit Ontarians."

Before commencing work on an article, please send your proposal or questions to [liz.lundell@rogers.com](mailto:liz.lundell@rogers.com) to avoid duplication and ensure photo guidelines are received. Deadline for submissions is January 29, 2018. Submitters are encouraged to look at past issues available on the ACO website:

[www.arconserv.ca](http://www.arconserv.ca).

## Congratulations to the Winners of the 2017 ACO Heritage Awards!

Edwin Rowse, ERA Architects  
Eric Arthur Lifetime Achievement Award

**Save the Gore Campaign, Hamilton**  
A.K. Sculthorpe Award for Advocacy

**Liz Lundell, Editor, ACORN Magazine**  
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**The haunting and sad figure of *Canada Bereft*, also known as *Mother Canada*,**

Walter Seymour Allward's brilliant personification of Canada mourning her dead.

Vimy Ridge National Historic Site of Canada, France.

**Photo** Bonita Slunder, 2016

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# FROM THE PRESIDENT

*A woman lives in the house; she has taken its name.  
A house knows who loves it.  
An empty house is one that metamorphoses into vacant space.  
The breath of a house is the sound of voices within.  
The house is only afraid of gods, fire, wind, and silence.*

John Hejduk

## F. Leslie Thompson

ACO President and Chair

Photo Matthew Plexman

Parthenon ►  
of Books, 2017,  
Marta Minujin,  
Kassel, Germany.  
Photo F. Leslie  
Thompson



**THE HOUSE, THE BUILDING,** the landscape and the memorial “speak” to us in the languages of design elements, design principles, context and reference. In this issue of ACORN, most of the structures and landscapes emphatically say “Remember.”

This summer when I attended the art festival *documenta 14* in Kassel, Germany, I thought about how buildings speak. As I walked down cobblestone streets and groomed parkland paths my surroundings said, “Remember who walked here; remember the elegance we reflect in our Biedermeier curves; remember how solid and formidable our Baroque façades were when this was a state capital; and never forget our path to ashes, chaos and hope.” Kassel was firebombed and largely razed to the ground during Allied bombing raids of the Second World War.

Today, many of the edifices and parks restored from rubble stand beside contemporary structures and repurposed factories. Comparable heights, set-backs and horizontal emphasis create a respectful

conversation between contrasting materials, time periods and ideals. The repurposed buildings acknowledge their past and transformation. For the art festival, history and architecture also inform the meaning of the art. For example, in front of the Fridericianum, an edifice with neo-classical columns built in 1779 as a library and public museum, artist Marta Minujin currently is constructing a full-scale model of the Parthenon from donated banned books on the site where, decades earlier in 1933, Nazi supporters burned over 2,000 books. The congruency of the symbolism and history with built form did more than speak to me; the irony shouted, “Remember !” In this way, a conceptual narrative unfolds as these spaces speak.

John Hejduk, architect and former Dean of Architecture at The Cooper Union in New York, authored the poem quoted above. His drawings, on view at *documenta 14*, evidence how buildings spoke to him. Unlike the cultural theorists of his generation, he did not passively “read” them; he listened. Thus, the two steel and wood structures he

designed for Prague’s Jan Palach Memorial, invite an active cognitive interaction with titles: *House of the Suicide* and *House of the Mother of the Suicide*. His idea that architecture can provoke emotion and reaction suggests an interactive response even with structures... like a conversation.

One day, as ACO’s Chief Operating Officer, Will Coukell, and I inched through highway construction to a committee meeting in Waterloo, we pointed and asked, “What is that building saying” or “What is that building not saying in this context?” Like all the heritage warriors at Architectural Conservancy Ontario, we prefer to have the richer conversations with our surroundings that are enabled by thoughtful design and meaningful architecture.

Please enjoy this issue of ACORN, and listen carefully for what the house, the building, the landscape and the memorial are saying – as well as the voices that are missing from the conversation.

— F. Leslie Thompson

# Landscape of Nations, Queenston Heights

By Jean Haalboom

**LANDSCAPE OF NATIONS:** The Six Nations and Native Allies Commemorative Memorial is located at the highest point of Queenston Heights. For most Canadians, the major focus of the War of 1812 has been the contribution and participation of British forces and Canadian militia. In the non-Indigenous mind, Queenston Heights Park and Brock's monument are synonymous. For almost 200 years, the important role of Six Nations and other Native allies in the war has received little, if any, recognition. It is ironic that after the destruction of the first Brock's monument in 1840, members of Six Nations spearheaded a fundraising campaign for the reconstruction of the present Brock's monument, begun in 1853.

In 2007, a Legacy Working Group of the Niagara-on-the-Lake War of 1812 Bicentennial Committee was created to recognize the important role of Native peoples in defence of Upper Canada. After many meetings and much dialogue, the resulting goal for this commemorative installation was to be a landscape telling a story, not a monument. To create this memorial a dual team of artists was hired: Raymond Skye, renowned Six Nations artist, and Tom Ridout, landscape architect with Fleisher Ridout Partnership Inc. The artist team has successfully created a story in symbols that truly engages the visitor.

The story is told through "The Experience of Place: Cultural and Historical Journey." First we come upon the turtle; in the Six Nations creation story, the earth was created on the back of the turtle. The site design and concept appeared in Two Row Times with an article titled "Memorial Landscape marks First Nations part in War of 1812":

Enter the exhibit by walking between the bronze figures of John Norton (Teyoninhokarawen) and John Brant (Ahyouwa'ehs). They are considered to be the two primary Native leaders who led Six Nations and Native ally forces



▲ The memorial's entrance: the turtle, bronze figures of warriors Norton and Brant, and the Two Row Wampum Path passing through the metal representation of a longhouse. The Two Row Wampum Belt was the first treaty between the Haudenosaunee and the Europeans, representing an agreement to coexist as distinct but equal peoples.

Photo Jean Haalboom, 2017



▲ The Two Row Wampum Path, flanked by sweet grass, leads to the Memory Circle. The limestone walls were excavated at nearby Queenston Quarry. Photo Jean Haalboom, 2017



▲ Red and blue squares symbolize the combatants on each side who fell in battle. Photo Jean Haalboom, 2017

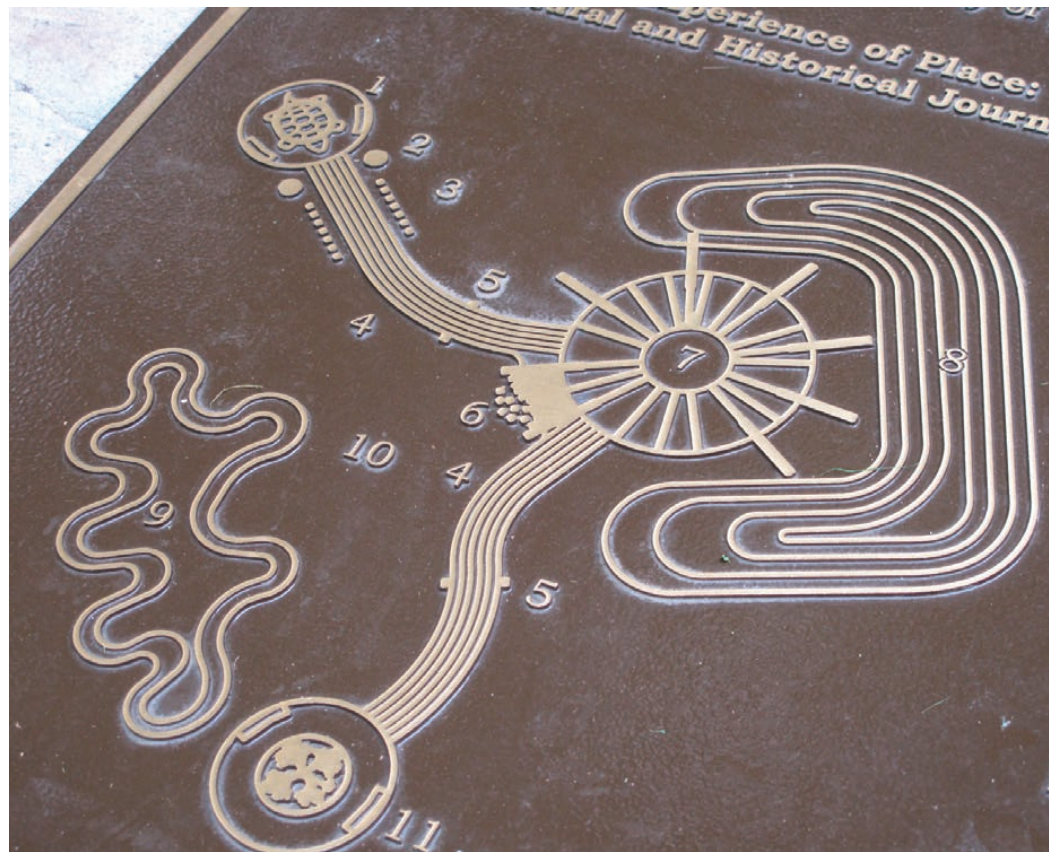


at the Battle of Queenston Heights and in other battles throughout the region. A path of paving stones representing the Two Row Wampum Belt leads through a metal frame structure symbolizing a long house and toward the main feature of the memorial, the Memory Circle, consisting of eight granite/limestone walls positioned around an inner circle of stones and perennial sweet grass plants.

On each of six limestone walls is a circular brass marker identifying each of the Six Nations; one of the walls lists the Native allies. Along the walkway, you will come upon Time Markers indicating the start of the 1812 War and the achievement of peace in 1815. Ancestral lands are marked by earthen berms bearing sweet grass. Continue from the Memory Circle along the Two Row Wampum Belt walkway to the Tree of Peace, an eastern white pine.

Plaques at the memorial provide the following information:

On October 13, 1812 at the Battle of Queenston Heights Six Nations (Haudenosaunee) and Native Allies fought bravely and victoriously alongside British forces and Canadian militia in defence of life and land upon which a new nation was founded. With less than two hundred warriors led by John Norton and John Brant they beat back the American advance until British reinforcements could arrive to



▲ The layout of Landscape of Nations is interpreted on a bronze plaque: 1. Turtle; 2. Norton and Brant – Six Nations war captains; 3. Longhouse; 4. Two Row Wampum Path; 5. Time Markers; 6. Symbolic Squares; 7. Memory Circle; 8. Fort Riall; 9. Ancestral Lands; 10. Environment features of indigenous plants and grasses present in 1812; and 11. Tree of Peace. Photo Jean Haalboom, 2017

ensure American surrender. This commemorative public artwork honours the contributions and sacrifices they made on Queenston Heights and throughout the War of 1812.

Another aspect represented in the memorial is "...the historic ceremony of peace and reconciliation held in Niagara August 31 – September 1, 1815 that restored peace between the Native nations who fought on opposing sides" (British vs. American).

Landscape of Nations was unveiled on October 2, 2016. This memorial is a gathering point and a place of repose for all of us.

### About the author

Jean Haalboom was a Councillor for the Regional Municipality of Waterloo between 2000 and 2014. She is a member-at-large of the ACO Executive and a member of the North Waterloo Region Branch. She studies and pursues the preservation of landmarks in Waterloo Region.

# Memorial

By Jane Urquhart

**A YEAR OR SO** after the First World War ended, an appeal for donations appeared in the Stratford Beacon Herald, in Stratford, Ontario. “Did you lose a pal in the War?” was the header, followed in slightly smaller print by these words:

*By death they gave us life.*

*Nearly three hundred of those from Stratford and surrounding Townships, after months or years of hardship, danger and sacrifice, sealed with their blood and their lives, their devotion to our country and to us – their friends.*

The appeal goes on to command readers to “THINK! THINK of your friends who sleep in Flanders Fields, and GIVE GENEROUSLY to Stratford’s War Memorial.”

And give they did. The people of this small city, barely more than a town of fifteen thousand at the time, opened their hearts and their pocketbooks.

Stratford was then, and to a certain extent still remains, a working-class town. By 1920, when this appeal began, one-fifth of all the furniture manufactured in Canada was made there, and the Grand Trunk Railway, which had established its locomotive shops in Stratford in the 1870s, still employed almost half of the town’s population. Stratford

was also an important railroad hub – with trains departing for the west and the east of Canada, and tracks heading southwest to Chicago – and this made the shipment of furniture and manufactured goods very convenient.

Donations from workers arrived daily at city hall – one, two, occasionally even ten dollars – sometimes with touching notes attached. *This is because of my friend Jim. Or, My brother died, though I came back.* Often, however, factory owners sent in a list of employees with a record of how much was donated by each worker, the company itself claiming credit for the grand total on the bottom line. One can imagine the sense of obligation and guilt attached to such a list making the rounds of a noisy factory. But one can also imagine the palpable absence of the many who had left behind steady jobs on the assembly line to answer the mother country’s call only five or six years before and had never returned.

And then there were the men from the outlying townships, farm boys who had completed their last day of chores and walked to town to enlist. Girls from these rural outskirts sent in a dollar. Mothers often sent their egg money, along with a pencilled note regarding their love for a

deceased son, occasionally two. Men who sent money often spelled their son’s name in uppercase letters, followed by the words “my boy.”

In many ways, the resulting memorial was like many built in Canada from coast to coast to coast in the years following the Great War, as it was then called. I have seen, for example, the book that contains the minutes from the memorial committee of the village of Castleton. My grandfather was chair of that committee. Lists of the dead were drawn up and chiselled into stone from Truro, Nova Scotia, to Nanaimo, British Columbia. People assembled for the unveiling and wept at their unthinkable losses, then turned their faces away from death and back to their lives. For a while. They returned to these memorials after the Second World War, and again after the Korean War. They added more names.

But in one way the Stratford memorial was different from most of the others.

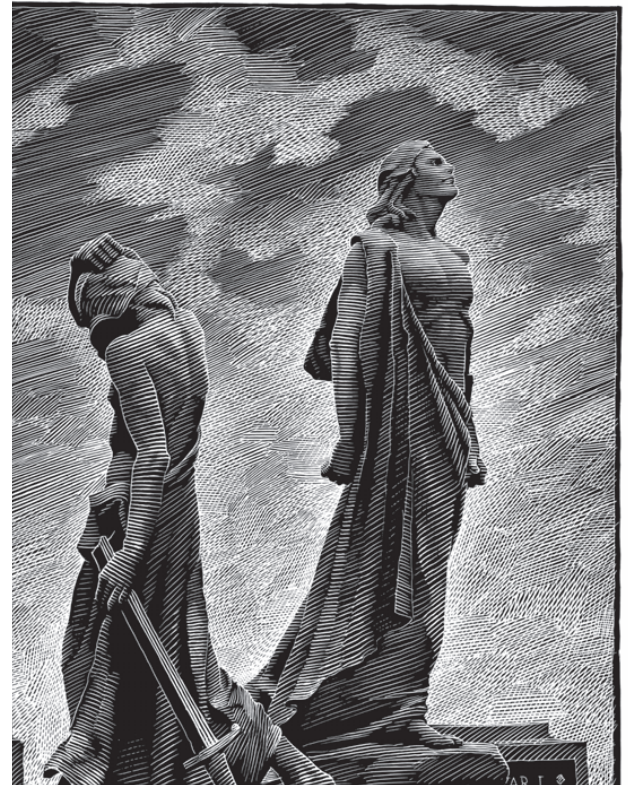
Stratfordians were fortunate in that among their numbers there was a man dedicated to great public works. R. Thomas Orr was born in the town in 1870 and lived there until his death in 1957, and in that time, he not only established the insurance business that bears his name but also helped to create Stratford’s gorgeous parklands (which would provide the setting for the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in 1953), the public library, the Upper Thames River Conservation



Authority, and the Stratford Historical Society. He was a man with a keen sense of which people to seek out when there was a civic need of a cultural nature. He contacted Frederick G. Todd, who had trained with the firm of Frederick Law Olmstead (of Central Park fame), when he needed someone to design the park system along the river; he wrote to Andrew Carnegie when he wanted to see a library in the town; and when it came time to plan the war memorial, he asked Walter Allward if he would be willing to submit a design. All three men complied.

The memorial is not only a fitting tribute to the young people of Stratford and surroundings who lost their lives in the wars, but also an important work of art that becomes more powerful each time it is visited. All of Allward's memorials pay attention to the tragedy (rather than the glory) of war and the grief that follows. The two bronze figures on the plinth combine strength with sorrow.

After they had been in contact for some time, R. Thomas Orr wrote to Allward concerning the progress of the town's cenotaph. At the bottom of the letter, having just read the paper, Orr congratulated the sculptor for having received a commission to create a huge memorial to the dead and missing Canadians in France – a memorial that, he understood, was to be erected on the edge of Vimy Ridge.



▲ Walter Seymour Allward's Stratford Cenotaph from *A Number of Things: Stories of Canada Told Through Fifty Objects*. Illustration Scott McKowen

### About the author and illustrator

Jane Urquhart was born in the far north of Ontario. She is the author of eight internationally acclaimed novels, among them *The Underpainter*, winner of the Governor General's Award and a finalist for the Orange Prize; *Away*, winner of the Trillium Book Award; and *The Stone Carvers*, a finalist for the Scotiabank Giller Prize, the Governor General's Award and the Man Booker Prize. Her work, which is published in many countries, has been translated into numerous languages. Urquhart has received the Marian Engel Award and the Harbourfront Festival Prize. She is a chevalier dans l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres in France and is an Officer of the Order of Canada. Her most recent novel, *The Night Stages*, was published in 2015. Urquhart lives in southeastern Ontario with her husband, artist Tony Urquhart.

Scott McKowen is an award-winning illustrator and graphic designer. He works in scratchboard, an engraving medium in which white lines are carved into a black surface with a sharp blade. McKowen has illustrated a number of titles for a wide range of publishers. Based in Stratford, Ontario, he operates the design studio Punch & Judy Inc., which creates theatre posters and graphics for leading performance art companies across North America.

Excerpt from *A Number of Things: Stories of Canada Told Through Fifty Objects* by Jane Urquhart ©2016. Illustrations by Scott McKowen ©2016. Published by HarperCollins Publishers Ltd. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission.





# Cenotaphs: Markers of remembrance, large and small

By Bonita Slunder

**ON THE WELL-TENDED GROUNDS** of Fort Wellington, facing the beautiful St. Lawrence River, stands the much-loved cenotaph for the Town of Prescott. Described by *waymarking.com* as “A very tall and well-kept monument on the grounds of Fort Wellington,” it lists the names of those from the town of Prescott who did not return from the two world wars.

The cenotaph was originally located at the municipal building on Dibble Street, where it was displayed for some 40 years, but in 2001, it was moved to its current location. Fort Wellington is a National Historic Site of Canada and one of the best-preserved military fortifications from the early 1800s in the country.

As in many small towns, on November 11 each

◀ The cenotaph at Fort Wellington National Historic Site, Prescott, Ontario. Veteran Douglas J. Glasgow takes a moment to place poppies before the ceremony on November 11. Photo Bonita Slunder, 2016

year, citizens of Prescott crowd around their cenotaph, rain or shine, snow or sun, to pay respects to the fallen. In Prescott, one of the names carved in perpetuity is Ira H. Glasgow. Lieutenant Glasgow came from a well-known Prescott family and his story is both heartbreaking and brave. He died at Vimy Ridge and, while he is buried at Givenchy-en-Gohelle Canadian Cemetery, he is immortalized as a veteran on the Prescott cenotaph and remembered at the Canadian National Vimy Monument in France. For many people, having a cenotaph, big or small, unites us in both sorrow and pride as we try to come to terms with the sacrifices of war. Where would we come together without such sites? Our cenotaph in Prescott is not fancy; it is a straightforward granite obelisk flanked by the Canadian flag and the Union Jack. On either side are poppy gardens that boast tall red flowers all summer long and they highlight the base of our monument like torches.

Last year, in the early hours of Remembrance Day 2016, before the official ceremony, I joined a few veterans on an impromptu pilgrimage to our cenotaph. In the straw-covered and frost-bitten gardens, we placed silk poppies that I had purchased in Arras, France earlier in the year – one for each veteran named on our monument back home. The ritual was unscripted and quite moving

as these men carefully and quietly placed life-like poppies in the ground then stood at attention and saluted their comrades before leaving. I was struck by how the cenotaph suddenly appeared so much larger in that early morning light. A few hours later, the poem, far from cliché, left nary a dry eye when the Last Post rang out and the breeze swayed the poppies “row on row.”

Following the ceremony, a group gathered at the Royal Canadian Legion and collectively remembered the fallen by sharing stories and making toasts. One of the veterans said, “today, for me, the ceremony at the cenotaph embodied ‘lest we forget’ like never before. Maybe it’s the 100th anniversary thing, but I really felt connected to something both sad and hopeful, something I feel every year as I stand there in a line with all the others, facing the cenotaph, remembering, but this year ....”

It is a paradox. In peace, we visit these sacred monuments, as grand or as humble as they may be, so that we can remember those lost to war. I have made more than 20 trips to war memorials in Europe over the years, the most recent being Vimy in May 2016. While there, I was able to spend hours reflecting on the names, carved all around the base of this massive tribute, level upon level and, oh, so many names ... and I felt honoured to have the time to just appreciate the stunning beauty of Walter Seymour Allward’s masterpiece.

I sat there and watched people come and go; many seemed

awestruck like seeing the pyramids for the first time. Our National Vimy Memorial has the power to stop you in your tracks as you first see it barely through the trees, then in a field, over a slight bluff as the path opens up and ... and there. It’s right there: towering limestone beaming a whitish rose light.

People are truly affected by cenotaphs and monuments, big or small, because they hold a place in time for us so as to remind and anchor humanity, lest we forget.

### About the author

Bonita Slunder is an author and community engagement coordinator for the registered charity Friends of St John’s (FOSJ2021.com) in Prescott, Ontario. Her grandfather was a stretcher bearer in the First World War. He barely survived being shot in the back in the battle of Cambrai in France. She is a member of ACO.

CATHERINE  
N A S M I T H  
ARCHITECT



c n a r c h i t e c t . c a



# Walter Seymour Allward War Memorials

By Richard Longley



▲ Walter S. Allward RCA, 1930.  
Photo M. O. Hammond, Archives of  
Ontario: F 1075-12-0-0-2



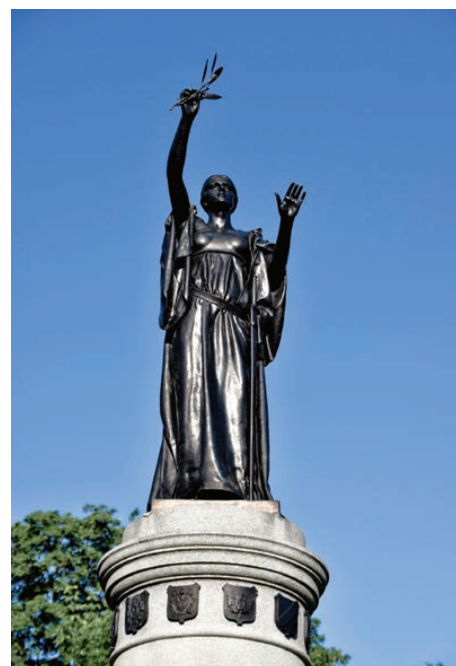
▲ Windsor and Essex County Boer  
War Memorial Fountain, 1906,  
Queen Elizabeth II Garden, Jackson  
Park, Windsor. Photo Tammy  
Dewhirst

**WALTER SEYMOUR ALLWARD** was born in Toronto in 1876, educated at Central Technical School, and trained as a draftsman before working with William Cruikshank and Emmanuel Hahn, prominent Canadian sculptors. Allward continued his studies in London and Paris. His war memorials and cenotaphs are some of Canada's finest monuments. The best known is his masterpiece at Vimy in France.

Walter Allward's first commission came when he was only 18. His bronze figure of *Peace* tops Melvin Ormond Hammond's memorial at Queen's Park to the campaign against the 1885 Northwest Rebellion by First Nations and Metis that concluded with the hanging of Louis Riel.

In 1907, Allward completed a commission from the Army and Navy Veterans Association for a memorial at Victoria Square, Toronto. In 1794, Governor Simcoe's infant daughter, Katherine, became the first of the 400 people buried at the site then known as Toronto Military Burying Ground near Fort York. Among later burials were casualties of the War of 1812. Allward's sculpture *The Old Soldier* commemorates the sacrifice of those defenders of Upper Canada.

There are five memorials in Canada by Walter Allward to casualties of the South African War from 1899 to 1902. The South African War, in which Canada joined Britain in its conflict with the Boer republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State, resulted in the deaths of 267 of the more than 7,000 Canadians who participated. A surge of national pride produced two memorials in Ontario; one in Toronto and another in Windsor,



▲ Northwest Rebellion Monument, Queen's Park,  
Toronto, 1895. Photo Richard Longley





▲ South African War Memorial, 1910, Queen Street West at University Avenue, Toronto. **Photo** Richard Longley



▲ Canadian National Vimy Memorial, 1922-1936. **Photo** Richard Longley

dedicated to “The volunteers and residents of the County of Essex who served in the British Army during the War in South Africa A.D. 1899-1902.”

Walter Allward’s vision of his monument to the 11,285 Canadians who died during the First World War and have no known grave came to him in a dream:

I was in a great battlefield. I saw our men going in by the thousands and being mowed down by the sickles of death. ... Suffering beyond endurance at the sight, I turned my eyes and found myself looking down on an avenue of poplars. Suddenly through the avenue I saw thousands marching to the aid of our armies. They were the dead. They rose in masses, filed silently by and entered the fight to aid the living. So vivid was this impression, that when I awoke it stayed with me for months. Without the dead we were helpless. I tried to show this in this monument to Canada’s fallen, what we owed them and we will forever owe them.

In Jane Urquhart’s novel *The Stone Carvers*, the sculpting of the monument’s chorus of figures, at the summit of its twin pylons, is witnessed by her heroine, Klara:

The raising by rope of the white plaster angels up to the elevated studio that was to be their home until they were reinvented in stone was, for her, a masterpiece of shape and emotion that she took deep into herself. The twisted rope beneath the breasts, the shadows of the wings moving up the marble pylons, the utter silence surrounded her, none of this would ever leave her.



▲ The Grieving Mother with some of the names on the memorial of the 11,285 Canadian war dead who have no known grave. **Photo** Richard Longley





◀ Peterborough City and County Citizen's War Memorial, 1920-1929. **Photo** Courtesy Erik R. Hanson, Heritage Resources Coordinator, City of Peterborough, 2016

They were finishing the allegory of *Peace* at the top of the monument, her back arched against the top of the pylon, her head thrown back as if she were succumbing to an invisible embrace, the laurel branch like a stone fountain in her raised hand.

In spite of the demands made of him by the construction of the Vimy memorial, Walter Allward accepted three other commissions to produce monuments, for Peterborough, Stratford and Brantford, with consequences for him that were both difficult and costly. According to Allward: "I made the working model of this memorial in Canada but owing to many things involved in the carrying out of the Vimy Memorial I had to hand over enlarging of the models to a London sculptor." That sculptor was Gilbert Bayes (who made the First World War memorial at St. John's, Newfoundland). The cost to Allward to have Bayes finish the Peterborough memorial was "a direct loss of approx. \$10,000."

Stratford's monument is all Allward, but it was not quite complete when



Stratford's First World War Memorial, 1920-1929. **Photo** Richard Longley



he “finished” it in 1929. He wrote later: “Bronzes and pedestal were ready but same had to be erected. I had to give the Committee \$500 to make it possible for me to leave.”

The Brant County memorial was to have included three bronze statues to represent Humanity mounted with a crippled cannon, but they were never finished. Allward’s loss of this commission, “because of my whole time being given to Vimy,” cost him \$25,000. When the memorial was unveiled in 1933, the only part of it that had been completed — by Allward’s son Hugh — was its cenotaph.

Walter Allward’s last commission was meant to mark the centennial of Mackenzie’s 1837 rebellion in pursuit of “responsible government” in Upper Canada. But its completion was delayed to 1940. If this is a “war memorial” it might be considered a “civil war memorial”; or it might be thought of as a companion to Allward’s figures of Truth and Justice at the entrance to the Supreme Court of Canada and his statue of Baldwin and Lafontaine on Parliament Hill.

After Mackenzie, Allward was commissioned to make a memorial to Frederick Banting, co-discoverer of insulin, but it was cancelled after Banting’s death following an air crash in 1941.

Walter Allward died in 1955. He is buried, beneath a simple gravestone, in St John’s Anglican Cemetery at York Mills. His work has been compared to that of Rodin and today he remains, in the opinion of many, this country’s greatest sculptor.

### About the author

Richard Longley has been a member of ACO for 12 years and was president from 2013 to 2015. He is a frequent contributor to ACORN of both articles and photography. Two more of his submissions appear in this issue.



▲ Memorial to William Lyon Mackenzie, 1937-1940, Queen’s Park, Toronto.  
Photo Richard Longley





◀ John Knox Richardson's residence from 1919 to 1949. This property at 109 Wellington Street North, St. Marys is designated under Part IV of the Ontario Heritage Act. **Photo** Paul R. King, 2016

*The Fallen: From World War I and World War II Memorials in St. Marys and Blanshard.* James' father, however, was a prominent citizen living in St. Marys until his death in 1948.

When cenotaphs were erected in towns and cities

across Canada, local decisions had to be made about whose names should be carved on each memorial. At the time of his death, James Richardson had no connection with St. Marys except that the town was the workplace and residence of his father; his mother had died of pulmonary tuberculosis in 1908. It would be interesting to know what criteria were used by the local cenotaph committee when deciding whose names should be carved on this memorial. As far as I know, there is no surviving record of the criteria. I also wonder whether James Richardson's name appears on any memorial in Alberta as well.

The third memorial is at Vimy Ridge. This Walter Allward-designed memorial includes the names of 11,285 Canadian soldiers who were killed in France and whose final resting places are unknown. James Richardson's name is one of these. He was killed by machine gun fire in the Battle of Courcelette but his body was never recovered from the battlefield.

I am not sure we fully comprehend the devastation of the First World War. It is difficult to imagine the effect of over 66,000 Canadian casualties on the battlefields of that war. In researching the history of my home, built circa

# Less We Remember

By Paul R. King

## WHY WOULD SOMEONE BE

commemorated on at least three stone memorials but not be buried near any of them?

James Monilaw Richardson's name is carved on the family granite stone in Belsyde Cemetery in Fergus, Ontario where his mother, father, sister and aunt are buried. The following is inscribed on this stone:

IN LOVING MEMORY OF  
CORP. J. M. RICHARDSON  
WHO FELL AT THE  
BATTLE OF COURCELETTE  
SEPT. 15, 1916  
IN HIS 30TH YR.

The second memorial is the cenotaph in St. Marys, Ontario even though James' connection with St. Marys is tenuous. James moved to St. Marys with his father and mother in 1904. He worked as a clerk with the Merchant Bank of Stratford but then homesteaded in Alberta for three years before joining the Royal Bank at Peace River Crossing. He enlisted in the 66th Canadian Infantry Battalion at Edmonton on July 5, 1915. James was neither born nor educated in St. Marys, only lived in St. Marys for a few years while working in Stratford, and did not enlist in Ontario according to Lieutenant Colonel Richard Holt's



1874 in St. Marys, I became aware of the Richardson family because John Knox Richardson – James Richardson’s father – owned my home from 1919 until his death in 1948. After his death, his daughter, Kate Richardson, in her capacity as the executor of her father’s estate, sold the home in 1949.

John Knox Richardson and his wife had two children: James who died in France without marrying and without fathering children; and Kate who never married and died childless. Kate was born in 1898 so she was of marrying age after the First World War but, with all the casualties in the war, she and other women faced a severe shortage of eligible husbands. When Kate died in 1990, that was the end of this family – a direct result of that war. This lack of descendants is but part of the devastation to this family. Multiply that by 66,000. It is



▲ The St. Marys Cenotaph, located next to St. Marys Town Hall, was dedicated in 1921. Photo Paul R. King, 2017

very difficult to comprehend the emotional trauma Canadians endured after that terrible war or how the carnage altered their beliefs and their views of the world.

“Lest We Forget” or “Forever Remembered” or “Remember” are often used on war memorials. This is meaningful for those living shortly after the commemorated war. Is it, however, possible to forget or remember something we never knew in the first place? The words are only appropriate in a general sense for later generations. We should be deeply mindful of the losses resulting from the wars commemorated on monuments and honour the sacrifice of those who died. With respect to James Richardson, I know certain basic facts but very few details of his life and no details of his character and personality. There is no one alive today who knew this man personally. So much is lost through time.

In 2014, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Holt published *The Fallen*, a book which contains brief biographies of the men named on the St. Marys cenotaph. Rick wrote this book because, as he stated in the introduction, “these men, their lives and the details of their service to Canada then and, indirectly, to us today, had been erased from the collective memory of the community. I therefore decided to find out who these men were so that they could be remembered as people, and not just as names on a memorial that, over time, had become part of the town landscape.”

Architectural Conservancy Ontario is sometimes criticized for its zeal in advocating for the preservation of old buildings and other structures. It is, however, those buildings and other structures that provide a link to our past, provide the entryway to understanding and stories. I would know nothing about James Richardson and his family if I had not read Rick Holt’s book while researching the history of my home. Rick Holt would not have written his book if he had not been at a Remembrance Day ceremony and realized that he knew nothing about the soldiers named on the St. Marys cenotaph.

Source  
Lieutenant Colonel Richard Holt, *The Fallen: From World War I and World War II Memorials in St. Marys and Blanshard*. Printed in St. Marys by Thames Label & Litho Limited, 2014.



▲ Photo The Calgary Herald, 1916

### About the author

Paul R. King is a retired lawyer living in St. Marys. He is a director of Community Heritage Ontario, a regular contributor to CHO news, a member of St. Marys Heritage Committee and of the St. Marys Doors Open Committee. Paul is a founding member of the Stratford-Perth County ACO branch.

# A Place to Gather: Blyth Memorial Community Hall

By Peter Smith

**ALMOST 100 YEARS AGO** a group of people in the Village of Blyth, Ontario came together around an idea. They wanted to find a way to commemorate the fallen of the First World War. Some wanted to build a monument, others a park, but a group that included members of the local Women's Institute (WI) pushed for a Memorial Hall instead – a place where people could gather, commune and create, a place of culture, a culture that was so valiantly fought for. A piece of land was purchased for 300 dollars leaving the WI with only one dollar in their bank account.

The detractors asked: now what? How will a Hall ever get built? And when it was built, they said it would never be paid for. It took five years to raise the \$25,000 that it cost to build. It was built out of respect for those who gave the ultimate sacrifice. It was built because of determination, belief, and the great heart of this rural community.

The architect was W. Murray of London, Ontario; the work was completed by local contractors. Fifteen hundred people attended the opening on June 5, 1921. They

gathered on the street and on the hall lawns. They filled the auditorium, the basement and the meeting room. The theatre on the second floor had 500 seats. The local fire hall was given space at the back of the building located beneath the stage.

For the next 60 years the hall was a place of creativity in theatre, music, and dance. It was a place to collect for meals, remembrance, for political rally, for weddings and for funerals. It was a hub, the heart of the community. By 1946, with the fire hall moving to a bigger location, an addition was built on the south side of the building that allowed space for the village library and public washrooms. A kitchen was created in the old fire hall and the meeting room floor was lowered.

But by the early seventies, the hall had fallen into disrepair and some wanted it demolished. Some suggested posts be run from the lower hall through the floor of the theatre to support the roof. Another group of visionaries came forward with an idea. They wondered if a Centre for the Arts was possible inside Memorial Hall. Some said it was impossible. Some gave them six

months. A theatre was not only born but it flourished.

Soon after the establishment of the Blyth Festival and its Canadian theatre mandate, the Blyth Art Gallery was formed, followed by the Blyth Festival Singers. People arrived from near and far in the thousands every summer to catch what was going on in Blyth. They moved the opening time of the shows at the theatre to 8:30 pm in order to accommodate the farmers who had crops to get off the land. In 1979, the hall acquired air-conditioning and an addition on the north side that allowed for dressing rooms and office space. With a new fire escape the upper balcony in the theatre was reopened.

In 1990, with the roof once again in need of repair, another renovation got underway costing over a million dollars. Architect Christopher Borgal and Associates designed a link that connected the hall with the Festival Administration building to the south. It contained a new lobby, new washrooms and handicapped access. The Bainton Art Gallery was built along the link and a new box office was created. The courtyard that surrounded Memorial Hall was given a facelift and provided a grand entranceway to the living cenotaph.

Over the last 40 years, people have travelled to Memorial Hall to create and to bear witness to some of the finest Canadian art – from professional showings in the Bainton Gallery to plays that have been translated into a dozen languages, plays that have toured the country and the world.

In 2013, with the Memorial Hall once again in need of repair, the



community came together around another idea. They suggested restoring the Hall to her former glory and at the same time building a unique cultural hub in the village. Some felt it was too ambitious while some suggested it would never happen. Despite their doubts, the community came together and Campaign 14/19 was born to lead a rural revitalization.

Jason Morgan from Alan Avis Architects in Goderich was selected following a province-wide search and the renovation got underway on September 5, 2016. Over the next eight months, the hall was transformed from a twentieth-century building to a twenty-first-century state-of-the-art facility. The cost was \$4.2 million and included a redesign of the courtyard by Stantec Designs, a bell tower restored to its original aesthetic, new lighting and event signage. The theatre and orchestra floors were replaced and the booth was upgraded to industry standard for professional theatre, music, and film. A new grid, house lighting and sound systems were installed. The lobby in the link was expanded significantly, stairs were moved, and the art gallery was given baffling for better sound. The lower hall has a commercial kitchen, increased natural light, along with electrical upgrades. A new roof and new HVAC gave the building greater efficiency.

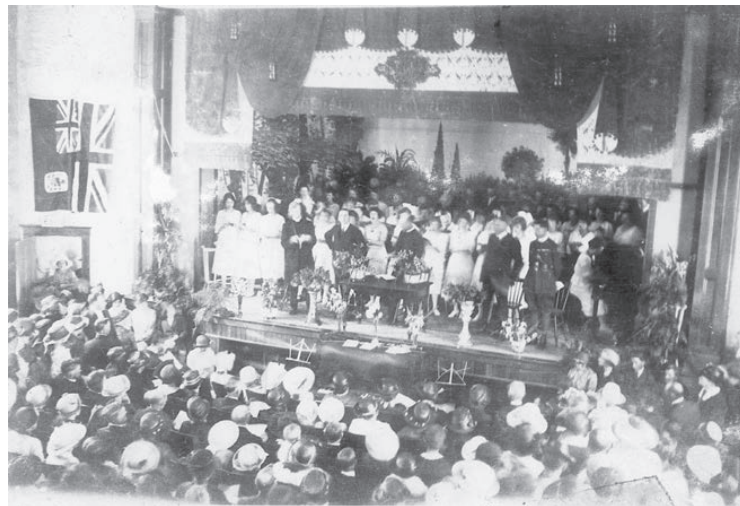
On May 19, 2017, the Blyth Memorial Hall was reopened. People, young and old, gathered from across the region, from across the Province, to get a first look at their revitalized community hall. The Blyth Legion placed a new wreath by the front entranceway and hoisted a new Canadian flag. The Deputy Premier, Deb Matthews was on hand and spoke of her deep and abiding respect of the hall and the Festival. Many others offered great words. In the quiet of the night following that grand reopening, the Blyth Memorial Community Hall stood a little taller, a symbol of the fallen of all of the wars, a tribute to community and the dedication and hard work of those who cared to act – an emblem of what is possible when people gather around a good idea.

## About the author

Award-winning writer Peter Smith has been involved in the arts for over 30 years as an actor, producer, director, story editor and educator. His work in theatre, film and television has taken him coast-to-coast-to-coast in Canada. As the Project Director, Peter is currently leading the creation of the Canadian Centre for Rural Creativity, an arts, education and innovation hub located in rural southwestern Ontario.



▲ Instead of building a monument, people in the Village of Blyth built a living memorial to commemorate soldiers lost in the First World War. Fifteen hundred people attended the official opening of Blyth Memorial Community Hall on June 5, 1921. Photo Courtesy Brock Vodden



▲ Opening night when it was standing room only. Photo Courtesy Brock Vodden



▲ After extensive renovations, the Blyth Memorial Community Hall was reopened on May 19, 2017. Photo Rob Boyce, 2017



◀ Oro African Methodist Episcopal Church, built in the late 1840s, is one of the oldest African log churches still standing in North America. **Photo** Elaine Splett, 2017

# The Oro African Methodist Episcopal Church

By Elaine Splett

**THE ORO AFRICAN** Methodist Episcopal Church is one of the oldest African log churches still standing in North America. The building has been restored and protected by the citizens of Oro-Medonte Township and other interested groups. The Oro-Medonte History Association continues this custodial role today.

In 1808, a general land survey was done of the area. In 1812, a black regiment called Captain Runchey's Coloured Corps was formed to fight the Americans in the War of 1812. After the war ended,

the government granted black veterans crown land and lots in Oro Township, Simcoe County. In 1819, the township of Oro represented freedom, land ownership and full citizenship. Between 1819 and 1826, the British Government granted 25 plots of land in Oro to black settlers. Eleven of these men were former soldiers who received their grants in acknowledgement of their military service.

From 1821 to 1838 between twenty and thirty African-Canadian families acquired land in the area.

The church was built somewhere between 1845 and 1849. The original church was 20 feet wide and 30 feet long and made of hand-hewn pine logs with clapboard siding.

In 1838, The Reverend Ari Raymond, an abolitionist, was sent to minister to the black population of Oro Township. The first black minister was The Reverend R. S. W. Sorrick, who replaced Rev. Raymond and served from 1845 until 1847. When he arrived in 1845, he found 50 persons settled in the area.

On May 26, 1849, Noah Morris, a black settler, transferred a one-acre parcel of land at the northwest corner to the trustees of the "Colored African Episcopal Methodist Church in Canada" for use as a chapel and burying ground. The British Methodist Episcopal Church declared the building abandoned in 1916.

Although the use of the church for regular services may have ended in the 1920s, the last interment was in 1949. This indicates that the cemetery was used for several decades after the church building was abandoned.

From 1947 to 1949, the church was restored and a stone cairn erected in the churchyard. In November of 1972, Oro-Medonte Township passed a bylaw allowing the Township to take over the property for the purposes of "maintenance, management, regulation, and control."





▲ The church has won two Ontario Heritage Trust awards. Inside, the pulpit and some of the original rough-cut plank benches still exist. Photo Elaine Splett, 2017

Disaster struck twice causing damage to the building. In 1981, two trucks struck the building and, in 2004, it was hit by a van. Both incidents caused extensive damage, resulting in boulders being placed on the north side of the property to prevent further mishaps.

Parks Canada granted the site National Historic Site designation in 2002. In 2016, the Church was restored and re-opened after an extensive fundraising campaign that started in 2015 and raised money from across North America.

The surviving cemetery is one of perhaps three that historically served African Canadians in Oro-Medonte. The graves of early black settlers would have been unmarked, or had simple wooden boards or crosses to identify them. There were 50 graves in total, but their markers have unfortunately disappeared, leaving the final resting place of many black veterans of the War of

1812 and their families unknown.

The Church had also housed a mission school. There is evidence that in 1855, John Nelson Morris, the eldest son of Noah Morris, donated some of his own land for the construction of School Section No. 6. Prior to the opening of School Section No. 6, local black children were educated at the mission school located in Reverend Ari Raymond's home.

The outside protective siding of the church conceals thick squared logs that make up the walls. They are clearly visible inside the whitewashed interior. There were hooks for coal oil lamps. The brick chimney remains and the original dirt floor has been covered with regular planks. The pulpit and some of the original rough-cut plank benches still exist. The restoration seen today is based on a photograph from 1941. The west vestibule has been removed and the entrance altered. The chimney was relocated to the east gable in 1943 and the siding was replaced in 1956. The window sashes, cedar shingles, and concrete foundation are replacements. The interior finishes are new.

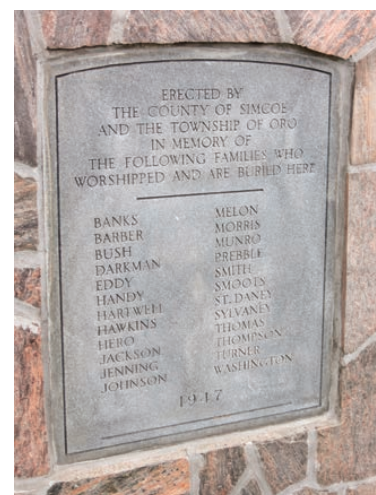
The church and graveyard are indications of the important role that black militiamen played in the defense of Upper Canada during the War of 1812, and early Upper Canada land policy. The African Methodist Episcopal Church is significant in that it was built by African-Canadian settlers on the first section of land in Canada initially set aside for a regiment of black soldiers. The idea for an African-Canadian community originated in 1783 with Sir Guy Carleton, who was

the Commander-in-Chief of British forces in North America. During the American Revolution, Carleton had promised that the slaves of non-Loyalists who joined the British Army would have their freedom and protection from re-enslavement. Although the area had strategic value, the land was both remote and agriculturally poor. Despite the land conditions, the settlement grew both in size and influence and it was a unique approach to settling African-Canadians into a farming community.

This little church has endured a lot of vandalism, restoration, repair and neglect, but today it stands as a beautiful testament to our history and the history of the black settlers in Ontario.

### Awards

The restoration received two Lieutenant Governor's Ontario Heritage Trust Awards in 2017: the Excellence in Conservation Award and the Community Leadership Award. The Township of Oro-Medonte was awarded the Ontario Historical Society President's Award in 2017.



▲ Between 1947 and 1949, the church was restored. This stone cairn was erected in the churchyard. Photo Elaine Splett, 2017

### About the author

While working as an Interior Designer and an Architectural Technician, Elaine Splett developed an interest in heritage buildings. She joined the ACO Toronto Branch in 2016.

# Cities of the Dead: Two Victorian garden cemeteries

By Lindi Pierce

**THE RURAL GARDEN** cemetery movement arose in Ontario during the 1850s. In its heyday, the garden cemetery created places of enduring beauty which enchant us today, and provide insights into Victorian society, beliefs, tastes, customs and conceits.

Prior to 1850, burials customarily took place in urban churchyards or on private farm plots. As city populations grew, so did the number of their dead, leading to massive overcrowding in city churchyards, sometimes with unsettling consequences. Epidemics of typhoid and cholera highlighted the health risks of city burials. Meanwhile, pioneer burying grounds were being lost to the plough, raising awareness of the need for permanent resting places.

With growing prosperity came more refined sentiments and skilled craftsmen who could create fitting memorials to the departed. The origins of the garden cemetery (for Europe faced the challenge much earlier) can be traced to Père-Lachaise established as a municipal cemetery in 1804, with 100 landscaped acres on the outskirts of Paris. London's gardenesque Kensall Green opened in 1833.

Mount Auburn Cemetery in Boston (1831) was the first American garden cemetery, inspired by Frederick Law

Olmstead, the father of landscape architecture. The idea migrated via Rochester's 1838 Mount Hope Cemetery to Cataraqui, a village near Kingston, Ontario.

Garden cemeteries have been described as parks without crowds. The plans drew inspiration from the eighteenth-century landscape parks of Capability Brown and his contemporaries: domesticated nature with artfully arranged groves, open meadows, meandering pathways, hillsides and lakes. The design was not just visual. It was meant to be morally and spiritually uplifting. Classically inspired sculpture elevated the sensibilities, provided consolation and gave mourners opportunities to reflect on mortality.

Cemeteries were called "cities of the dead." Through ornate gates, mourners left the cares of daily life behind, and found solace and hope along winding roads among picturesque vistas. One was meant to return to the city of the living refreshed and strengthened.

Oddly, Victorians did not view outdoor recreation as inappropriate to their cemeteries. These civic amenities existed before city parks, and "seemly" pursuits such as picnics and walks were common. Officials *did* draw the line at horse racing and squirrel shooting, picking flowers and swimming in the ponds.

The scenic landscape was divided into neighbourhoods. Class conscious Victorians ensured that their departed would lie in the best "neighbourhood" in the style to which they were accustomed. The loveliest prospects in the hilly terrain boasted mausoleums, family plots bordered by cast iron fences, and imposing obelisks topped by draped urns. Reaction to escalating one-upmanship eventually fostered a trend toward the simpler modern lawn cemetery.



▲ Veterans' Hill in Glenwood Cemetery is the site of a Remembrance Day service each year. Photo Lindi Pierce, 2017

Nineteenth century Ontarians lived more closely and more comfortably with death than modern society. Infant and maternal deaths were common; without modern medicine, illness and accident took their toll. The almost universal Christian ideas of resurrection and hope of an afterlife lessened the sting. "Not dead but sleeping" was the consolation expressed in funerary monuments. The imagery of grave markers – weeping angels,



▲ Glenwood Cemetery was incorporated in 1871 in Picton, Prince Edward County. Photo Lindi Pierce, 2017

willow trees, joined hands, lambs and angels and broken trees – all held meaning for the Victorians, reinforcing the belief in death as sleep from which the faithful would awake.

Two impressive examples of Victorian rural cemeteries are found in Kingston and Picton. Both Cataraqi Cemetery and Glenwood Cemetery are active burial grounds, maintained by professional staff and overseen by volunteer boards.

Cataraqi Cemetery in Kingston was incorporated in 1850 as a non-profit, non-denominational burying ground. The cemetery has been declared a National Historic Site, recognizing the resting place of Sir John A. Macdonald. A wrought iron railing surrounding the family plot highlights the simplicity of Macdonald's plain stone cross. Many Canadian notables are buried

here. The grave of Margaret Angus, chronicler of Kingston built heritage, might be of interest to Architectural Conservancy Ontario members.

Glenwood Cemetery was incorporated in 1871, on 150 acres of hilly terrain bordering Picton Creek. The property had earlier housed a brewery, John Mullet's tannery (circa 1830-60), and a farm. The cemetery is bordered by a quiet neighbourhood on two sides, but feels a world apart.

One of the early reflecting pools, and water works donated in 1910 by Wellington Boulter, father of the county's canning industry, no longer function. Recently a fountain dedicated to George and Ellen Cook, who opened Picton's famed Regent Theatre in 1918, has been refurbished.

Glenwood Cemetery doubtless warrants heritage designation. Many of the county's pioneers rest here. An Ontario Heritage Trust plaque honours temperance pioneer, Picton's Letitia Youmans. Jeanne Minhinnick, historic restoration consultant and writer of *At Home in Upper Canada*, was buried at Glenwood in 1985.

Gates were a prominent feature of the cities of the dead. Cataraqi's double stone piers and 1874 iron gates signal the transition to a special place. Glenwood's gate and decorative iron fences were presented in memory of a departed member of the Pearce family in 1932.

The rural cemetery typically featured a superintendent's lodge, reminiscent of the gatehouse on large estates, which provided security and staff housing. Cataraqi's pattern-book-perfect Gothic cottage was built in 1853.

Although the original board and batten cladding has been replaced, the lodge still displays steep Gothic gables, a massive chimney, pendant vergeboards and hood mouldings.

Glenwood's circa 1875 frame groundskeeper's house, with Prince Edward County's characteristic projecting centre bay, is still in use. The house has been modernized but offers the customary nod to Gothic solemnity in its steep roof and hood mouldings.

Both cemeteries provide the solace of chapels.

Glenwood's 1901 stone chapel with steep gables and parapet end walls has been restored in recent years, and serves as a venue for concerts and celebrations as well as memorials. The Gothic chapel features arched stained glass windows and a "storybook castle" vestibule. The unique crow-stepped gables echo those on a nearby structure still in use, the circa 1873 stone vault.

The Gothic Revival Christ Church Anglican (1879) church sits among the gravestones at the edge of Cataraqi Cemetery. A stone country chapel, it is dignified with side-porch, buttresses, and a tall square tower.

In November, in the Field of Honour at Cataraqi and on Veterans' Hill in Glenwood, both historic cemeteries will honour those who have died in the service of their country.

Recommended:  
Jennifer McKendry, *Weep Not for Me: An Illustrated History of Cataraqi Cemetery*. Kingston, 2000.

Margaret E. Haylock, *Hearts We Leave Behind: Glenwood – City of the Dead*. Printcraft, Picton, 2004.

## About the author

Lindi Pierce is a Belleville-based heritage writer and regular contributor to *County and Quinte Living*, *Country Roads*, and *Outlook*, the newsletter of the Hastings County Historical Society. She shares her passion for heritage architecture on her blog *Ancestral Roofs*. Lindi is a member of ACO Quinte.



# Halton Memorials Reflect Local History

By John Mark Rowe

**J. M. MOORE, EDITOR OF GEORGETOWN HERALD**, summed up the feelings of citizens in 1919 when he identified two philosophies of commemoration. He identified those that wanted to erect a monument exclusively devoted to the purpose of commemorating the self-sacrifice of the soldiers, and those who would erect some sort of public building for the purpose. Citizens opting for monuments prevailed and they have become landmarks in our communities.

Public support for a memorial to the war dead began in Halton Hills after the Boer War. Colour Sergeant John Moore of the 20th Lorne Rifles enlisted in January 1900 and went off to South Africa as a gunner in the Royal Canadian Artillery, "D" Battery. By November he was dead of enteric fever in Pretoria, where he was buried. Less than a year later a square granite column was unveiled in Fairview Cemetery. The \$250 cost was raised entirely from donations.

Those gathered for the 1901 dedication to Gunner John Moore could never have imagined the carnage that followed in the First World War. The four-year conflict claimed 61,663 dead before the 11th of November 1918. The Great War Veterans Association (GWVA) was formed and the Acton group worked towards purchasing a vacant mansion — Sunderland Villa — to serve as a Memorial Soldiers' Home. Monument dealer John Nicol donated a stone to the Association and in May 1920 Jack Cooney, DCM, unveiled the stone on the lawn of the newly acquired Soldiers' Home.

This action did not appease the citizens of Acton who wanted their own public monument. A citizens' committee was formed in 1919 with equal male and female representation, along with representatives of the churches and GWVA. The committee of 36 people proved so unwieldy everyone resigned. A new five-member committee moved decisively. In May 1920, they canvassed the town and raised the \$2500 needed for the monument. A design was chosen from the McIntosh Granite Company of Toronto. The Methodist Church, across the road from the Soldiers' Home, deeded a portion of their property to the municipality.



▲ Memorial in Fairview Cemetery in Acton to Gunner Moore who died in South Africa serving in the Boer War in 1900. Photo Esquesing Historical Society EHS17900



▲ Dedication of World War II wings to the cenotaph in Acton in 1949. Photo Esquesing Historical Society EHS11336

## About the author

John Mark Benbow Rowe is a member of the Esquesing Historical Society. He is a member of the Halton Hills Heritage Committee and a local historian, archivist of the Esquesing Historical Society and author of several books.

The permanent memorial to those who died for King and Country was unveiled on November 11, 1920 on Mill Street in Acton. Colonel H. E. Boak, chief of staff for this military district, slipped off the huge Union Flag at the ceremony chaired by Captain Torrance Beardmore.

The Second World War brought more suffering and sacrifice to the people of Acton and area. The community honoured those who did not return at the 1949 Remembrance Day service when two stones were added as wings to the cenotaph. On the wings were inscribed the names of Acton and district servicemen who had died in the 1939-1945 conflict. The new additions were unveiled by Ontario Lieutenant-Governor Ray Lawson, followed by a service in the United Church next door.

The Town of Georgetown, the second town now included in the regional Town of Halton Hills, took much longer to secure their monument. Citizens let the municipality know, in 1919, they wanted a fitting memorial. Alas it took a long time to realize their goal. The Herald editor lamented in October 1919, "We're mighty glad the brave boys from Georgetown who sleep in Flanders Fields will never know how slow we have been in our effort here to commemorate their heroic death."

The principal difference in the process was that Georgetown's monument went through Town Council. However, the result was a magnificent piece of art with a bronze imperial lion dominating a granite plinth. The Town floated an \$8000 debenture to pay for the work, awarded to Mappin & Webb of Montreal. The bronze lion was cast

in England.

Georgetown officially remembered the 34 men who had not returned from the Great War with the unveiling of their memorial on August 24, 1924 by Sir Arthur Currie, Canada's most distinguished soldier, who was commander-in-chief of the Canadian Army in France. The war memorial was located at the junction of Guelph Street and Main Street North.

A Legion parade with the Lorne Scots Band and Georgetown Girls Pipe Band marched to the monument on September 26, 1948 when Mayor Joseph Gibbons unveiled the tablet on the side of the monument, listing those who paid the ultimate price in the Second World War.

The growth of Georgetown increased traffic considerably around the cenotaph site, so in June 1960, the monument was hoisted on a truck and moved to the corner of a new Memorial Park beside a small pond at James and Charles streets.

As a millennium project, a Georgetown committee, led by chairman Martin Boomsma, was established to refurbish Remembrance Park. An appeal for support garnered 445 donations. After two years of work and at a cost of over \$300,000, the park was officially re-dedicated in October 2000.

The newly refurbished Remembrance Park was the site of a visit on October 21, 2001 of HRH The Duke of Kent, Colonel-in-Chief of the Lorne Scots Regiment, here to celebrate the 135th anniversary of the Regiment and lay a wreath.

The third Halton Hills cenotaph used today is in the village of Glen Williams. A considerable number of men and women from this small place served in both wars. In 1971, local stone mason Gerry Inglis donated his time to create a modern memorial. The dedication took place on June 27, 1971 at the small park created on the banks of the Credit River. Bob McMaster, Gerry Inglis and Gil Preston removed the Canadian flag, the Union Jack and the Ontario ensign, to reveal the plaques to the war dead.

Canada must still work towards peace in our world and that means names have been added to the Acton and Georgetown monument for the conflicts in Korea and Afghanistan.

The creation of public memorials to those who lost their lives so that we could all benefit has proven to be a worthy endeavour supported by the citizens of our communities. Although priorities may change, historians must ensure these monuments are forever honoured and protected.



▲ General Sir Arthur Currie unveiled Georgetown's war memorial in 1924. The cenotaph after refurbishment of Remembrance Park. Photo Esqueusing Historical Society EHS06324, 2012



# Commemorating Lieutenant-Colonel John McCrae: Poet of In Flanders Fields

By Richard Longley

**IN 2015, TWO IDENTICAL** bronze statues of Lieutenant-Colonel John McCrae by Ruth Abernethy were unveiled, one in Ottawa, the other in the grounds of the Guelph Civic Museum. In the statue's hand, there is a facsimile of the most famous poem of the First World War.



▲ 108 Water Street, Guelph, built 1858, birthplace of John McCrae. **Photo** Hamish Duthie

John McCrae was born at 108 Water Street, Guelph on November 30, 1872, the second son of David McCrae and Janet Simpson Eckford. Originally a limestone cottage attributed to Guelph builders Thomas and William Day, it was built in 1858 and expanded with a two-storey addition in the 1860s. The McCraes moved in after they married in 1870.

In 1863, John's grandparents Thomas and Jean McCrae (who preferred to be called Jane) had moved into a farmhouse built by Thomas Day around 1854. They

called it Janefield. In 1892, after Thomas McCrae's death, David and Janet moved in with Jane. John went to Toronto and completed a medical degree. He went on to have a highly successful medical practice, mostly in Montreal.

In 1966, 108 Water Street was purchased by the Lt.-Col. John McCrae Birthplace Society and it was designated a National Historic Site. In 1983, McCrae House became one of the Guelph Museums.

Built around 1840, the original home at 221 Woolwich Street was a one-storey stone cottage. It was remodeled by John Hall in 1877 into an Italianate residence for Dr. James McGregor. Dr. Henry Howitt senior lived here from 1892 until 1918, when it became the property of his son, McCrae's friend, Dr. Henry O. Howitt Medical Officer of the City of Guelph between 1910 and 1920. John McCrae was by this time a highly respected doctor with a successful practice before war broke out. Because of the effect of the farm on his asthma, John could not sleep at the family home when he visited his parents. Instead, he stayed at the home of the father of his friend, Dr. Henry Howitt at 221 Woolwich Street.



▲ Statue of John McCrae by Ruth Abernethy, 2015, Guelph Civic Museum. **Photo** Richard Longley, 2016



▲ John McCrae stayed at the Howitt home, 221 Woolwich Street, Guelph, when he visited family. **Photo** Hamish Duthie



When the First World War broke out in August 1914, Dr. McCrae enlisted. By early 1915, he was in Belgium, as a medical officer with the 1st Brigade, Canadian Field Artillery. His dressing station was a dugout beside the Yser canal north of Ypres. At nearby St. Julien is *The Brooding Soldier*, designed by Frederick Chapman Clemesha commemorating the Commonwealth sacrifice during the Second Battle of Ypres.

*The Brooding Soldier* inscription reads:

This column marks the battlefield where 18,000 Canadians on the British left withstood the first German gas attacks the 22nd -24th of April 1915. 2,000 fell and here lie buried.



▲ *The Brooding Soldier* by Frederick Chapman Clemesha, St. Julien, Ypres Salient, Belgium, 1923. Photo Richard Longley, 2016.



◀ Essex Farm Cemetery, site of the former Canadian Field Artillery Dressing Station where McCrae was stationed, near Ypres, Belgium. Photo Richard Longley, 2016.

During this battle, on May 2, 1915, McCrae's close friend Lieutenant Alexis Helmer was killed when a shell exploded at his feet. His shattered body was buried beneath a wooden cross, in a grave that would be obliterated before war's end. McCrae wrote to his mother:

Heavy gunfire again this morning. Lieut H. was killed at the guns. His diary's last words were 'It has quieted a little and I shall try to get a good sleep.' His girl's picture had a hole right through it. We buried it with him. I said the Committal Service over him as well as I could from memory. A soldier's death!

The following day, on May 3, McCrae revealed the depth of his feelings in the most famous poem of the First World War, *In Flanders Fields*. The location where he wrote it is now Essex Farm Cemetery. 1,200 French, British and Canadian fallen are buried there.



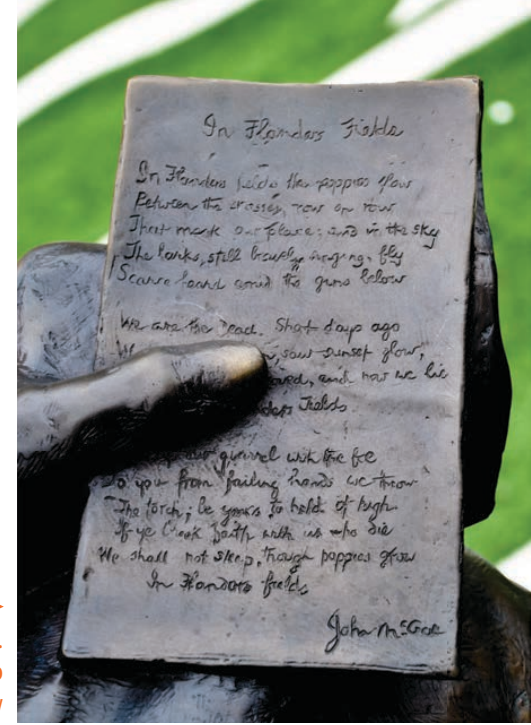
Less than a month after Helmer's death, John McCrae was appointed to No. 3 Canadian General Hospital near the English Channel port of Boulogne-sur-Mer. Regardless of cold, wind or rain, he slept in a tent, and relieved the stress of treating thousands of sick and wounded soldiers by riding through the dunes on his horse Bonfire with the dog Bonneau. In January 1918, already suffering from asthma and bronchitis, he contracted pneumonia and pneumococcal meningitis.

John McCrae died January 28, 1918. He is buried in the Wimereux Cemetery, north of Boulogne.

McCrae knew, before he died, the enormous success of *In Flanders Fields*. It was used to help recruiting efforts as America entered the war and helped assure acceptance of conscription in Canada outside Quebec. But his influence would be much longer lasting.

In 1920, the "Flanders Field Poppy" was adopted by the American Legion. In Canada, Governor General Julian Byng of Vimy and Lady Byng became patrons of "Poppy Day." Byng's Armistice Day message to the people of Canada in 1921 was "Honour the dead by helping the living."

In 2015, almost 20 million Canadians wore poppies. Their donations raised \$16.5 million for war veterans and their families. In 2016, the number worn was almost 21 million.



Detail of statue, ►  
*In Flanders Fields* by Lt.-Col.  
John McCrae. Photo  
Richard Longley



Lt.-Col. John McCrae ►  
Grave, Wimereux Cemetery,  
France.  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John\\_McCrae\\_grave.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_McCrae_grave.JPG)  
Photo Roger Davies, 2001.  
Wikipedia Commons



▲ The Cloth Hall, Ypres, Belgium, built 1200-1304, now the In Flanders Fields Museum. Photo Richard Longley, 2016.

In Belgium, a few kilometres from Essex Farm, is another memorial to Lt.-Col. McCrae. The medieval town of Ypres that was smashed to rubble by German artillery is fully restored. Its thirteenth century Cloth Hall is now the In Flanders Fields Museum. During my visit in the fall of 2016, it was packed with schoolchildren from all over Europe.



# Remembering Francis Pegahmagabow

By Liz Lundell

**ON JUNE 21 EACH YEAR**, events across Canada celebrate the varied cultures and achievements of Indigenous people. First Nations, Inuit and Métis showcase accomplishments and share knowledge about their heritage. In 2016, nearly a century after his military service, a life-sized bronze sculpture was unveiled in Parry Sound to celebrate Chief Francis Pegahmagabow – the First World War hero and most decorated Indigenous soldier in the history of Canada.

Francis Pegahmagabow was born circa 1889 in Shawanaga First Nation, 150 kilometres southeast of Sudbury. Although the Canadian government excluded ethnic minorities and First Nations from military service, Francis was one of the first volunteers to sign up with the Northern Pioneers within days of Britain's declaration of war in August, 1914, becoming an original member of the 1st Canadian Infantry Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force that landed in France in February, 1915.

An exceptional sniper and scout, "Peggy," as he was known to his fellow soldiers, took part in many of the deadliest conflicts of the war. He was at the Second Battle of Ypres in April 1915 when the Germans first used chlorine gas. During the Battle of the Somme in 1916, Francis was shot in the leg. He fought at Passchendaele in 1917, and Amiens and Arras in 1918. He was a deadly marksman, credited with 378 fatalities, as well as the capture of 300 prisoners.

He was awarded the Military Medal in 1916 and two bars for exceptional service in battles that followed; only 38 other Canadians received this honour. In addition, Cpl. Pegahmagabow received a 1914–15 Star, the British War Medal and the Victory Medal.



▲ The monument to Chief Francis Pegahmagabow overlooking Georgian Bay, Parry Sound. **Photo** Liz Lundell, 2017



▲ This portrait is on an interpretive plaque near the monument. **Photo** Liz Lundell, 2017

Pegahmagabow returned to the Parry Sound area in 1919, settling at Wasauksing First Nation (then known as Parry Island). Despite being a military hero, he found the same poverty and persecution that he had known before war broke out. He was elected chief of the Parry Island Band from 1921 to 1925 and served as a council member from 1933 to 1936. He rose to Supreme Chief of the National Indian Government, a precursor to today's Assembly of First Nations. He was a passionate advocate for the rights of Indigenous people until his death in 1952.

The Ontario Native Education Counselling Association initiated the commemorative monument and funding came from Wasauksing First Nation, Shawanaga First Nation, the Government of Canada, the Town of Parry Sound, veterans' associations, the Pegahmagabow family and other private donors.

The artist, Sudbury-based sculptor Tyler Fauvelle, observed that the First World War has passed from living memory, but that bronze is reserved for people and events that should be remembered for generations to come. The site itself is inspiring with a view over Georgian Bay toward Parry Island. Mounted on granite, the caribou at Pegahmagabow's feet represents Pegahmagabow's clan, while the eagle is his spirit animal. The plaque is in English, French and Ojibwe.

Fauvelle's website explains the significance of this memorial to the community: "A bronze monument is an enduring witness. This one will tell, in its own way, the story of Francis Pegahmagabow – an amazing story that is part of our shared history."

## About the author

Liz Lundell, managing editor of ACORN, is a historian and author of seven books on aspects of Ontario heritage. She was the founding president of the ACO Muskoka Branch.





but that did not protect her. On June 27, 1918, she was torpedoed by the German submarine U-86. The ship's company took to lifeboats and they might have survived if the U-boat had not surfaced and machine-gunned them. Sergeant Arthur Knight who was with the nurses in lifeboat Number 5 as it drifted towards the stern of the sinking hospital ship was one of the 24 of 234 who survived. He described how Carola Douglas and her companions died:

Without a complaint or a sign of emotion, our fourteen devoted nursing sisters faced the terrible ordeal of certain death as our lifeboat neared that mad whirlpool of waters where all human power was helpless. There was not a cry for help or any outward evidence of fear. I heard only one remark as we drifted helplessly towards the stern of the ship: "Sergeant, do you think there is any hope for us?" I replied, "No."

Helmut Brümmer-Patzig, Captain of the U-86, evaded prosecution for war crimes. He served the Nazis during the Second World War. He died a natural death in 1984 at the age of 93.

## A Tragedy of Two Hagartys

by Leah Bekiaris

### Edward William Hagarty, 1863-1943

Edward William Hagarty was principal of Harbord Collegiate Institute from 1906 to 1928. In 1916, he was granted leave of absence to raise the 201st Toronto Light Infantry battalion. Marketing the army to students was natural for him as he had already developed a passion for the military during his youth when he served in the Queen's Own Rifles, and the Toronto High School Army Cadets. Later, as an adult, he was in the Cadet Service of Canada of which he became Lieutenant-Colonel. His addresses to students at Toronto west-end high schools emulated the British "Pals" system that relied on young men who knew each other joining together and supporting each other in battle. Three key qualities Hagarty looked for in potential recruits were patriotism, religious conviction, and sobriety. His recruiting campaign was so successful one of his recruits wrote:

The two hundred and first  
Will have no thirst

For whiskey, Scotch or rye, sir,  
But, strong and good,  
They thirst for blood,  
The blood of Billy the Kaiser

Hagarty's success was impressive: 510 recruits, 96 of them students, with at least 11 of them underage. His success extended to his own family with a consequence that was, in that war, almost inevitable.

### Daniel Galer Hagarty, 1895-1916

Principal Hagarty's son, Daniel Galer Hagarty, a student of civil engineering at the University of Toronto, enlisted on May 13, 1915 at age 21. On June 2, 1916, he was killed at Sanctuary Wood while commanding 7 Platoon of the 2nd University Company of Princess Patricia's Light Infantry.

After the death of his son, Lieutenant-Colonel Hagarty returned to being principal of Harbord Collegiate. When the men of 201st were assigned to other battalions because their number had sunk to below the critical minimum they were furious. And they had other reasons to resent the man who had recruited them.

On September 20, 1916, an independent observer of their anger, Private L. E. Johns of the 161st wrote to his mother:

I saw a mock funeral to day up at the 201 Batt, they are being split up tomorrow. Their Col. lost his job as they have less than 600 men. They dug a grave and buried a dummy representing their Col. They hated him, he was a whiskey soak, so on top of the grave they put a cross, a whiskey bottle, cig or some branches for flowers. Some reporters took a picture of it so likely it will be in the papers.

This was a little more than three months after Galer's death, so maybe unfair?

Daniel Galer Hagarty is buried at Hooge Crater Cemetery, four kilometres east of Ypres. He is remembered in the Soldiers' Arch at the University of Toronto, in the Church of the Redeemer where he was baptized and in the Harbord Collegiate Institute Hall of Memories that was dedicated in 1932 by General Sir Arthur Currie. Principal Edward William Hagarty died in Oakville on March 2, 1943. He was 80 years old.



◀ When his father was appointed Commanding Officer of the 201st Overseas Battalion, Lt. Daniel Galer Hagarty was offered the position of Adjutant of his father's unit. Lt.

Hagarty was killed on June 2, 1916, before transfer arrangements could be completed. **Photo** *The Varsity Magazine Supplement* published by The Students Administrative Council, University of Toronto 1918.

## Private Laurence Barclay Ramsay, 1897-1918 : From student to soldier

by Nastasia-Simonida Krstic

Laurence Barclay Ramsay was born on November 27, 1897 at Mongolia, Ontario. His parents were Robert H. Ramsay and Bertha A. Barclay. After he graduated from Harbord Collegiate Institute in 1916, he enlisted with the 75th Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. When he departed for France he left behind his mother, father, two younger sisters, a girlfriend and several other friends.

According to the Canadian Great War Project, Private Laurence Barclay Ramsay, age 20, died, August 22, 1918, "Whilst his Company was holding an outpost line in front of Chilly, just SW of Chaulnes, he was hit in several places by pieces of high explosive shell and instantly killed during an enemy bombardment of the position."

Before the brave Harbordite was killed in the battle, Laurence Ramsay wrote a final letter to his mother:

My Dear Mother,  
Should I fall in action, I wish to leave you this last farewell. I have faced danger many and

many a time and the Lord has upheld me, but he may call me to meet him face to face in glory.

I have tried by His help to withstand the terrible temptations both in England and France and I believe not in vain. I think I am as good a boy when I write this as that far off day when I left my beloved home.

Now, Mother, I can say from my heart that I never was afraid to go up "there" to do my "bit" helping to hold the British lines, or to go out and meet the German in battle. Now, Mother, do not grieve too much for me though I know it is hard to lose a boy in that far off battle-field in France but God knows best.

And papa, do not lose heart for there are the girlies and I know from what I have seen they need your best of care. May they always remember their "big" brother who made what the world knows as the supreme sacrifice.

I leave you all my sincerest love and God be with you til we meet again.

Your loving son, Laurence"

After his death, his friend Jimmie Oakley discovered this letter inside his helmet and gave it to an officer who mailed it to Ramsay's mother.

Canada celebrated its 150th year of Confederation this summer. As November approaches, it is important to remember the brave young people who risked their lives protecting our values and aiding our allies across the globe, not only

during the First World War, but also during the Second World War. Laurence Ramsay serves as a prime example of how Harbord Collegiate Institute and its community built and bred youth who value loyalty, compassion, and empathy, generation after generation.



▲ Private Laurence Barclay Ramsay died, August 22, 1918. **Photo** Harbord Collegiate Institute Museum

### About the authors

Leah Bekiaris and Nastasia-Simonida Krstic are students at Harbord Collegiate Institute and volunteers who help preserve aspects of the school's history. More than 500 former students and staff served in the First World War and they, along with those who served in the Second World War, are honoured at the Harbord Remembrance Day Assembly each year.



# A Monument to Canada's Defence against the Fenians

By Richard Longley

**ON A GRASSY MOUND** between the University of Toronto and Queen's Park, a monument by Robert Reid was unveiled in 1870 to honour the nine volunteers who were killed in 1866 at the Battle of Limeridge – also known as the Battle of Ridgeway – and the 22 who died later of wounds or disease. Among the Ridgeway Nine were three University of Toronto students. They were in the middle of examinations when they received

the call to join a military campaign that might be the least remembered today, but among the most important in Canadian history.

On June 1, 1866 at 1:30 am, the first of 1,200 Irish-American Fenians crossed the Niagara River from Buffalo to a spot west of Fort Erie. Their mission was to invade Canada and persuade Britain to grant independence to Ireland.

The next day, on a limestone ridge near the town of Ridgeway, the Fenians were confronted by green-uniformed militia of the Queen's Own Rifles and redcoats of the 13th Battalion of Hamilton. The Fenians were a ragtag army, but formidable veterans of the American Civil War that had ended one year earlier. They were armed with muzzle-loading rifles and expert in their use.

The battlefield experience of the Canadians was meagre. Most of them had never fired their obsolete smoothbore muskets even in practice. Despite these disadvantages, they pushed the Fenians back, until confusion became chaos in the Canadian ranks. Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Booker ordered withdrawal. The Fenians charged with bayonets fixed. The Battle of Ridgeway was over ninety minutes after it began.

But the Fenian victory was no triumph, nor was their second success that day at Fort Erie.

Depleted by desertion, fearing Canadian reinforcements, they returned to the United States, not to a hero's welcome, but to arrest by the US gunboat *Michigan*.

Fenian Raids continued until 1871, from Quebec to what is now Manitoba. There were no other battles equal to Ridgeway, but that does not mean the raids were unimportant. They are credited with hardening resolve to bring about Confederation in 1867, by engendering a deeper sense of Canadian nationalism and an increased determination to resist assimilation by the United States. It was also an experience that convinced those who had fought against the Fenians of Canada's need for a modern army. Among the most prominent of them was David McCrae who would become Lieutenant Colonel of the Guelph militia and a passionate advocate for artillery – and was father of John McCrae who wrote *In Flanders Fields*.

The sandstone and marble monument, built with private funds, was the site of unofficial remembrance services beginning in 1890. These gatherings started as a protest by veterans of the Fenian Raids who observed that they and the fallen had been forgotten. They laid living flowers and wreaths at the Canadian Volunteers' War Memorial to commemorate Ridgeway. This springtime "Decoration Day" was held annually on the weekend closest to June 2 and it was the precursor to the November date of commemoration established with the 1931 *Armistice Remembrance Day Act*. The memorial was restored in 2007 and it continues to honour these Canadian troops.



▲ Robert Reid's monument at Queen's Park commemorates casualties of the Battle of Limeridge who fell in Canada's defence against the Fenians. Photo Richard Longley, 2017

# What Do You Want to Leave Behind?

**THE WORD LEGACY** is thrown around a lot. We talk about legacy systems, legacy projects, and the legacies of history. Since we're talking about remembrance in this issue, let's talk about legacy.

At some point in our lives we start to consider our own legacy. Thinking about building something to benefit future people helps us focus on our personal values and be selfless at the same time.

ACO gratefully received five bequests in the past three years, from people who wanted their legacies to include heritage conservation for future generations. Each of these bequests is a profound, lasting gift with far-reaching benefit.

I've worked in the non-profit world for years, and have

met many people whose passion and generosity inspire them to volunteer their time and to make meaningful gifts to causes they care about. That's what I love most about this sector; it's about solving problems and working to make things better for our communities. For those of us who care about heritage conservation, we have many allies to work with, and much work to do.

*"Legacy. What is a legacy? It's planting seeds in a garden you never get to see."*

from Lin-Manuel Miranda's Tony Award-winning musical *Hamilton*

We all leave a legacy behind when we die. If you are thinking of making a bequest, you might be surprised at how easy

it can be, how substantial a tax credit it can provide your estate, and how much of an impact it can have. If you have questions, I'm happy to help.

Devorah Miller  
Development Manager, ACO  
[development@arconserv.ca](mailto:development@arconserv.ca)

## ONTARIO HERITAGE ACT: A SOURCEBOOK

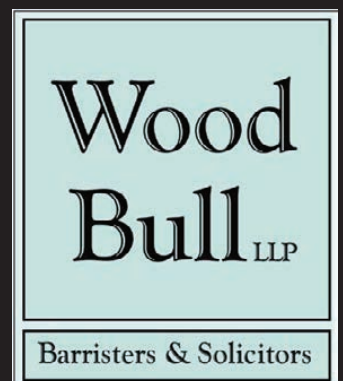
Wood Bull LLP has launched a publicly-available on-line resource, **Ontario Heritage Act: A Sourcebook**, for heritage professionals, lawyers, planners, architects, municipal heritage committee members, municipal council members, and members of the public.

**Ontario Heritage Act: A Sourcebook** provides annotations of each subsection of the *Ontario Heritage Act* and includes:

- flow charts of the different heritage processes
- legislative history
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Wood Bull LLP is a law firm that focuses on municipal, planning and development law and approvals, including heritage matters, from both the private sector and public sector perspective.



## Heritage Allies, Please Step Forward.

Back in 1933, a group of heritage advocates led by Toronto architect Eric Arthur saved Barnum House, one of Ontario's finest examples of neo-classical architecture, and created the Architectural Conservancy of Ontario. Eighty-four years later, ACO has played a part in saving hundreds of buildings across the province.

Despite the benefits of conservation, many of Ontario's historic buildings remain at risk. ACO is still working hard to preserve them, through advocacy, education, and research. We assist people and communities in their conservation efforts, and support the next generation of specialists.

ACO works on behalf of all Ontarians, and your support is vital.

If you want to help fund ACO's work, please consider becoming a "Heritage Ally". Donors who give \$100+ annually to the Provincial office, either through a one-time gift or through small monthly donations, will be included in this group of grassroots supporters.

To express our appreciation, we'll send you *ACORN* Magazine and "ACORN in a Nutshell" newsletters (if you don't already receive them). You'll be recognized as a Heritage Ally in our Annual Report (unless you request anonymity), and every month you'll be entered in a draw to win a copy of the book *80 for 80: Celebrating 80 Years of the Architectural Conservancy of Ontario*, a fascinating compendium of heritage architecture. Best of all, you'll have the satisfaction of knowing that you're supporting our heritage for future generations.

To support ACO, simply go to [canadahelps.org](http://canadahelps.org) and select "Donate Now" or "Donate Monthly". The full link is [www.canadahelps.org/en/charities/architectural-conservancy-of-ontario-inc/](http://www.canadahelps.org/en/charities/architectural-conservancy-of-ontario-inc/)

You can also contact us directly at [development@arconserv.ca](mailto:development@arconserv.ca)

Thank you, heritage allies. We have a lot of work to do!



*The door knocker at Barnum House,  
Ontario Heritage Trust*

## Want to stay in touch throughout the year?

Most ACORN readers also receive ACO's monthly e-newsletter, *ACORN in a Nutshell*. It's a great way to get up-to-date news about heritage in Ontario. If you're not yet receiving NUTSHELL, you can sign up at [tinyurl.com/ACOSignup](http://tinyurl.com/ACOSignup). We'll keep you up to date about current heritage issues and events, and share the latest stories, research, and legislative advances in the heritage world. We'll treat your confidential information with respect, and you can unsubscribe anytime.

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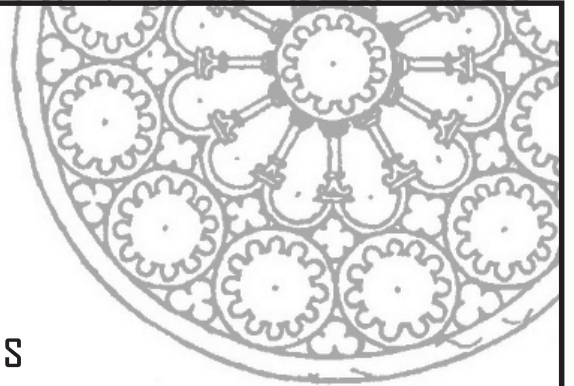
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