

New Directions for Historic Conservation: A Methodology, with Special Reference to Kingston

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Article abstract

Small outlying hamlets develop around major centres, which are later swallowed up in urban expansion. These hamlets were once thriving communities which have a social history, and which have left us a physical heritage. Few buildings of major architectural significance were built in these hamlets, and the people who lived there were often not those written about in histories. But when the social history is combined with the physical evidence of the hamlets there is in some cases a basis for preserving what remains of them. This article develops a planning methodology, noting historical resources, which might lead to the preservation of buildings which were part of these hamlets. The article is illustrated with examples near the old Town of Kingston in Upper Canada.

New Directions for Historic Conservation¹: A Methodology, with Special Reference to Kingston

Godfrey Spragge

Résumé/Abstract

Les petits hameaux périphériques se développent autour des grands centres et finissent par être engloutis dans l'expansion urbaine. Ces hameaux ont été dans le passé des communautés prospères, avec une histoire sociale et nous ont laissé un héritage physique. Peu de bâtiments remarquables au plan architectural ont été construits dans ces hameaux, et les anciens habitants n'ont pas fait souvent parler d'eux dans les histoires. Mais, lorsque l'histoire sociale est combinée avec les traces physiques des hameaux, cela fournit dans plusieurs cas la base de la préservation de ce qu'il en reste. Cet article développe une méthodologie d'aménagement, indiquant les ressources historiques susceptibles de conduire à la préservation des bâtiments qui faisaient partie de ces hameaux. Des exemples situés à proximité de la vieille ville de Kingston dans le Haut-Canada illustrent cet article.

Small outlying hamlets develop around major centres, which are later swallowed up in urban expansion. These hamlets were once thriving communities which have a social history, and which have left us a physical heritage. Few buildings of major architectural significance were built in these hamlets, and the people who lived there were often not those written about in histories. But when the social history is combined with the physical evidence of the hamlets there is in some cases a basis for preserving what remains of them. This article develops a planning methodology, noting historical resources, which might lead to the preservation of buildings which were part of these hamlets. The article is illustrated with examples near the old Town of Kingston in Upper Canada.

Connection with the past is a prerequisite for the appearance of a new and self-confident tradition.²

Concern about heritage conservation was being expressed in Canada in the 1920s. In 1933, Eric Arthur, a Toronto architect and professor of architecture at the University of Toronto, founded the Architectural Conservancy of Ontario. Buildings such as the Barnum House in Grafton, Ontario were preserved, and Arthur laid the groundwork for an expansion of interest in architectural history and in conservation through his courses at the university. But World War II, 1939 to 1945, drew talent and materials away from such effort; and after the war social goals tended to be concentrated on the expansion of cities to accommodate their burgeoning populations, and on the rebuilding of urban core areas and the razing of slums. Older buildings were more

likely to be the target of the wrecker's ball, than the object of a consensus to preserve and upgrade them.

By the 1960s, confrontations between developers and conservationists became more common, but there were some conservation successes. Canada was beginning to produce a small corps of restoration architects. William Goulding at the University of Toronto's School of Architecture was drawing on volunteer organizations to produce a listing of buildings of historic and/or architectural importance in Ontario. However, Goulding died before the work was completed, and the project was abandoned. "In January, 1963, Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, a society dedicated to the preservation of historic Nova Scotian buildings and structures, held a reorganization meeting to establish new interest in the architectural heritage of the Province."³

In 1970 the Canadian Inventory of Historic Building was launched by Parks Canada. Local initiative was evident in the appointment by the City of Kingston of a Committee of

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Architectural Review in 1970. In 1973 British Columbia amended the Municipal Act to permit heritage designation; and the next year Ontario passed the Ontario Heritage Act, 1974. Heritage Canada, a national charitable foundation, was founded in 1973 to promote the conservation of heritage structures and natural landscape. In 1974 it began a series of publications, one of which was the "Canadian Heritage Legislation Series." These are only a few of the efforts taken to institutionalize the process of heritage conservation across Canada during the 1970s and earlier. Despite pressure from heritage-minded individuals and groups, heritage legislation passed in Canada was weak.⁴

In her preservation handbook, Ann Falkner states that:

The first step in building preservation is a survey: a stock-taking or survey of your community's assets of worthwhile buildings. You will already have some feeling for what you wish to preserve. You are aware of certain buildings that, for one reason or another, are important to your city or town. Some will have been historically researched; some will have been given newspaper coverage; a few may have been noted in general books on Canadian architecture; others may have been listed or discussed by a local historical society.⁵

She is concerned both with the way that preservation is undertaken, "The idea of preservation — of a single house or a whole neighbourhood — should begin at the street level and work upward, rather than at the federal or provincial level working down,"⁶ and the results of an inadequate approach to preservation: "The special structures may eventually be recognized and preserved by a government department or a large preservation group, but the accompanying buildings are often overlooked or underrated and thoughtlessly destroyed."⁷ She suggests that "There must . . . be a good, economically sound justification for saving an old building on a desirable piece of property."⁸

During the past six years, development and redevelopment pressures have eased, while reinvestment by upper middle class households in older neighbourhoods has received attention in the literature. This time has been used productively by heritage organizations to identify buildings worthy of preservation. This may not be street level preservation, but it is community level identification of heritage structures.

Much of this identification work has been visual, backed up by later research to verify the visual clues, and to provide an historical basis for what was an architectural judgement. The major weakness of the approach is that it examines buildings in isolation, and not in the context in which the development took place. This approach tends to favour major buildings. It has the advantage that large areas can be covered relatively quickly, but it does not attempt to replicate patterns of growth, and to identify historic communities.

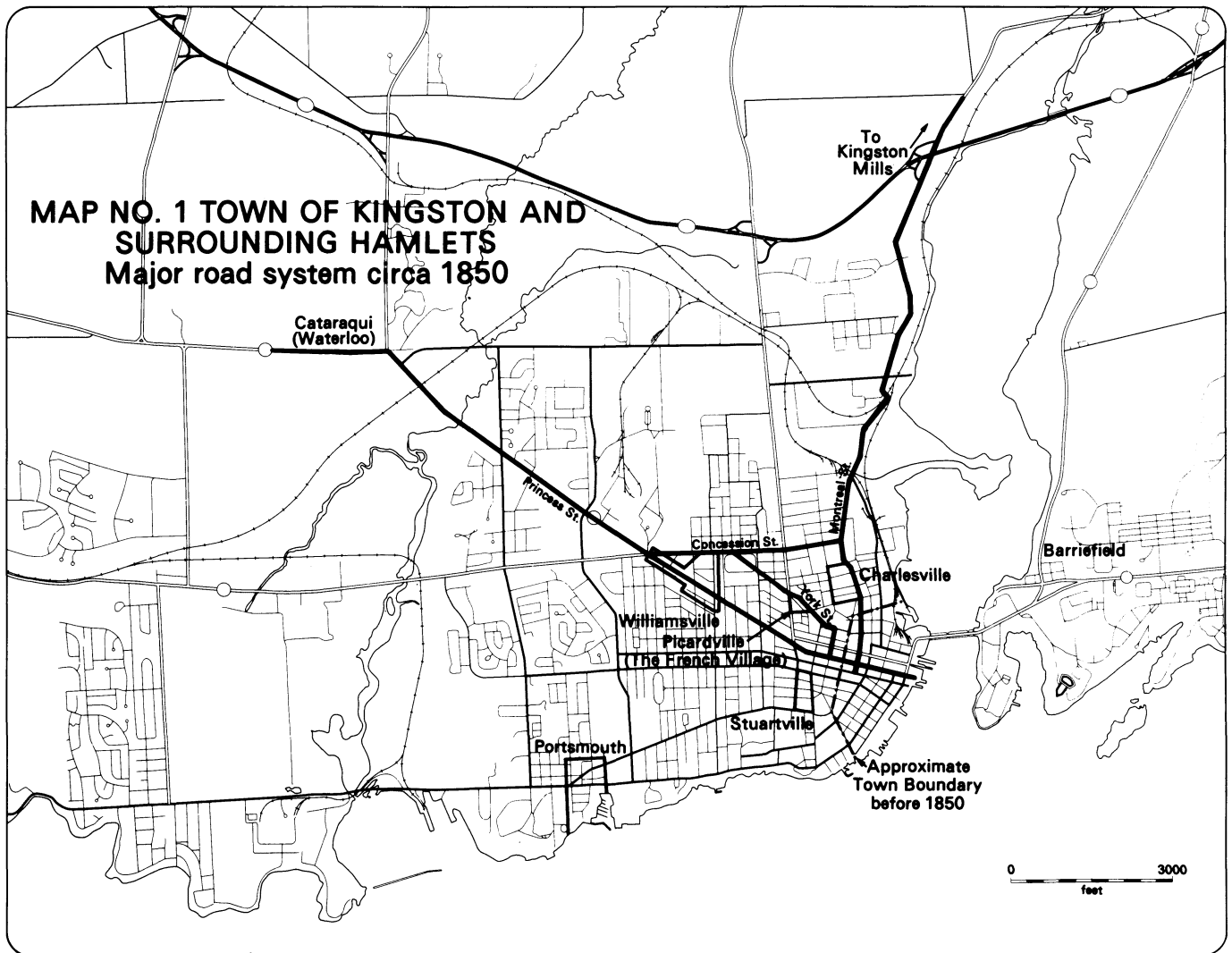
Urban growth does not occur in a linear, predictable fashion. In the late 1940s and early 1950s it was possible to clearly identify the separate communities around cities. Now, many of these are scarcely recognizable and assumed nothing more than part of the expanded city; they are indistinguishable with almost forgotten names. In Toronto, for example, Long Branch, New Toronto, Weston, Lansing, and many other communities are now part of Metropolitan Toronto, and Oakville, Thornhill and Richmond Hill, and Ajax are very much within the area of economic domination of Toronto. Port Hope and Cobourg, Barrie and Orillia, and Hamilton are all near the edge of the Toronto commutershed. Each of these small centres has its own history, and its own historic buildings. The transition from town to suburb has changed much, but the town has left its mark.

A direct analogy with 18th century growth of larger centres (one can hardly call them metropolitan centres) in Upper Canada is possible. The trends of the past few decades are not new. The growth that has taken place, while impressive, is similar to what happened at various periods of growth in the past. To discover historic buildings one can trace the patterns of growth, and discover pockets of older buildings among the newer. These patterns may not be obvious from a visual search.

But for Kingston, at least, these patterns have become better known during the past decade. Articles discussing life in residential enclaves or hamlets⁹ beyond the town boundaries speak of the social and ethnic mix of the population, but not of the physical evidence of those hamlets that still exist. Esoteric articles in learned journals have their place, but one of the purposes of heritage conservation is to make the evidence of history readily available to the general public. For this purpose, identification not only of the location of areas of early development but of the surviving buildings and their relative importance in the development of our environment, the creation of a sense of place, is important.

Map 1 shows Kingston and environs including various hamlets and the major road patterns as they existed around the middle of the 19th century. For many years the main Toronto-Montreal route by-passed Kingston to the north. Access to the town was gained either via the Montreal Road along the west side of the Great Cataraqui River, or the York Road, which originally followed the present alignment of York Street and eventually joined Concession Street at about Nelson Street, thence to the west end of what became Williamsville, and to Waterloo (later Cataraqui), and on to the west.

The more direct route from Store Street (now Princess Street) west was opened later, through the swampy area just west of Loughborough Road (now Division Street). A toll gate was erected on this route just east of the road allowance between Concessions I and II (Concession Street) and this



toll gate and the accompanying house appear to have been the genesis of Williamsville.

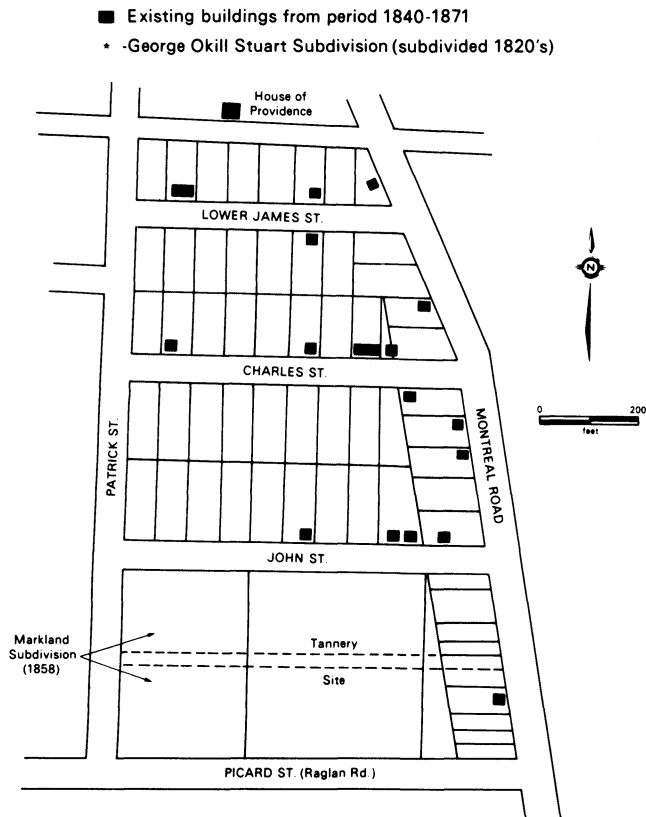
A cursory glance at the map shows the close connections between roads and hamlets. Picardville was on the original York Road, Waterloo (Cataraqui) was three miles west along the York Road, where a fork led to farm country to the north. Williamsville was on the later York Road, stretching from its intersection with Concession Street east towards Kingston, as far as the ordnance lands (lands held by the military). Charlesville was north along the Montreal Road past an area of rock outcrop to the west and swamp to the east, where passage was difficult. Kingston Mills was further north along the Montreal Road where the Great Cataraqui River narrowed, and where bridging the river was feasible.

Two hamlets which do not have a close connection with the road system are Portsmouth, which began as a dormitory for workers at the Kingston Penitentiary and developed a diverse economic base during the 1840s to 1860s, and

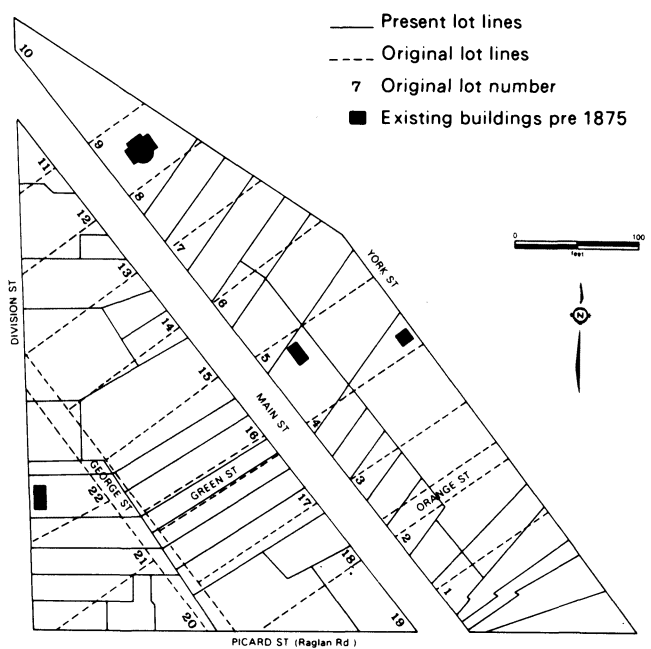
Stuartville, which was developed just outside the Town to avoid high taxes, due in part to financial mismanagement. Finally Barriefield, across the Great Cataraqui River, developed near the British shipyards which were active during the War of 1812, and now adjoins the military base and Royal Military College. The latter has recently been designated an historic district pursuant to the Ontario Heritage Act.

Studies carried out at the School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University, examined the historical development of four of these hamlets: Charlesville, Picardville, Stuartville and Williamsville.¹⁰ As shown on Map 1 these hamlets are surrounded by urban development, and are now part of the urban fabric of the city. To the casual observer they appear to be part of the early 20th century expansion, with a few buildings dating from an earlier period. Long-time residents are aware of them as older communities, identifiable by name. The growth of two other areas, not identifiable as early hamlets, have also been studied.

MAP NO. 2 CHARLESVILLE (1840-1871)



MAP NO. 3 PICARDVILLE (1813-1875)



tory and preservation creates a spatial history, much in the same sense that the acknowledgement of travel as a specific cost in the economic model, created spatial (urban and regional) economics, from which regional science grew.

Using rigorous research methodology, similar to that used by urban historians, but with a crucial spatial component to identify the geographic relationship of the hamlet with Kingston, and specific building sites within each hamlet or area, it was possible to produce a clear understanding of the physical components and their extent, and the social and economic life, to the extent that that is ascertainable, of each.

Maps 2, 3, 4, and 5 show the physical detail of Charlesville, Picardville, Stuartville and Williamsville, respectively. The social and economic data for these areas have been collected, and will be discussed in some detail. Traditionally social and economic data of this sort have been the preserve of the historian, and physical detail the primary concern of the preservationist. Combined, they place the surviving structures of the mid 19th century in their historical context.

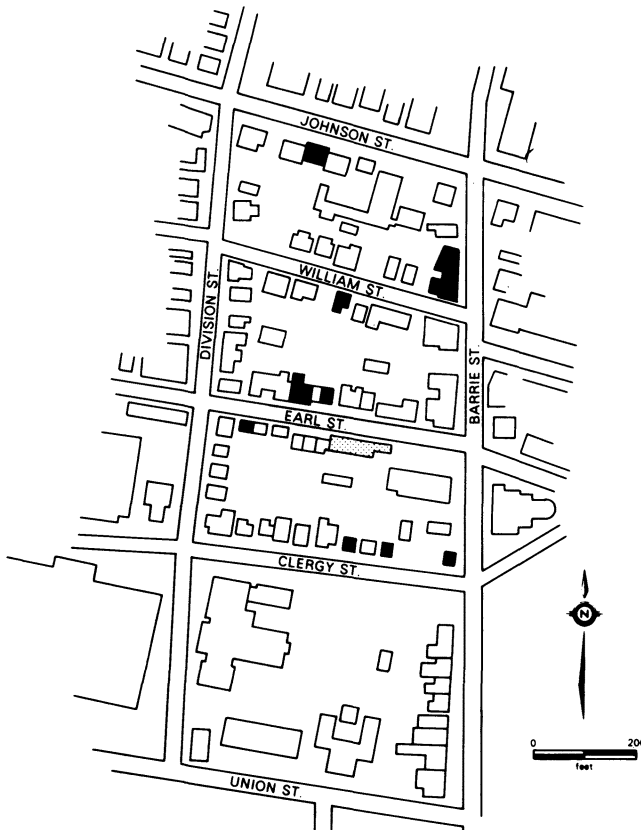
To the extent that the resources of urban history can be given a place-specific aspect, they increase our knowledge about buildings, their use and their surroundings. Preservation then becomes the record of the physical, cultural and social community or area, giving a rationale for the preservation of less distinguished houses which were occupied by less distinguished people, rather than merely the preservation of buildings associated with important people, or the architectural record of our forefathers. To a greater extent than most urban history to date, this marriage of urban his-

Urban history provides a context within which further studies to identify historic properties and the people connected with those properties may be undertaken. Many of the sources useful for such further study will be the same as the urban historian uses. But for historic preservation particular emphasis will be placed on spatial location of each family and each building. The primary emphasis of a heritage study, in the final analysis, is the location of a building or buildings; in addition much of the information which will be used to justify proposals for preservation, the socio-economic data on the people who built and lived in the community, will be acquired during the study.

For communities¹¹ that had a separate existence during living memory, identification is possible by finding people who have lived in the area for a long time, and asking questions. For other communities that flourished in the mid-19th century, other means to identify the communities, and the extent of the communities, must be sought. Often deeds referred to the name of the community in the description. But it is tedious to pore over deeds looking for references to a town, village or hamlet. Later, when approximate locations and boundaries have been established, references in deeds will help to determine the precise extent of the community. In some communities, the basic work of identifying and locating these smaller communities has already been done.

MAP NO. 4 STUARTVILLE (1883)

- Buildings constructed prior to 1871
 ▨ Buildings constructed prior to 1875



For many places for which no urban history has been attempted, and specifically where no historic research documenting the growth of the urban landscape has been done, often historic maps are available, sometimes bird's-eye views,¹² showing the streets and buildings. Some maps are very precise, showing the shape of the building. If there are several maps available which were prepared at different times, a fairly accurate picture of the growth and development of the community emerges.

Kingston is fortunate to have an excellent collection of maps, beginning roughly thirty years after the first settlers from the Thirteen Colonies arrived. A number of these, especially in the early period, had a military purpose. Two maps were produced in 1815, one of the Town and one of the Township of Kingston. Both showed roads, buildings and lots, and gave the owners of each lot. A year later an Ordnance Map was produced showing buildings, defences, and travelled access roads. A "Plan of Kingston Upper Canada showing the site proposed for constructing a bridge between that place and Fort Henry" appears to be dated 1824, and shows buildings in the town.

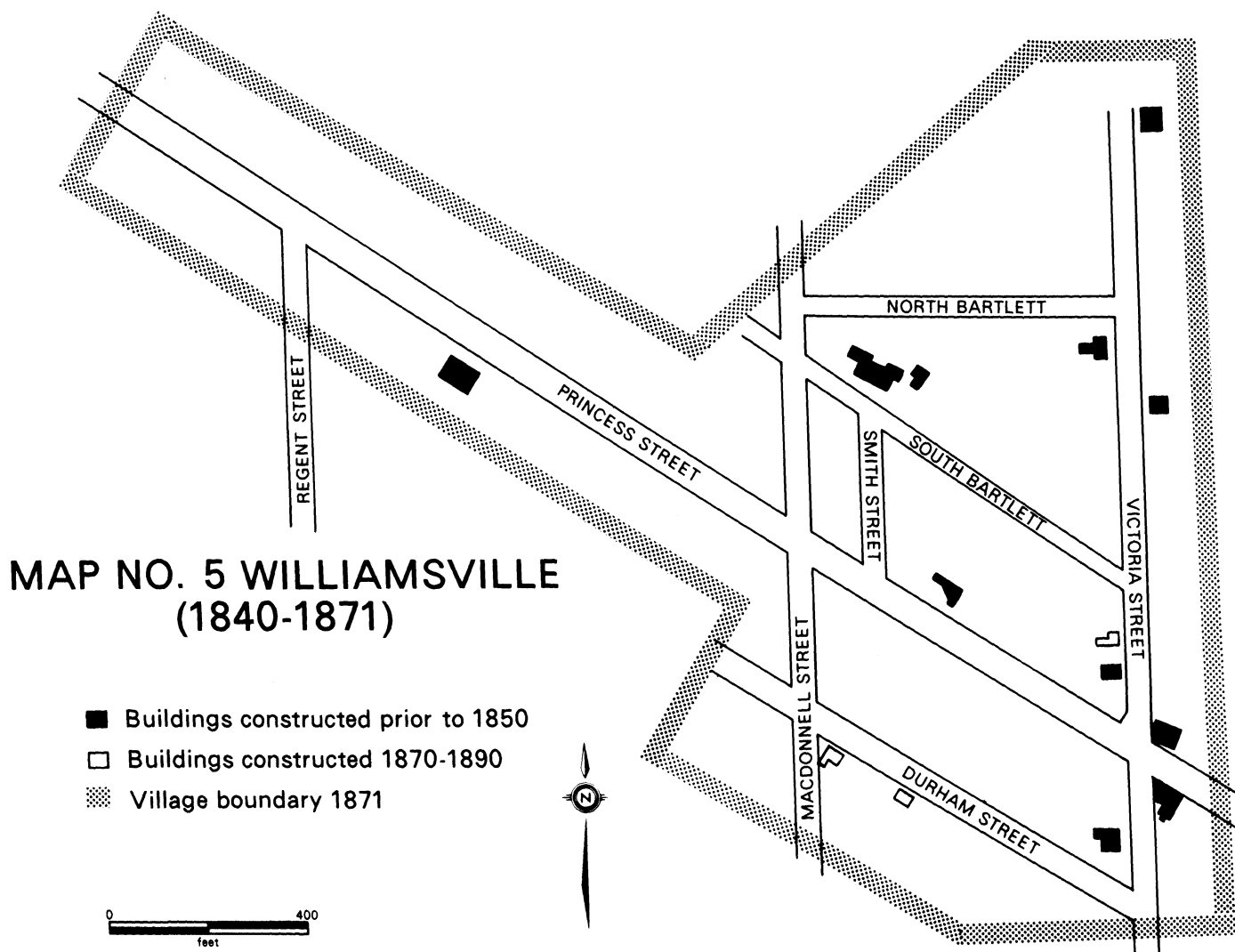
A map produced by the Royal Engineers at Kingston in 1828, "A Survey of the Ground to the extent of 4000 yards

in the vicinity of the Dockyard at Kingston, Upper Canada," shows streets and buildings in the Town, and the proposed Catarauqui bridge. Another plan by the Royal Engineers in 1829 shows streets and buildings, and a "Plan for the defence of Kingston," also shows streets and buildings with artillery locations and range. In 1830 a plan titled "Report No. 1 Plan for the Ordnance Lands and Premises at Kingston Upper Canada" shows streets and buildings, the Catarauqui bridge in place, and the travelled roads to York and Montreal. A second plan, apparently the same year, is titled "Return No. 1 Plan of the Ordnance Premises and Buildings in the Northern Part of the Town of Kingston" again shows buildings. The Tazewell Map of 1832 shows lots and major buildings.

An 1842 Ordnance Map shows defences, firing range, buildings and streets. Thomas Fraser Gibbs' "Plan of the City and Liberties of Kingston" produced in Toronto by Hugh Srobie, Lithographer in 1850 is a compilation of plans of subdivision and lots, and states that it delineates "severally the wards and Lots with the Streets, Wharves and Principal Buildings." The "Map of the United Counties of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington, Canada West, from actual surveys under the direction of H.F. Walling" was produced in 1860 at Kingston showing streets and buildings. In 1865 John C. Innes, City Engineer, produced a "Map of the City of Kingston, County of Frontenac Canada West" which was published and sold by John Creighton at the City Book Store. The map shows lot numbers, streets and buildings, and is directly comparable with Gibbs' map of 1850.

The "Revised Map of the City of Kingston, compiled from the latest surveys by R.F. Rowan, C.E. and A.W. Moore, Topographer" and published by The Burland Debarats Lith. Co., Montreal, was apparently produced in 1874, and shows streets and buildings. In 1875 H. Brosius produced a bird's-eye drawing of Kingston entitled "Kingston, Ontario, Canada, 1875," published in Madison, Wisconsin by J.J. Stover, giving a three dimensional view. A map entitled "City of Kingston Ont." was printed by the Burland Desbarats Lith. Co., Montreal in 1876.

County Atlases are a further source of useful information, particularly for rural areas. In the late 19th century these were popular commercial productions, funded by subscription; *The Illustrated Historical Atlas for Frontenac, Lennox and Addington, 1878*, contains a Patron's directory, with name, address, business (occupation), and place of birth for each.¹³ The Frontenac, Lennox and Addington atlas contains a map of each township showing lakes and rivers, roads and road allowances, concessions and lots, property owners and location of buildings. Urban areas are located on the township plans, and are shown elsewhere in larger scale. Streets and lots are shown on urban plans, and sometimes the location of buildings. The urban lot numbers are given, city wards are shown, but not registered plan numbers of names of owners.



The atlas contains numerous sketches of buildings, both urban and rural, including residences and businesses. For example, there is a sketch of the buildings of Gibbard and Son, Napanee, the furniture manufacturer, the Napanee Book Store, and many farm buildings. There is even a sketch of livestock on one farm. In addition to the information about patrons, the Patron's Directory provides information about the principal professionals and businessmen in cities and villages, a description of their business, and the principal producers of each township, who patronized the atlas.

If maps are not available, registered plans of subdivision can be plotted on the original township plans (township plans for Ontario may be found in the office of the Surveyor General)¹⁴ Normally plans of subdivision are numbered consecutively as they were registered, so that low numbers indicate early development. Not every registered plan was dated, but an undated plan is exceptional. Patterns of subdivision normally indicate urban development, although this was not the case in the land boom in western Canadian cities

in 1912 and 1913.¹⁵ But in most cases subdivision plans are a good indicator of the chronological development of urban areas.

Once a general pattern of development has been established, the researcher can choose one or more areas to investigate. These may consist of small developments or hamlets outside the main contemporary urban area, or accretions to the urban area. They will probably be chosen on the basis of a cursory visual examination of the existing development, and after discussions with those in the community interested in local history.

Land division and land ownership or occupancy is basic to understanding both the physical and, to a lesser extent, social structure of the community. Land registration establishes at least public recognition of ownership, and the size and shape of the parcel can be found in the registered documents, in the legal description. Abbreviated descriptions of land can also be found in assessment notices and tax forms.¹⁶

It had not been anticipated that settlements would take place in Upper Canada, and the authorities were unprepared for the influx of settlers. John Collins, Land Surveyor, arrived in 1783 to begin laying out townships, with settlers hard on his heels. He laid out numbered townships beginning near the old French Fort, Frontenac, and worked west to lay out Township #1, 2, etc.; Township #1 was later given the name Kingston Township. Early maps and accounts indicate that the township was laid out 25 lots wide along the lakefront, and seven concessions deep, of which only five were completed initially. The Town of Cataraqui (later Kingston) was laid out to the east, to the Great Cataraqui River.¹⁷

North of the town up to Concession IV Collins laid out a tier of lots fronting on the Great Cataraqui River and backing on Loughborough Road (now Division Street). The most southerly of these lots was known as Farm Lot A, part of which was held as a Clergy Reserve, and the majority of which (116 acres) was deeded by the Crown to Magdalene Ferguson, daughter of Molly Brant, famous for her part in fostering the alliance between the Mohawks and the British, and later for leading the Mohawks to settle in what is now Ontario.¹⁸ Difficulties in tracing the succession of ownerships over time vary from place to place, and from registry system to registry system. Some of these difficulties will be illustrated as they exist in Kingston and Frontenac County.

It was on Farm Lot A that both Charlesville and Picardville were established. By a deed dated September 7th, 1810, Jean Baptiste des Trois Maisons, dit Picard, acquired from Magdalene Ferguson a four acre parcel, triangular in shape, separated from the rest of Ferguson's holdings in Farm Lot A by the York Road. By 1814 Picard had a plan of subdivision of these lands, and had sold the first of 22 lots, lot #5, fronting on the York Road. Lots 3 and 4 were sold by Picard in 1815, and by the end of 1816 most of the lots had been sold.

By a deed dated June 15th, 1814 Charles Stuart acquired the remainder of Ferguson's holdings in Farm Lot A west of Montreal Road (now Montreal Street). By 1817 Charles Stuart was dead, and his executors, his brother George Okill Stuart and Allen McLean, took over the estate. The Stuarts were sons of John Stuart, missionary to the Mohawks who moved with them from the Mohawk Valley, and became the first Rector of Kingston. George Okill Stuart followed his father's profession as Rector of Kingston, eventually becoming the first Dean of the Diocese of Ontario.

Since not all the early land transactions were recorded, gaps in the record need to be recognized. By deed dated March 1st, 1815, Asa G. Goss acquired a parcel of land referred to as lots 7 and 8, described as being on the north side of York Road, from Daniel Allen. Since this is part of the land acquired by Stuart from Ferguson, Allen must have acquired the parcel from Stuart, directly or indirectly,

between June 15th, 1814, and March 1st, 1815, but there is no record of such a transaction. It is also apparent that parcels in this area north of York Road in the westerly portion of Stuart's lands were being sold as numbered lots, presumably according to an unregistered plan of subdivision; the area is referred to in deeds as Stuartville, although that name is not perpetuated, and an area some half mile to the south, on the original Stuart grant from the Crown, became known in the 1840s as Stuartville.

The easterly portion of Charles Stuart's lands, in what came to be known as Charlesville, was sold by numbered lots, but by metes and bounds description, beginning in 1825. Land in the southerly part of Charlesville was apparently sold earlier, but not by lot and plan number, and no deed was recorded. Fortunately two deeds, Charles Stuart executors to Benjamin Whitney on October 4th, 1825, and Charles Stuart executors to Thomas Markland on September 24th, 1827, refer to the ownership of adjacent lands.

In some cases descriptions are so inadequate, that although the general shape of the parcel may be discernible, its location is not. This is the case with a piece of land sold by the executors of Charles Stuart to William Evans and James Atkinson by deed dated October 6th, 1818. Although reference in the Charles Stuart executors to Benjamin Whitney sale is to land owned by Evans and Atkinson, the large discrepancy in dimensions suggests that it is highly unlikely that it is the same land. However, two deeds, both referring to the sale of the same land, one dated March 11th, 1822, the other dated June 29th, 1825, and purporting to include the previously transferred land, record land transactions from Charles Stuart executors to Evans and Atkinson. The boundaries of this parcel appear to fit reasonably well the boundaries of the land referred to in the Stuart to Whitney sale.

The land received by Magdalene Ferguson from the Crown, east of Montreal Street, approximately 50 acres of the original total of 116 acres, was sold by the Fergusons in part purely by metes and bounds description, and in part by plan and metes and bounds description. The parcels sold by plan were east of and adjacent to Montreal Street, and this area on early deeds and maps was known as Johnsonville. Sales according to the Johnsonville plan began in 1817. A sale from John Ferguson to Eliza Brown appeared to describe land on the west side of Montreal Street. Yet it seems unlikely that the Fergusons owned land on the west side of Montreal Street at this time, and it seems reasonable to guess that the writer had the directions confused. Some descriptions commenced at a bridge not located with respect to any permanent marker, or at picketing at the north gate, which must have been near North Street.

As can be seen from the above account, with persistence and intelligent use of the land records most of the pieces of the puzzle will fall into place. Lots which cannot be located

from the description in the early deed may be located by tracing the transaction from owner to owner until an adequate description is finally provided, and applying that description to the earlier sale. In situations where land descriptions were thoroughly confused, a Judge's Plan may have been ordered subsequently, which may locate and more accurately describe the parcel. The amount of effort required to reproduce land subdivision and transfer patterns depends on many factors. Primary among these is the accuracy and completeness of the original documents. Early maps showing some of the parcels are extremely helpful. The result, the pattern of land holdings, transactions, and names of owners at a particular time, is basic to dating trends in land development.

Other information may be gleaned from the land records. Already noted is the occasional reference to adjacent parcels. Sometimes lot boundaries are shown as being a given distance from a house, which indicates that at the time of the survey and description of the parcel of land, for which we have an approximate date, a house had been built, and we have an approximate location with reference to the lot line. Sometimes the finishing material on the house is noted. Sudden changes in selling price may indicate that a building was erected. For example, while Lot #5 in Picard's subdivision changed hands four times from May 1914 to June 1915, the sale price of the first and last transactions are both recorded as £200. Lot #4, on the other hand, changed hands only twice from July 1815 to January 1816, the price increasing from £50 to £235. First sales of these lots from Picard varied in price from £50 to £200.

Ownership of several lots by one person may help to understand the nature of that person's economic or social involvement in the community. In the Village of Bath, Ontario, we found an owner of a business who owned a single dwelling and a multiple dwelling. This suggested that the owner may have lived in the single dwelling and provided housing for his workers in the multiple dwelling. Had the assessment records been available for the Village this might have been confirmed.

The assessment records for the municipalities, where available, provide a second important resource for heritage studies. Assessment is the evaluation of land, originally established by the municipality and kept in municipal offices, but in Ontario, now established and kept by the province. Property taxes are established as a fraction of assessed value. Assessment records include an abbreviated property description. Unfortunately old assessment records are difficult to find because they have not always been kept in a safe, dry place, and may have been allowed to deteriorate in damp basements, or destroyed by fire, or simply thrown out.

Assessment records for the Kingston area available for the City from 1838, provide information about the building, and in some cases, about the value of an individual's per-

sonal property. Each entry has the name of the person being assessed for tax purposes, information necessary to locate the property, and the area of the land being assessed. As an example, for Kingston, the 1862 assessment is very informative, giving the value of land per acre, the value of each parcel and the total value of land. Also, in 1862, building finish was described as either stone, brick or wood. Personal property was also valued, and a total of real and personal property given. In 1852 there were five categories of taxpayers: proprietor, tenant, squatter, freeholder and householder. In 1862 this list was reduced to the last two categories. In 1862 the number of the school section in which the lands were situated was given. In 1852 the various purposes for which rates were collected were listed, together with the amounts for each. By 1862 this was dropped.

For cities, city directories were often commercially produced.¹⁹ In Kingston the earliest directory was 1855, and by 1857 considerable improvements were made. Names were listed alphabetically, together with occupation of the resident, and the address. By matching addresses for an assessment year of the assessment record and the city directory (directories were not comprehensive, and information will be lacking for some households), a reasonable record of owner and tenant occupancy can be established.

Canadian censuses are not open for research for one hundred years, during which time only aggregate data, which do not reveal information about individuals, are available. After one hundred years the original manuscript, the enumerator's record, is made available.²⁰ This is available on microfilm for most areas for most censuses. In some cases these original manuscripts are missing. The available censuses for the Kingston area which contain anything but the most sketchy of information begin in 1861. Census information of this period is not co-ordinated with addresses, but with patience, names in the census corresponding with names from the sources discussed above can be identified. The 1861 census was taken a year earlier than the revised assessment of 1862, so the correspondence will be imperfect.

The 1861 census gives the name of each member of the household, including servants, their age, sex, occupation, place of birth, marital status, religion, and specifically if coloured, mulatto or Indian. A question was asked about certain specific infirmities: deaf and dumb, blind, and lunatic or idiot. Children attending school were recorded, as was illiteracy in people over 20 years, births and deaths the previous year by sex, and cause of death. Housing information recorded included exterior finish (duplicating the 1862 assessment information), the number of storeys,²¹ the number of families living in the house, and whether a house was vacant or being built. Information was recorded on livestock, and their value, and carriages owned for pleasure or for hire, and their value. Land holding, the name of the business or manufacture, capital invested, use of raw material other than fuel, motive power and machinery, number of hands

employed, and cost of each by sex, and the product of the business or manufacture were all recorded. One can cross-reference the owners of businesses with the business location, and its output.

As noted above, there are numerous maps of Kingston showing buildings, particularly the survey maps of 1850, 1865 and 1874.²² Brosius drew his bird's-eye view of Kingston in 1875, again showing buildings.²³ Of the various subdivision plans, some show buildings. Again for Kingston, there is an unpublished manuscript by Edward Horsey, entitled "Catarqui, Fort Frontenac, Kingston," 1937, a copy of which is in Queen's University Archives; it is a somewhat folksy retrospective look at Kingston but has been found to be reliable. Old photographs, postcards and paintings of the urban area should be compared with present-day buildings and street-scapes. This technique was very effective in the study done for Bath, Ontario.²⁴ Contemporary newspaper accounts are extremely useful in providing additional information about life of the period.

Insurance maps were commonly produced for cities.²⁵ These often showed detailed information on the size, height and external cladding of buildings, as well as the use of non-residential buildings. Fenestration was often indicated, and street numbers were given. The earliest available insurance map for Kingston was 1892.

From the sources discussed it is possible to put together a fairly accurate picture of the population or part of a population defined geographically, particularly for Kingston in 1861-62, and at various times thereafter; with a less complete record it is possible to produce some information for earlier times. We have information on wealth, occupation, family size, country of birth, and religious adherence. For each family we have a location, with information about the size of house, its exterior finish, and value. Information can be aggregated to produce a composite view of the physical and socio-economic composition of the community.

It is possible in many cases to compare descriptions of buildings and sketches of buildings with what is actually there today. It is possible in some cases to compare old photographs with buildings that exist today.

Accretions to towns and cities can normally be traced to population increases due to a number of factors. Probably a combination of circumstances underlay the development of hamlets around major settlements. Physical geographical features prevented continuous urban development in some cases. The present alignment of Montreal Street within the Town of Kingston was blocked not only by the army barracks and the parade ground, but a short distance to the north by an outcrop of limestone which extended to the marshy area along the shore of the Great Catarqui River. Charlesville on the west side of the Montreal Road and Johnsonville on the east side reflect the pressure for expan-

sion as close to, but outside, the built-up area as could be accommodated by the geography of the area. Edward Horsey, in his history of Kingston suggested that land within the Town was held by resident speculators, forcing people out onto cheaper lots. This appears to be the primary reason for the development and growth of Stuartville during the 1840s.

The reasons for Picardville's development may also have been economic. There were no barriers to development

TABLE 1

Lot #2, Barrie Street

Transactions

- 10 May 1837 — George Okill Stuart to John Dunne
 16 Apr. 1858 — John Dunne to John McMahon (and part of Lot #4)
 27 Mar. 1868 — John McMahon to Alexander Adair

Dimensions

30'6" frontage on Barrie St., by 83'9" average depth

Assessment and Census Data

1861

- Freeholder — John McMahon, carpenter, Presbyterian, Irish, 5 pers
 Tenants none

1864

- Freeholder — John McMahon, carpenter, Presbyterian, Irish, 6 pers
 Tenants — none

1868

- Freeholder — Alexander Adair, not resident
 Tenants — William Makins, 36, sailor, 3 pers
 Richard Pretty, 20, plasterer, 4 pers

1871

- Freeholder — Alexander Adair, not resident
 Tenants — George Ingram, 27, blacksmith, Anglican, Irish, 5 pers

SOURCE: "Heritage Conservation, Two Building Blocks for Kingston: Stuartville and the Livingston Pembroke District," a student project in the School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University at Kingston.

TABLE 2

Williamsville — Age Structure, 1871

	Age Structure ^a	
	Male	Female
0 - 19 years	113	81
20 - 44 years	43	60
45 - 64 years	37	16
+ 65 years	6	1
Total	199	158

SOURCE: "Three Heritage Hamlets: A Planning Approach to Historic Conservation," a student project in the School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University at Kingston.

NOTE: ^a 357 residents.

TABLE 3

Williamsville — Occupations, 1871

9 carpenters (13%)	4 tailors (6%)	1 barber (1.5%)
7 masons (10%)	3 grocers (4%)	1 insurance agent (1.5%)
6 gentlemen (9%)	4 clerks (6%)	1 lawyer (1.5%)
14 labourers (21%)	1 gardener (1.5%)	2 merchants (3%)
4 butchers (6%)	1 blacksmith (1.5%)	1 watchmaker (1.5%)
3 innkeepers (4%)	1 baker (1.5%)	
4 farmers (6%)	1 teacher (1.5%)	

SOURCE: "Three Heritage Hamlets: A Planning Approach to Historic Conservation," a student project in the School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University at Kingston.

TABLE 4

Williamsville — Religion, 1871

Church of England 78 (25%)	Methodist 80 (26%)
Presbyterian 52 (17%)	Roman Catholic 53 (17%)
Protestant 8 (3%)	Baptist 5 (2%)
Other 37 (12%)	

SOURCE: "Three Heritage Hamlets: A Planning Approach to Historic Conservation," a student project in the School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University at Kingston.

between Picardville and the Town of Kingston. Picard purchased the land very early in Kingston's history, in 1810, just 27 years after Collins' original survey. With no surviving assessment records of the period, and no surviving census records, the available information is unlikely to provide us with reasons for Picardville's development at that time in that place. Furthermore, Picardville degenerated in the 1840s and 1850s into an area of prostitution, from which it apparently was rescued by leading citizens such as John A. Macdonald and George Okill Stuart, who purchased the land, apparently razed many of the buildings which were little more than slums, and then let the lots go for taxes. Nothing remains now that was built much before 1860. The nature of the Picardville of the 1810s and 1820s seems to be lost.

Stuartville apparently owed its existence at least in part to the aftermath of the government pullout in 1844. Suddenly, after the heady days as capital of the United Province of Canada, Kingston was left with the bills to pay and limited sources of income, and taxes rose. Little wonder that people were attracted to live just beyond the border of the Town where both land prices and taxes were lower. Perhaps Williamsville owed something of its existence to the same economic forces, since it developed about the same period, but Williamsville was separated from the Town by a marshy area west of Division Street, and ordnance lands to the west of that. In fact, Williamsville developed quite an industrial and commercial base with rope walks, a carriage maker, a bakery, butchers and a variety of trades and professions.

Information taken from the historical record can be presented in a variety of ways, depending on the purpose and the audience. For example, data can be catalogued on a lot by lot basis, covering the first thirty or forty years in the life of a community. Such a catalogue was prepared for one block in Stuartville, and one example of the data consolidated from the census and assessment records is included (Table 1). The lot in question is the second north of Agnew's Lane (now William Street) on the west side of Barrie Street in Stuartville, now in the City of Kingston.

Stuartville developed on part of Lot #24 Concession I in the Township of Kingston, strategically located immediately west of the Town. The original patent is from the Crown to the Reverend John Stuart, who farmed the lot. His son, the Reverend George Okill Stuart inherited his father's farm, built a stone country house on the lot, and sold off a number of parcels in what came to be known as Stuartville.

In this example, three transactions, covering the period up to the 1871 census, occurred. The building appears to have been erected prior to 1850, since it is shown on the 1850 Gibbs Map. We know that in 1861 the owner, John McMahon, was living on the property, and that in 1868, McMahon sold to Alexander Adair, who rented it out. Adair, who was a store and tavern owner, and later a grocer, mar-

TABLE 5

Williamsville — Place of Birth, 1871		
Canada	209 (most under 25 years of age)	60%
England	64	18%
Ireland	51	15%
Scotland	22	6%
U.S.	<u>3</u>	1%
	349	

SOURCE: "Three Heritage Hamlets: A Planning Approach to Historic Conservation," a student project in the School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University at Kingston.

TABLE 6

Williamsville — Marital Status, 1871		
Married	102	31%
Single	211	65%
Widowed	<u>11</u>	3%
	324	

SOURCE: "Three Heritage Hamlets: A Planning Approach to Historic Conservation," a student project in the School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University at Kingston.

TABLE 7

Additional Demographic Statistics Williamsville — Housing, 1871		
Material		# of Storeys
Frame	45 (76%)	2
Brick	8 (14%)	1½
Stone	<u>6 (10%)</u>	1
	59	

SOURCE: "Three Heritage Hamlets: A Planning Approach to Historic Conservation," a student project in the School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University at Kingston.

ried Margaret Moore, who owned Lot #3 immediately to the north on Barrie Street, prior to 1861, and Adair is shown in 1861 as freeholder of Lot #3. Perhaps Mrs. Adair had run a boarding house prior to her marriage, and continued to do so, since 6 to 10 people are shown occupying the property next door as rental property.

Data at this level can be consolidated to produce tables, as was done for Williamsville, for example. A breakdown of

age by sex is shown for Williamsville in 1871, together with occupations, religion, place of birth and marital status. Some housing data are available (Tables 2-7). As data are consolidated it is useful to compare hamlets or areas of urban development. Charlesville was much more of a Roman Catholic settlement, whereas Williamsville was inclined to be more Methodist and Presbyterian. Both had a substantial number of Church of England adherents. Williamsville had more employment in food related occupations, 21½% compared to 11% for Charlesville, including innkeepers and farmers. Charlesville had 13% in the widow or spinster and retired category, whereas Williamsville had none in this category. Williamsville appears to have had a more diverse service sector, whereas Charlesville had 13% in nautical occupations. On the whole, Williamsville's breadth in the service category may indicate a more self-contained economy (see Table 8).

Each of the areas studied contains a number of identifiable buildings which could reasonably be listed in an inventory of buildings of historic and/or architectural importance. Charlesville has 19 such buildings in just over a 3-block area, 10 stone, 8 frame and one stucco. Picardville has only 4 in a 2-block area. Williamsville has 13 in a 6-block area. For each area a profile of the population was developed, usually for the year 1871. The buildings were not those of the powerful elite; they were the houses and workplaces of small businessmen and workers. In a sense they fall between the cracks of preservation planning. They are neither so important individually that they are likely to be designated as historic buildings, and they are not so concentrated that they fit the concept of an historic district.

Yet these buildings are what remain of a neighbourhood or hamlet of working people, an identifiable and important reminder of the social fabric of the city and its environs, over 100 years ago. It can be argued that while the elite in society was important, their houses are much too grand for most people to relate to. The studies that form the basis of this article provide a foundation for bringing preservation, and through it, history, to ordinary people who do not relate to grand mansions. They provide a basis for making up teaching kits for community schools, to make history come alive in the lives of young scholars. They provide a basis for taking pride in neighbourhoods that perhaps have seemed to have had little to be proud of. And they help to give a more balanced view of what it was like to live in pre-Confederation Kingston and area.

Perhaps by providing the basic research and information in an understandable and readable form, communities can be encouraged to come forward and ask for designation of neighbourhood buildings, rather than imposing legislation on reluctant owners. In any event a complete heritage stock-taking requires a research program which examines both historic and architectural development, and which documents the physical remnants of the development that exist today. To involve a large cross-section of society in preser-

TABLE 8

Comparison Between Williamsville and Charlesville, 1871		
Religious Affiliation	Charlesville	Williamsville
Baptist	—	2%
Church of England	21%	25
Methodist (Wesleyan Methodist)	8	26
Presbyterian	6	17
Protestant (Irish Protestant)	7	3
Roman Catholic	46	17
Other (Unknown)	12	12
Total	100%	100%

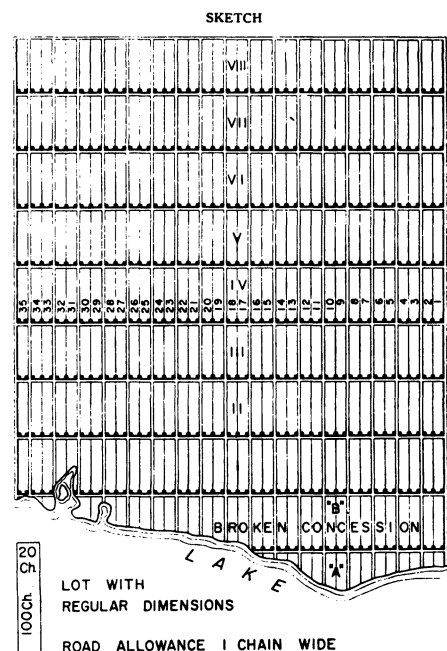
Occupation	Charlesville	Williamsville
Baker	—	1.5%
Barber	—	1.5
Blacksmith	2%	1.5
Boatman	4	—
Butcher	2	6
Carpenter	13	13
Clerk	2	6
Farmer	4	6
Gardener	—	1.5
Gentleman	2	9
Grocer	—	4
Innkeeper	5	4
Insurance Agent	—	1.5
Labourer	29	21
Lawyer	—	1.5
Mason	—	10
Merchant	—	3
Retired	2	—
Sailor	9	—
Shoemaker	2	—
Stonecutter	11	—
Tailor	2	6
Teacher	—	1.5
Waiter	2	—
Watchmaker	—	1.5
Widow or Spinster	11	—
Total	100%	100%

SOURCE: "Three Heritage Hamlets: A Planning Approach to Historic Conservation," a student project in the School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University at Kingston.

vation, the various segments of the population must be able to visualize themselves in history. Understanding one's place in history arguably will give one a pride of place. The amount of vandalism in society is one indicator of how woefully that is lacking.

NOTES

1. In this discussion I have placed the emphasis on conservation, which carries with it the notion of keeping something for future use. The word preservation, which implies treatment to prevent change, and therefore a more active conservation program, is used interchangeably without explanation. Restoration implies even greater activity in returning the building to its appearance and condition at some date in the past.
2. Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*, 5th ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 30.
3. "Halifax: Preservation of Nova Scotia's Architecture," in *Urban Renewal and Public Housing in Canada* 2 (July/August/September 1963): 12.
4. Ann Falkner, *Without Our Past* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 20, quotes Harland MacDougal as saying "We have possibly the weakest heritage legislation in the western world."
5. *Ibid.*, 51.
6. *Ibid.*, 19.
7. *Ibid.*, 10.
8. *Ibid.*, 61.
9. The term hamlet is used here to denote a settlement which was given a name (e.g. Charlesville) but was not incorporated. In some cases hamlets were little more than what today is called a subdivision; in others they had the characteristics, but not the status of a village.
10. Students who were responsible for research contributing to this article were K. Lawless, N. McMahon, L. Silani, A. Dietrich, M. Gemmill, B. Opitz, D. Ouderkirk, R. Balsom, B. Hodge, R. Taylor, G. McCracken, J. McFarlane, H. Schipper and C. Tancredi.
11. The term community is used here with respect to people living in a definable area. No sociological relationships are implied.
12. Bird's-eye view maps were perspective drawings from about a 60° angle showing streets and buildings.
13. Because these atlases were funded by subscription, the importance of an individual, his place of residence or his business as indicated in the atlas tends to be related to the amount the person subscribed. Thus an important business whose owner did not subscribe might not be mentioned.
14. The township plans that were laid out across North America divided land into large parcels intended to meet the needs of individual farmers. These parcels were called lots or sections (see the following sketch of one system of township layout found in southern Ontario).



Heavy lines (—) indicate lines surveyed. Squares (■) indicate lot corners usually established but not always posted.

For urban purposes smaller lots, often less than an acre in size, were required, and for other rural or semi-rural purposes various sizes of parcels of land were needed. There were three ways of describing parcels of land which were smaller than, or included part of a township lot. One was by aliquot parts, so that a parcel might be described as the south half of the lot 15 concession 2, or the south half of the south-east quarter of lot 15 concession 2. A second method was to describe a parcel by metes and bounds. This meant that a starting point was located with reference to the township lot, and the direction and length of each side was given. The parcel lay within the described boundaries. A third way was to draw up a plan to show the lots being created, and any roads laid out to service the lots. Normally registrars of deeds required such plans to be deposited in the Registry Office where they were registered and numbered. These are called registered plans or plans of subdivision, and will have the stamp of a provincial land surveyor on them. Older registered plans may give the owner's name, street names, and sometimes the outline of buildings.

15. Where subdivision plans were created well in advance of development, as in the western Canadian land boom of 1912 and 1913, areas were often later resubdivided, so that the pattern of development does not adhere to the original plans. The record of land transfers based on registered plans will show little activity during a depression after a land boom. Speculators will often hold blocks of lots, hoping for a price rise. Eventually title may revert to the municipality when the owner defaults on taxes. But these are exceptional cases. However, when one or more of these conditions occur, subdivision plans should not be treated as indicators of patterns of urban growth.
16. Documents transferring title to land are found in City and County Registry Offices, and Land Titles Offices. In southern Ontario registration was not mandatory, and examples will be given of unregistered land transactions which, nevertheless, were valid transactions. If land were sold more than once by one owner to different purchasers, then registration settled the ownership and the purchaser who did not register was left to bring action against the vendor.
17. See Richard A. Preston, *Kingston Before the War of 1812*, 40, "John Collins' Survey of Kingston Township," and p. 98 showing the plan of the Township.
18. Magdalene has a variety of spellings in the early documents. I have chosen this spelling arbitrarily, and will use it consistently.
19. Most libraries collect City Directories, and these are usually available.
20. Available on microfilm from the Public Archives of Canada.
21. Also shown on the 1892 "Goad Insurance Plan for Kingston."
22. Thomas Fraser Gibbs, *Plan of the City and Liberties of Kingston*. (Toronto: Hugh Srobie, Lith, 1850). This plan is a compilation of plans of subdivision, which states that it delineates "severally the wards and Lots with the Streets, Wharves and Principal Buildings." The Innes Map of 1865 and the Rowan Map of 1874 are also compilations of plans of subdivision.
23. H. Brosius, *Kingston, Ontario, Canada, 1875* (Madison, Wis.: J.J. Stoner, 1875), Charles Shober & Co. Props., Chicago Lith. Co., with inset "View over the Kingston Harbour from Gunn's Warehouse."
24. M. Arif, Larry Pearson and G. Spragge, *History and Architecture: Village of Bath, Ontario* (Kingston: School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University, 1976). Many of the photographs were provided by Dr. Burleigh, the local doctor in Bath for many years.
25. Robert Hayward, *Fire Insurance Plans in the National Map Collection* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1977), gives the place, date and author of plans in the collection.