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RESORT DEVELOPMENT IN THE RIDEAU LAKES

REGION OF EASTERN ONTARIO

1826 - 1955

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate
Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master
of Arts
in Geography

Department of Geography

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ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of this paper was to study the historic resort development of the Rideau Lakes area of Eastern Ontario's Rideau Canal, during the period of 1826 to 1955. This was accomplished using some unusual data sources, including old hotel registers, lockstation records and local histories. These were used rather than more traditional methods, in order to determine their value as historic research sources.

By computerizing the hotel registry data and combining the results with material derived from the other sources, it was possible to formulate a fairly clear picture of the early resort development.

The results showed an industry with a long and stable history, depending on a steady flow of visitors from New York and other Great Lake states as well as Ontario cities, particularly Ottawa and Kingston. The easy access via canal and railway combined with excellent sports fishing and scenery to make this area one of continuing popularity.

PREFACE

The idea for this paper grew out of my being employed by Parks Canada, Rideau Canal, in 1976 as an interpretive officer. Part of my job included investigating the historical background of the Canal. It soon became apparent that the tourist industry had existed for a very long time and little or no work had been done on this aspect of the Canal's history. Therefore, in 1978 I proposed a study of the resort industry in the Rideau Lakes as a starting point in this long and interesting history.

A number of people contributed to the success of this paper by providing moral support, suggestions, constructive criticism and information.

I would particularly like to thank Mr. and Mrs. Al Cross of the Opinicon for allowing me to search their files and borrow valuable reports and manuscripts. Thanks also to Jim Simmons of Simmon's Resort and Joe and Tom Kenney of Kenney's Hotel for their patience with questions and the information they provided. Thanks also to Don, Mary and Susan Warren, Mr. Jim White, Mrs. Jarrett, Jane Moore and the many other people who assisted with information.

Two of the most important people in the success of this paper are Kathy Best and JoAnne Tennant, my typists and editors, who made the paper readable. A debt of thanks is also owed my long suffering wife who has supported me and put up with my many moods.

It is also knowledged that without the financial assistance of Parks Canada, Rideau Canal and their flexibility and patience in various matters this paper would have been much more difficult.

Lastly, a thanks to Duncan Anderson, my supervisor, whose patience and encouragement will not be forgotten.

Smiths Falls, Canada

April 19, 1983.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Tourism, particularly when associated with outdoor recreation and land use, has become an important element in the geography of Ontario. Since World War II, rapidly growing demand for limited land and water recreation resources has sparked a proliferation of research on the problems associated with increasing demand. Such problems as overcrowding of popular vacation areas, vandalism, pollution, and negative reaction of local residents towards tourism have all been studied in some depth, (Nelson, 1970, Priddle and Wall, 1979, Wile and Mackenzie, 1979, Doxy, 1979). Governments at all levels have become increasingly involved with planning and development related to recreation and tourist areas. Studies such as the Canada-Ontario-Rideau-Trent-Severn Study (CORTS) and the Canada Ontario Recreational Demand Study (CORDS) are examples of large scale studies produced by governments and directed towards a better understanding of present and future demand for recreational land use. Much of this work has been concentrated on current problems and immediate solutions.

Tourism and outdoor recreational research has often ignored the historic context in which tourism has developed, both in the local situation and in a more general sense. One recreational geographer, John Marsh, suggests:

Present recreational landscapes, behavior patterns and land management emerge from the past and, therefore can only be explained fully by reference to their historical evolution (Marsh, 1979:28).

This lack of attention to historic evolution of tourism is elaborated by Geoffrey Wall:

Few attempts have been made, particularly in North America to describe or understand the roots of present day patterns of recreational land use as revealed in the activities of earlier periods ... Given the paucity of research it is not surprising that the majority of investigators of recreational phenomena fail to place their studies in a historical context. In consequence, there has been a tendency to stress change, rapid rates of growth, and the instability of recreational patterns in the recent past, and the considerable continuity in recreational land use has been overlooked (Wall, 1979a).

Few Canadian scholars have investigated historical recreational geography. In Canada, R.I. Wolfe's work stands out as some of the earliest in the field (Wolfe, 1955). It was not until the late 1970's that scholars such as Wall and Marsh addressed this vacuum and began to build on the foundation furnished by Wolfe in 1955.

The field of historical recreational geography is beginning to acquire a useful body of knowledge, which is giving government administrators and planners a greater understanding and sensitivity towards the recreational resources they are expected to plan and manage. Yet there is a great deal more to do. Comparative data between areas are not yet available since many of the important recreational resort areas in Ontario have not yet been studied.

1.2 Purpose

The purpose of this paper, then, is to examine a resort area that has not yet received much attention, and to trace its development. It is hoped that this will complement work already done by others and provide clues to the understanding of the relationships between tourists, resorts, and recreational land use.

The area chosen for the study is the Rideau Lakes area of the Rideau Waterway. The Rideau Lakes are an attractive recreational area and have a number of large resort hotels, motels, campgrounds and cottages.

The entire Rideau Waterway is part of the Federal Provincial agreement known as the Canada-Ontario-Rideau-Trent-Severn agreement (hereafter referred

to as CORTS). This agreement was negotiated largely because of the historical significance and the recreational potential of the two canal systems (CORTS, 1971:24). The Rideau Lakes section of this agreement was chosen for the present study for several reasons.

The Federal Provincial interest in the Rideau has led to a large number of reports and documents being written about the present state of the canal and its past history (CORTS, 1971, Tullock, 1975, Bush, 1977). The Federal agency responsible for the Rideau Canal is Parks Canada. This branch has been responsible for most of the recent reports concerning the waterway. Parks Canada staff have also collected a great many items including: artifacts, old photographs, original lock records, and other original documents, both government and private. Much of this material has not been reviewed by researchers interested in recreational geography. This data, then, provides an excellent untapped source for study.

The combination of the Rideau Canal's recognized significance, the large body of primary research material and historical documents, the author's close association with the area and the lack of work done on the historical evolution of the resort industry, made the Rideau Lakes ideal for a study of historical recreational development.

The Rideau Lakes were chosen specifically because they were and still are the centre of the resort industry on the Rideau Canal. Also, a great deal of the private historical documentation is to be found there. The author is acquainted with many of the people who have such records, making for relatively easy access.

The several hundred square miles of the Rideau Lakes is similar in appearance to much of the Muskoka and the northern Kawartha Lakes. There are similarities in landscape but differences in historic development. For example, the Muskoka Lakes developed in the 1870's, specifically as a tourist area. The Rideau Lakes area was, on the other hand, accessible as a result of the 1826-1832 construction of the Rideau Canal from Ottawa to Kingston, Ontario. How this early access affected the way the recreational use developed in the area is one of the questions this paper addresses. Other questions that the paper seeks to answer, and which represent

RIDEAU WATERWAY

Fig. 1

specific objectives, include the following:

- i. When did tourists start arriving and how does this data compare with other areas of the province?
- ii. Who were the early tourists to the Rideau Lakes and what were their origins?
- iii. How many came and why did they come to the area?
- iv. How did they come? Did the means of transportation vary over time?
- v. In choosing to investigate the tourist evolution of the Rideau Lakes, the author was aware of some unusual sources of historical information which appeared to offer valuable data for interpretation of early land use patterns. These included various types of canal lock station records, old hotel registers, resort Christmas card lists and many old photographs. The question of how these sources might be used, and of their value as research tools, were major objectives of this paper.
- vi. During the course of this study the development of the Rideau Lakes will be compared with other early recreational areas in the province of Ontario. Although a detailed comparison is beyond the scope of this paper, a general overview will be presented, with particular reference to four headings suggested by Marsh; attraction, accessibility, accommodation and advertising (Marsh, 1981).

1.3 Methodology

Preliminary research began in 1978 when a number of old hotel registers and photos were shown to the author by local residents of Chaffey's Lock community. This provided the original impetus to ascertain what material might be available locally that could be useful in developing the history of recreation on the Rideau Canal. Over the next two years informal interviews were conducted to determine the depth and type of material available. The owners of the five surviving century old resorts were approached to determine what information they might have. Three, the Opinicon and Simmon's Hotels at Chaffey's Lock, and Kenney's at Jones Falls Lock Station, were

able to provide written information including old hotel registers dating back to 1894, scrap books, Christmas card lists and photographs on the history of their establishments. Other local residents were also contacted, including local fishing guides, former lock station workers, and long time residents.

It became apparent there was enough material in the Rideau Lakes area of the canal that a major research project could be undertaken on that area alone. Hence the decision was made to concentrate on resort development in the Rideau Lakes. The complete Rideau Canal history, the cottage industry on the canal, and other aspects of tourism and recreational land use, are subjects in need of investigation, but are beyond the scope of this research.

In addition to the informal interviews, considerable time was spent investigating the general history of the Rideau Canal, with the objective of ascertaining what part, if any, recreation played in the history of the canal. A great deal of material had been accumulated by Parks Canada, the federal department now responsible for the canal. This included historic research reports, government studies, some 1,500 archival photographs and at least 10 oral history tapes. The material used in this study can be found in several places. Almost all the federal government records can be found in the Public Archives of Canada in the Transportation Section of Government Documents. Files RG 43, B4 and MG 9 D8-68 are of particular importance because they contain the lockmasters' records and canal letter books, two of the most used sets of documents in this study.

Most of the published reports, research documents, local and oral histories and photographs are held by the main office of the Rideau Canal, 12 Maple Avenue North, Smiths Falls, Ontario. Copies of these published materials are also available from the main Parks Canada library in Place de la Chaudiere, Hull, Quebec and the Ontario Regional Office of Parks Canada, Cornwall, Ontario.

Hotel registers, newspaper clippings, some photographs, Christmas card lists and personal letters are held by the various hotel owners and private citizens. Much personal material is also available through the local historical societies, particularly the Westport and District Historical Society and the Chaffey's Lock Heritage Society.

The remainder of the material, including several oral histories, Van Epps' book, (Van Epps, 1930), and some local history notes are in the private collection of the author. The nature of the material and how it was used is outlined below.

1.3.1 Sources and Analysis

i. Hotel Registers

The most intriguing primary sources were the old registers kept by various resort hotels on the lakes. The earliest registers date from 1894. There were 8 principal resorts on the Rideau Lakes. From this number the three with the most detailed and complete records were chosen for detailed study. These were Kenney's Hotel at Jones Falls and Simmons's and The Opinicon at Chaffey's Lock (See fig. V1). All three of these hotels are also still operating and have long been owned and operated by the same families. There are gaps in the individual register records, yet together the three sets form a fairly complete set of data from 1894 to 1955. There was also enough overlap between the individual registers that some comparison between hotels could be made. The entry format was different in each set of registers yet they were similar enough that a digital format could be established. The hotel registers essentially contained names of party, number in party, place of origin by state or province and city and date of arrival. The data extracted from the registers was punched on standard computer cards and included, in order of entry: name of the hotel, whether the person(s) could be proven to be overnight guest(s), time, day, month and year of arrival, city of origin, state or province of origin, length of stay, number in party, sex and twenty columns for any other coded comments that might prove useful.

The identification of whether a person could be proven to have stayed overnight requires a short explanation. On first examination of the records it became apparent that virtually "everyone" who visited the resort, particularly before 1914, signed in. It was often difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether or not a visitor stayed overnight. Some of the early hotel registers record room numbers, providing an easy way to determine whether the visitor stayed at least one night. Unfortunately, in the large majority of cases, this was not possible. By using the place

of origin it could be determined if the person(s) had come a distance large enough to indicate the probability of an overnight stay. Yet there was no way of being sure that such a person did stay. Therefore an assumption was made that those people coming more than 60 miles from their place of origin were staying overnight at the hotel or at least in the area of the Rideau Lakes. Hence they qualify as tourists by this definition.

Visitors from places closer than 60 miles provided a more difficult problem to which no satisfactory solution was found. To reduce the bias as much as possible several steps were taken. First, large parties from nearby towns or villages, specifically, Seeley's Bay, Newboro, Westport, Chaffey's Lock, Portland, Elgin and Delta were excluded since they were usually associated with picnics or other types of excursions. Others could be discarded because it was known that they were day visitors. For example, in the period 1907-10, the name Judd appears over and over again. His place of residence for most of the instances, is the village of Morton, only five miles from the hotel. In other cases, however, he lists his place of residence as Ottawa. It appears that Mr. Judd was the federal fisheries officer and was patrolling the area looking for illegal fishing nets (PAC: M69 D8-68). He was only eating at the Hotel Kenney and moreover was on business not pleasure. There were other similar cases, all of which were excluded. Those other cases that could not be excluded were considered overnight guests. It was realized that this might alter the overall pattern of use, particularly at Kenny's Hotel at Jones Falls, where the problem was pronounced. The other two hotels in question had fewer than 5% of the total number of cases in the 60 mile or less category, where no determination of length of stay could be made. The above mentioned corrections solved the major problems associated with visitation at Kenney's Hotel. The small additional error incurred by being unable to distinguish overnight visitors from day visitors was not considered important enough to exclude this major resort from the study.

All other terms outlined above are self-explanatory. 5,151 individual cases were coded and computerized; 1,932 cases for The Opinicon Hotel; 1,952 cases for Kenny's Hotel; and 1,243 cases for Simmon's Hotel. This

reduction in data was made necessary by the volume of material available. In total there were 108 years of data available comprising some 25,000 individual entries, divided equally between the three hotels. These three samples were made up of all those visitors registered into each hotel every third year from the date the registers commenced until they ceased. The data was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Klecka, 1977). The information obtained included geographic market area of visitors, seasonal frequency distribution, number of visitors, average party size, length of stay, sex of visitors.

ii. Christmas Card Lists

As part of many hotels' public relation and advertising, former visitors were sent Christmas cards each year. One hotel, The Opinicon, has retained its lists from 1939 to 1955. These were discovered after the register material was analysed so that adding this source to the raw hotel registry data was not practical. Furthermore, it contained only the names of the visitors and their place of origin. Without dates of arrival, they were of limited value in the analysis being undertaken using the computer based statistical format. Therefore all 1,500 entries were analysed separately using a hand calculator. The same selection system used for choosing cases in the hotel register was used for the Christmas card list, that is, every case for every third year was used. These Christmas card lists provided useful information on market area and sex of visitor for the period covered.

iii. The Rideau Canal Historic Collection

The Rideau Canal was opened to traffic in 1832. It has since that time been in continuous operation, passing from one government department to another. Government records of several types are available for the entire one hundred and fifty years of operation. The bulk of these records are held at the Public Archives of Canada, with a small number held at the Ontario Public Archives in Toronto. A third source was the Rideau Canal main office in Smiths Falls where some documents, oral history tapes and photographs are held. Some of these records have proven valuable (see Bibliography, Government Documents).

Three groups of primary material were chosen for detailed examination. Lockmaster record books provided the first source. Some two hundred and fifty volumes are available at the Public Archives of Canada. The available books cover the period from the mid 1830's to the mid 1960's. Each of the 23 lockstations on the canal kept these books, in which was recorded the date, name and cargo of the boats passing through the station. As well, lockmasters added any note that they saw fit. As there were in total some fifty thousand pages of material, it was impossible to read all the records. Three stations were chosen and their lockmasters' books examined in more detail. The three stations chosen all lie in the heart of the Rideau Lakes study area, adjacent to three resort hotels selected. Other stations in the area either had little recreational development or the remaining records are not as complete. Chaffey's lockmasters' books were chosen because that lock was one of the early resort stations and two of the three resorts to receive a detailed analysis are located at this station. Davis Lock Station was chosen because it lies between Chaffey's and Jones Falls and provides information on up and down bound traffic from both stations. This is important since pleasure traffic going up the canal from Kingston to Chaffey's would not be recorded by the lockmaster at Chaffey's since the boat would not pass through the lock. In reverse the same is true of Jones Falls locks. Jones Falls was the third lock station chosen since it was the earliest known resort area on the canal.

The material in these lockmasters' books was analysed primarily to try to determine when the first "tourists" visited the area, when they began to come in numbers and their origins and destination.

A second primary government source was the official canal letter books (PAC: MG9 08-68). These were copies of all correspondence sent out to the lock station by the superintendent in Ottawa. It was the duty of the lockmaster to copy any correspondence that concerned him when the mail was passed from station to station along the line of the canal. The master letter books for the superintendent's office provide an overview of the ongoing correspondence. The three lockstations' letter books were read to see what information they might contain on the early recreational history of the canal.

A very unique source of historic material was also examined (PAC: RC43, B4(a) vol. 142). It was the personal diary of Peter Sweeney, the lockmaster at Jones Falls from 1832 to 1871. The diary covers a period from 1839 to 1851 and provided not only a glimpse into the life of early settlers in the Rideau Lakes but also some more specific information on early recreational activities.

Because of its national historic significance, the Rideau Canal was transferred from the federal Department of Transport to Parks Canada in 1972. As a result, a good deal of time and money has since been spent by Parks Canada, researching the history of the canal. The results of this work have provided a number of documents and research reports that have been most useful in completing this study.

The Rideau Canal Research Library in Smiths Falls also has copies of several diaries that were written by people who made early trips on the canal. The earliest dates from 1830 (two years before the canal was completed), others are from 1834, 1839, 1911 and 1914. All the material in this library related to the topic at hand was useful and provided a great deal of information, which, when integrated with other source material, greatly facilitated the interpretation of the recreational and resort evolution.

iv. Local History and Oral Traditions

Local histories and oral traditions are not always reliable but used in conjunction with primary data sources can be quite valuable. Over the course of the last four years, the author has had the opportunity to interview many local residents of the Rideau Lakes resort area. Interviews have included three fishing guides, five resort owners, several local historians and many other local people who have all contributed a great deal to the study. Along with these oral records, a wealth of old photographs, news clippings, short histories and two published histories of the area, (Fleming, 1947, Fleming, 1981), were unearthed that relate directly to the study. As in the case of the Parks Canada material, it was integrated with the other sources to provide a deeper understanding of the subject.

One of the local sources deserves special recognition. The Rideau Canal Office in Smiths Falls has collected over 1500 old photographs dating from 1865 to 1955. Two hundred of these deal specifically with recreation in the area under study. It was possible from these visual records to obtain an idea of the types of activities early visitors took part in during their stay. A visual checklist of 107 photographs was selected of these 200 and the activities recorded. Only 107 of the 200 photographs available were selected because a large number of the photographs were taken by the same two photographers, Mr. Scott and Mr. Pennock, between 1907 and 1920. Both these men were semi-professional local men and a great deal of their work was concentrated on the sports fishing industry. They essentially took pictures of sportsmen with their catches as well as publicity pictures for the local hotels. There was therefore possibility of a built-in bias. Moreover, groups of photographs of the same subjects were obviously taken at the same time. By first discarding these near duplicates and then choosing at random 40 of the 80 photos attributed to the two photographers it was hoped the bias would be reduced. Lastly, a number of photographs could not be dated with any accuracy, these were also discarded. As a result of this selection process, 107 photos were chosen for analysis. The checklist used consisted of a sheet containing the date of the photograph, location of the picture, sex of the individuals in the picture, and any comments that might prove useful in the future. The activity category was broken down into the following types: fishing, pleasure boating, picnicking, camping, hunting, and miscellaneous. When the photographs had been analysed the total number of photographs recording each activity was counted and recorded to help establish the relative importance of each activity.

Through the analysis and interpretation of these local sources: hotel registers, Christmas card lists, historic records, both local and professional, and the old photographs it was hoped that a valid reconstruction of the recreational resort history of the Rideau Lakes area could be achieved. Part of the purpose of this paper then was to ascertain if, individually and in combination, these types of records are useful in establishing the recreational history of the area.

1.4 Definitions

A few key terms involved in this recreation and tourism study require definition.

Two of the most important and complex terms are leisure and recreation. This paper is not concerned with the philosophy and semantics of these concepts. Hence a simplistic operational definition, based on a study by Wall is used:

Leisure is discretionary time. Recreation encompasses activities which are selected to occupy leisure time (Wall, 1979a).

This paper focuses on resort recreation. In this context, resort can be thought of as a country hotel which catered to tourists. They are fully serviced facilities established to meet the needs of the visitor. "Serviced" means most of the other services associated with modern urban hotels. Ignoring the winter ski resorts, such resorts are usually open only in the summer, and are located in close proximity to major water bodies.

Resort recreation is an activity or groups of activities centred on a specific resort where the visitor uses his or her leisure time.

A tourist or visitor, for the purpose of this study, is an individual who has chosen to spend his or her leisure time in recreational pursuits at the resort and who spent at least one night away from their primary place of residence.

1.5 Organization

Following this introduction, the next chapter provides a brief review of the development of resort areas in the 1800's in general and in Ontario in particular. A short comparison is presented of the relative importance of early Ontario resort areas including Niagara Falls, the Muskoka and Kawartha Lakes, and the St. Lawrence River/Thousand Island area.

Chapter 3 is focused on the Rideau Lakes study area, and its recreational use to 1877, when the first known hotel was opened. This chapter is largely based on data from the lockmasters' journals, diaries of early visitors and local histories. The following chapter is devoted to

the passenger steamboat trade that flourished between 1856 and 1918, that was both part of the resort industry and a major source of transportation to the land based resorts. Other modes of entry into the Rideau Lakes area are discussed as well, particularly railways.

The development of the land based resorts from 1877 to 1955 is the theme of the next chapter. Access by canal steamer, train, and road is one of the major ingredients that facilitates the development of any resort area. The first part of this section deals with this important subject. A general description then follows which introduces the various resort areas within the Rideau Lakes. This is followed by a detailed description of the three major resorts chosen as examples of the development in the area. They are, specifically: Kenney's Hotel (1877), The Opinicon (1898) and Simmon's (1886). The latter two form the core of the small resort hamlet of Chaffey's Lock. In the course of the description, each hotel will be examined from several perspectives including its historical development, visitor market area, the methods used to attract the visitor and the general philosophy of the owners towards their business and the tourists. The chapter is largely based on data extracted from the old hotel registers and Christmas card lists.

The purpose of chapter 6 is to compare the similarities and differences between the three specific hotels studied using the statistical and historic data introduced in the previous chapter. The concluding chapter draws together and interprets the results of the material accumulated and analysed in chapters 5 and 6. A determination of the importance of the sources of data is made. As well, outstanding questions on the tourists, including their place of origin, who they are, when they began to arrive, why they came, and how they arrived, are answered.

CHAPTER 2

RESORTS

2.1 Early Resort and Tourism Development in Ontario

Resorts, as Wolfe points out, have existed for centuries. Roman baths were common in the old world and provide a link with the modern resorts of today (Wolfe, 1955:490). By the mid sixteenth century these baths were widespread throughout Europe.

Beside the baths the gentry were establishing large country estates where they could escape the primitive crowded and squalid villages and towns of the middle ages. The estates provided a life of ease and luxury with hunting, fishing and riding as major activities.

The affinity for country estates and health spas and healing waters were transplanted to North America with the coming of Europeans. A number of spas were established in New England by the middle of the seventeenth century and Newport, Rhode Island, for example, had become an attraction as early as 1729 (Wolfe, 1955:501).

In Canada, spas were established early, (C.1830), at places such as Preston Springs near Kitchener, Ontario. Later, at the end of the nineteenth century, the new world famous Banff Hot Springs provided the stimulus for Canada's first national park. Although the spas formed a recreational link with the European world they do not appear to have had the ~~same~~ impact on the early resort industry of Ontario as they did in places such as Banff and Newport.

In the case of the Ontario resorts, much of the history has not been written in any organized way. It remains in scrap books, local histories, old hotel registers, old photographs and the minds of senior residents of the resort areas. As this paper proceeds it attempts to unlock some

of these sources and form them into a meaningful history.

2.2 Early Ontario Resort Industry

Although the history of the resort industry is not well documented in Ontario, researchers such as Marsh, Wolfe, Smith and Wall have begun to provide useful material.

Their research indicates that at least part of the resort industry evolved out of a truly North American phenomena, in the form of the large religious camp meetings, organized most often by the Methodist Church.

The Methodist camp meeting (writes S.D. Clark, in Church and Sect in Canada) disappeared as an institution of the rural backwoods and developed as an urban religious gathering closely associated with the tourist trade ... (Wolfe, 1955:516).

Certainly in the Thousand Island area some resorts found their roots in these camp grounds:

Thousand Island Park on the upper end of Wellesley Island was founded by the Methodist Church in 1875 ... Although originally these camps sold or rented tent lots, it did not take long before cottages took the place of tents and a thriving community was founded (Smith, 1976:20).

Many such camp grounds sprang up along the St. Lawrence River in the 1870's on both the American and Canadian side, along with various types of private developments and tour boats all catering to the increasingly active tourist trade. Smith provides a brief chronological record of the tourist industry in the Thousand Island area of the St. Lawrence. (Smith, 1976:43-46). Many of these tourist operations were located there largely because of the accessibility to urban areas along the shore and because of the picturesque and quiet beauty of the St. Lawrence Islands.

Both American and British, by the 1830's, saw the Canada's as a place to recreate. Men and women like George Heriot, Anna Jameson, N.P. Willis and the illustrator, W.H. Bartlett, helped create the images of Ontario which survive today. The mystique of wilderness and wild quiet

Figure 11
Early Ontario Recreational Areas

beauty was added to by authors such as James Fenimore Cooper, whose book The Pathfinder, was set in the Thousand Islands (Smith, 1976:27). Later, artists of the Group of Seven and Tom Thompson helped reinforce this image of a landscape where one could regain one's physical and mental health.

In many parts of Ontario, including the Rideau and Kawartha Lakes, as well as the St. Lawrence-Thousand Island area, the military also played an important part in the development of the tourist industry. Several writers mention the military officers and their hunting trips into the interior of Upper Canada to hunt and establish camps (Spurr, 1976:111, Noonan, 1901:13, Wolfe, 1955:514). All point to these gentlemen as early pioneers in Ontario recreation. Samuel Strickland, a half pay army officer, his sisters Susan Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill, kept written records of their homes in the backwoods and when published must have had an effect on people of adventuresome spirit, attracting them to the Kawarthas in particular. The Strickland family all published the majority of their works before 1860 (Strickland, 1853, Traill, 1855, 1836, Moodie, 1852, 1853). Their views of wildlife and scenery and its attractiveness to "sportsmen" is supported somewhat later by settlers such as John J. Rowan who wrote his The Emigrant and Sportsman in Canada in 1876 and Lady Dufferin's accounts of fishing and travelling in Canada in the years 1872-78. These and many others, through their writings and by word of mouth, spread their thoughts on to many potential visitors (Howison, 1821, Jameson, 1838, Langton, 1950). These early reports of the hunting and fishing served as a form of advertising which Marsh and others point to as one of the four major ingredients in the development of a tourist area (Marsh, 1981b:43).

Marsh suggests that in addition to advertising, the development of tourism requires attractions or attractiveness, accessibility and accommodation. In this early period of Ontario development, accommodation was lacking although the inns, taverns and tents provided at least marginal accommodation for the small number of visitors going to most of the early tourist areas.

It was apparently the Canadian Shield topography that provided the attractiveness, along with the fish and game it harboured. Accessibility was a problem but areas such as the Rideau Lakes, Niagara Falls, and the St. Lawrence were all accessible via steamboat as early as the 1820's. A combination of rail and water had made most of the resort areas of Ontario accessible by 1875.

One more factor, not mentioned by Marsh, was required before the mass tourist industry could thrive and expand, and that was the clientele. Enough people had to have the money and time to travel and visit the beauty spots or the fishing grounds. It was not until after the American Civil War that American visitors began to move across the border into the Ontario countryside. It was actually these Americans who created the initial tourist and resort industry in Ontario. Following the Civil War, the American economy grew spectacularly and continued to grow for nearly half a century (Higgs, 1971:19). This economic growth was tied closely to the significant transformation of population from the countryside to the cities. Many people from the farms moved to the cities to work in the new factories to get away "from the unrequired toil and harrowing discontent" of farm life (Higgs, 1971:77). Moreover, wages in factories were better. Higgs reports that \$233.00 was the average annual earnings of a farm labourer and \$430.00 annually for manufacturing workers (Higgs, 1971:77). With industrial development and an increasing labour force to run the machines came the problems of work hours, safety, wages and the other factors that have lead to the creation of unions. These improved the conditions, through better wages and shorter work weeks, gradually allowing the average citizen of the United States and Canada to take part in recreational activities such as hunting, fishing and travelling that for the most part had been domain of the wealthy. Certainly many poorer people had hunted and fished from time immemorial but in the 1900's they began increasingly to do it for pleasure not for survival.

That such a growth in leisure time combined with a rising per capita income, should result in a marked expansion of the facilities provided for the use of leisure time was to be expected ...(Wright, 876)

In the post Civil War period then, more money, more time and more access to areas away from one's home in the "wildes" of Ontario moved tourism out of the age of "occasional" visitor to common economic reality for many small communities throughout the Shield area of the province.

A brief outline of some of the major resort areas in the province is presented below. The resort areas chosen represent the most well known, and with the exception of the Niagara area, represent areas similar to the Rideau Lakes, the area examined here. These areas provide a basis for comparison with the development of the Rideau Lakes resort area.

2.3 Niagara Falls

Although it differs in many physical respects from other early Ontario resort areas it may be the oldest resort area in the province. From its discovery by the white man in the mid 17th century, this natural wonder attracted increasing numbers of tourists. In 1794, Lady Simcoe, the wife of Lt. Governor, John Graves Simcoe, of Upper Canada, gives one of the first impressions of a tourist to the falls:

The prodigious spray which arises from the foam at the bottom of the fall adds grandeur to the scene, which is wonderfully fine, and after the eye becomes familiar with the objects I think the pleasure will be greater in dwelling upon it (Robertson, 1911:128).

Mrs. Simcoe does not mention the presence of any inns or resort hotels in the vicinity of the falls. Some forty years later, however, Anna Jameson indicates the existence of a summer resort hotel that appears to have been there for some time.

We held our way to the Clifton Hotel, at the foot of the hill; most desolate it looked with its summer verandas and open balconies cumbered up with snow. The poor people who kept the house in winter had gathered themselves for warmth and comfort into a small kitchen and when we made our appearance, stared at us with a blank amazement which showed that a rare thing was the sight of a visitor at this season. (Jameson, 1839:44).

In 1852 Susan Moodie gives a much more favourable autumn view of

the Clifton:

The Clifton House is a large, handsome building ... It had been very full during the summer months ... The charges for a Canadian hotel are high; but of course you are expecting to pay something extra at a place of such general resort, and for the grand view of the falls... (Moodie, 1853:252).

Niagara Falls is **an atypical Ontario resort in the fact that it** centres on a single unique feature of world wide fame. It is not part of the scenic "shield country" but rather the area has depended on the falls as an attraction. Yet the Clifton House appeared to be the forerunner of many other resort hotels built for a specific group of people, the tourists. The use of the hotel seemed to be seasonal as well, as indicated by the wintering parties' surprise at guests. This seasonality is another typical feature of resort hotels generally during the study period.

2.4 The Kawartha Lakes, "Land of Shining Waters"

The Kawartha's, the Algonquin word for Land of Shining Waters, are a series of finger lakes that were formed on the edge of the Canadian Shield during the last ice age. They are more "typical" of the early resort area to be studied in this paper. Their physical geography and setting is very similar to the Rideau Lakes District and many of the lakes were joined by locks as is the case on the Rideau. The Kawartha area was very early (C.1835) described by a number of writers, the most well known of which was undoubtedly the Strickland family. Susan Moodie, her sister Catherine Parr Traill and their brother Samuel Strickland, have all left vivid accounts of the early life in the area (Strickland, 1853, Moodie, 1852, 1853, Traill, 1836, 1855). Anna Langton was another early writer who describes the Kawartha's (Langton, 1950). This group of people represent the first settlers into the area that had money to truly enjoy their leisure. Parr and Moodie's husbands were half pay army officers, who, although not rich, were comfortable and in a class that allowed them status. It is not clear why they settled in the area but Wolfe suggests that many of the English gentlemen came here largely on the account of the

attractiveness of the area (Wolfe, 1955:514). The hunting, the scenery and fishing all played a part. Not only did some of these gentlemen reside in the area, but it attracted men of the same class from the more civilized life of the "front":

In the 1850's retired British Officers at Cobourg were passing through the Wilderness north to their fishing and hunting boxes on Rice Lake ... It is probable then that Rice Lake had one of the earliest organized resorts in Ontario ... Genio Scott, an American writer and sportsman stayed at a hotel on the lake in 1858 (Wolfe, 1955:513).

As well as resorts and hotels, hunters were forming clubs during this period. By the late 1850's the Ketchicum hunting and fishing club was established on Chemung Lake in the Kawartha's (Borg, 1967:431). Samuel Strickland himself was in the resort business by the mid 1860's. He opened a hotel on Stoney Lake:

... people acquired the time and money to build summer residences on the lakes some of those still standing on Stoney Lake going back as far as the 1860's ... Samuel Strickland constructed the Viamede Hotel on Stoney Lake in the 1860's (Marsh, 1981a:14).

Marsh points out again two essential ingredients for tourist development, namely time and money. Moreover, he suggests that one reason for this early development was a steamboat service on Stoney Lake. This form of access was general throughout the Kawartha's by the 1850's as indicated in Steamboating on the Trent-Severn (Tately, 1978). Not only did the Kawartha Lakes resort area have accommodation and a steamboat network, the area was also crisscrossed by railways such as the Cobourg and Peterborough (1854), the Port Hope, Lindsay and Beaverton (1857), Midland Extension Railway (1872) and many others (Borg, 1967:208-232). Steamboats, railways, scenery, money and time created one of the most important resort areas in the province as was foretold by an early visitor:

It is scarcely much to anticipate the not too distant period when its charms will draw many a gay tourist to the spot (Cameron Falls on the Kawarthas) (Marsh, 1981a:14).

2.5 The Muskoka Lakes

The Muskoka's is one of the largest and most important tourist areas to emerge in the province in the 19th century. It had a resort hotel, the Rosseau Hotel, which opened July 1st, 1870. Its major growth as a resort area began in 1875 when the Toronto, Simcoe and Muskoka Railway was completed (Wall, 1979:142). Prior to this period the area was accessible by a combination of road and steamer from Toronto but the trip was long and hard. Railway construction was pending in the late 1860's when A.P. Cockbourn built the first steamer on the lake. This identifies another important element in the tourist trade, the promoter and businessman that had the foresight to see that an area has potential and was willing to invest money and energy to promote the area:

Had this enterprising business speculator not provided the Muskoka Lakes with their comfortable steamers, and had not, by assiduous advertising in book and in newspapers of the "front", attracted tourists to the Muskoka, the history of that district might easily, for a time, had foreshadowed the unhappy one of the edge of the shield to the east (Wolfe, 1955:529).

Again we see the importance of access and physical geography in the development of a tourist area. A further factor is apparent, the entrepreneur who "sells" the area to a public with the money and time to come and enjoy it.

2.6 The St. Lawrence/Thousand Islands

If Niagara Falls has a rival as an early and important recreational area in Ontario it would have to be the Upper St. Lawrence, particularly the Thousand Islands area.

By its very location the St. Lawrence area becomes a point for early tourism. It has been the lifeline to Ontario for over 200 years. Most early travellers to the Upper Province passed along some or all of this mighty river. The Thousand Island area below Kingston received particular attention, as shown in this 1842 impression:

The beauty of this noble stream at almost any point but especially in the commencement of this journey, where it winds its way among the thousand islands can hardly be imagined. The number and constant succession of these islands, all green and richly wooded ... all forms a picture fraught with uncommon interest and pleasure (Smith, 1976:5).

The beauty must have been obvious to others as well, for by 1856 the Thousand Islands were recognized as:

... a famous spot for sporting, myriads of wild fowls of all description may here be found; and angling is rather fatiguing than otherwise, for the great quantity and size of the fish (Hunter, 1857:27).

The Thousand Islands are formed from the same geological extension of the Canadian Shield as the Rideau Lakes, the major focus of this paper. Moreover, the activities pointed out by Hunter on the St. Lawrence were also important in the early development of the tourist trade in the Rideau Lakes. Resorts sprang up in the mid 1800's throughout the Thousand Islands. The Crossman House in Alexandra Bay on the American side, for example, traces its roots back to 1848 (Smith, 1976:15). It and other establishments developed as fishing hotels:

The first hotels were built to accommodate fishermen. Clayton and Alexandria Bay guides realized that the fishermen preferred to spend the nights close to the fishing grounds rather than travel the long distance to their home ports. One such hotel was the Grenadier Island Anglers Hotel, built in 1870 by Joseph Senecal. (Smith, 1976:18).

By the 1880's, American railroads had built sidings to Clayton and Cape Vincent, New York on the Thousand Islands shore, and up to two trains a day came to the villages. This influx of tourism was bound to extend beyond the immediate vicinity of the Islands. Some spillover occurred into the "back lakes" including the Rideau Lakes. (The "back lakes" is a local term which refers to Charleston, Beverley and Rideau Lakes that occur from 6 to 35 kilometers from the St. Lawrence River shore. (see Figure 11).

The Thousand Islands area is possibly the most predominant resort area in Eastern Ontario and rivals all others for the distinction of the most attractive resort area. The relative ease of access from the population centers of the United States, the fishing and the scenery could not help but make it otherwise.

2.7 The Back Lakes

The spillover from the Thousand Islands area began to filter into the interior in the 1860's. By the early 1870's Charleston Lake and Beverly Lakes were developing (See Fig. 11). Leavitt describes one of the early hotels:

... at Charleston on the margin of the Lake Mr. Edward Duffield keeps a comfortable hotel where visitors are provided for in a kind and hospitable manner. Boats, fishermen, and all the requisites for a days sport can always be secured from Mr. Duffield (Leavitt, 1879:84).

Just north and west of Charleston Lake and only eight kilometers from the Rideau Canal, the Central Hotel in Delta was a favourite spot for sportsmen by 1878:

The house is well fitted up for the convenience of the guests and is a favourite resort for sportsmen who visit Beverly Lake in the hunting season (Leavitt, 1879:124).

The active tourist trade on the St. Lawrence at Charleston Lake and Delta may have prompted Thomas Kenney to open his resort at Jones Falls Lockstation on Whitefish Lake in 1877.

2.8 Summary

In Ontario by the 1820's people were attending "camp" meetings offered by the various religious denominations, particularly the Methodist Church. These "camp meetings" could last up to a week and provided a break from the backbreaking toil of the pioneer society. From this rather uncertain beginning the resort industry in Ontario grew. Campgrounds became permanent cottage development and resort areas began to grow.

The most atypical and oldest of all the Ontario resort areas

was Niagara Falls. Its position as a world renowned natural wonder and its accessibility via Lake Ontario and Erie steamboats made it one of Canada's best known and visited resort areas.

With the exception of Niagara Falls, all other resorts studied lie along the edge of the Canadian Shield. The Shield edge presented the visitor with a rocky, forested land, and many lakes and rivers well stocked with fish. This combination seems to have been the one that attracted the largest numbers of visitors to the province.

All these areas were accessible by 1875 either by steamboat, railway or both, thus providing both scenery and an easy way for visitors to get to the area.

Accommodation provided a slightly more challenging aspect for early visitors. Most resort areas, however, appear to have had at least one well known hotel at an early date in their development. Niagara Falls had the Clifton House, The Thousand Islands, Crossmans, The Kawartha's, Vlamede Hotel, and the Back Lakes had Mr. Duffield's inn and the Central Hotel, and the Muskoka's, the Rosseau House. Tenting also appears to have been an early form of accommodation. Accommodation in the form of resort hotels, seems to have followed the visitors rather than being constructed previous to their arrival.

As Marsh suggests, the importance of advertising was critical to the development of a resort industry. The advertising was only one component however. It was the entrepreneur behind the advertising that was the real force in promoting the area. The Kawartha's and the Thousand Islands had a great number of men who actively promoted their respective areas. A sketch of their activities is beyond the scope of this paper, but considerable information is available on these businessmen in Tately's Steamboating on the Trent-Severn for the Kawartha's and Smith's A History of Recreation in the Thousand Islands. In the Muskoka's, A.P. Cockburne stands out as the leading figure in the development of that area. It is also interesting to note that many of these men were connected not with the resort hotels but rather with the steamboat companies that served them.

The major resort areas, with the exception of the Muskokas, were defined by the time of the American Civil War. The end of that war, however, provided the last element necessary to allow resort vacations to become widely popular. The end of the Civil War led to an industrial revolution in the United States; people had considerably more money and leisure time than previously. They began to travel and the middle class could now afford to relax and fish or hunt in the "wilds" of Canada. Ontario's resort industry passed from infancy to maturity in the 1870's and 80's as a result of these new conditions.

In the following chapters, the detailed study of the Rideau Lakes will elaborate the "development" of an early resort area of Ontario.

CHAPTER 3

EARLY TOURISM ON THE RIDEAU CANAL, 1826-77

3.1 Introduction

Many individuals passed through the Rideau Canal in the early period, 1826 to 1877. Some left their comments. Many more did not. The number of people who visited the Rideau Lakes area of the canal between 1826 and 1877 is impossible to determine since records have not been found to make such a definite analysis possible. However, some sources are available that allow a more general view of the probable development of the tourist industry, during this period. (George)

This chapter provides both natural and human historical background preceeding the period of major resort growth that commenced with the building of Kenney's Hotel at Jones Falls Lock in 1877.

3.2 Geography of the Rideau

The 198 kilometer Rideau Canal was built through what was then virtual wilderness (See Fig. 1). It commences in the north near the junction of the Rideau and Ottawa Rivers. The Rideau River crosses sandy deltaic deposits of the post glacial ancestor of the Ottawa River before it plunges over the Rideau Falls into the Ottawa. Further south it crosses a limestone plain capped with a thin veneer of glacial till. Further south the landscape becomes more rugged; the ancient (Ordovician) limestones, sandstones and dolomites predominate as they protrude more and more through the glacial tills. The sedimentary protrusions are gradually replaced by granites as the river's source is reached in the lakes of the Frontenac extension of the Canadian Shield.

The southern section of the canal utilizes the south flowing Cataraqui River which also finds its source in the Rideau Lakes. This river flows from the shield through an area that has become known as the Leeds and Grenville knobs and flats. Here hundreds of granite knobs thrust up through marine clays left by the retreating Champlain Sea (Chapman, 1977:336-7). After passing through the knobs and flats country, the river flows across limestone plain, passes through a final ridge of granite at Kingston Mills Lockstation, then 4 km more, passed the city of Kingston where the river enters Lake Ontario just above the Thousand Islands tourist area of the St. Lawrence River.

The area of the Rideau Waterway that was to become the most important to the resort industry is the source lakes on the Frontenac axis of the Canadian Shield. This area includes a number of large granite bound lakes with steep to moderately sloping shoreline and a natural forest of mixed hardwoods and conifers (Arbour, 1979:5). The landscape is rugged with steep ridges and high rock knobs. Small wetlands and large open water bodies account for 7 and 15 per cent of the land surface respectively. Nearly 50 percent of the area remains covered by forest (Arbour, 1979:43-44). The forest is classified regionally as Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Forest and is ecotonal between Huron-Ontario and Upper St. Lawrence sections of the Canadian Forestry Service Classification System (Rowe, 1972:93). This ecotone or ecological boundary area gives the forest a variety of plant life that is transitional between a more southern forest type and the less varied northern forests of the shield. Southern species such as Shagback Hickory, Pitch Pine, and Black Cherry are mixed with Hemlock, White Pine, Beech and Yellow Birch of more northerly forests.

The climate also plays its part in creating the landscape that is so attractive to visitors; according to Arbour:

... rapid changes of relief and exposure cause extreme variation. Those in turn produce, in close geographic proximity, small areas of specialized habitat harbouring less hardy southern plant species in sheltered nooks and

environmentally dwarfed individuals clinging to life in harsh exposed locations. On the whole the area has warm summers and mild winters resulting in a long growing season of 195-205 days. An unusual feature is the reliable and near-uniform dispersal of precipitation throughout the year (Arbour, 1979:5).

Many species of wildlife are found in the area. The timber wolf finds its southern limit in this area while the rare black rat snake reaches its northern limit near Chaffey's Lock, in the centre of the study area. White tailed deer, fox, coyote, otter, mink, beaver, muskrat are some of the common mammals still to be found in the area. Many species of water-fowl and other birds either nest in the area or pass through on migration.

Life in the water is as varied as other types of wildlife. Fish have long been one of the main points of interest to the tourists, particularly the large and small mouth bass which are common throughout the Rideau Lakes area.

The rugged, rocky landscape with the many lakes and mixed forests made the area marginal for agriculture but ideal for tourism. As in all the edge forest of the Canadian Shield, the rocks, trees, water and wildlife add up to landscape which many people perceive as ideal for vacations.

3.3 History of the Rideau Canal

The Rideau Canal was constructed by the British government between 1826 and 1832 as part of an inland military waterway. The Rideau was the link connecting the Ottawa River and Montreal with the fortress at Kingston. The canal system was only a small part of an overall defence plan for British North America conceived at a time when relationships between Great Britain and the United States were still strained following the war of 1812-14 (Passfield, 1980:7).

The Rideau Canal, along with several locks on the Ottawa River, allowed troops and military supplies to flow from the ocean port at Montreal to Upper Canada without exposing the men and materials

to fire from the American shore of the St. Lawrence River. The canal was originally designed 100 feet by 20 feet, to be used by the muscle and wind powered gunboats:

Gunboats were basically galleys ranging from 40 feet long by 8 feet wide, to 60 feet by 16 feet; and equipped with 22 to 26 oars (Passfield, 1980:4).

These dimensions were to very shortly change to 132 feet by 33 feet. Lt. Col. John By of the British Royal Engineers was appointed to supervise the construction of the Rideau. This he did by joining the Rideau and Cataraqui River Systems with a series of 47 locks and 35 dams and weirs. This remarkable engineering work has been recognized to be of both recreational and national historic significance and is now operated by Parks Canada. Col. By recognized the importance of the canal as a commercial transportation link as well as a military waterway. Moreover, he saw it not simply as a gun boat route but as something that could be designed to carry steamboats, which were just becoming practical and accepted by merchants. The military was slower to see the advantages of steamboats but Col. By perceived that they would be of great value. For the canal to be valuable as a steamboat route it would have to be enlarged. The battle to have the locks enlarged is well documented elsewhere and need not be discussed here (see Legget, 1957).

The first steamboat on the St. Lawrence was the Accommodation, built by the Hon. John Molson. She made her maiden voyage on November 3rd, 1809. By the time Col. By arrived in Montreal in 1826 there were at least nine steamboats on the St. Lawrence. As Passfield points out:

The commercial viability and potential of steamboats was manifest by all to see by 1827; and it was but a small step for Lt. Col. By to contemplate the overwhelming commercial advantages of uninterrupted steamboat navigation (from Montreal to Upper Canada) ... (Passfield, 1980:19).

Col. By and other far sighted men were successful in convincing

the military that the locks on the Rideau should be enlarged from their original dimensions to accommodate the steamboats. The coming of steam to the Rideau was to have a profound impact on future recreation and resort development.

The stone locks and dams of the Rideau have operated continuously during navigation season for 150 years, providing a means of moving goods and people in, out and through the area. Until 1849 when the St. Lawrence River locks were improved it was the major mode of transportation for poor immigrants flocking to Upper Canada (George, 1972:159). After 1849 its importance was largely in the movement of merchandise, timber, iron ore and agricultural products. It was not until the 1870's that passenger traffic again became important. Yet a small number of visitors had always come to the Rideau.

3.4 The First Visitors, 1826-77

The early period of the canal, before the railways and internal combustion engine had an impact is usually discussed by historians in terms of its engineering history, and military and socio-economic uses. This is quite understandable since early government officials were concerned with the movement of goods, people and matters of maintenance on the canal. Their records reflect these mandates and only incidentally allude to tourism. This section will attempt to use these government canal records in a manner that will show there were early tourists, where they were from and why they came.

Before focusing attention on these government records a small collection of personal diaries are examined. Copies of five diaries are held in the Rideau Canal Office in Smiths Falls. Four deal with the period prior to 1877, the fifth deals with a later period and will be discussed elsewhere. The four early diaries convey who some of the people were, why they came and how they perceived the area.

Table I. IV

DAVIS, 1897

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Purpose	From	To	Remarks
1897						
Jul. 24		skiff	Camp Outfit	Opinicon	Washburne	
		skiff	Camp Outfit	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Jul. 30	C. Gilbert	skiff	Camp Outfit	Seeleys Bay	Smiths Falls	returned Aug. 7
Aug. 2	Ogle Carss	skiff	Camp Outfit	Smiths Falls	Jones Falls	returned Aug. 3
	Jas Crozier	skiff	Camp Outfit	Newboro	Brockville	
	B. Addison	Aberdeen	Camp Outfit	Athens	Newboro	
	F. Cook	skiff	Camp Outfit	Jones Falls	Opinicon	
Aug. 3	M. Wright	skiff	Camp Outfit	Gananoque	Smiths Falls	
Aug. 4	B. Addison	Aberdeen	Camp Outfit	Portland	Jones Falls	
Aug. 6	Lewis	skiffs	Camp Outfit	Kingston	Ottawa	
Aug. 12	E. Moore	skiffs	Camp Outfit	Kingston	Ottawa	
Aug. 21	R. Snyder	skiffs	Camp Outfit	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Aug. 30	O. Rafferty	Jessie N and houseboat	Tourist	Alex Bay	Ottawa	
Sep. 9	F. Bennet	skiff	Camp Outfit	Ottawa	Kingston	
Sep. 13	Dawsley	skiff	Camp Outfit	Charleston	Smiths Falls	
	---	skiff	Camp Outfit	Kingston	Ottawa	
Oct. 15	Richards	skiff	Camp Outfit	Poonamalie	Kingston	
Nov. 4	C. Hanss	Jubilee	Pleasure Party	Kingston	Rideau (Ferry)?	

* from PAC RG43, vol. 1863

Kingston, York, Niagara, Buffalo, Rochester, Schenectady, Saratoga, Albany, New York, Boston and Portland. (Phillips, 1839:1).

Her general impression of the canal was not one that differed greatly from Barker's, although she did mention the "grand" scenery of Big Rideau Lake. In November, 1855 another steamboat traveller, Wm. Kingston, remarks in the same vein:

The scenery, we are told was, beyond this point (Big Rideau Lake, heading north) very uninteresting, or very similar to what we had passed. We observed an immense quantity of wild fowl on the lakes and streams, and could scarcely look out without seeing them swimming round as on the surface of the water or winging their hurried flight overhead. (Kingston, 1857:65).

These writers saw in the scenery and wildlife the only redeeming features of an otherwise uncomfortable and tedious trip between points of civilization. None were moved to stop awhile and enjoy the area, yet the wildlife did attract some visitors. The last diary, that of Lockmaster Peter Sweeney of Jones Falls, points to some of the early tourist activities. The Sweeney diary contributes to the overall interpretation that there was at least a few visitors to the Rideau Lakes before the late 1870's, many of them hunters:

August 1, 1845

Mr. Smith passed to Rock Lake to hunt.

During the week of October 6th, 1850, there was more activity:

Oct. 6th, Lt. King and Capt. Powell came and stopped the night.

Oct. 7th, they came hunting to Opinicon Lake.

Oct. 8th, Officers not back yet.

Oct. 9th, Officers at Davis, shot one deer and some partridge.

Oct. 10th, came here from Davis and went away in the Beaver at 11 p.m. (PAC: RG43, B4(a), vol. 142).

There is other evidence of military personnel using the Rideau as a hunting ground. In 1838 Sweeney records that a

soldier of the 71st Regiment had been accidentally shot and killed while unloading the officer's skiff. The officer had just returned from a hunting trip in the Jones Falls area (PAC: RG43, B4(a), vol.142).

Further, an early twentieth century tourist guide reports:

Three miles from Olivers Ferry is the mouth of the Rideau River where may be seen the ruins of houses built by English Officers who came to this country on Hunting expeditions (Picturesque Rideau Route: 1901;13).

It seems evident that military men used the area from an early period as a place to hunt. This is quite a reasonable assumption with a major military base of Kingston less than 32km by canal from the area. Sparr suggests:

But this is not to say that any regiment in garrison would be indifferent to the amenities of its immediate surroundings. Kingston had always been for the soldier-sportsman's interest in fish and game ... (Sparr: 1976;111).

In addition to hunters, Sweeney's diary recorded pleasure parties coming to the station:

September 20, 1844; Doctor Barker and family went in steamer Vulcan which was here with a party of pleasure.

August 19, 1845; pleasure party at station

July 2-, 1847; A party of Odd Fellows came here from Kingston in the Prince Albert - stopped two hours 2-4 p.m.
(PAC: RG43, B4(a), vol.142).

The numbers of early tourists discovered were small but they do suggest the type of people who may have visited the area.

3.4.2 Early Government Records, 1826-1877

The journals of the canal lockmasters form the biggest single unit of government records studied. Some 210 volumes are held in the Public Archives of Canada and cover the period from the early 1840's until the practice of keeping such records ceased in the early 1950's. These records are a listing of boats locked, including the name of the boat owner, name of boat, type of boat, cargo, place of origin, destination and any general remarks the lockmaster saw fit to include.

The records were fairly consistent throughout the period.

The journals of all the lockstations considered to be within the Rideau Lakes area were examined, including Upper Brewers, Jones Falls, Davis, Chaffey's, Newboro and the Narrows, in order to ascertain what type of useful information on the early history of recreation might be found. In all, thirty-five journals comprising approximately 4,000 pages and 80,000 entries, were considered. There was too much material to deal with in depth. An attempt was made to select Upper Brewers and the Narrows Lockstations as major points for consideration. These two stations lie as closely as possible to the ends of the Rideau Lakes System. However, these journal sets were incomplete and the lockmaster did not record recreational passages until much later than other stations in the system. Therefore the two most important stations, from a recreational point of view, Chaffey's and Jones Falls, were chosen for the detailed examination. The Davis' journals were also examined for comparative purposes and to allow for a more complete examination of the traffic to Jones Falls and Chaffey's. The Davis' records allow the examination downbound to Jones Falls and upbound to Chaffey's. This is important since boats going to Jones Falls but not locking through would not be recorded by the Jones Falls Lockstation and the upbound to Chaffey's would not be recorded at the station.

The earliest dates examined in each of the three sets of journals selected was dictated by the earliest date where tourism was mentioned. All years between the first mentioned date and the end of the century were examined in detail. The examination continued until the references became too numerous to record practically. From that point random years were selected until that too became too time consuming. The cut off point was generally the point at which the number of passenger boats and tourists, parties out-numbered other types of vessels during the months of July and August. A more detailed study of these journals would be of interest but would require many hours of tedious work and it was not felt such a comprehensive examination would be appropriate to the overall purpose of this paper (see Tables 1 and 11).

Table I.1

* DAVIS LOCK, 1869-1886

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Purpose	From	To	Remarks
1869						
Oct. 16	G. Oseer	Sailboat	Camp Equipage	Kingston	Smiths Falls	Return Nov. 1
1870						
Aug. 19	Thomas Allan	2 skiffs	Camp Equipage	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Aug. 27	Thomas Allan	2 skiffs	Hunting	First Rapids	Kingston	
Sep. 29	---	Willie-the-Wisp	Camping Equipment	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
1874						
Jul. 20	John Chaffey	Eleanor and Lighten	Picnic Party	Newboro	Jones Falls	Return same day
Aug. 4	---	Gracie & 4 skiffs	Light	Kingston	Newboro	4 American hunters, return same day
Aug. 29	Connors & Scott	Eleanor and barge	Excursion	Portland	Jones Falls	
1875						
Aug. 14	Rochester	Ida & 4 skiffs	Hunters	Kingston	Chaffey's	American
Sep. 1	John Chaffey	Elswood & barge	Excursion	Narrows	Jones Falls	return same day
Sep. 20	F.S. Parnell	Lady of the Lake	Pleasure Yacht	Kingston	Ottawa	
1876						
Sep. 18	---	3 skiffs	Light	Kingston	Newboro	3 hunters
1877						
Jul. 18	J. Davis	D.C. West	Excursion Party	Narrows	Jones Falls	return same day
Sep. 28	---	Peerless	Excursionist	Kingston	Smiths Falls	Geo. Cregan,
Nov. 7	J. Davis	D.C. West	Merchandise	Kingston	Chaffey's	Hunting, Kingston?

Table I. II

DAVIS LOCK, 1869-1886

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Purpose	From	To	Remarks
1878						
May 15	C. Bray	6 boats	Camping Material	Narrows	Kingston	
Aug. 14	---	D.C. West	Excursionists	Westport	Jones Falls	
Aug. 16	---	Peerless	Excursionists	Narrows	Jones Falls	
Aug. 27	---	Crusader	Excursionists	Ottawa	Kingston	
Sep. 18	E. Smith	Rawson	Light	Kingston	Ottawa	Hunting Party
1879						
May 30	---	D.C. West	Excursionist	Westport	Kingston	
Jun. 13	---	Princess Daise & Skiff	Pleasure Party	Ottawa	Kingston	
Jun. 25	Kirkpatrick	Carlton	Pleasure Party	Kingston	Davis	return same day
Jul. 16	Seeley and ?	Peerless	Excursionist	Kingston	Westport	return same day
Aug. 5	A. Foster	Olive	Excursionist	Ottawa	Davis	return same day, excursion from Perth
Aug. 12	Seeley and ?	Peerless	Excursionist	Narrows	Kingston	return Aug. 22
Aug. 19	A. Gilbert	Anna Gilbert	Excursionist	Kingston	Ottawa	return Sep. 8
Sep. 3	A. Dulcon	Lizzie	Excursionist	Kingston	Ottawa	excursionists for Chaffey's?
Sep. 22	Anglins	City of Kingston	Excursionist	Kingston	Ottawa	return Sep. 27
	A. Gilbert	Anna Gilbert	Pleasure Party	Kingston	Ottawa	
1880						
Jul. 10	? and Craig	Gulen	Excursionist	Ottawa	Davis	
Aug. 21	D. Carrs	Morning Star	Excursionist	Smiths Falls	Davis	return same day
Oct. 22	A. Dulcon	Lizzie	Excursionist	Kingston	Smiths Falls	snow fell, Oct. 23
1881						
Jul. 1	Mr. Allan	Ontario	Excursionist	Smiths Falls	Jones Falls	return same day

Table I. III

DAVIS LOCK, 1869-1886

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Purpose	From	To	Remarks
1882						
Jul. 8	Mr. Allan	Ontario	Excursionist	Portland	Jones Falls	return same day
1883						
Nov. 1	---	Sovereign	Wood and Lumber	Davis	Kingston	Sergeant Major L. arrived for duck shoot
1884						
Sep. 24	R. Milne	Jessie N.	Excursionist	Kingston	Ottawa	returned 27th
Oct. 21	---	Minnie	Excursionist	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Nov. 10	Sherman	skiffs	Hunting Ducks	Kingston	Isthmus	returned 13th
1885						
Jul. 6		Allie	Picnic Party	Newboro	Smiths Falls	
Aug. 17	Mr. Gilmor	Yacht	---	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Sep. 16	J. Hoadly?	Jessie N	Excursionist	Kingston	Ottawa	
Sep. 17	R. Milne	Love (Lone)? & skiffs	Excursionist	---	---	
1886						
May 24	O'Mara	Tropic	Picnic	Newboro	Jones Falls	return same day
Aug. 10	O'Mara	Tropic	Excursion	Smiths Falls	Jones Falls	
Aug. 24	Noonan	Rideau Belle	Excursion	Kingston	Westport	return same day

N.B. from 1886 to 1896 traffic recorded indicated less than 2 recreational entries per year.

Table I. IV

DAVIS, 1897

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Purpose	From	To	Remarks
1897						
Jul. 24		skiff	Camp Outfit	Opinicon	Washburne	
		skiff	Camp Outfit	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Jul. 30	C. Gilbert	skiff	Camp Outfit	Sealeys Bay	Smiths Falls	returned Aug. 7
Aug. 2	Ogle Carss	skiff	Camp Outfit	Smiths Falls	Jones Falls	returned Aug. 3
	Jas Crozier	skiff	Camp Outfit	Newboro	Brockville	
	B. Addison	Aberdeen	Camp Outfit	Athens	Newboro	
	F. Cook	skiff	Camp Outfit	Jones Falls	Opinicon	
Aug. 3	M. Wright	skiff	Camp Outfit	Gananoque	Smiths Falls	
Aug. 4	B. Addison	Aberdeen	Camp Outfit	Portland	Jones Falls	
Aug. 6	Lewis	skiffs	Camp Outfit	Kingston	Ottawa	
Aug. 12	E. Moore	skiffs	Camp Outfit	Kingston	Ottawa	
Aug. 21	R. Snyder	skiffs	Camp Outfit	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Aug. 30	O. Rafferty	Jessie N and houseboat	Tourist	Alex Bay	Ottawa	
Sep. 9	F. Bennet	skiff	Camp Outfit	Ottawa	Kingston	
Sep. 13	Dawsley	skiff	Camp Outfit	Charleston	Smiths Falls	
	---	skiff	Camp Outfit	Kingston	Ottawa	
Oct. 15	Richards	skiff	Camp Outfit	Poonamalie	Kingston	
Nov. 4	C. Hanss	Jubilee	Pleasure Party	Kingston	Rideau (Ferry)?	

* from PAC RG43, vol. 1863

Table II.1

*CHAFFEY'S LOCK, SELECTED SAMPLE, 1860-1879

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Purpose	From	To	Remarks
1860						
Sep. 23	Mr. Graham	skiff	Fishing Tackle	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Oct. 14	Mr. Stewart	skiff	Fishing Tackle	Kingston	Newboro	
1863						
Oct. 13	Mr. Goodridge	canoe	Camp Utensils	--	Narrows	
1874						
Nov. 10		3 skiffs	Hunters	Davis	Isthmus	"hunters moving camp furniture"
Nov. 12		3 skiffs	Hunters	Kingston	Smiths Falls	"hunters moving camp furniture"
1876						
Sep. 5	Wm. Fleming	D.C. West	Passengers	?	Isthmus	
Oct. 25	Wm. Fleming	D.C. West	Passengers	Isthmus	Kingston	
Nov. 6		skiffs	Hunters	Isthmus	Kingston	
1879						
Aug. 13		skiff	Camp Furniture			
Aug. 12	Mr. Branson	skiff	Camp Furniture	?	?	
Sep. 11		skiff	Camp Furniture	?	?	

Table II.11

CHAFFEY'S LOCK, SELECTED SAMPLE, 1894

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Purpose	From	To	Remarks
1894						
Jul. 16	Capt. Massey	Valletta	Pleasure Party	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Jul. 9	W. Fredonburt	Aberdeen	Pleasure Party	Westport	Jones Falls	return same day
Jul. 14	Fleming Brothers	Rideau Belle	Pleasure Party	Smiths Falls	Jones Falls	
		skiff	Camping Outfit	---	---	
Jul. 16	Birdie Jones	skiff	Camping Outfit			
Jul. 19	John E. Murphy	Ontlag	Pleasure	Kingston	Ottawa	

1894, Chaffey's
Lockmaster first
records "pleasure
parties"

* from PAC MG9, D8-68, no.1156

In addition to the occasional mention of hunters and pleasure parties in Lockmaster Sweeney's personal diary, the Chaffey's lockmaster's journals provide some of the earliest tourist entries:

Oct. 13, 1863

Canoe owned by M.G. Coolridge was passed to the Narrows with a load of "camp" utensils (PAC: MG9, D8-68, vol.3).

Camp is a word used in this early period much as it is today, to indicate a tenting place. Interestingly, the term has been transferred to permanent cottages along the canal. According to local residents in the Smiths Falls area, their "camps" were originally tents but by the First World War were permanent dwellings. The term camp however, remained. (Lewis and McBratney: oral histories; 1978, 79, 82).

It cannot be determined what Mr. Coolridge did at his camp: other notations however, are more specific:

Nov. 10, 1874

Passed 3 skiffs of hunters moving camp furniture from Davis to the Isthmus (PAC: MG9, D8-68, vol. 3).

The skiffs were the 19 to 22 foot double ended cedar strip rowboats commonly called St. Lawrence River skiffs after the river on which it is believed they have their origin. They were used locally to carry grain, flour, cordwood, and other commodities. There are also many references to skiffs passing through the locks carrying hunters, fishermen and pleasure parties. An example appears in the 1874 Davis Lock journals:

Gracie and 4 skiffs, light, Kingston to Newboro,
American hunters (RG43, vol. 1963).

Gracie was a small steamboat and she was towing the four skiffs used by the hunters. An examination of Table IV and V will indicate skiff towing was common practice. This particular quote is also the earliest reference to American visitors that has yet been discovered. The Davis and Chaffey's records throughout this early period continue to record only small numbers of visitors per year.

Jones Falls lock journals are somewhat more complete in their recording of passages. Although they are complete they do not compare well

with either the Davis or Chaffey's records. It would be expected to be able to follow a boat from Jones Falls to Chaffey's in each of the three books. This, however, does not appear to be possible. For example, the Lady of the Lake, one of the first pleasure yachts on the system is recorded in the Jones Falls journals as passing through bound for Ottawa. It, however, does not appear in either the Chaffey's or Davis records of the same or preceding days. It is not an isolated case but a pattern that follows in all the journals. This suggests that more tourist craft may have passed through the canal than were recorded. Moreover, the lockmasters did not always agree on the purpose of a given trip when they do appear in more than one station's journal. For example, on August 13, 1875, W. Warner passed Jones Falls in the steamer Ida towing four skiffs. The purpose of their trip is registered as a pleasure party. One day later the Ida towing the four skiffs passed Davis Lock but the owner is listed as Rochester and the purpose is registered as hunting. Regardless of these differences the journals provide a valuable source of material on early tourism.

The records from 1863 to 1877 set the early pattern for the later period. The type of activity is defined as one of pleasure, excursion, hunting, fishing, or camping. The total number of entries account for less than 2% of the total passages yet they provide a clue to the types of activities and their relative popularity. The number of times a specific activity appears in the period 1863 to 1877 is as follows:

Table 111

Activity Types - 1863 to 1877
From Early Lockmaster's Records

<u>Activities</u>	<u>No. of Occurrences</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Pleasure	2	6.25
Excursion	10	31.25
Hunting	11	34.38
Fishing	3	9.38
Camping	6	18.75

Most of the activities are self-explanatory. The difference between pleasure parties and excursions is, however, not clarified in any reports

Figure III

Camping Near Rideau Ferry c. 1885

This photograph is typical of many found. It shows a family camp of the type that eventually lead to cottage developments. This family is from Smiths Falls. (Courtesy Parks Canada, Besch Collection)

or other material examined. It is likely they are closely related activities and for the purpose of this paper are considered as one activity type. It is therefore apparent that pleasure/excursion activity was the single most important early activity type, accounting for more than a third of the total entries. Hunting too, follows the pattern that emerged in the diaries, being the second most important activity and being very close to pleasure/excursion activities. What is surprising is the lack of significance of fishing. As shall be seen in chapter five, fishing seems to have been the foundation of which the resort industry was built. It is, however, consistently missing from the early records. It is not until the 1883 Jones Falls records that fishing becomes an important entry. It is possible that many of the "excursionists" were actually fishing but no proof of this has been found.

Another useful piece of information that can be drawn from these records is the flow and direction of the visitors in the area. Kingston was the most common point of origin. Out of thirty-nine entries recorded in the period to 1877, twenty list Kingston as point of origin. Very few tourists travelled further north on the system than Newboro Lockstation at the village of Newboro. Only two of the thirty-nine entries made the entire trip from Kingston to Ottawa. The relative destinations can also be seen. There were thirty-four destinations listed: (See Figure 1).

Newboro	9	Davis	3	Kingston	6	Smiths Falls	7
Narrows	1	Jones Falls	4	Ottawa	1	Chaffey's Lock	3

Newboro seems a logical destination for people since it was by the 1870's an active village with several inns. Davis on the other hand was a very isolated station without any sort of accommodation. Kingston's importance is self-evident, being a major confluence for both steamer and rail traffic. Smiths Falls as a destination was similar to Kingston. It was a thriving town with a major railway line connecting with Ottawa and Bröckville. As well, it was an excellent area for duck hunting because of the number of marshes in the area.

The Narrows is a station similar to Davis in its isolation and lack of accommodation. Jones Falls had an inn by 1845 and was an important resort area fairly early, however, this is not reflected in the figures. It must be remembered, however, that boats from Kingston going only as far as Jones Falls would not be recorded in the journals unless they passed through the locks. Most probably they did not go any further than the lower end of the station, since Jones Falls is one of the largest lockstations on the system that requires an hour and a half to pass. Therefore it becomes obvious destination point for boats coming from Kingston or up Whitefish Creek from Gananoque. Ottawa is approximately 160 kilometers north of the Rideau Lakes and possibly was too far from the populated "front" along Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. It is surprising that more boats did not state their destination as Chaffey's. It was a small mill community and is central to the tourist industry today. No obvious reason has been found for its slowness to develop. Possibly the intervening opportunity of Kenney's Hotel and the Jones Falls Lock played a part. Although the journals are not complete they provide much useful information, and as stated above, suggest a pattern of recreational use that continues throughout the period of study.

An additional source of information on this early period of tourism is the government letter books. These books were the records of the letters written to lockmasters, government officials and the general public. The original was sent to the person concerned but a hand written copy was retained in a special book. These letters provide a great deal of information about the day to day operation of the canal. A few deal directly with tourism:

As far back as 1872 a Public Works memoranda anticipating a tourist influx in the future, recommended the compilation of a complete map of the system based on a sound survey ... The map or chart had yet to be printed by 1888 (Bush, 1977: 177).

It would appear that passenger traffic had reached a point by the mid 1870's that the government officials were beginning to take serious notice of the situation regarding tourism; a memo of August 25, 1875, orders lockmasters:

You will give steamers carrying passengers priority of passage through the locks over steamers or barges carrying freight (PAC: 1875; RG 43; vol. 1957).

Memoranda such as those above, and the fact that in 1873 the lockmasters started keeping statistics on deck passengers, indicates that by the mid 1870's traffic on the canal was again becoming of significance (George, 1972:155).

3.4.3 A Synthesis

The period from 1826 to 1877 indicates a steady if light traffic of tourists. They appear to have come in the period August to November, to hunt, picnic, and simply enjoy the scenery. The British military appear to have formed the bulk of the early hunters. Most of the others recorded were British or Canadian civilians. It was not until 1874 that American hunters are specifically mentioned in the lockmasters records.

The diaries provide evidence of early tourism and the impression of the early visitors. The canal was paid few compliments except in regard to its wildlife and scenery. With the exception of the Sweeney diary the writers were either on part of a longer trip between points of civilization or as in the case of Barker, looking for material for a newspaper.

The lockmasters' journals provided a great deal of specific information on the movement of visitors in regards to point of departure, destination, reason for visit, time of year and something of the mode of transportation used by at least some of the early visitors. The journals indicate most traffic moved from the Kingston terminus of the Rideau Canal to the Narrows lockstation with the majority stopping at or before Newboro. Camping, pleasure and hunting were the major recreational activities recorded. Fishing, which was to become so important later was not a major factor either because it was included under pleasure or not a major activity.

The canal letterbooks point to an increasing interest by the government bureaucracy in the tourist activity on the canal after 1870.

These sources independently provide information of value although the occasional diary or mention in government records are not sufficient

to give an objective view of the early period. Combined with confirming evidence in the lockmaster's journals, however, more confidence can be placed on the indicated pattern of use in the 1826-77 period."

This early period of development set the stage for the rapid growth of tourism in later decades. The foundation and pattern of development did not change but appears to have evolved from the early period.

One important element in this evolution was the role of the steamboat in the development of the resort trade. The following chapter will address this subject.

CHAPTER 4

THE FLOATING RESORTS, 1850-1934

4.1 The Beginnings

Possibly the first true resorts on the Rideau Lakes were literally those on the water! As already noted, the canal was built to accommodate steamboats. The canal could carry boats up to 108 feet long and approximately 30 feet wide. By the 1880's boats of this size capable of carrying 300 passengers were in regular service on the waterway. (Bush, 1977:278).

Unlike the resort areas in the Muskoka's and the Kawartha's, where steamboats were largely "day steamers" that travelled relatively short distances, the end to end trip on the Rideau could take 24 to 48 hours so overnight accommodation on board was the rule rather than the exception. The Rideau steamers provided berths and cabins as well as meals. The early "luxury" passenger boats received mixed reviews from their critics:

In the spring of 1850 the Packet described the accommodation of the Prince Albert as the most commodious ever stationed on the Rideau Route, with cabin berths for 30 passengers, the gentlemens quarters below the ladies on the deck (Bush, 1977:122).

An English passenger on the Prince Albert in 1856 was not as kind:

She had an upper open deck. Under it was the ladies cabin, very narrow, with narrow berths and a passage outside around it, and a small gallery at the other end. Beneath it again was the gentlemens cabin, with a row of sleeping places and a narrow dining table down the centre. The accommodation was thus very confined and rather less airy than we could have wished (Kingston, 1856:58).

The Prince Albert was not the first steamer on the system to carry

passengers. Steamers carried Martha Phillips, Dr. Barker and many other passengers through the system from the very first passenger trip through the canal made by Col. By himself in 1832. It was not, however, until the 1850's that there is evidence of advertisements such as those for the Prince Albert. By the late 1860's other passenger boats were being identified. Examination of the lockmasters' journals indicates the names of some of the early passenger boats. Information concerning a few of these early excursions vessels has survived. The Peerless, for example, was a 60 by 12 foot steamboat built in Hamilton in 1873 and took many excursions through the canal in the period 1875 to 1878 before she was rammed and sunk by the Steamer Olive (Bush, 1977:265).

How many tourists actually used the steamers as "excursion" boats is not known. No specific records were kept on passenger traffic before 1873 (George, 1972:159). In 1873, 1529 passengers were booked for various destinations along the canal. By 1883, 5069 persons had booked passage for the year (Bush, 1977:301). Tables IV and V indicate a number of boats were involved in the transporting of recreational passengers prior to 1885.

How many passengers on other steamboats not identified as excursions or pleasure boats were commercial travellers such as salesmen and how many were actually recreational travellers is not known.

4.2 The "Palace" Steamers

By 1885 "luxury" steamers, catering specifically to the tourist trade, were evolving beyond the plain accommodation of the Prince Albert.

The first of the luxury steamers to appear on the Rideau in the latter years of the century was the 69 foot single watertight deck, Rideau Belle, built in Kingston by Robert Davis in 1885 ... "She was licensed to carry 40 passengers and became very popular in the late Victorian period ... Cherrywood panelling adorned dining room and state-rooms, ceilings were painted sky blue, curtains of green velvet adorned the windows and satin cushions on the settees and sofas" (Bush, 1977:35).

The Ella Ross (originally the Gypsy) was rebuilt in 1887 and featured:

... a lounge 75 feet in length, plush carpeting throughout and her dining saloon seated 50. Seven cabins were accommodated on the main deck, and 19 staterooms opened on the main lounge on the upper deck. Beds were fitted with patent spring mattresses (Bush, 1977:39).

The palace steamer had come to the Rideau Canal, and along with the Rideau Belle and the Ella Ross were the Rideau King and the Rideau Queen, the largest of the "palace" boats.

4.3 The Rideau Lakes Navigation Company

Just as A.P. Cockburn had opened the Muskoka's to tourism so the Rideau Lakes Navigation Company added greatly to the resort development on the Rideau Lakes. The prime mover in the company was Daniel Noonan. The company was first incorporated December 29th, 1899. In addition to the usual functions outlined in incorporation documents, their charter empowered them to:

... erect, buy, lease, summer hotels, cottages, parks, at or near Jones Falls, Kingston, also locations between Burritts Rapids and Long Island, on both Upper and Lower Rideau Lake, at or near Chaffey's and at or near Newboro ... (Bush, 1977:165).

Bush observed that this clause clearly suggests the significance of the excursion aspects of the canal at the turn of the century.

The company advertised their service by publication of a booklet called the Picturesque Rideau Route in 1900. In 1914 it published its second pamphlet, Rest and Sports Among the Rideau Lakes. As well, it supported a booklet written by Dr. Alymer Lake, entitled Charts of the Rideau Lakes. This publication came out periodically between 1907 and 1923.

The company's steamboat fleet included the Rideau King and the Rideau Queen, the two best known and most remembered boats ever to cruise on the canal. The company never quite lived up to the expectation of their charter however. No hotels or other shore based recreational activities were built; not that they did not try. A letter from

the letterbooks written by the canal Superintendent, A.T. Phillips, in support of Mr. Noonan's application indicates the government's feelings about the future of tourism on the Rideau and the part that the Rideau Lakes Navigation Company could play:

With regard to the endorsed application from Messrs. Noonan and Fredenburg applying for a lease of portion of the canal reserve at Jones Falls, for the purpose of erecting a summer hotel thereon. I beg to report as follows: The existence of a hotel such as is proposed at Jones Falls would in my opinion, largely increase the tourist travel on the Rideau, and as the reserve is only required for sand, gravel, clay that it contains, it would not, I consider interfere with canal interests ... (Phillips: MG43 1899; vol. 2018)

In 1914 Daniel Noonan died and the company's fortunes never recovered. The Rideau King was broken up in 1918. The ultimate fate of the Queen is not known. She left the Rideau Service in 1918. A short time before she left to become a work boat on the bay of Quinte another young diarist in the tradition of Martha Phillips gives us a final view of this grand old lady.

The willow deck chairs, the rose coloured electric light shades in the cabin, the expensive carpets, velvet upholstery, silk curtains and big mirrors gave silent testimony of a great former splendor; but it must have been some years back, for the chairs sagged sadly, the shades were all that was left of the electric lights and the carpets, upholstery and curtains were very shabby (Van Epps, 1930:40).

By 1935 the last overnight passenger boat, the Ottawan, had passed from the register.

From the mid 1880's to 1914, thousands of excursionists had made use of the palace boats. They gradually disappeared as roads improved, rail travel became more available, cars became common and private gas powered launches became affordable. In approximately 1917, the noisy, inexpensive outboard motor appeared on the scene to finally end the era. No one factor was responsible for the demise of the passenger boat. Each factor contributed in its own way to their disappearance.

The steamers were not only the first true resorts on the Rideau Lakes but they also provided the earliest and for many years the only

way of reaching the lakes without a great deal of difficulty. The popularity of these floating resorts was largely due to the efforts of the entrepreneurs such as Daniel Noonan and the other steamboat operators on the lakes. Their energy and business skills were important elements in the development of the tourist industry.

4.4 Travel Routes

This section of the study deals with the evolution of access to the Rideau Lakes, the routes travelled by the passenger steamers and their changes over time. The steamer's interdependence with other modes of transportation, particularly the railways, are also examined in some detail.

Table 1V presents the yearly schedule of runs for the only passenger/freight boat on the system clearly indicated in the records in the 1870's. The D.C. West travelled from Kingston to Westport or Portland every other day. She travelled the waterway from the mid 1870's to the mid 80's, varying her route very little. The ability to make the trip from Kingston to Westport and return often in under 24 hours was possible because the locks were open 24 hours a day.

In 1886 a description of the passenger steamer Ida's route indicates the way people reached the Rideau Lakes:

The new upper cabin steam Ida leaves Montreal every Tuesday evening, Ottawa every Wednesday evening arriving in Kingston on Friday morning. Returning will leave Kingston on Friday afternoon arriving in Ottawa Saturday evening (Anon, Parks Canada xerox; 1886).

An anonymous writer in 1888 left the following note:

... during the season of river navigation Westport may be reached by boat, being situated on the Rideau Canal route between Smiths Falls and Kingston. The Rideau Bell makes tri weekly trips between the last named places, calling at Westport, which is nearly midway between the two places. There are also other boats which make regular trips between those places (Anon: 1888; records held in Westport library).

In 1900 the Rideau Lakes Navigation Company suggested the following itinerary:

Table IV.1

PASSENGER TRIPS - D.C. WEST, 1877

(RG 43, vol. 1974, 1875-1885)

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Cargo	From	To
May 9	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Westport	Kingston
May 11	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & ?	Westport	Kingston
May 12	Davis	D.C. West & Beaver	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Portland
May 17	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Westport
May 19	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Portland
May 21	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers	Portland	Kingston
May 24	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Westport
May 25	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Cheese	Westport	Kingston
May 26	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Westport
May 28	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers	Westport	Kingston
May 30	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Portland
May 30	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Cheese	Westport	Kingston
May 31	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Westport
Jun. 1	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers	Westport	Kingston
Jun. 2	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Westport
Jun. 4	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers	Westport	Kingston
Jun. 5	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Westport
Jun. 6	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Cheese	Ferry	Kingston
Jun. 7	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers	Kingston	Westport

Table IV.11-

PASSENGER TRIPS - D.C. WEST, 1877

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Cargo	From	To
Jun. 8	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Cheese	Westport	Kingston
Jun. 9	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Westport
Jun. 11	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers	Westport	Kingston
Jun. 13	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Cheese/Butter	Westport	Kingston
Jun. 15	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Westport	Kingston
Jun. 16	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	O. Ferry
Jun. 18	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Cheese	O. Ferry	Kingston
Jun. 19	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Westport
Jun. 20	Davis	D.C. West	Passengers, Potash, Cheese	Westport	Kingston
Jun. 22	Rideau Lakes Navigation Company	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Westport	Kingston
Jun. 23	Rideau Lakes Navigation Company	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Westport	Kingston
Jun. 25	Rideau Lakes Navigation Company	D.C. West	Passengers, Potash	Westport	Kingston
Jun. 26	Rideau Lakes Navigation Company	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Westport
Jun. 27	Rideau Lakes Navigation Company	D.C. West	Passengers & Cheese	Westport	Kingston
Jun. 28	Rideau Lakes Navigation Company	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Westport
Jun. 29	Rideau Lakes Navigation Company	D.C. West	Passengers	Westport	Kingston
Jun. 30	Rideau Lakes Navigation Company	D.C. West	Passengers & Merchandise	Kingston	Westport

Passengers can leave New York Wednesday morning making direct connection at Cape Vincent with the Thousand Island Co. arriving in Kingston the evening of the same day, and can go on board the steamer ... To passengers reaching Lake Ontario at Rochester it may be of interest to know that by taking the weekly excursion of the Str. "North King" of the Lake Ontario and Bay of Quinte Steamboat Company, leaving Charlotte N.Y. on Saturday evening, they can enjoy the sail through the Bay of Quinte and after spending the day among the Thousand Islands can go on board the Rideau Steamer lying at the same wharf at Kingston ... At Westport connection is made with the Brockville and Westport Railway, a short run over which will put the tourist at Athens, where if he has previously telephoned or telegraphed Landlord Southworth, he will be driven to Cedar Park Hotel, Charleston Lake (Picturesque Rideau Route: 1900;46).

This particular type of trip epitomizes the "excursion" that appears throughout the period. The steamboat cruise on the Rideau is only part of a larger trip. Besides these types of excursions into the heart of the Rideau Lakes, boats such as the Rideau King and the Rideau Queen ran regularly between Kingston and Ottawa again making connections with various railways and other steamship lines:

The Rideau Queen left Kingston for Ottawa Monday and Thursday mornings at 7:00 a.m. arriving in Ottawa at 6:00 the following morning. The Rideau King left Kingston on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons at 1:00 p.m., arriving in Ottawa at 3:45 p.m. the following day... The steamers made connection at Ottawa with the Ottawa River Navigation Company, the CPR, and several other railways and at Kingston with the Thousand Island Steamboat Company, The GTR, the Kingston and Pembroke Railway and the New York Central (Bush, 1977:166).

There was particular cooperation between the New York Central Railway and the Rideau Steamers. For example in 1910 passengers could leave:

... Ottawa aboard either the Rideau King or Rideau Queen on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays or Fridays at 2:00 p.m. during the navigation season and make connections for New York via the New York Central at Clayton, New York (Bush, 1977:166).

Further:

Rideau Lakes passengers arriving at Ottawa could book through sleeping car service to New York every evening

from two railway terminals, likewise at Kingston the same facilities were available to Montreal, Toronto, Detroit and Chicago. Thus a traveller could conveniently combine a leisurely cruise on the Rideau with overnight pullman service to these principal cities (Bush, 1977:167).

In the late 1880's the Steamer, City of Ottawa, owned by the Ottawa and Rideau Forwarding Company, also ran from Ottawa to Kingston taking advantage of the same connection. In addition, advertisements point out it connects at Smiths Falls with the Brockville and Ottawa Railway (Parks Canada file, Steamboats; Rideau Canal Library, Smiths Falls,).

All the passenger steamers made innumerable stops along the route, including lockstations such as Kingston Mills, Brewers Mills, Jones Falls, Davis, Chaffey's, Newboro, Smiths Falls and Ottawa. Villages visited on a regular basis included Westport, Portland and Seeley's Bay.

The era of the steamboat on the Rideau was long and provided the access to the Rideau Lakes so important to the development of tourism. Although many boats carried passengers there is no indication that any of the commercially owned boats carried only passengers. All appeared to have carried freight as well, (for example, see Table 1V). Steamers like the Ella Ross, Rideau Queen and Victoria carried mostly passengers during the summer months but relied on freight during the spring and fall to stay in business. Below, in Table V, is a list of the major passenger steamers registered on the Rideau. An examination of the Rideau Service shows that there were usually at least four steamers that were regularly catering the passengers. The lock journals indicate many other steamers occasionally ran parts of the system carrying visitors.

Table V

Major Passenger Vessels on the Rideau Canal 1832-1955

<u>Name of Vessel</u>	<u>Years Operated on Canal</u>
Beaver	1840 - 1859
Otter	1840 - 1870
Bytown	1842 - 1875
Hunter	?
Prince Albert	1843 -
City of Ottawa	1864 - 1887
Peerless	1873 - 1889
Ella Ross	1873 - 1886
D.C. West	1874 - 1917
Ida	1884 - 1888
Rideau Belle	1885 - 1895
Rideau King (James Swift)	1893 - 19? probably c.1914
Rideau Queen	1900 - 1918
Victoria I.	1900 - c.1920?

Throughout the period of the palace boats the lockmasters' journals continue to show Kingston as the major entry point for boat passengers. Some of the steamers such as the Prince Albert, made the trip from Kingston to Ottawa on a regular basis. Others like the D.C. West and the Rideau Belle concentrated on the route from Kingston to Westport and Portland. Table IV gives an excellent example of the D.C. West's schedule. The Ida made the "triangle" trip from Montreal up the Ottawa River to Ottawa then down the Rideau Canal to Kingston on Lake Ontario.

All the steamers made connections with Lake Ontario steamship companies and several major Canadian and American railways. (See Table VI and Fig. V). Railways after 1856 were an important access link in the developing tourist industry. Table VI lists the various Canadian railways that have transported passengers into the Rideau Lakes area.

Figure IV

The Rideau King at Chaffey's Lock c. 1907

This photograph shows the second largest of the passenger steamers to ply the Rideau Canal - 107 feet long and registered to carry 150 passengers. It is one of the best remembered of all the steamers. (Courtesy PAO)

TABLE VI

RAILWAYS AND THE RIDEAU

<u>Name</u>	<u>Incorporation</u>	<u>Canal Contact</u>	<u>Closure</u>	<u>Disposal</u>
Ottawa-Brockville	1853	1859 (Smiths Falls)	1878	1878-1881 - Canadian Central 1881-present - CPR
Brockville, Westport & Sault St. Marie	1884	1889 (Newboro and Westport)	1903	1903-14 - various owners 1914-52 - CNR, line abandoned in 1952
Canadian Northern	1906	1913 (Chaffey's, Smiths Falls & Portland)	1914	1914-1980 - CNR, abandoned in 1980
Ontario and Quebec	1871	1884 (Smiths Falls)	1884	1884-present, CNR mainline
Grand Trunk	1851	1856 (Kingston)		c.1880's-present, CNR main- line

Information from: (Bush: 1979)
(Tront: 1871)

Figure V

Railways and the Rideau

SCALE 1: 90 000

Main Study Area

--- Railways

The Ottawa-Brockville Railway did not connect directly with the Rideau Lakes. However, Smiths Falls was a thriving community and a major steamboat stop. Passengers could embark on a steamer in Kingston, travel to Smiths Falls then return to the St. Lawrence River at Brockville.

The Brockville, Westport and Sault Ste. Marie Railway was an extremely important early railway, bringing people from the St. Lawrence ports and railheads to the heart of the Rideau Lakes, (See Fig. V). The railway never passed Westport hence it provides an excellent idea of the numbers of passengers going into and out of the Rideau Lakes area. In 1906 for example, the railway carried 73,468 passengers in and out of the Rideau Lakes, and reached an all-time high in 1911 of 74,574 (Bush, 1979:165). How many were tourists is unfortunately not known.

The Canadian Northern was possibly the most significant railway to be built on the Rideau Canal. It passes through the major resort community of the area, Chaffey's Lock. Then it touches the area again at Portland making Big Rideau Lake easily accessible to visitors.

Where the Westport and Sault Ste. Marie provided access to the west side of the Rideau Lakes, the Canadian Northern gave almost complete access to the east side. In addition, it provided the same service as the Ottawa-Brockville from Smiths Falls.

The Ontario and Quebec Grand Trunk had little direct connection to the Rideau Lakes, however, as with all the railways mentioned they provided important connecting links in the growing communication system surrounding the Rideau Lakes area specifically and Ontario generally.

This complex network of rail and steamboat connections made access to the Rideau Lakes fast and relatively inexpensive. The major Canadian points of entry became Kingston, Brockville and Ottawa. Connections for American visitors as we have already seen were in New York at Cape Vincent, Rochester, Charlotte and Clayton, (See Fig. V).

The cooperation between rail and steam was bittersweet, however. For by 1918, the railways had displaced most of the passenger and

freight business from the canal boats. The steamers disappeared one by one. As the steamers disappeared the shore based resorts began their rise and remain an important part of the tourist industry on the Rideau Lakes to the present day.

4.5 Summary, Travel Routes

According to Marsh and others, access is one of the four most important criteria in the establishment of a viable tourist area. This is certainly true of the Rideau Lakes. The building of the Rideau Canal between 1826 and 1832 provided easy direct access, by the then new, fast, efficient steamboats, to the Rideau Lakes.

Early steamboats, however, did not cater to passengers, largely because the volume of traffic was low. There is little evidence that a tourist industry existed before 1877, except for the occasional wealthy visitor. The intervening opportunity provided by the Thousand Islands and the Back Lakes may have had some effect on this low visitation. As well, the economic conditions were not conducive to large volumes of visitors. It was not until the end of the Civil War that visitors, from both sides of the Canadian, American borders, began to arrive in considerable numbers.

However, by the 1850's passenger traffic had become heavy enough that boats advertised as catering to passengers began to appear on the Rideau. The passenger traffic continued to develop slowly but by 1885 had evolved, from rather spartan beginnings on the Prince Albert, to the luxury steamers that would cruise the waterway for the next thirty years.

From the days of the first luxury steamers in the early 1880's, they had competition from the railways. Yet the relationship was mutually beneficial for a time. The trains brought tourists to the steamboat stops of Chaffey's, Newboro, Westport and Portland. They allowed visitors to come from New York state via the Central New York Railway to Cape Vincent and Clayton. From there the steamers brought the tourists to the Rideau Lakes via Kingston and the Rideau Canal. Others took the Brockville, Westport and Sault Ste. Marie Railway to

Newboro or Westport.

The railway that appears to have had the greatest impact was the Canadian Northern Ontario which reached the Rideau Lakes in 1913. Five years later the Rideau King, the Rideau Queen and the other luxury boats had all passed from the register leaving only the Ottawan, a freight/passenger boat, to struggle on until 1935. This railway passed through the heart of the developing Rideau Lakes resort area, crossing at Chaffey's Lock and then passing Portland to the north. The Canadian Northern and the Brockville, Westport, Sault Ste. Marie, Railway provided direct service to most of the major resorts. This left the steamers without passengers and eventually led to their disappearance.

At the same time the trains were taking the trade of the long distance passengers away from the steamers, the local tourists were also finding alternative transportation. The new gas powered inboards, cheap and fast, lead to the steamers losing even more trade. At the same time, roads improved and the automobile became more popular.

Regardless of the form of transportation, access since 1832 was easy in the Rideau Lakes. The Rideau Canal providing the first link, followed by rail then finally the automobile.

The various travel routes led to the development of the resorts at locations throughout the Rideau Lakes. At lockstations, ferry and bridge crossings, and later railway stations, resorts took root. Kenney's developed at a major lockstation. Chaffey's and Newboro developed at points where there were both lockstations and railway stations. Westport was the terminus of a railway as well as a bridge crossing. Rideau Ferry had since 1816 been a major crossing point in the Rideau system.

CHAPTER 5

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESORT HOTELS - 1877-1955

5.1 Early Inns and Taverns

Descriptions of some of the early hostelries, from canal construction through to the 1870's, have already been given by the diaries in an earlier section of this paper. These establishments occurred throughout the area of the Rideau Canal from the founding of the first settlement, Merrickville, in 1794.

By the 1860's, agricultural settlements in Eastern Ontario had progressed to the stage where the Rideau Lakes area had a number of small communities along its shores; each had a number of hotels. (See Fig. V). The Historical Atlas of Leeds and Grenville lists the hotels in these communities. There were three in or near Portland - Harts, Commercial and Garrett's Rest; three in Westport - Wardrobe House, American and The Windsor; three in Newboro - The Dominion, Ottawa and Ontario; and one in Seeley's Bay. It is by no means a complete tally. The road houses between the towns are not included. Detailed information on most of the establishments has not been found.

5.2 The Growing Resort Industry

An anonymous local historian recorded in 1950:

It was in 1880 that the Rideau Lakes District made its debut as a fishing and resort area. These good lakes being situated in the northern part of Leeds County were not easily accessible to visitors from other parts. The odd American, however, did make his way to the lakes and the enthusiasm of these few fishermen awakened the people of the district to the possibilities of the Tourist business (Anon, 1950).

The same writer goes on to suggest these early fishing enthus-

ists and the possibility of the tourist trade was one of the major reasons for the proposal to construct the Brockville, Westport and Sault Ste. Marie Railway. Regardless of the truth of that statement, by 1888 the railway was bringing tourists to the Westport area (See Fig. V).

5.2.1 Westport, 1860-1955

The hotel accommodation (in Westport) is also excellent, there being three hotels - the Wardrobe House, the American, and the Windsor ... Nature has done much to make Westport a place of attraction for either the businessman or tourist. Situated as it is on a beautiful amphitheatre overlooking a broad expanse of water it cannot fail when its advantages become known as a favoured summer resort. The broad sheet of water by which the village nestles is dotted with beautiful islands which rival those of the St. Lawrence as a camping ground, while the fishing in the lake is unexcelled (Anon: Westport Past and Present and Prospective, 1888).

With the building of the Brockville, Westport and Sault Ste. Marie Railway, the local inhabitants of Westport area were sure their community would be a centre for the tourist trade. It was a prophecy that came true; Westport continues to be one of the most thriving resort communities on the waterway. (Anon, Westport Past and Present and Prospective, 1888).

All the above mentioned hotels were in existence before 1888 (Roberts, 1981; personal communication). The Wardrobe was built in 1860 and burned in 1922. The exact nature and life span of the other hotels is not known but all appear to have been in operation before the railway.

The Lexina, owned by Alex and Lena Brown, was a private house renovated as a hotel in 1929 and took over much of the trade of the Wardrobe and the other early Westport hotels. In 1932 it was purchased by the Roberts family and became known as the Tweedsmuir. This was one of the few resort hotels that operated year round. In the winter it catered to salesmen and travellers. In the summer an "annex" was opened to accommodate the additional tourist traffic which came largely from Pennsylvania and New York. Many of these Americans

came by car crossing on the car ferries from Buffalo and Cleveland (Roberts, 1981: personal communication). The Tweedsmuir was for sale in the fall of 1981 and its future is uncertain.

Westport, as has been noted, was the terminus of the D.C. West as well as an important stop for many other steamboats. The B.W.S.S.M. Railway was never extended beyond this community. One of the major roads to Perth, the county seat for Lanark, passed through the town. Westport's proximity to the Big Rideau Lake combined with these other factors made Westport the largest resort community within the area defined as the Rideau Lakes.

5.2.2 Newboro, 1865-1955

Newboro lies some five miles east of Westport. (See Fig.VI). The town was founded in 1829 during the construction of the Rideau Canal. A mile long cut was made south from Upper Rideau Lakes to join the Cataraqui and Rideau watersheds. A lock was constructed at the south end of the cut and near it the village grew.

The information on the hotels before 1894 is again scant. According to local histories, the town sported several hotels by the mid 1860's, including the Dominion House, Ottawa and Ontario House to name three mentioned in these local records. The Historical Atlas of Leeds and Grenville lists two hotel or innkeepers resident in the mid to late '60's (Mckenzie et al., 1973).

Later the Rideau Hotel became the centre of the tourist trade. It appears to have been operational by 1900 and is still in business today. Examination of the structure by the author shows the supportive beams and general construction to be relatively old. It is constructed of log and has hand-hewn beams supporting the first floor ceiling. Half of the hotel is from a later period and is of stone construction. The stone apparently came from the burned out ruin of the older Ottawa Hotel c.1904 (The Isthmus, 1967:27). The Poplars is another large local resort. The date of its construction is not known but it appears to have started as a private home. The architectural style of most of the buildings may place the earlier buildings at c.1920.

Figure VI
PRINCIPAL RESORTS
RIDEAU LAKES

It is not clear how much of the early tourist trade was centered on Newboro. The lock journals for Chaffey's and Davis show a considerable number of early visitors going to the area of Newboro, particularly to hunt. A traveller who passed through the Canal in July c.1914-16 left the following comment:

"It is Newboro", she was told. "It isn't a very exciting place now, but you should see it in September and October, when people come from all over for duck shooting".
(Van Epps, 1928:60).

The development of the resort industry in Newboro is not well documented. Historical data and oral traditions are not available. However, analysing what little is known, along with the fact that three early hotels existed, indicates that the town must have had some visitors. The town is situated at a main Rideau Canal crossing point where the main road from the St. Lawrence to Perth make its crossing. Some years later the B.W.S.S.M. Railway followed the road as far as Westport, 10 kilometers west of Newboro. The existence of a large hotel complex and its location on a main transportation artery would indicate some importance as a recreation and resort center.

5.2.3 Rideau Ferry

This small hamlet at the northern end of Big Rideau Lake has, since the construction of the canal, been a major ferry crossing for those travelling to the county seat in Perth. Mr. Oliver ran a ferry and inn at the site. By 1900 the Coutt's house was a hotel for travellers. According to the present owner, the hotel catered more to travellers than tourists in the period before the 1920's. Tourists, however, formed part of the summer clientele. It was abandoned as a hotel in the late 1920's and was derelict for almost 10 years when it reopened under the name Rideau Ferry Inn. It remains in operation although it has passed through several owners since it reopened (Hitchcock, 1981: personal communication).

By the mid 1890's the Rideau area was well used by "campers", particularly from Smiths Falls. Residents would set up camp around "the ferry". The women and children would move down as soon as school was out

and remain until it started again in the fall. The men would row skiffs or take the Victoria or other steamers down on the weekends. These camps became permanent cottages (Lewis, 1980: personal communication).

Large and well known regattas were held yearly at Rideau Ferry from 1897 until the mid 1960's. By 1909 the Rideau Ferry Boat Club was in operation. Later its name was changed to the Rideau Ferry Yacht Club. By 1914, the whole area was a thriving summer resort town catering to local people from Smiths Falls and Perth (Jamieson, Record News: 1952;6).

5.2.4 Portland

To the author's knowledge, no proper history of the village has ever been done. It appears to have first been named Old Landing and was a community by 1816. The Commercial and Hart Hotel were two of the early hotels; about these little is known. The Hart House burned in the 1930's and the Commercial in 1942 (Moore, 1982:91). Garretts Rest, several miles north of Portland, was in operation by 1889 and appears in all of the early steamboat and railway advertising. It closed in 1947 (Moore, 1982:66).

A brief description of the village c.1914 is given by one of the diarists:

There were the usual houses and stores ... a little ways ahead she saw a wooden building with a long porch across the front. It looked like a country hotel ... Deep sullen masses of dull, purple clouds crept slowly across the sky ... A host of motor boats, like beetles scooted toward the dock from all directions. Portland is the post office for Big Rideau, and the campers were coming for mail. A few minutes' stay in port, and out went the little boats again, scurrying noisily across the water, eager to reach home before the storm broke (Van Epps, 1930:64-71).

Portland has remained a small community serving the growing number of cottagers on Big Rideau Lake. The resort hotels had all disappeared by 1950 (personal communication, P. Byington).

Many of these early hotels grew from existing inns and taverns catering to travellers, most of whom could not be considered recreation-ists. Several of the larger, more important hotels fortunately have a more complete history than those discussed above.

5.3 Chaffey's Lock Community

5.3.1 Community History and Early Recreational Development

Chaffey's Lock is one of the two sites chosen for more detailed study of resort development in the Rideau Lakes, (See Fig. VI). This choice was made for several reasons. In 1983 the community has the largest resort complex on the Rideau Lakes. Three resort hotels are in operation; the Opinicon, Simmon's Fishing Lodge and Dorothy's Lodge. Dorothy's will not be considered as a separate identity since it was part of Simmon's Lodge until the 1950's. The only possible local rival to the resort industry of Chaffey's is Westport. Unfortunately, complete historic records for Westport are not available hence the extent of tourism in that area is not clear. Chaffey's Lock, on the other hand, provides a considerable historic resource. Various local historians have kept records of the community, including the Opinicon Lodge scrap books, the Tweedsmuir Institute and local residents (Chaffey's Lock Heritage Society). These combined with the lock journals and old guest registers from the Opinicon and Simmon's provide a rich source of material.

Chaffey's Lock community in 1983 is a small hamlet (Pop. 60) that stretches approximately a kilometer along the shores of the canal. The lock station that gives the community its name separates Opinicon and Sand Lakes (See Fig. VII). Besides summer residents, and a few permanent homes, the community includes the three resort hotels, two marinas, one of which acts as a general store, and a community hall. It is a close knit cohesive community, the core of which is several large interconnected families who can trace their history in the area back to the canal's construction or earlier.

The community is named after Samuel Chaffey, who in 1823 built a large mill complex on the rapids that joined the two lakes. The complex included a grist mill, saw mill, carding mill and distillery. Their existence, however, was short lived. They were expropriated and removed to make way for the single lock that was to become the focus of the community.

In the same year as the expropriation Samuel Chaffey died suddenly

leaving a young widow and infant son. The family remained at the station and as the son, John, grew he became involved in several local enterprises. In 1870 he built a new grist mill and a large new house. The mill and house both still exist, (See Fig.V11). The house is part of the Opinicon Hotel and the mill is a private residence.

Local tradition suggests that Chaffey's Lock had its beginning as a tourist resort in 1886 (Fleming, 1981:195). However, the lockmaster's journals show that Chaffey's was not the destination point for most early tourists. Out of 213 entries recorded in Tables 1 and 11 in the period 1860-1894, only eight tourists indicated their destination as Chaffey's. Chaffey's may have started slowly but by the Edwardian age it dominated the resort developments on the Rideau Lakes. The first recognizable resort was Simmon's Fishing Lodge.

5.3.2 Simmon's Fishing Lodge, Chaffey's Lock

The Simmons family has lived near Chaffey's Lock since the period of canal construction. The first Mr. Simmons was a soldier with the 7th company Royal Sappers and Miners who was killed in an explosion during construction of the Newboro cut in 1830 (Fleming, 1981:127). His widow married Mr. Fleming, a member of the same company. Mr. Simmon's infant son was adopted by Mr. Fleming, although the boy's last name was never changed. Mr. Fleming was appointed lockmaster at Chaffey's in 1832 and served there until the late 1850's. He was replaced by the adopted son, James Simmons, in 1894 when Hugh Fleming, a son of his half brother, was appointed. He retired in 1929 (Tullock, 1975:185). The Simmons family owned a small farm at the station. Their life style of farming, working at the locks combined with a little hunting and fishing was changed in the late 1880's:

In the summer of 1886 Mr. Peter Hayden of New York, New York, asked Mrs. Bridget Simmons for room and board, "for he had heard of the wonderful fishing at Chaffey's Lock and wanted to try it ..."
(Fleming, 1980:186).

Mrs. Hayden returned every year until his death in 1935. With the arrival of Mr. Hayden, others followed. The Simmons recognized this new source of income and:

Figure VII

Chaffee Lock Community 1983

Scale 1:600

Mrs. Simmons began serving meals to people cruising the waterways as well as summer cottages, for they were beginning to move into the area ... Guides were hired and the tourist business in Chaffey's began to boom. (Fleming, 1980:186).

By 1904 the lodge was in full operation as a resort. Mr. Hayden had originally come to fish the waters around the lockstation. Black Bass was one of the major attractions to the area after the mid 1880's and many of these early resorts are still referred to as fishing lodges by the local residents as well as visitors.

Similar to other local resorts, personal service, good food and good fishing were the main selling points of Simmon's Lodge:

A specialty of the house, was french toast with soft sugar. In the dining room and on shore dinners it was a great treat, and one the guests always looked forward to for desert. (Fleming, 1980:187).

5.3.2.1 The Visitors

The old registers from Simmon's, the Opinicon and Kenney's Hotel, provide a valuable source of data on the visitor. The registers for Simmon's Fishing Lodge are available from 1926 to 1955. From them a pattern of use and place of origin of the visitor can be deduced.

Commencing in 1926 every third year was selected as a sample. One thousand, two hundred and forty three individual cases were entered into the computer. An analysis was done to determine average visitation by state and province. A subset of years was chosen at approximately ten year intervals and the results recorded as well. This subset allowed an interpretation of any changes in visitation from state or province over time. It was suspected from general observation that the changes in percentage visitation over time would not be great hence ten year samples were considered adequate. Table VII below indicates the results. The same procedure was followed for the other two hotels studied in detail.

TABLE VIISimmon's - Percentage Visitation by State or Province, Selected Years

	<u>1929</u>	<u>1938</u>	<u>1944</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>Average 1926-55</u>
Ont.	11.8	9.2	11.7	8.7	10.8
N.Y.	70.6	25.4	39.2	30.1	33.3
Penn.	5.9	27.0	26.7	30.1	26.6
Ohio	2.9	10.8	.8	9.2	6.7
N.J.	0	10.8	11.7	10.2	8.0
P.Q.	0	.8	.8	0	1.0
Mich.	2.9	6.2	.8	4.9	4.4
Other	5.9	10.0	8.3	6.8	7.2

The results of the evaluation indicates some fluctuation in the proportions of yearly visitation, however, it is not extreme. During 1944, the most distant states of Michigan and Ohio show a significant drop, most probably due to rationing of fuel during the latter part of World War II. Throughout the years studied, New York, Pennsylvania and Ontario continue to be the areas from which the bulk of visitors came. The increase in visitation from Pennsylvania between 1929 and 1938 cannot be explained by any material found during the course of the study. This marked change regarding Pennsylvania will be compared with results for the Opinicon and Kenney's Hotel registers in a later section. Visitors from the United States made up over 80% of the total visitation during the years surveyed.

The registers can be used to ascertain party size. Simmon's Fishing Lodge party size averaged 2.12 persons per party. The ratio of male to female in these parties is 1 female to every 1.5 males. The length of stay of each party is not as clear. The registers at Simmon's include only 106 cases out of 1,243 in which length can be determined. The average stay for this was approximately 7 days.

5.3.2.2 Marketing Strategy

There appears to have been no organized marketing method used by the owner. Good basic, relatively inexpensive, accommodation, and word of

Figure VII 1

77

W1-15

*Fishing - Jack
1912* *Wm. Laishay*

W1-21

Recreation on the Lakes 1900-1914

Three typical photographs from the early 1900's showing some of the most popular types of recreation.

mouth are the main way people appear to have heard about the hotel. The early tour guides occasionally mention Simmon's Lodge or Mrs. Simmon's boarding house but the advertising is more infrequent than that of either of the other two hotels studied in detail.

5.3.3 The Opinicon Hotel, Chaffey's Lock

The Opinicon is the largest of the three hotels to be examined. It lies on the southwest shore of Opinicon Lake, one hundred meters south of the lock (Fig. 1X). It has been built in a large oak parkland. The main section of the hotel was built in three parts. John Chaffey's house, built in 1870, forms the old central portion. Two wings were added during the period 1900 to 1910. Two additional buildings were also added during the following ten years, an annex and a store. During the 1920's and early 30's a series of one, two and three bedroom cottages were added. As well there is wharfage for several boats and a small boat house. In recent years a home and several conference rooms have been added.

In 1899 the Chaffey's house was owned by Wm. Fleming, the lockmaster at Chaffey's. It was operated as a boarding house for travellers and mill workers under the management of a Mrs. Lennox. In 1901 the business was sold to Mr. Wm. Laishley and became known as the Idylwilde Hotel catering to the ever increasing tourist traffic. In 1906 the property was again sold, this time to an Ohio group, the Youngstown Hunt and Game Club who renamed the hotel the Opinicon Club. It was operated as a private club but guests were welcome. It remained in the hands of various club members until 1921 when Donald P. Jarret took over its operation. He managed the hotel until 1965. During this period the facility expanded considerably; an annex, enclosed porch and eight cottages were added, (See Fig. 1X). Upon Mr. Jarrett's death management of the resort passed to his daughter and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Al Cross and is still in their hands in 1983, (Hearth and Heritage, 1980:190-1).

Local historians suggest that the real "hey days" of the hotel began when the Canadian Northern Railway laid track through the community. The first trains rolled over the track from Ottawa to Toronto in 1913:

After the railway opened up the country, and it was more readily accessible to other travellers and potential hunters and fishermen, the Youngstown Hunt and Game Club

abandoned their club-house and it became the "Opinicon Hotel" (Hearth and Heritage, 1980:81).

Cars were also arriving at Chaffey's by 1907, as indicated by the registers. Steamboats had represented the earliest form of transport used to bring numbers of visitors to the lock. They continued to be important even after the railway had come through c. 1917:

The steamer (Rideau Queen) was approaching Chaffey's Lock, where the Opinicon Club is situated, the largest most popular and most fashionable hotel in that region. The people who were getting off there began to gather up their baggage and descend to the lower deck (Van Epps, 1930:57).

The Opinicon has changed little in outlook and service over the years.

The Pittsburg Press reported in 1944:

A typical day at the Opinicon begins at 7 a.m. when a bell announces breakfast. Usually by an hour later the guides have the boats in readiness ... By noon or shortly thereafter the party heads for shore, where dinner is prepared, boiled potatoes, fried fish, french toast, piping hot coffee and dessert. We almost forgot to mention the Canadian bacon which is part of every shore dinner ... All means "in-Camp" are served in the central dining room, amidst an atmosphere approaching the best hotels but minus restrictions, for the Opinicon is purely a resort for fishermen and their ladies (Pittsburg Press, 1944: from the Opinicon scrap book).

It is apparent from articles like this example that fishing was the major attraction bringing people to the hotel. This long and persistent pattern of activity reflects a stability in clientele and activities that is not commonly associated with tourist development.

5.3.3.1 The Visitors

As indicated, the ownership of the hotel passed to the Youngstown Hunt and Game Club in 1906. Prior to that little is known about visitors' places of origin nor the numbers that came. The hotel registers commence with 1907. 1,932 cases studied were extracted from the registers. The sample was taken from every third year between 1907 and 1929, when the

complete registers end. After the period when the complete registers cease the examination of Christmas card lists, newspaper accounts, and personal communication with the Jarrett/Cross family all indicate no substantial change in clientele. Table VIII indicates the composition of visitor by origin, as determined from the hotel registers.

TABLE VIII

Opinicon - Percentage Visitation by State or Province, Selected Years

	<u>1913</u>	<u>1919</u>	<u>1938</u>	<u>Average % 1907-1929</u>
Ont.	27.7	38.0	28.5	35.4
N.Y.	35.5	26.4	30.7	28.6
Penn.	4.8	6.3	6.8	5.0
Ohio	7.8	16.6	19.4	14.8
N.J.	6.1	3.7	3.1	3.6
P.Q.	4.8	.6	1.4	2.7
Mich.	.9	.6	1.4	.7
Other	12.4	7.8	8.7	9.2

The results of the evaluation of the Opinicon Hotel records show a remarkable consistency in visitor origins over the years. Ohio, Ontario, and New York formed the bulk of the visitation. Over half of the visitation was American.

The ratio of male to female was 1.0 females to 1.2 males. The average party size was 2.4. Again, as at Simmon's Lodge, the length of stay statistic was not as significant since only 147 out of possible 1932 entries was available. The mean was calculated as 8.6 days.

5.3.3.2 Marketing Strategy

Before the takeover by Mr. Jarrett in 1921 methods of advertising the hotel seem to have been low key and similar to that used by the Simmon's Lodge, although the name Opinicon appears more frequently in the early advertising and descriptions of the area than those for Simmon's. However, by 1930 Mr. Jarrett, an astute businessman, had mounted a very impressive advertising campaign. The Opinicon Scrap Books examined are made up largely of articles extolling the Rideau Lakes and more specifically,

the Opinicon. The method and direction of advertising is best illustrated by Jarrett himself writing in Canadian Hotel Management:

... nearly all our guests are residents of cities, where turmoil and nervous tension are a part of present day life ... Offer him plenty of good food and comfortable accommodation and his wants are few ... the departed satisfied guest will verbally produce more direct advertising than the postman can deliver in a month ... (Jarrett, N.D., C.1940).

The Opinicon knew very well how to make and hold clients:

... An announcement in the way of an invitation is forwarded to each guest who has registered here during the past two seasons ... In mid winter Christmas cards bearing some suggestion of our lake country are mailed to patrons ... a trip is then arranged to several selected cities where personal contact is made with former guests ... We attend the National Sportsman's shows at Cleveland, Detroit and Pittsburg, where stuffed fish, coloured illuminated photographs is displayed ... quantities of folders are distributed to publicity Bureaus, Travel Bureaus, Automobile Clubs, hotels and clubs ... With guests who are dining with us we call at each table, thereby becoming acquainted with new patrons and renewing acquaintances with those who have been there before ... Uncontrollable conditions such as a period of rainy weather, cold days, etc., must necessarily be guarded against by creating a fraternal atmosphere that will eliminate boredom. A lending library is at the disposal of guests, and all open fire places are kept blazing at such times ... it is to mutual advantage of both friend and husband and ourselves that she (the wife) becomes an angler. Should she lack proper equipment we will provide it (Jarrett, 1934: Opinicon Scrap Book).

This rather ambitious marketing campaign bore fruit and the Opinicon became and remains the largest of the Rideau resorts. Mr. Jarrett's approach is not as easy to follow today. Brochures and advertisements are still distributed only now it is through various tourist marketing services. Extended trips to the United States are no longer economically feasible. Yet the outlook and philosophy of the hotel has not changed materially.

5.4 Jones Falls and Kenney's Hotel

Jones Falls Lock Station separates Whitefish from Sand Lake, (See Fig. X). It is one of the largest and most complex stations built by Col. By and his contractors. The largest stone dam on the system, and when it was built, the largest stone arch dam in North America, closed off a sixty-nine foot cataract which had originally joined the two lakes. There is no recorded development at the station before canal construction began in 1827. After the turmoil of construction, the station became a small collection of houses occupied by the Lockmaster, Peter Sweeney, and his staff. Because of the dam shutting off the major source of water power, the site never developed as a milling community. A man named O'Reilly had a store or tavern at the station by 1851. In 1874 the canal staff had at least one meeting in McLaughlin's Inn at the station (PAC: RG43, B4(a), vol. 207). Very little is known about these early hotels. The foundation of a third inn, Sweeney's Hotel, can also still be pointed out by the senior citizens from the area around Jones Falls (Mr. Carl White: 1982; oral history). About this hotel, no information was located.

In 1877, Thomas Bartlett Kenney, who had moved from Wexford County Ireland with his parents in 1855, established a hotel, store and post office at Jones Falls. Business apparently was good enough that he moved his operation about eighty meters from the county road to the lock-station and built a new group of buildings just before the turn of the century (See Fig. X). In 1906 an annex was added. Then in 1923 road traffic had become heavy enough that garages were fashioned out of the old horse barns to accommodate the automobiles (Thomas and Joseph Kenny: 1980; oral history). It is significant to note in the history that the original inn was moved from the county road to the waters' edge. It indicates the change in emphasis from local road traffic to the increasing importance as a tourist resort. The hotel has been operating for 105 years and is presently operated by a third generation of the Kenney family.

A 1901 description provides an early view of the hotel:

We are glad to hear again the torrent of Jones Falls and
from the vineclad balconies of the DeKenney House watch its

1948

1935

1958

Recreation on the Lakes 1930-1950

Fishing by the 1930's had become the most important reason for people visiting the Rideau Lakes.

Table IX.I
Jones Falls, 1875 - 1886

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Cargo	From	To	Remarks
Aug. 13/75	W. Warner	Ida & 4 skiffs	Pleasure Party	Kingston	Newboro	
Sep. 14/75	?	Argyle Lass	Fishing Gear	Kingston	Davis	
Nov. 4/75	A.E. Hume	Rose & 3 skiffs	Hunters	Kingston	Davis	
Nov. 6/75	?	Nile & 2 skiffs	Hunters	Jones Falls	Kingston	
Aug. 15/76	W. Warner	Ida & 4 skiffs	Hunting Party	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Aug. 19/76	W. Warner	Ida & 4 skiffs	Hunting Party	Smiths Falls	Kingston	
Aug. 19/76	D. Pike	Skiff	Light	Kingston	Davis	
Aug. 21/76	D. Pike	Skiff	Camping Utensils	Davis	Kingston	
Oct. 24/76	Goodleave	3 Rowboats	Excursion	Kingston	Newboro	
Nov. 8/76	Strahan	D.C. West, 4 rowboats	Hunting Party	Chaffey's	Kingston	
July 5/77	Moffat	Peerless	Excursion	Narrows	Kingston	
July 20/77	?	3 Rowboats	Camping Utensils	Smiths Falls	Kingston	
July 27/77	F.A. Wise	Julia	Excursion	Ottawa	Kingston	
Aug. 11/77	W. Warner	Olive & 3 skiffs	Excursion & 3 skiffs	Kingston	Newboro	
Sep. 6/77	Anglin	City of Kingston	Excursion	Kingston	Newboro	
Sep. 7/77	Anglin	City of Kingston	Excursion	Newboro	Kingston	

Canal Superintendent

Table IX, II

Jones Falls, 1875 - 1886

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Cargo	From	To	Remarks
Oct. 30/77	?	2 Rowboats	Passengers	Jones Falls	Chaffey's	
Oct. 30/77	Geo. Chaffey	Grip?	Passengers	Kingston	Davis	
Aug. 14/78	K. Rideau	D.C. West	Passengers & Grain	Westport	Kingston	
Aug. 16/78	Moffat	Peerless	Excursion	Oliver Ferry	Kingston	
Aug. 27/78	W.H. Armstrong	Crusader	Excursion	Ottawa	Kingston	
Sep. 18/78	N. Smith	Rawson	Excursion	Kingston	Ottawa	
Sep. 28/78	R. Garvin	2 Skiffs	Camping Utensils	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Jun. 3/80	?	Ida	Excursion	Merrickville	Kingston	
Jun. 30/80	K. Rideau	D.C. West	Excursion	Westport	Kingston	
Jul. 28/80	?	Clara Louise	Excursion	Kingston	Jones Falls	
Aug. 23/80	O. Kears	Morning Star	Excursion	Smiths Falls	Jones Falls	
Sep. 6/80	?	?	Excursion	Kingston	Narrows	
Sep. 8/80	?	?	Excursion	Smiths Falls	Kingston	
Oct. 20/80	?	Lizzie	Excursion	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Oct. 29/80		4 Skiffs	Hunters	Kingston	Westport	
Jun. 1/83	?	Rover	Excursion	Kingston	?	
Jul. 7/83	?	?	Excursion	Ottawa	Kingston	
Jul. 10/83	Richerson	1 Skiff	Pleasure			

return same day

Table IX.III
Jones Falls, 1875 - 1886

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Cargo	From	To	Remarks
Jul. 19/83	A. Allan	Ontario	Excursion	Kingston	Ottawa	
Jul. 19/83	K. Rideau	D.C. West	Excursion	Kingston	Westport	
Jul. 24/83	Wheeler	Minnie & 4 rowboats	Excursion	Kingston	Jones Falls	
Aug. 6/83	?	Victoria	Excursion	Kingston	Jones Falls	
Aug. 8/83	Wheeler	Minnie & 4 rowboats	Excursion	Kingston	Jones Falls	
Aug. 10/83	Porter	Rain deer	Excursion	Kingston	Jones Falls	
Aug. 10/83	Wheeler	Minnie & 4 rowboats	Excursion	Kingston	Jones Falls	Return same day
Aug. 13/83	G. Gregg	1 sloop	Excursion	Kingston	Jones Falls	
Aug. 13/83	K. Rideau	Victoria	Excursion	Ottawa	Kingston	
Aug. 20/83	Wheeler	Minnie & 4 rowboats	Excursion	Davis	Kingston	
Aug. 24/83	Wheeler	Minnie & 4 rowboats	Excursion	Kingston	Davis	
Aug. 28/83	?	Juella & rowboat	Excursion	Kingston	Davis	
Sep. 1/83	A. Allan	Ontario	Excursion	Morton	Westport	
Sep. 5/83	Reed	Jona	Excursion	Kingston	Jones Falls	Return same day
Sep. 6/83	?	Juella	Excursion	Jones Falls	Kingston	
Sep. 6/83	?	Lizzie & 3 rowboats	Excursion	Jones Falls	Kingston	first mention of Americans
Sep. 10/83	Reed	Lizzie/Jona	Excursion	Jones Falls	Kingston	
Sep. 12/83	?	John Wood	Excursion	Kingston	Ottawa	

Table IX. IV

Jones Falls, 1875 - 1886

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Cargo	From	To	Remarks
Sep. 14/83	Perkins	?	Excursion	Ottawa	Kingston	
Sep. 15/83	Perkins	?	Excursion	Kingston	Ottawa	
Sep. 21/83	Hines	James Wood	Excursion	Ottawa	Kingston	
Sep. 22/83	?	?	Excursion	Kingston	Chaffey's	
Sep. 29/83	?	?	Fishing Party	Kingston	?	Page party missing
Oct. 2/83	?	?	Fishing Party	Chaffey's	Kingston	
May 24/86	?	?	Excursion	Newboro	Jones Falls	
Jun. 10/86	?	1 Rowboat	Excursion	Kingston	Smith's Falls	
Jun. 10/86	Prof. Dugne	Vega	Excursion	Kingston	Newboro	
Jun. 14/86	?	Clarence	Fishing Party	Smith's Falls	Narrows	American
Jun. 21/86	Clark	Clarence	Fishing Party	Kingston	Narrows	American
Jun. 22/86	Westgate	Clarence	Fishing Party	Narrows	Kingston	American
Jun. 28/86	Westgate	?	Fishing Party	Westport	Kingston	
Jul. 3/86	Westgate	?	Fishing Party	Kingston	Newboro	American
Jul. 8/86	Clark	Jona	Fishing Party	Kingston	Newboro	American
Jul. 8/86	A.E. Bronson	Vesta	Excursion	Ottawa	Kingston	
Jul. 10/86	Griffiths	Sprag	Fishing Party	Kingston	Newboro	American
Jul. 12/86	Griffiths	Sprag & 2 skiffs	Fishing Party	Newboro	Kingston	American
Jul. 12/86	Clark	Jona	Fishing Party			

Table IX.V
Jones Falls, 1875 - 1886

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Cargo	From	To	Remarks
Jul. 13/86	?	?	Excursion	Ottawa	Kingston	
Jul. 23/86	Davis	Eurita	Excursion	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Jul. 27/86	Bronson	Vesta	Pleasure Party	Kingston	Ottawa	
Aug. 2/86	Guildersleeve	Sloop	Camping	Ottawa	Kingston	
Aug. 3/86	Bronson	Eurita	Pleasure Party	Ottawa	Kingston	
Aug. 5/86	Westbrook	Lucille	Fishing Party	Westport	Ottawa	American
Aug. 6/86	Bronson	Vesta	Pleasure Party	Kingston	Ottawa	
Aug. 9/86	Clark	Jona & 5 rowboats	Fishing Party	Kingston	Newboro	American
Aug. 10/86	Kelly	Lucille	Pleasure Party	Kingston	Ottawa	American
Aug. 10/86	?	?	Pleasure Party	Ottawa	Kingston	
Aug. 11/86	Westbrook	Lucille & 1 rowboat	Fishing Party	Newboro	Kingston	
Aug. 12/86	Westbrook	Jona & 2 rowboats	Fishing Party	Smiths Falls	Kingston	
Aug. 12/86	Noonan	Belle & canoe	Pleasure	Ottawa	Kingston	
Aug. 13/86	McKay	Belle	Pleasure Party	Ottawa	Kingston	
Aug. 14/86	McDonald	Rowboat	Camping Party	Davis	Jones Falls	
Aug. 16/86	Frost and C.	White Wing	Pleasure Party	Smiths Falls	Kingston	
Aug. 16/86	Westgate	Franklin & 3 row-boats	Fishing Party	Kingston	Narrows	
Aug. 16/86	Miller	Lucille & 2 row-boats	Fishing Party	Kingston	Narrows	American
Aug. 16/86	Miller	Jessie N	Fishing Party			

Table IX.VI

Jones Falls, 1875 - 1886

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Cargo	From	To	Remarks
Aug. 19/86	Westgate	Jessie N & 4 row-boats	Fishing Party	Kingston	Narrows	
Aug. 20/86	?	skiff	Fishing Party	Smiths Falls	Kingston	
Aug. 23/86	Hanly	Zephyr	Excursion	Kingston	Westport	
Aug. 26/86	Dr. Strange	skiff	Camping	Smiths Falls	Kingston	
Aug. 31/86	R. Miller	4 rowboats	Fishing Party	?	?	American
Sep. 1/86	McKay	Belle	Excursion	Kingston	Ottawa	
Sep. 3/86	?	rowboats	Fishing	Jones Falls	Kingston	American
Sep. 4/86	Dr. Mahan	2 skiffs	Hunting	Jones Falls	Smiths Falls	
Sep. 8/86	Miller	Sprag & 4 skiffs	Hunting Party	Kingston	Ottawa	American
Sep. 8/86	R. Millan	Lucille & 2 skiffs	Fishing Party	Kingston	Ottawa	American
Sep. 8/86	Hewett	canoe	Camping	Kingston	Ottawa	
Sep. 10/86	Clark	rowboat	Camping Outfit	Ottawa	Kingston	
Sep. 15/86	Clark	Jona & 4 rowboats	Fishing	Kingston	Westport	American
Sep. 17/86	Millan	3 rowboats & Sprag	Fishing	Ottawa	Kingston	American
Sep. 17/86	Rathwell	3 rowboats & Sprag	Fishing	Ottawa	Kingston	
Sep. 18/86	?	Jolie Hour & 3 row-boats	Fishing	Ottawa	Kingston	American
Sep. 21/86	Millan	Franklin & 2 row-boats	Fishing	Ottawa	Smiths Falls	American
Sep. 23/86	McLaren	McLaren	Pleasure	Kingston	Smiths Falls	

Table IX.VII
Jones Falls, 1875 - 1886

Date	Owner	Name of Craft	Cargo	From	To	Remarks
Sep. 27/86	R. Millan	Jona & 4 rowboats	Fishing	Newboro	Kingston	American
Sep. 28/86	R. Millan	Clarence	Fishing	Ottawa	Kingston	American
Sep. 28/86	Murphy	Franklin	Fishing	Smiths Falls	Kingston	
Oct. 5/86	Allick	Col. By	Hunting Party	Kingston	Smiths Falls	
Oct. 5/86	R. Millan	Jessie N & 3 rowboats	Hunting Party	Kingston	Newboro	American
Oct. 5/86	Westgate	Jona & 3 rowboats	Hunting Party	Kingston	Newboro	American
Oct. 8/86	R. Millan	Clarence & 4 rowboats	Fishing Party	Smiths Falls	Ottawa	American
Oct. 9/86	?	Juno	Hunting	Smiths Falls	Kingston	
Oct. 11/86	Westgate	Jona & 3 rowboats	Fishing Party	Smiths Falls	Kingston	
Oct. 11/86	R. Millan	Jessie N	Fishing	Smiths Falls	Kingston	American
Oct. 13/86	John Wright	rowboat	Duck Hunting	Kingston	Merrickville	American
Oct. 19/86	J. Millan	Minnie & 3 rowboats	Hunting	Kingston	Smiths Falls	American
Oct. 19/86	?	2 rowboats	Hunting	Kingston	Westport	American
Oct. 21/86	Westgate	Sprag & 3 rowboats	Hunting	Kingston	Smiths Falls	American
Oct. 22/86	Westgate	Sprag & 3 rowboats	Hunting	Newboro	Kingston	
Oct. 25/86	Westgate	Minnie & 2 rowboats	Hunting	Newboro	Kingston	American
Nov. 1/86	Col. Perry	1 rowboat	Hunting	Narrows	Kingston	American
Nov. 3/86	N. Wright	2 rowboats	Hunting	Chaffey's	Kingston	
Nov. 6/86	Westgate	Sprag & 2 rowboats	Hunting	Smiths Falls	Kingston	
Nov. 12/86	W. Weeburn	2 rowboats	Hunting	Portland	Jones Falls	
Nov. 12/86	Bailey	5 rowboats	Hunting	Narrows	Kingston	

snowy waters tumble over the huge boulders into the Lake below. This house is so largely patronized by American sportsmen that the astute host flies the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack side by side. It is a favourite resort for resort owners, and men of semi-nautical appearance lounge around and exchange fish stories after the time-honoured manner of the imaginative angler. (Picturesque Rideau Route, 1901:37).

Some poetic license has been used in this description, including the term De Kenney as an attempt at sophistication. The falls referred to is actually the waste weir that allows access water to bypass the locks. Again the importance of fishing in the creation of the resort industry is evident.

Kenney's Hotel did not have the benefit of the railway to help bring visitors to the hotel. However, in the 1880's the Brockville Westport and Sault Ste. Marie Railway mentioned earlier, passed through the village of Delta, about 10 kilometers away. The Kenneys brought guests from the station there to the hotel by horse and buggy. Mr. Carl White, one of the early fishing guides, also remembers in the 1930's the Kenneys driving to Clayton, New York in a car to pick up American visitors (Carl White, 1982: oral history). Even without the advantage of a railway link the hotel has grown and thrived longer than any other resort hotel on the system.

5.4.1 The Visitors

Kenney's Hotel had a large number of American visitors, almost from its inception. The hotel also had a high percentage of Ontario visitors, higher than the other two hotels studied. As in the other two cases, a computer analysis was done on the data from every third year and the results tabulated as shown in Table X. Selected years within the three year groupings are also chosen to help indicate any changes in the visitation over time, 1,952 cases were analysed.

early mill sites. The mills made use of the flowing water and later the locks were built to bypass the rapids. The exception, Portland, developed between the shores of Big Rideau Lake and the main provincial highway to Ottawa (and later a major railway line). It was also on the main Brockville to Perth highway, developed in 1816.

Physical geography, attractive scenery, accessibility, good fishing and a network of good accommodation, all appeared to be influential in the development of the resorts and to have played a major role in helping to sustain them.

5.5 Summary, Resorts Development

The importance of this chapter lies in the interpretation of the historic evolution of the resort industry in the Rideau Lakes. Each area developed as a result of a number of factors. Particularly important are the general dates for commencement of the tourist industry and the reasons for their development. Kenney's Hotel commenced operation in 1877, Westport and Simmon's Hotel were in operation by 1887; all the other major resorts on the Rideau Lakes were in operation by 1900. Since then, no new resorts have been developed on the Rideau Lakes, except the Tweedsmuir in Westport, which replaced the older hotels in 1929. The resorts have also had very few owners. Kenney's and Simmon's have been in the same family throughout their history. Garretts Rest remained in the same family until its closing in 1947. Rideau Ferry Inn, and the Rideau had only two owners before 1955. The Opinicon is the only resort that changed hands many times during its early history. The changes, however, were not too significant, since the ownership was transferred among the members of the same club until the late 1920's when the present owners purchased the hotel. This long and relatively stable history supports the statement made by Wall:

... There has been a tendency to stress change, rapid rates of growth, and the instability of recreational patterns in the recent past, and the considerable continuity in recreational land use has been overlooked (Wall, 1979a).

The dates of development for the Rideau resorts (1877-1900) coincide fairly closely with the development of other resorts which were not on the main St. Lawrence - Great Lakes shipping routes. The Kawartha's, Muskoka's and the Back Lakes developed following the American Civil War which appears to have been the time when conditions were right for the expansion of the tourist industry.

American visitation was an extremely important element in the development of the tourist industry on the Rideau Lakes. Simmon's and the Opinicon had more American visitors than Canadian. Kenney's Hotel at Jones Falls had a higher Canadian visitation but Americans still accounted for almost half the total visitation. There were other slight differences

in these three resorts. Simmon's had 50% more male than female visitors; Kenney's and the Opinicon also had a slightly higher rate of male to female, but not as great as Simmon's. Simmon's was the most sports fishing oriented of the three, and concentrated throughout its history on attracting fishermen (personal communication: James Simmons). Kenney's appears to have been more family oriented, with the Opinicon falling somewhere in between. All, however, are still known and referred to locally by the term "fishing lodges".

In their marketing strategy they also differed. Simmon's has been the least active, depending more on word of mouth than formal methods. Kenney's too has depended a great deal on its reputation and satisfied customers to attract new clients and hold old ones. It has, however, maintained a higher profile in the more traditional sources of advertising. The Opinicon was similar to Kenney's in its advertising until 1929 when Mr. Jarrett bought the hotel. He launched a very aggressive promotional campaign which resulted in it becoming the largest and most active resort on the entire Rideau Canal. It remains so to this day, although the cost of advertising has curtailed some of the more elaborate types of promotion such as visiting clients and large displays at sportsmen shows.

It is interesting to note as well that access seems to have played an important part in the development of these resorts.

The importance of rail and steamboat communication was discussed in Chapter 4. This chapter points out another interesting facet in regards to accessibility. All the major resorts developed at sites with some similar accessibility characteristics. Chaffey's Lock, Jones Falls and Newboro were lockstations on the Rideau Canal. Railway lines made crossings at Chaffey's, Newboro as well as at Westport and Portland. With the exception of Chaffey's, all the major resorts were also along main county or principal roads linking the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario with the Rideau Lakes.

Rideau resorts, with the exception of Portland, occur at "narrows" between various water bodies. They were points where bridges could be put across the line of Rideau Lakes. As well, the narrowings almost always made water power available, hence villages grew up around these

early mill sites. The mills made use of the flowing water and later the locks were built to bypass the rapids. The exception, Portland, developed between the shores of Big Rideau Lake and the main provincial highway to Ottawa (and later a major railway line). It was also on the main Brockville to Perth highway, developed in 1816.

Physical geography, attractive scenery, accessibility, good fishing and a network of good accommodation, all appeared to be influential in the development of the resorts and to have played a major role in helping to sustain them.

CHAPTER 6

COMPARATIVE AND CUMULATIVE ANALYSIS OF RESORT DEVELOPMENT, 1877-1955

6.1 Purpose

Combining the data from the three major hotels, permits further interpretation and analysis of the general historic pattern of development and visitation outlined in Chapter Five. This combining of data is possible because of the close geographical proximity of all the resort areas. Rideau Ferry, the most distant, is only 20 kilometers from Chaffey's and 25 kilometers from Jones Falls and Kenney's Hotel. What little information is available on the other resorts indicates a marked similarity to the developments under study. It should not be assumed, however, that all the hotels are the same, as each resort has its own unique character. The major data source used was the hotel registers. The other secondary sources were used to complement data from the registers and to interpret the general historical development of tourism.

6.2 The Visitor

The hotel registers proved to be particularly useful in determining such elements as visitor origin, party size, total visitation at each resort, visitation over time, both seasonally and annually, and something of the visitor activity pattern.

6.2.1 Visitor Origin

The registers indicate that during the span of the registers, 60.8 percent of visitation came from 23 cities, 12 on the Canadian side of the border and the remaining 11 on the American side. Table XII was calculated from the guest registers of the three hotels and does not include data from the Opinicon Hotel Christmas card lists. Straight line distance from the point of origin to the Rideau Lakes was also recorded. Chaffey's Lock was chosen as the end point since it is central

to the whole Rideau Lakes area.

Figure XI indicates a number of interesting dimensions. The 12 major Canadian cities account for 31.9 percent of total visitation to the three hotels. Not surprisingly, Ottawa and Kingston provide the largest share of visitors. Ottawa lies at the northern terminus of the Rideau Canal and Kingston at the southern entrance. Proximity and ease of access are reflected in the high visitation as well as the relatively large size of the National Capital and Kingston. The smaller local centers of Smiths Falls, Perth, Newboro and Westport are also on the Rideau Waterway and provided a significant amount of additional visitation. In total, communities on the Rideau Canal accounted for 18 percent of the total visitation. With the exception of Toronto and Montreal, the other communities listed are also in close proximity to the Rideau Lakes via water routes and roads that were established early in the 19th century. It is evident that local or regional communities accounted for a very significant percentage of total Canadian visitation.

New York, N.Y., and its New Jersey suburb of Paterson, provided over 10 percent of the total American visitation. Other New York state cities that provided a significant proportion of the visitation included Rochester, Buffalo, Elmira, and Alexandria Bay. Collectively, these cities provided an additional 8.9 percent of the total visitation. Close to 20 percent of the total American visitors came from these five American cities.

Rochester and Alexandria Bay were within easy access by steamboat and rail in the early days, being on the shores of Lake Ontario and on the St. Lawrence respectively. Rail connection seems to have been as important as water transportation. Excellent rail connections from New York Central Railway with the Brockville Westport Sault Ste. Marie Railway (later the Brockville Westport North Western) made access to the area easy. The New York Central Railway advertised extensively its connective service with the Brockville Westport and Sault Ste. Marie Railway and overnight service to Ottawa (PAC: RG30, vol. 10757). Communications routes for other American cities are less clearly defined. A detailed description of transportation links to and from the Rideau Lakes has been discussed in Chapter Four.

Table XI

Cities Providing Greater than .5% of Total Visitation and
Straight-Line Distances to the Rideau Resort Area, 1894 - 1955

<u>Canada</u>	<u>Province</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Dist. Km.</u>
<u>City</u>			
Toronto	Ont.	4.2	282
Montreal	P.Q.	2.9	242
Ottawa	Ont.	8.3	81
Brockville	Ont.	2.4	56
Kingston	Ont.	5.5	52
Gananoque	Ont.	2.7	40
Smiths Falls	Ont.	2.0	40
Athens	Ont.	.8	24
Elgin	Ont.	.9	8
Newboro	Ont.	.6	8
Westport	Ont.	.6	8
<u>United States</u>			
<u>City</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Dist. Km.</u>
Cleveland	Ohio	2.3	580
Pittsburgh	Pa.	1.6	580
Youngstown	Ohio	3.5	564
Philadelphia	Pa.	1.5	523
New York	N.Y.	9.1	483
Elmira	N.Y.	1.0	322
Paterson	N.J.	1.0	300
Buffalo	N.Y.	1.4	290
Rochester	N.Y.	5.8	201
Alexandria	N.Y.	.7	81

Figure XII

FLOW DIAGRAM

RIDEAU LAKES RESORTS VISITOR ORIGINS 1894 - 1955
(Excluding local origins within 50 km, and centres accounting for less than 1%)

10 0
1 mm represents 1 % of total visitation

Table XI and Fig. XII also indicate that the maximum distance that visitors travelled in significant numbers was within 600 kilometers of Chaffey's Lock. The general market area thus included Ontario's Great Lakes cities and Montreal and American cities within a 600 km radius with definite rail and steamboat connection largely to Kingston, the southern terminus of the Rideau Canal, or from Toronto, Brockville, and Montreal via railways. Brockville and Kingston both seemed to serve as entry points for American and Canadian steamboats and they provide rail connections with the New York Central.

6.2.2 Party Size and Male/Female Ratio

The registers provided enough data to determine party size. Analysis of party size and sex ratio are given in Table XIII. The average party size for the three hotels is 2.3. Simmon's having had the smallest party size and the Opinicon the largest. The small party size at Simmon's reflects the emphasis on individual (usually men) coming to fish and meeting friends. Kenney's and the Opinicon although catering to fishermen, also were more family oriented. The sex of the visitors shows that between 20 and 50 percent more males than females visited the resorts. This is to be expected since all three resorts were known for their fishing, a sport that appears more directly related to males than females. No specific statistics were kept on the numbers of children but general observations of the registers indicates that over 80 percent of the parties signing the registers did not include children.

6.2.3 Length of Stay

Unfortunately, average length of stay was virtually impossible to calculate, with confidence. Through knowledge of the cost of a meal and a night's accommodation, some lengths of stay could be determined. They are outlined in Table XII, but statistically they are of only minimal value. Interviews with several guides and hotel owners suggested that, at least in the 1930's and 40's, the majority of people stayed approximately five to seven days (guides: James Simmons, Carl White and Don Warren; hotel owners: Mr. Kenney of Kenney's, Mrs. Jarrett and Mr. and Mrs. Cross of the Opinicon).

TABLE XI1
LENGTH OF STAY 1894 - 1955

	<u>Valid Observations</u>	<u>Missing</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Kenney's	33	1919	6.8
Opinicon	147	1785	8.6
Simmon's	106	1137	6.7
Cumulative	286	4841	7.7

Fleming, in When the Fish are Rising, states that:

" I talked to the owners of five of our leading hotels and fishing resorts. After going over their books, they were agreed that the average length of visit in the Province is not less than ten days for each permit-holder (fishing permits), with a small percentage coming back three and four times in a season. (Fleming: 1947;85).

A few people appear to have come in May and June with their trunks and stayed the whole summer (Jarrett: 1980, oral history). The length of stay, unfortunately, is one of the areas where it was not possible, from the registers or other data sources, to arrive at any firm conclusions. There was enough agreement amongst senior citizens, guides, owners, and the scanty records to suggest that a large portion of the visitors, particularly from the United States, probably stayed a week or longer.

6.2.4 Total Visitation

It was possible from the registry data to calculate the number of visitors coming to the resorts under study during the tourist season (May to October). The number coming to each individual hotel could also be calculated.

The procedure used was relatively simple. The mean registration was calculated for each year studied for each hotel, that is, the data for every third year was used to calculate the mean. This was multiplied by the respective party size to give the average number of visitors per year at each hotel. This annual figure was then multiplied by the number of years for which records are available for each hotel to give the total

number of visitors at each hotel over the study period. Table XIV outlines the results for each hotel.

The data in Table XIV implies that resort tourism was an important element in the economic fabric of the Rideau Lakes area, particularly if it is realized that we are focusing here on only three of approximately eight such resorts on the lakes.

6.3 Seasonal Patterns

The seasonal patterns of visitation were relatively easy to calculate. Frequency distributions by month, by year, by resort were calculated using the SPSS program (Klecka, 1975:65-69). The results graphed in Figure XIII outline the results of the tabulation. For all three lodges the visitor season usually started in May and ended in October, much as the season does in 1983. Only the Opinicon has an expanded season (April - November). What differed from modern patterns was the relatively high visitation in August. Both the Opinicon and Simmon's showed more visitation in August than in July. Kenney's was the only one of the three that consistently showed a higher number of visitors in July. July and August together showed the greatest influx of visitors, as is the case today.

6.4 Visitor Activity

It was suggested in Chapter Four that hunting was a major reason drawing the first stage of tourists to the Rideau Lakes. Along with the hunters came the occasional "pleasure party". It was not, however, until after the American Civil War that tourism began to grow significantly on the Rideau Lakes. By the mid 1880's, fishing had emerged as a major activity, surpassing hunting and by the turn of the century appeared to be the single most important activity drawing people to the lakes. All three local resorts studied are still referred to by visitors and local residents as "fishing lodges". The halls and dining room walls of the resorts are still festooned with fishing trophies, both mounted catches and photographs. The Opinicon has a very predominant "liars bench" in front of the store, where fishermen have exchanged fishing stories for at least 50 years.

Mr. Jarret, former owner of the Opinicon, wrote a number of articles

Table XIII
Party Size and Sex Composition for Three Principle Rideau Lakes Resorts

1894 - 1955

<u>Resort</u>	<u>Years Data Available</u>	<u>Average Party Size</u>	<u>Missing Data for Party Size</u>	<u>No. of Females</u>	<u>No. of Males</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Kenney's	1894-1926	2.28	15 of 1952	787	937	1/1.18
Opnlmcon	1907-1928	2.42	12 of 1932	871	1064	1/1.22
Simmon's	1926-1955	2.11	10 of 1242	660	975	1/1.50
² Average		2.3		773	992	1/F.28

Table XIV
Number of Visitors by Hotel

<u>Hotel</u>	<u>Years of Data</u>	<u>Average Registrations Per Year</u>	<u>Party Size</u>	<u>Yearly Visits</u>	<u>Total Visitation for Entire Period</u>
Kenney's	32 years 1894-1926	216	2.28	535.68	18,213
Opinion	21 years 1907-1928	241	2.42	583.22	12,248
*Opinion	14 years 1939-1955	344.5	2.42	809.49	11,333
Simmons	39 years 1926-1955	124.3	2.11	262.27	10,228
Total(s) / Means	108 years	229 mean	2.27 mean	547.65 mean	52,022 total

* from Christmas Card Lists

Figure XIII

MONTHLY VISITATION BY RESORT

Figure 14

VISITOR PATTERNS 1894-1955

about the fishing and advertisements for all the hotels supporting the idea of sports and fishing as a major attraction for tourists (Opinicon Scrapbook, 1930-55, Fleming, 1947, Rideau Lakes Navigation Company: 1900, 1914, 1925).

Very little information on activities could be drawn from the hotel registers. Other data sources are fortunately available. These were the Lockmaster's journals, the Opinicon scrap books and large numbers of old photographs.

6.4.1 Old Photographs and Other Sources

As indicated in Chapter One, one of the major reasons for undertaking this study was to investigate the usefulness of various data sources not often explored or available to recreational geographers. The hotel registers and lockstation records have already been examined. This section of the paper will concentrate on other sources such as local written histories, oral histories, and particularly a large number of old photographs.

Most of the 1,500 historic photos are held by the Parks Canada, Rideau Canal main office in Smiths Falls, Ontario. Two hundred photographs showing various recreational activities in the Rideau Lakes area were found in the collection. They had been collected from various individuals and public sources, and cover the period 1869 to present. It was difficult to determine exactly how representative the pictures are. Many were taken by guides or their clients, hence had an obvious "fisherman's bias". One of the most prolific and remembered photographers was a Mr. Pennock who was both a barber and professional photographer. His work provides us with a very selective sample of recreational activities at Chaffey's Lock, from 1904 to approximately 1920. In 1909 an article appeared in the Westport Mirror concerning Mr. Pennock:

Nothing has done so much towards bringing the attention of tourists to the Rideau Lakes as the art of photography and no photographer has in recent years done more by his art towards advertising the Killarney of Canada than the subject of his sketch Mr. C.J. Pennock, who is located every summer at the Idylwyld (Opinicon Hotel) Chaffey's Lock. Throughout the winter Mr. Pennock is engaged on his specialty the printing of postal cards of scenes, hunting, fishing, camping, etc. ... (Fleming, 1981:306).

Pennock's photos provide many of our early views of Chaffey's. Many other anonymous photographers took pictures which have found their way into scrap books and family albums throughout the Rideau Lakes area. Together they give an excellent view of life style and activities of the tourists who came to the area during the summers from approximately 1884 to 1955.

The two hundred photographs depicting leisure activities, were carefully examined and the activities noted. One factor was immediately obvious, some photographs were near duplicates of others. They were of the same people, dressed the same way, engaged in the same activity. These near duplicates were discarded except for one example of each group. This reduced the overall number of photographs to one hundred and one. These were divided into six categories; fishing, pleasure boating, picnicing, camping, hunting and miscellaneous. The results are tabulated in Table XV. The tabulation of activity types, from the Lockmaster's journals, for the period 1863-1877 are repeated here. The journal tabulation was not continued beyond 1877 due largely to the increased number of entries. The time required for a tabulation would have been prohibitive. The photos cover a period from approximately 1883 to 1955. Together the two sources provide further insights into tourist activities in the Rideau Lakes.

TABLE XV

ACTIVITY TYPES BY PERCENTAGE

<u>Sample 104 photos (1883-1955)</u>		<u>Sample 32 Entries (1863-1877)</u>
		<u>From Lockmaster's Books</u>
Fishing	31.7	9.4
Pleasure Boating	27.0	37.5
Picnicing	6.7	not recorded
Camping	17.3	18.8
Hunting	5.8	34.4
Miscellaneous	12.5	N/A

The interpretation of these sources posed problems. The hunting percentage in both cases may be inflated, since most of the people in the photographs are local residents of the Rideau Lakes area and not tourists.

The camping figures may also be somewhat misleading since many fishermen used tents, particularly before 1939, as did people travelling through in pleasure boats, hence a photograph of a tent may be that of a fishing party. In order to attempt to confirm or refute these and the other inferences drawn from the photographs they were compared with evidence from local oral histories and the Lockmaster's journals. The interpretation from these several sources are outline below.

6.4.2 Fishing

During the long period 1883-1955, fishing appears to have become and remained, the single most important pursuit visitors engaged in, while staying at the resorts on the Rideau Lakes. The photographs show particularly large numbers of small and large mouth bass. Lake trout and muskalunge were also commonly noted but took second place to the bass.

The sports fishery was important enough that in 1947, Clint Fleming, a Chaffey's Lock guide wrote a book, When the Fish are Rising, on the fishing in and around the Rideau Lakes. He also included several tall tales, and hunting stories. Mr. Fleming made it clear what his attitude towards the Rideau Lakes was:

Taken all together, the (the Rideau Lakes) form a network of picturesque, island-studded lakes of indescribable beauty, fifty or more in all. Radiating from Chaffey's Lock, where my camp is located, they have held the distinction for a half century and more of being the best largemouth black bass fishing water in all of Canada (Fleming, 1947:ix).

Later Fleming points out:

We depend on our fish and game for an economic existence ... (Fleming, 1947:xix).

In one chapter Fleming suggests the yearly income derived from sports fishing at Chaffey's Lock. He based his figures on the approximately 1,000 fishing permits he claims he sold each year. It does not include Canadian fishermen who did not need permits nor does it take into account any other type of tourism except fishing. He maintains that by the late 1930's and early 1940's \$150,000 was made from May to September, just for the Chaffey's Lock area. He breaks his figures down as follows:

Lodging, including tips	\$ 50,000
Bait	10,000
Permit Sales	5,000
Boat and Equipment Rentals	5,000
Bar Bill	5,000
Guides	<u>40,000</u>
	\$115,000

(Fleming, 1947:81-92)

The remaining \$35,000 he claims comes from sales at other resorts in the Rideau Lakes. Considering the importance of Westport, Newboro, Portland and Jones Falls his figures may be somewhat low. They do, however, emphasize that sports fishing had an important economic impact on the Rideau Lakes. The importance of the sports fishing activity is substantiated by the innumerable articles in the Opinicon Hotel scrap books, advertising brochures and recollections of many long time residents of the area.

6.4.3 Pleasure Boating

A large number of photographs taken between 1904 and 1939, show people out on casual boat trips. The most common vehicle shown was the small 19 to 22 foot St. Lawrence River skiff. The skiffs were rowed by gentlemen taking their ladies for a romantic cruise and families out for an afternoon of relaxation.

Larger groups in small steamboats or gas powered launches were also common subjects for pictures. The first mention of gas powered launches on the Rideau Lakes occurred in November of 1902, when one owned by Wm. Laishley (owner of the Opinicon Resort) begins to pass back and forth through Chaffey's Lock. By 1908 all the major resorts and some private individuals possessed gas powered boats.

Pleasure boating was popular enough that by 1897 the first of many yearly regattas was held at Rideau Ferry, at the north end of the Rideau Lakes. It was, however, with the coming of the relatively inexpensive gas launch that private pleasure boating on the Rideau Lakes began in earnest. Their arrival was not greeted with enthusiasm by everyone:

The coming of the gasoline launches in the early 1900's changed the style of the regatta. The cottagers who did not own those new-fangled contraptions were most unhappy about them and, at one time, a petition was circulated amongst the summer residents to prohibit the use of gasoline powered boats on the Rideau Lakes. It is recorded that in 1908 no less than 41 gasoline launches were owned in Perth and 36 in Smiths Falls ... (Record News, 1952:6).

The next progression in pleasure boating was the even more noisy arrival of the outboard motor. The earliest record that has yet been found by the author, for outboards on the Rideau, was one owned by Mr. Byron McCaw of Smiths Falls, who had one by 1917 (oral history, August, 1982). Regardless of the first outboard's date of arrival, by the 1930's they were becoming common on the lakes. Photographs, scrap books, advertising literature, and oral histories, all attest to the fact that pleasure boating was a major activity providing recreation for many thousands over the years.

6.4.4 Picnicking

One of the earliest recreational photographs found, shows picnickers at Davic Lock c.1880 (PA 8825). Other photos show large numbers of young people dressed in "whites" enjoying picnics at various places along the shore of the Rideau.

Large community picnics, sponsored by everyone from the local volunteer fire departments to churches were very common. The Kenny Hotel registers for 1899 show several picnic parties. On July 27th, 1899, for example, a picnic party of 11 stopped at the resort. The party consisted of people from Bardner, Illinois, Elgin, Gananoque and Delta, Ontario. Such reference occurs occasionally throughout the registers and Lockmasters' journals as well as in the recollections of most of the senior citizens the author interviewed.

6.4.5 Camping

Camping is by no means a recent addition to outdoor recreation activities. As noted earlier, Lady Simcoe "camped" at Niagara Falls in 1790. Camping was an important recreational activity throughout the Rideau Lakes. Places such as Chaffey's Lock had unofficial camping areas at least as early as 1890 and possibly earlier. Camping seems to have

been of two types. One was the simple tent of the overnight visitor, fishermen, or hunting party. The second type was the very elaborate canvas house set up for the duration of the tourist season on a permanent wooden platform, and used by one family as a cottage. They were often large enough to be divided into rooms, including living room, kitchen, bedroom and even porches (Figure XV). These semi-permanent "camps" were the forerunners of the permanent cottages that developed around the lakes after 1890 (Lewis, 1980: oral history). This evolution from tent to cottage is the most probable explanation as to why most of the cottage owners who have been coming to the area since the early years of the 20th century, refer to their cottages as "camps". Camping was also closely associated with fishing and hunting; many hunters and fishermen "camped" along the shores of the Rideau Lakes. There was no evidence found of the camps being associated with churches or camp meetings as they were on the St. Lawrence.

6.4.6 Hunting

There is little visual evidence of hunting in the photographic records. The few photos that have been discovered show duck and deer hunting. Most of the men in the pictures have been identified as local residents, hence hunting as a drawing card for tourists is suspect. There is, however, evidence that duck hunting may have brought some nimrods to the area of the Rideau Lakes. As evident in Tables I, II, and III, hunting generally became less important as the 19th century closed. Mr. White, a fishing guide for many years, has told the author that deer were simply rare in the Rideau Lakes during his lifetime. This observation is supported by Mr. Arther McCaw, a local Smiths Falls hunter now in his 82nd year, (oral history, Mr. Arther McCaw, August, 1982, White, April, 1981).

The duck hunting is remembered by many local residents. The village of Newboro seems to have been particularly important as indicated in this c.1914 account of an arrival at the village in the summer:

"It is Newboro", she was told. "It isn't a very exciting place now, but you should see it in September and October, when people come from all over for duck shooting" (Van Epps, 1930:60).

One of the important and rare sources of information were the lockmasters' record books. They included information on various pleasure craft that travelled throughout the Rideau Lakes. Whether most lockstations recorded all the tourist or "pleasure" craft is not certain. The records, were however, numerous and consistent over the whole study period, making the occasional recording oversight of little consequence.

Along with the lockmasters' records were the letter books and the personal diary of Lockmaster Peter Sweeney (1839-1851). These provided considerable additional material.

Along with these government records there were a number of private sources of considerable importance. These included personal diaries such as that of Martha Phillips, and particularly after 1900, the local histories and the memories of the senior citizens. The author conducted several formal oral interviews and drew on others already completed by Parks Canada, to gain a clearer picture of early tourism and the development of the resorts. These, along with over 200 old photographs and many informal discussions with local citizens and hotel owners, helped to reinforce the interpretation of resort development in the Rideau Lakes.

The author did not make great use of more traditional sources of material, such as land records and census and tax records because they are well known to most researchers. Time constraints, and the fact that one of the major objectives of the paper was to evaluate the less traditional and somewhat unique sources, lead to a concentration on these uncommon sources. A further study of these more conventional records would be most helpful, in the future, particularly in the locating of early resorts, their dates of operation and in reinforcing some of the conclusions reached in this paper.

In summary, all the sources studied appeared to be of value in piecing together the evolution and nature of the resort industry in the Rideau Lakes.

7.3 Observation and Interpretations

7.3.1 Early Tourism, 1828-94

Access was one of the earliest and most critical elements in the

Smiths Falls, just to the north of the Rideau Lakes has the distinction of being a leading centre for duck decoy carving. Smiths Falls is known for this art world-wide. Three carvers were still operating from the town in 1982 and have had exhibits in Europe as well as throughout North America. The history of carving decoys goes back to the Nicholes family and appears to have started in the 1880's (NFB film; The Smiths Falls Carvers 1980 and oral histories, Mr. Harold Nicholes).

6.4.7 Miscellaneous Recreational Activities

Regattas at Portland and Rideau Ferry (Record News, 1952:6, Moore, 1982:99) have already been discussed. Other recreational activities shown in the photographic records show ice boating, skiing, swimming and simply relaxing.

Although no conclusive results can be derived from the photographs and paintings by themselves, when combined with oral traditions and local histories they point to a very busy life for tourists. From the predominant fishing to relaxing, a wide range of outdoor recreational activities can be discerned. It is these activities with the ease of access and the scenic beauty that brought and continue to bring tourists to the Rideau Lakes.

6.5 Summary, Comparative and Cumulative Analysis

This chapter has attempted to broaden and clarify the general 1800 - 1955 historic pattern of development and visitation presented in Chapter Five. The data from Chapter Five was combined in various ways to permit comparison between resort hotels as well as providing indications of overall trends. The results of these data manipulations were then elaborated and reinforced, through the use of some secondary information sources not previously reported in detail in this paper. These included oral and written histories, local histories and most importantly, old photographs. In addition, providing a clearer view of the nature and evolution of the resort industry in the Rideau Lakes, this chapter has shown the importance of the data sources themselves.

Chapter Six has answered, more specifically, the question of visitor origins, and the market area for the resorts. This chapter provided more

specific information on the visitor origins, based on 61 percent of the visitation came from 23 urban areas, 12 in Canada and 11 in the United States. The major market area extended from Montreal in the east to Toronto in the west, north to Ottawa and south to New York City. Six hundred kilometers appears to be the maximum distance of travel for the vast majority of visitors. Moreover, it appears clear that the pattern persisted over the entire period from 1894 to 1955.

The Main tourist season was largely as it is at present, July and August. August was slightly more popular than July for visiting the area. This is the reverse of the present (1970 to 1982) pattern, according to the local resort owners. No real reason for this has been determined.

The combined visitor volumes of the resorts studied suggests that tourism has had a definite economic impact on the surrounding area. However, an economic impact study was beyond the scope of this paper. Further research will be required to provide an answer to the question of the economic importance of the industry to the area.

Further information on what kinds of activities tourists came to enjoy was also discussed in this chapter. One of the most useful sources of information were the many old photographs. The photographs tended to reinforce the interpretation that sports fishing was a continuous and the single most important activity. This was confirmed by the locally written histories such as Fleming's When the Fish are Rising as well as the oral histories. Sports fishing appeared to be followed closely in popularity by pleasure boating, camping and picnicking.

Lastly, this chapter has demonstrated the importance and value of the uncommon and unique data sources available to the author. The hotel registers, lockmasters' journals, local written histories, oral traditions, old photographs and scrap books have all proven very valuable. Individually they provide many useful insights and indications. Collectively, and combined with other records, these sources, have helped to generate a more complete and informative portrayal of the early resort industry in the study area.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Goals and Objectives

The overall goal of this paper was to explore the evolution of the historic resort development of the Rideau Lakes area of Eastern Ontario. Specific attention was paid to the resort hotel industry.

The Rideau Lakes area offered some unusual local sources of data that, to the author's knowledge, have not been explored by other researchers in the field, nor are they generally available in other established recreational areas of Ontario. The data from these uncommon sources were used to seek answers to the following questions:

- i. When did tourists start arriving in the Rideau Lakes and how does the time frame compare with other recreational areas of Ontario?
- ii. Who were the early tourists to the Rideau Lakes and where did they come from?
- iii. How many tourists came and why did they come?
- iv. How did they come and did the means of transportation vary over time?
- v. Did the local sources themselves have potential in historic recreational geography research?
- vi. How did the overall development of the Rideau Lakes compare with the development of other early recreational areas in the province?

An attempt was made in this study to answer these questions by drawing on a wide variety of sources.

7.2 Methodological Summary

Several unusual sources of data were discovered and used in the course

of this study. The most intriguing and most intensively used sources were the registers of the three resort hotels selected for detailed study. These, along with the Christmas card lists from the Opinicon Hotel, lockmasters' record books, local and oral histories as well as old photographs and personal diaries were combined to interpret the resort history of the Rideau Lakes.

The registers and the closely related Christmas card lists provided the bulk of the statistical data. Three hotels provided registers. Kenney's Hotel at Jones Falls had the oldest registers covering the period 1894 to 1926. Simmon's Resort provided data from 1926 to 1955, and its close neighbour, the Opinicon, provided registers from 1907 to 1928. The latter two resorts are both located at Chaffey's Lock, a small community in the heart of the Rideau Lakes, that served as the intensive study area. Every third year of each register was used as a sample. The data encoded into the computer included: name of the hotel, whether the person(s) stayed overnight, day, month and year of arrival, city of origin, state of province of origin, length of stay, number in party, sex of registrants, and any short comments that might prove useful. Five thousand one hundred and fifty one individual cases were encoded; 1,932 for the Opinicon, 1952 for Kenney's and 1,243 for Simmon's. The data was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS: Klecka, 1977).

The information obtained from the various computer programs in the SPSS package allowed the author to determine for each establishment, the geographic market area, seasonal frequency, number of visitors per month, per year, over the life the registers, average party size, length of stay, sex ratio and percentage by state, province and city. The Christmas card list was a complementary source that provided information on the place of origin of visitors at the Opinicon Hotel from 1939 to 1955.

Complete records were not found for the study period (1877-1955) for any of the hotels. However, when the data from all three resort hotel registers was combined, an overview was possible. This data, combined with the other sources, provided a picture of resort evolution on the Rideau Lakes.

One of the important and rare sources of information were the lockmasters' record books. They included information on various pleasure craft that travelled throughout the Rideau Lakes. Whether most lockstations recorded all the tourist or "pleasure" craft is not certain. The records, were however, numerous and consistent over the whole study period, making the occasional recording oversight of little consequence.

Along with the lockmasters' records were the letter books and the personal diary of Lockmaster Peter Sweeney (1839-1851). These provided considerable additional material.

Along with these government records there were a number of private sources of considerable importance. These included personal diaries such as that of Martha Phillips, and particularly after 1900, the local histories and the memories of the senior citizens. The author conducted several formal oral interviews and drew on others already completed by Parks Canada, to gain a clearer picture of early tourism and the development of the resorts. These, along with over 200 old photographs and many informal discussions with local citizens and hotel owners, helped to reinforce the interpretation of resort development in the Rideau Lakes.

The author did not make great use of more traditional sources of material, such as land records and census and tax records because they are well known to most researchers. Time constraints, and the fact that one of the major objectives of the paper was to evaluate the less traditional and somewhat unique sources, lead to a concentration on these uncommon sources. A further study of these more conventional records would be most helpful, in the future, particularly in the locating of early resorts, their dates of operation and in reinforcing some of the conclusions reached in this paper.

In summary, all the sources studied appeared to be of value in piecing together the evolution and nature of the resort industry in the Rideau Lakes.

7.3 Observation and Interpretations

7.3.1 Early Tourism, 1828-94

Access was one of the earliest and most critical elements in the

development of the Rideau Lakes as a tourist area. The Rideau Canal, completed in 1832, provided easy direct access from a time before tourism was important. The canal provided quick, comfortable and relatively cheap transportation into the interior of Eastern Ontario.

Early accommodation along the shore of the lakes was provided by the many inns and taverns found in the villages along the length of the Rideau Canal after construction was completed. Most of the villages that have survived are at lockstations or other water control structures where water power was available. These inns combined with tents, provided the earliest forms of accommodation in the Rideau Lakes.

The area was also attractive to some, providing excellent scenery and good sport in the form of fishing and hunting. Military men, particularly from Kingston Garrison at the southern terminus of the Rideau Canal, took advantage of the fishing and hunting.

Although access, limited accommodation and attractiveness were present, the growth in the tourist industry was slow. The reasons for the slowness may have had several causes, no one of which was paramount. Possibly, few people in the early to mid nineteenth century perceived wilderness as something desirable. Barker, Phillips and Kingston all suggested that the Rideau Lakes had fine scenery but after a short time became boring. Few apparently showed any desire to stop for a longer stay. The area was seen as something to be endured as one travelled between points of civilization. The existing agrarian society of pre-civil war North America also meant that for the majority of people "outdoor" recreation did not hold any great fascination.

Economics as well as perceptions may have played a part. Canada and the United States were still largely agrarian in the 1850's. Little time could be spent by the majority of people travelling for pleasure. Only the elite, the military officers, and the well-to-do, had the leisure time to travel. The religious camp meeting and the "bee" were the major recreational events, but the majority of the population did not have the money to spend to support a recreational industry. It was only when industrialization began to take on increased importance in 1865, following the American Civil War that the middle class stimulated the development of

a recreational industry.

The Rideau Lakes may have also had their growth somewhat retarded by intervening opportunities. The Thousand Island, Charleston Lake and Beverly Lake resort areas all developed before the 1877 opening of Kenney's Hotel on the Rideau Lakes. All three of these areas lay between the Rideau Lakes and the shores of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, and provided a closer and a similar type of recreation potential to the many Americans and the urban Canadians who used them.

It would appear that although access, accommodation and attractions were available for the visitor the time itself was not right until 1865. It was not until after the American Civil War that money, time and an apparent change in perceptions of the vacationer, caused resort recreation to expand in the Rideau Lakes.

The real age of the luxury steamer began towards the end of this early period with the arrival of the Ella Ross in 1873. These palace steamers with their gourmet meals, velvet upholstery, electric lights and patent spring mattresses were very attractive for the middle class tourist of the Victorian Era.

7.3.2 The Resorts, 1877-1955

During the early period (1828-1894), accommodation such as inns, taverns and tents had provided shelter for the occasional visitors who came to the Rideau Lakes. However, by 1877 enough people were visiting the Rideau Lakes, particularly the area around Jones Falls Lockstation, that Thomas Bartlett Kenney was prompted to establish the first resort on the Rideau Lakes. This resort was followed by Simmon's (1886), Garretts (1889) and the Opinicon (1899). There were a number of other resorts that opened during the latter half of the nineteenth century, but unfortunately little information is available on them.

The data from the hotel registers showed each of the three resorts examined had its own character and clientele, although they were not significantly different.

Simmon's Lodge at Chaffey's Lock, catered more to men than the other

two major resorts studied. It was also smaller and seems to have been more of a "gentlemen's" fishing lodge. The percentage of visitation from United States was also higher in proportion to the other resorts. Michigan, a rather distant state, supplied a surprisingly large number of visitors. Simmon's did not advertise as much as the Opinicon and Kenney's and seems to have relied on word of mouth for most of its clientele.

Kenney's Hotel at Jones Falls, had a larger number of Canadian visitors than its contemporaries, possibly because it was connected by road and canal with local communities such as Brockville, Kingston, Lyndhurst, Elgin and Athens. It is also the only one of the three major hotels studied to have a higher July than August visitation. No reason for this difference could be determined. It is possible that many of its guests were farmers from the surrounding area who took a "short" holiday before harvest. The proximity of Jones Falls to the St. Lawrence, and its beautiful location below a flight of four locks, made it a natural stopping place for small boats. It takes approximately an hour to lock a boat through the locks at Jones Falls. Much of the boat traffic may have found it a barrier not worth surmounting.

The Opinicon began as a boarding house for mill workers and occasional travellers in 1899. It is the only one of the three resorts studied in detail not to remain in the hands of the founding families. It has, however, been operated by the same family since the 1920's. It had become by 1914 the largest resort on the Rideau Lakes, a position it still occupied in 1983. Its fortunes were greatly effected by the coming of the Canadian Northern Railway in 1913, which brought tourists into the center of the Rideau Lakes district.

All three of the major resorts studied drew their visitors from north-eastern North America between 1894 and 1955. The great majority of their visitation, some 61%, came from 23 urban areas. Twelve of these cities were Canadian and eleven were American. The major market area extends into the United States to a distance of some 600 kilometers, as far south as New York City. The extreme east west ends of the market area extend about 250 kilometers, delimited by the large urban centres of Montreal and Toronto (See Fig. X11). A large number of visitors were drawn from a

second market area inside the limits of the first. These were all within a 50 kilometer radius of the resorts and included Kingston, Ottawa, Smiths Falls, Perth, Athens, Brockville, Lyndhurst, Elgin and Delta, these urban areas accounted for 22% of 1/3 of the visitors from the major market areas. It is not surprising that Kingston and Ottawa, at opposite ends of the Rideau Canal, also contributed 13.8 percent of the visitors to the resorts.

The visitors came from May to October, with August being the busiest month with July a close second. Guests appeared to have stayed an average of five or six days, although the evidence of this is inconclusive. Some appear to have stayed the whole summer. The average party size was 2.3 with Simmon's having the lowest average and the Opinicon the highest. Kenney's and the Opinicon catered to about 500 guests each summer while Simmon's, a smaller resort, catered to about 260.

The registers made it relatively easy to determine the visitor patterns from 1894 to 1955. They did not, however, provide evidence as to why people came. Their fragmentary nature also made it difficult to extrapolate and trace changes over time in the origin of visitors. They were invaluable nonetheless, and when reinforced by other sources, provided an illuminating picture of the nature of the early resort market.

7.3.3 Why They Came

Access to the Rideau Lakes increased during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. The canal was at first supplemented by the railways in 1889 and then surpassed by them as the major form of access. Roads were also improved and the automobile became important after 1900's, the first cars recorded as reaching the Opinicon Lodge in July, 1907 (Opinicon Register, 1907, July).

Accommodation in the area improved during the period 1900 to 1929, with the addition of at least five resort hotels. The last to open was the Tweedsmuir in 1929. The resorts already in existence continued to expand. During the period 1918 to 1955, the Opinicon and Kenney's added annexes, cottages and garage facilities. Tenting also appears to have increased in popularity. Many of the tents were more canvas homes than

simple tents (See Fig. XV11).

The increasingly easy access and developing accommodation were in themselves attractions. It was, however, the sports fishing, particularly black bass, that appeared to be the major attraction. The rocky shield scenery, with its many lakes, rocky shore lines and the Rideau Canal lockstations themselves, were part of the attractions of the area.

Hunting as a recreational activity, had diminished by the turn of the century. Apparently, only fall duck hunting played a significant role in the recreational history of the area after 1900. The old photographs were particularly valuable in providing some evidence as to the types of activities in which the visitors engaged.

A final ingredient in the development of the resort industry, which should not be overlooked, was the role of entrepreneur; men such as Donald P. Jarrett of the Opinicon Hotel and Capt. Daniel Noonan of the Rideau Lakes Navigation Company were the main forces in the campaign to publicize the Rideau Lakes as a tourist attraction. The Rideau Lakes Navigation Company was incorporated in 1899. It owned several steamers including the famous palace boats the Rideau King and Rideau Queen. The company published several guides to the Rideau Lakes and formed a close working relationship with the New York Central Railway. Advertisements appeared in many travel brochures and train time tables from 1900 to 1925.

Another significant entrepreneur was Donald Jarrett of the Opinicon Hotel. In many ways he took up the cause of the Rideau Lakes Navigation Company which had closed in 1924. He expanded on the written advertisements of that company as well as organizing a very extensive direct selling campaign. He advertised extensively in the northeastern United States and Ontario, and attended sportsmen shows in the large American urban centres such as Buffalo, New York and Philadelphia. Jarrett also took 16mm motion pictures in the 1940's in colour to present to people at the various trade shows. As well, he wrote, and was responsible for the writing of a number of articles in various sports magazines and hotel journals. This varied and intensive approach to advertising was apparently successful in attracting many people to the resort, and the Rideau Lakes generally. The Opinicon remains the largest resort in the Rideau Lakes in 1983 and a great deal of

the credit must go to the early work of this astute and energetic businessman.

The factors of access, entrepreneurs, scenery, abundant fish, accommodation, all contributed to the Rideau Lakes development into one of the most important tourist areas in the province.

7.4 The Rideau Lakes and Other Areas

The Rideau Lakes had little in common with resorts such as Niagara Falls where a single spectacular feature attracted most of the visitors. It did, however, have a great deal in common with most of the shield edge resort areas. There is a particularly close parallel with the Kawartha Lakes. In addition to a similar landscape, the Kawartha Lakes commenced settlement in the late 1820's and early 1830's at the same time as eastern Ontario and the Rideau Lakes were being opened up by the construction of the Rideau Canal.

Settlement and later tourism in the Kawartha's was aided by:

a natural water corridor which allowed the interior to be penetrated easily, thus enabling early recognition of its recreational potential (Marsh, 1979:32).

Although the Trent Severn Waterway was developed over a period of 75 years from 1832 to 1911 however the rudiments of the route made early travel possible. The Rideau had a finished water route, the Rideau Canal, by 1832, which gave the area even easier access than on the Trent Severn.

Both the Kawarthas on the Trent Severn Waterway and the Rideau Lakes on the Rideau Waterway were used first by military men as a hunting preserve (Marsh, 1979:32). The Kawarthas military men were retired officers from the Cobourg area, while on the Rideau the majority came from the garrison at Old Fort Henry, Kingston.

The significance of entrepreneurs was felt in both areas. Companies like the Rideau Lakes Navigation Company and the Kawartha's Stoney Lake Company and Youngs, Crandel and Young were the leaders in promoting their respective areas.

There were differences as well. On the Rideau Canal, for example, fifty percent of the visitors were Americans. On the Kawarthas, however,

the majority of visitors (in 1900) still came from local urban centres (Marsh, 1979:40). It is true and significant that approximately twenty-two percent of visitors on the Rideau were local in origin, but there were also the large American visitation. There were more Americans in the Rideau Lakes early in their development largely due to early direct links to northern New York State through Cape Vincent and Clayton via the New York Central Railway. Direct steamboat connections could be made to the Rideau Canal either from Kingston or Brockville. Early resort owners also drove buggies and later cars to places such as Clayton to pick up American clients (personal communication: J. Kenney). Certainly the Rideau Lakes, only 40 kilometers from the American border, were much closer to the American clientele than the Kawarthas were.

John Marsh, in his writings on recreational development in the Kawarthas, does not mention camping as a major activity in that area. It was, however, very common in the Rideau Lakes and was apparently the precursor of much of the cottage development. Several local residents have suggested that one reason for so much camping during the study period may have been the military connection. "If you were not in the military yourself you probably knew someone who was" (Oral communication: Mrs. Donald Jarrett, 1981). Hence tents were easy to borrow. No evidence of this has been found but more work with oral histories and early diaries might prove illuminating.

Another interesting observation concerns the degree to which the Kawartha resorts developed. The author personally remembers the large dance hall (still in operation) in the resort community of Bridgenorth on Chemong Lake in the Kawarthas that has been there since the turn of the century. Similar pavillions, as well as bath houses, were common in and around Kawartha resorts. No such places are known to exist on the Rideau Lakes, possibly because local community centres provided that function since most communities are closely associated with tourism. Even here there is uncertainty however, since many of the communities on the Rideau do not appear to have had large covered community centres. Only the Rideau Ferry Inn appears to have had such a facility and it did not develop until the 1930's. The Rideau Ferry pavillion appears to have catered to local youth from Perth and Smiths Falls. Although the author

cannot compare this pattern to most of the pavillions on the Kawarthas, the one in Bridgenorth most certainly attracted local people more than tourists. The resorts in the Kawarthas tended to be larger and more elaborate on the whole than on the Rideau. The reason for this will have to await further investigation. The dancing, swimming, etc., may have been more important to the local residents.

Overall, the Kawarthas and the Rideau Lakes show much more in the way of similarities than differences. A more detailed comparative study might prove most interesting and useful.

A comparison of the Muskoka's with the Rideau shows the similar characteristics. The Rideau, Kawarthas and the Muskokas all share the same shield scenery of lakes, granite and mixed forests that appears to attract tourists. Access to the Muskokas was not developed until considerably later than the Kawarthas or the Rideau. The Toronto, Simcoe and Muskoka Junction Railway did not reach Gravenhurst on the Muskokas until 1875 (Wall, 1979:15). From this point, development was immediate and rapid, relative to the slow, steady growth of the Rideau. Wall notes that by 1885 there were 13 hotels; by 1894 there were 25; and by 1915 nearly 50 (Wall, 1979:16). The lack of village inns in the Muskokas may have been partly responsible for the large number of resort establishments. The large Toronto market may also account for the high visitation. However, Americans were also visiting the area early and Wall suggested that some areas of the lakes were completely populated by American cottagers by 1900. Several hunting and fishing clubs visited the Muskokas in much the same manner as the Youngtown Hunt and Game Club visited the Chaffey's Lock area on the Rideau.

The entrepreneurs, D. Noonan of the Rideau Lakes Navigation Company or Mr. Jarrett of the Opinicon had their counterpart in A.P. Cockburn of the Muskokas and Nipissing Navigation Company. By 1875 Cockburn was busy advertising the Muskokas:

Cockburn constantly kept Muskoka in the public eye by undertaking extensive advertising campaigns throughout Canada and the United States, and he deserves considerable credit for the attraction of American visitors (Wall, 1979:143).

In summing up, the recreational development of the Muskokas and the Kawarthas have many similarities to that of the Rideau Lakes. The Kawarthas' main difference lies in the more local clientele and the size and philosophy of the resorts. The Muskokas developed later and much more rapidly than the Rideau and the Kawarthas, although the basic pattern of development was similar. In all three cases the railways and the function of the local entrepreneurs were extremely important in attracting visitors and the overall development of the resorts.

7.5 Future Study

This study has concentrated on early tourism and the development of the resort industry on the Rideau Lakes, in particular, the three major resorts in the Chaffey's Locks - Jones Falls area. The historical evolution was traced, not through traditional sources such as tax records, census data and other legal papers, but rather through data such as the lockstation records and the old hotel registers. Research using the more traditional sources would help expand information on the other resort nodes, particularly Westport, Portland and Newboro.

More specific comparative studies with other early resort areas in the province would also prove useful and interesting. Such studies would help establish developmental similarities and differences between the various areas. Questions such as why the Shield edge became such an important area might be clearly answered. Future areas for tourist development might also be estimated more clearly, thus providing planners time to plan and develop them carefully.

In Eastern Ontario there are several recreational areas that have not been studied in detail. The most important are Charleston Lake, Beverly and Upper Beverly Lake and the Thousand Islands area of the St. Lawrence River. Outside of Eastern Ontario such important areas as Lake of the Woods in northwestern Ontario and the Temagami area would be interesting areas to examine and compare with areas already studied.

This study has concentrated on the resort hotels. There is considerably more that could be done in examining historic tourist and recreational development in the Rideau Lakes. The history of cottage

development would be particularly complementary to the present study since the resorts and cottages evolved in the same geographic areas and possibly from the same roots, that of the early tent campers and small local inns. Other needed research includes economic and social impact of tourism on local communities in the past and its effect on present community fabric. Such studies might help avoid poor decision making and planning as well as unnecessary community disruption in the future. Studies of recreational boating and its relationship to tourist development might also prove fruitful. The sports fishing industry has been mentioned often throughout this paper, but little research has been done on its history. Such a study could be used to show visitor impact on the natural ecology of the lakes.

The data sources used in this study were not exhausted. A great deal more information could be extracted. The hotel registers were not completely used. With time and patience, individual names from these registers could be computerized and analysed to determine repeat visitation. Also, by using individual names, the occupations of some of the visitors could be established. The author has noted there are still senior citizens who worked in the hotels who remember many of the early visitors and what they did for a living. It is believed that most were upper middle class merchants or small industrialists. Yet more information is needed to prove this hypothesis. With the assistance of these senior citizens and the network of genealogical societies throughout North America it is believed enough information could be collected to identify the occupational groups visiting the area. This information could be used to establish changes in visitor patterns and the economic and social changes that brought them about.

Government sources have not yet been exhausted either. Only one fifth of the possible lockmasters' books were studied; letter books were only quickly checked and material held by the provincial archives in Toronto was only checked through secondary sources and copies of original documents. There is therefore a great deal yet to be done. Researchers should find the historical evolution of recreation on the Rideau Canal a challenging and interesting field for study.

7.6 Conclusion

In 1832, with the opening of the Rideau Canal, access was gained to the Rideau Lakes, a series of rocky forested lakes in the heart of Eastern Ontario. The history of tourism and resort development can be traced from this event to the end of the study period in 1955 through a series of overlapping phases.

7.6.1 Pre Tourism 1832-1877

During this period small multi-purpose steamers and tugs towing barges, moved cargo and passengers through the Rideau Lakes. The travellers that left records showed only a passing interest in the attractiveness of the region.

Only a few came to spend time in the area. The most predominate group were the military officers from the Fort Henry Garrison at Kingston who came to hunt. A few visitors did come to relax and picnic. What tourism there was, was accommodated by the tents of the military or the inns that were scattered throughout the Rideau Lakes.

7.6.2 Resort Development 1865-1907

Changes began to occur in this pattern following the American Civil War. As recovery took place people had more time and money. Industrialization was sweeping through the North Eastern United States and Southern Ontario. More leisure time and increasing affluence brought more people to the area. In 1869 the first "American" visitors are recorded by the lockmasters of the Rideau Lakes Lockstations.

By 1877, visitors from both Canada and the United States were frequenting the Rideau Lakes in large enough numbers to prompt Thomas Bartlett Kenney to open the first resort hotel at Jones Falls. This establishment was followed in 1886 by Simmon's resort at Chaffey's Lock and in 1889 by Garrett Rest near Portland on Big Rideau Lake. During the next ten years all the major resorts to be constructed on the lakes, commenced operation including the largest, the Opinicon, in 1899.

The only new resort of importance to start operation after 1900 was the Tweedsmuir in Westport, which opened its doors in 1929.

As the Edwardian Era began, the military hunter had disappeared and gentlemen and their ladies had taken up the fishing rod to stalk the wily black and small mouth bass that teamed in the lakes. The Rideau Lakes were soon recognized as one of the best fishing spots in North America (Columbus Sunday Star, c.1932).

7.6.3 Maturity and Stability 1907-1955

This period is typified by a steady but slow growth of the existing resorts and the lack of new resort developments. As numbers of visitors gradually increased the various resorts added additions or cottages. This slow steady growth contrasted sharply to the rapid almost explosive growth of resorts in the Muskokas following the arrival of the railways. In the case of the Muskokas there was little intervening opportunity between the shores of Lake Ontario and the shield edge. This was not the case on the Rideau. Charleston Lake, the Back Lakes and most importantly the Thousand Islands acted as a buffer and filter drawing off many of the potential tourists.

7.7 Transportation

Although there was a marked stability in the development of the resorts, the same was not true of the modes of transportation allowing visitors to get to the lakes. Again, there is a series of recognized stages.

During the pre-tourism period, small multi-purpose steamers and barge towing tugs were the major forms of transportation during the summer along the canal. As more and more visitors came to the area, the quality of the boats and service improved until by the turn of the century, the large and stately palace boats were providing passenger service to the resorts, as well as acting as resorts in their own right.

The steamboats, however, had competition. The Brockville, Westport, and Sault Ste. Marie Railway reached the towns of Westport and Newboro by 1889. Both were in the heart of the Rideau Lakes tourist country. Many of the visitors preferred this faster method of travel with its direct connections to Ottawa, Brockville and American steamboat services operation on the Great Lakes. The steam boat era was effectively over by 1913 when the second railway, the Canadian Northern, passed through

Chaffey's Lock and Portland. The Rideau Queen, the last of the palace boats, lasted until 1918.

At the same time, the railways were gaining in importance, the internal combustion engine was also having an impact on the way tourists reached the lakes. The first inboard gas powered boat made its debut on the canal at Chaffey's Lock in November of 1902. In 1907 the first car reached Chaffey's in July. And lastly, the noisy, inexpensive, outboard put in an appearance around 1917. Tourists could now afford their own power boats and travel around the area without rowing or travelling by steamer. They could drive from Ottawa, Kingston or take the car ferry from Clayton, New York and drive to the resorts.

Trains remained important until the second World War, but gradually lost clientele until in 1955 the old Brockville, Westport and Sault Ste. Marie line shut down. The Canadian Northern line, part of the CNR, continued to operate until 1980, but carried few tourists.

Men like Capt. Noonan of the Rideau Lakes Navigation Company and Donald P. Jarrett of the Opinicon, did much to promote the area. Their promotions in the United States bore fruit. Americans formed fifty percent of the visitation to the major resorts. The resorts have changed little over the years, providing the same personal service they did fifty years ago. Only one of the larger resorts, Garretts Rest, has not survived. The others all remain; several like Kenney's and Simmon's still in the hands of the families who founded them.

The success of the area, as Marsh and others have suggested, was due to access, attractiveness and accommodation. Access was provided by the Rideau Canal and the railways. It was attractive for its wildlife and its scenery. By the turn of the twentieth century, the Rideau Lakes also had excellent accommodation. These four factors were not all available before the visitors started to arrive, however. Certainly transportation was little problem. Accommodation was limited in the early days (1832-1877). Tenting, steamboats and small inns and taverns served the needs of the tourists who did come.

Scenery or attractiveness was another matter. The old adage that,

"beauty is in the eyes of the beholder", is most appropriate here. Possibly a fifth "A" could be added to the four above. Acceptability is an important element in the development of a resort or recreational area. The vacationer must perceive of the area as an acceptable place to spend his or her leisure time and money. In the early history of the Rideau and other recreational areas discussed in this study, only the adventurous hunter or sportsman considered the rocky Canadian Shield as an appropriate place to visit. It was not until the coming of the large urban areas and the retreat of the forests that it became acceptable or appropriate to visit areas such as the Rideau Lakes.

Not only is there a fifth "A", but possibly a sixth. Even if all the other factors were correct, it was necessary for the population to be affluent enough to afford to visit the areas. To support recreational areas, enough people had to have enough money and leisure time to come. Hence, "Affluence" can be thought of as a sixth necessity. Affluence not only of individuals, but of countries. Following the American Civil War conditions existed. Industrialization had brought money and time to a great number of people than ever before. Both Canada and the United States experienced an "orgy" of railway building after 1865. People could be moved in large numbers and had the money to pay out to travel.

The Rideau Lakes, Kawarthas, Muskokas, Thousand Islands and many others, began their development in earnest when all these conditions - accessibility, affluence, attractiveness, advertising, accommodation, and acceptability were right. Where up to 1860 a few had come, now after the Civil War, many came to enjoy Ontario's "wild" shield country.

7.8 A Final Look

The most impressive thing about the Rideau Lakes resort area is the long stable conditions of the industry. It has developed slowly in much the same fashion as the Kawartha Lakes. The Rideau Lakes have progressed in a different way however. It has provided the visitor with a much more conservative manner, for example, for most of their history and including the period up to 1983, none of the three major resorts studied have served liquor. Dance pavillions are rare and the pace of the resorts has

been slow.

The Rideau Lake resorts have a long history, many remaining in the same family for generations. The entire resort industry in the Rideau Lakes has a flavour and style all its own, which has continued to attract visitors for more than 100 years.

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY

This short historical summary by date highlights most of the important events in the evolution of the recreational history of the Rideau Lakes. It also includes "bench mark" dates from other important Ontario resort areas.

- 1794 - first written records found of tourism in Ontario left by Lady Simcoe, wife of the Lt. Governor, on her visit to Niagara Falls.
- 1825 - (approximately) *Clifton House Report is open and operating at Niagara Falls.
- 1830 - a group of young men make a winter trip of "pleasure" along the length of the then under construction Rideau Canal and left a diary.
- 1832 - May; Rideau Canal officially opens providing direct steamboat access to the Rideau Lakes.
- 1834 - Dr. Barker, editor of the Kingston British Whigg, makes a trip on the canal and writes a series of articles for his newspaper discussing the various points of interest.
- 1838 - first record of hunting for sport in the Rideau Lakes when an officer from the Fort Henry garrison at Kingston Mills accidentally shoot a soldier.
- 1839 - *Martha Phillips becomes the first tourist on the Rideau Canal to leave evidence of her passing in the form of a personal diary.
- 1844 - Lockmaster Peter Sweeney records the first known pleasure party to visit the Rideau Lakes. They spent an afternoon at Jones Falls.
- 1845 - the Davis' Lockmaster records the passage of the first recorded civilian hunter, a Mr. Smith.
- 1848 - the first recognizable resort hotel opens in the Thousand Islands, It is the Crossman House at Alexandria Bay, New York.
- 1850 - Lt. King and Capt. Powell hunt in the Rideau Lakes; their movements and catch are recorded by Lockmaster Sweeney.

- 1855 - Retired army officers from Cobourg are making regular use of hunting boxes on Rice Lake in the Kawarthas.
- 1856 - The Prince Albert becomes the first steamer on the Rideau Canal to advertise special passenger accommodation.
- 1858 - Genior Scott, an American writer, stays at a resort hotel on Rice Lake in the Kawarthas.
- 1860 - first possible mention of a fishing party on the Rideau Lakes. The Davis Lockmaster records the passing of a Mr. Stewart in a skiff with "fishing tackle". However, the "tackle" may have been for commercial fishing.
- 1865 - Viamede Resort owned by Samuel Strickland opens on Stoney Lake in the Kawarthas.
- 1870 - According to Thaddeaus Leavitt, an early historian writing in his book, A History of Grenville County (1879), resorts were in operation at both Charleston and Beverly Lakes. These lakes are respectively 35 and 8 kilometers away from the Rideau Lakes.
- 1874 - first mention of American sportsmen in the Rideau Lakes.
- 1875 - the Rousseau House opens on the Muskoka Lakes.
- 1877 - Thomas Bartlett Kenney of Jones Falls opens the first recognizable resort on the Rideau Canal.
- 1879 - Canadian Government officials suggest that a map of the Rideau Canal be produced for "pleasure boaters".
- 1880 - earliest known photographs of recreation on the Rideau Lakes. They show scenes of picnicking at Davis Lock.
- 1885 - the first of the "palace" steamers, the Rideau Belle begins service on the Rideau; it burned in 1895.
- 1886 - Simmon's Fishing Lodge opens at Chaffey's Lock.
- 1887 - the second and more elaborate palace steamer, the Ella Ross begins service on the Rideau Canal.
- first map of the Rideau Canal designed for pleasure boaters is produced by an unknown cartographer. Pieces of this were copied and

used for decades in various guide books. The original is on display in the Westport and District Museum, Westport, Ontario.

- 1889 - The Brockville, Westport and Sault Ste. Marie reaches the Rideau Lakes, crossing at Newboro and Westport.
- Garretts Rest Resort opens on Big Rideau Lake near Portland, Ontario.
- 1899 - The Opinicon Resort commences operation at Chaffey's Lock.
- the Rideau Resort at Newboro in operation, exact date of opening is not known.
- the Rideau Lakes Navigation Company is founded. This was the company that did most to promote the Rideau Lakes as a tourist attraction.
- 1900 - first commercial travel booklet on the Rideau Lakes produced by the Rideau Lakes Navigation Company.
- The Rideau Queen, the largest and best known of the palace boats commenced operation.
- 1902 - earliest known record of a gas powered boat on the Rideau. It was an inboard owned by Mr. Wm. Laishley of Chaffey's Lock, Opinicon Hotel.
- 1907 - first tourist arrived by car - reached the Opinicon Hotel from Ottawa.
- 1913 - The Canadian Northern Ontario Railway passes through Chaffey's Lock and Portland. Most senior citizens interviewed by the author consider this the event that triggered rapid tourist growth.
- 1917 - earliest record yet found for a gas powered outboard on the Canal. It was owned by Mr. McCaw of Smiths Falls. The inexpensive outboard may have been one of the reasons why the steamboat disappeared. Many people could now reach their cottages and hotels from their homes quickly and cheaply.
- Miss Van Epps leaves an account of a trip from Kingston to Portland on the Rideau Queen. She describes a boat no longer in good working order and apparently at the end of the boat's working life.
- 1918 - The Rideau Queen leaves the canal for service as a freighter on the Bay of Quinte.

- 1926 - Kenney's Hotel converts horse stables into driving sheds to accommodate cars.
- 1929 - The Tweedsmuir, the last of the large resort hotels, opens for business in Westport.
- 1935 - the last of the steamboats, the Ottawan, leaves the canal trade.
- 1947 - Garretts Rest Resort on Big Rideau Lake closes, the only one of the larger resorts to do so. All the rest are still in operation in 1983.
- 1955 - The Westport Brockville Sault St. Marie Railway and the Canadian Northern Ontario, both owned by the Canadian National Railway, discontinue regular passenger service. The Westport line is abandoned the same year. The Canadian Northern Ontario line was abandoned in 1980.

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario

The transportation section of the Government Documents Division holds the material concerning the Rideau Canal. A "finders" aid file is available in the documents room and is listed under RG 43.

It is also suggested that researchers should speak to the transportation archivist who can assist in finding material quickly. Also, he can introduce the researcher to uncatalogued material that might otherwise be missed.

There are two basic files of importance to those studying the Rideau Canal. They are RG 43 and MG 9, D8-68.

RG 43

This file contains the largest amount of material and is organized in a series of volumes. This study made use of the following: (bracketed numbers indicate years contained in each volume).

Newboro Lock

RG 43 vol. 1957 (1840-1865)	vol. 1960 (1912-1914)
vol. 1958 (1870-1929)	vol. 1961 (1917-1920)
vol. 1959 (1908-1912)	vol. 1962 (1921-1924)

Davis Lock

RG 43 vol. 1963 (1869-1957)	vol. 1968 (1921-1926)
vol. 1964 (1899-1907)	vol. 1969 (1926-1931)
vol. 1965 (1908-1913)	vol. 1970 (1931-1939)
vol. 1966 (1913-1917)	vol. 1971 (1947-1957)
vol. 1967 (1917-1921)	

Jones Falls Lock

RG 43 vol. 1972 (1834-1866)	vol. 1974 (1880-1912)
vol. 1973 (1854-1903)	vol. 1976 (1899-1907)

The other file of importance, MG 9, D8-68, contains the Government material for Chaffey's Lock. This material is the property of the Historical Society of Ottawa, and is held for them by the Public Archives. A finding aid (No. 1156) has been prepared for this material by Patricia Kennedy and Dr. Edwin Welch which helps greatly in accessing various sections. Volumes 2 to 29 deal specifically with Chaffey's Lock and cover the period between June 11, 1856 and December, 1947.

Both RG 43 and MG 9, D8-68 contain the same material. They are made up of the lockmasters' journals, work records and a small amount of miscellaneous notes. Together they record what boats passed through each station, who owned them, their captain's name, what they carried, their port of departure, their intended destination and general comments. The work journals were a daily record of work done on each station. Letter books are copy books where the lockmaster made a copy of all incoming correspondence of importance to him. Two miscellaneous volumes of some importance are Jones Falls RG 43, vol. 1972, which contains the personal diary of Lockmaster Sweeney (1839-1855) and MG 9, D8-68, vol. 29 which is the journal of a federal fisheries inspection officer and provides some material on sports fishing and early attempts at fish stock conservation.

The records as a whole are difficult to read and tedious but with patience they provide a great deal of valuable information. There are 215 volumes available on the Rideau Canal. The author has recorded here only the 47 that provided information on the Rideau Lakes resort area.

2. Parks Canada

There are three specific Parks Canada offices that were of assistance. The national office in Hull, Quebec and the Ontario Regional Office, Cornwall, Ontario, have near duplicate collections of written reports and photographic collections relating to the Rideau Canal generally. Both also have staff historians who proved most willing and helpful.

The third office is the Rideau Canal main office in Smiths Falls, Ontario. The collection held here duplicates what is held at the other two Parks Canada offices, however, it also has a great deal of other material not found in the other collections. Collections of historic notes,

news clippings, oral histories and a very large photographic collection have been amassed and much of it has not yet found its way to the regional or branch offices. It is suggested that researchers should visit either the branch or regional office and the canal office to make sure they have covered all material.

Of specific importance to this study and found in all three offices, are a series of studies known as the Manuscript Report Series (MRS). Although not generally available to the public they are available to researchers. The author made extensive use of two of these reports:

MRS 177, The Rideau Canal 1832-1914 by J. Tullock, 1975

MRS 184, Commercial Navigation 1832-1961, by E. F. Bush, 1977

There are approximately 10 of these reports that deal directly with various aspects of the Rideau Canal's history.

3. Local Sources

A great many local resources from the area of the study provided over 50% of the useable material. Historical societies were of great help:

Westport and District Historical Society

Chaffey's Lock and Area Heritage Society

Chaffey's Lock Womens' Institute

The Opinicon Hotel, Mr. and Mrs. Al Cross, Prop.

They provided local histories, old photographs and introduced the author to senior citizens who were able to provide a great deal of information on the "early days" of tourism in the Rideau Lakes area.

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