

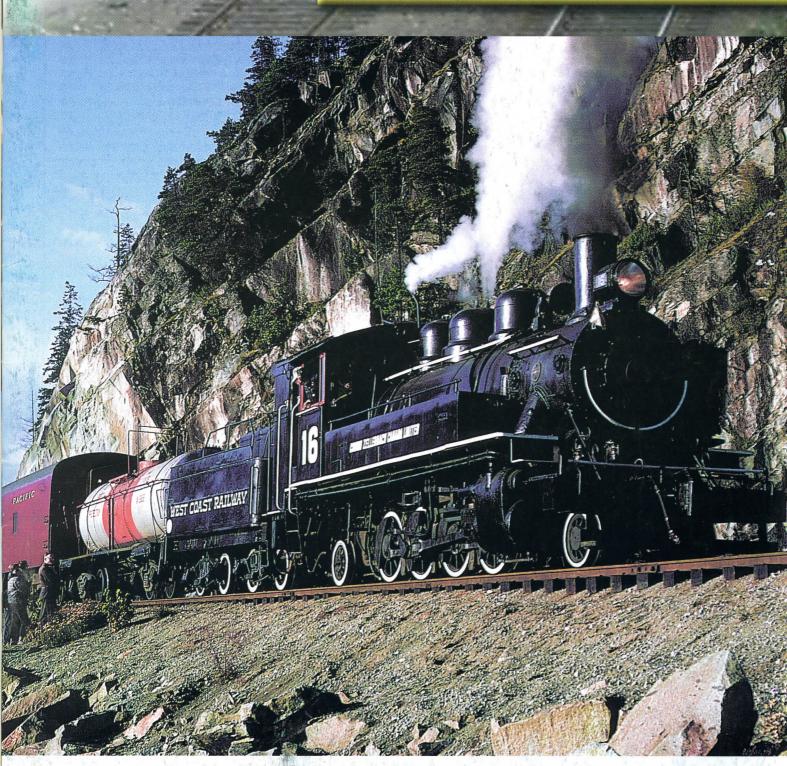
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FRONT COVER: Returning to North Vancouver from an excursion to Alta Lake on August 30 1964, former Crown Zellerbach No. 16 stops for a photo run along Howe Sound. The occasion was a special train run by the West Coast Railway Association on the Pacific Great Eastern Railway, now B.C. Rail.

BELOW: On a snowy November 4, 2002, Canadian National's special executive train heads westward from Montreal. Photo by Warren Mayhew

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# The Lost Years Of The Champlain & St. Lawrence

# by Herb MacDonald

This is a revised and extended version of a paper originally presented at the 2nd International Early Railways Conference, Manchester, UK, September, 2001

Despite its significance in Canadian railway history, published work dealing specifically with the Champlain & St. Lawrence is surprisingly limited<sup>1</sup>. The origins of the company have been particularly neglected and one could suggest the first chapter of the history of the C&SL has been on the missing list since 1836.

Almost all accounts of the beginnings of the C&SL start in the autumn of 1831 despite the fact that the railway's origins go back at least three years earlier. The only English-language recognition that the line's promoters launched attempts at legislative approval for the project in both 1828 and 1830 appeared in biographical studies. Two of these were in a 1920s banking journal and two in more recent volumes of the Dictionary of Canadian Biography<sup>2</sup>, none of which have been captured by Anglophone writers who have

focused on the subject of the C&SL. Acceptance of an 1831 origin for the C&SL has generated untenable hypotheses about American influence on the decision of the promoters to undertake the project<sup>3</sup>. The literature fails to provide a satisfactory explanation about why the project idled and almost collapsed after incorporation in 1832. Virtually nothing is offered about possible connections to other rail, canal, and commercial projects being touted in Montreal in the early 1830s<sup>4</sup>. And no consideration has been given to whether the St. Johns - Laprairie route was a logical one for the construction of Canada's first railway. This paper offers a preliminary framework for that missing first chapter.

# The Setting: The Changing Commercial Empire Of The St. Lawrence<sup>5</sup>

During the period 1800-1830, the economy of Montreal underwent a number of significant changes. The fur trade<sup>6</sup> vanished with the consolidation of the North-West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 and the subsequent routing of that trade's traffic through Hudson's



The official corporate seal of the Champlain & St. Lawrence Rail Road as adopted in 1832. This image is taken from a wax impression made in 1936 from the original steel die of the seal. The CRHA insignia was based on this seal.

Collection of Donald F. Angus.

Bay. At the same time, however, there was a significant boom in the trade in timber<sup>7</sup> to the British market where tariff policies were still providing preferential access for colonial exports.

Though Lower Canada remained primarily francophone and rural, migration Britain increased significantly after 18158. By 1831, the population of Montreal exceeded 30,000 and the counties of Dorchester and Laprairie, through which the C&SL was built, had san additional 30,000. Within those rural counties, the largest centres were St. Johns with almost 2000 people and Laprairie with about 35009.

Increasing agricultural populations generated a second important staple export, wheat and flour, again primarily for the British market<sup>10</sup>. A rising population also created an emerging market for manufactured goods

and supplies. Much of the incoming mercantile trade and the outbound staples trade went through the Montreal business community. As the economy developed, local financial firms appeared. The Bank of Montreal was established in 1817<sup>11</sup> and other banks and insurance companies followed soon after.

There was a simultaneous increase in activity in transportation. Montreal-based ship construction and ownership expanded as did involvement with movement of freight to the interior. Following the launch of John Molson's *Accommodation*, the first Canadian steamboat, at Montreal in 1809, the steam-powered fleet grew rapidly<sup>12</sup>.

The increasing flow of goods and people led to rising concern about the obstacles faced within the St. Lawrence waterway system which was the key transportation artery. The Lachine Rapids, just west of Montreal, additional sets of rapids in the upper St. Lawrence, as well as those on the Ottawa and on the Richelieu between Chambly and St. Johns were all major barriers to transport within the developing economy.

Canals had been proposed as early as 1680 to address the problems on the St. Lawrence system upstream from Montreal. Little happened, however, until the State of New York began the Erie canal in 1817 and challenged Montreal's

	Table 1	Esti	mates of	Poten	tial Rai	l Freigl	nt Traff	ic (000	tons)	19	
Years	1824	'25	'26	'27	'28	'29	'30	'31	'32	'33	'34
St. Johns	4.2	5.7	4.7	4.4	nd	5.7	5.8	5.2	5.9	8.1	nd
Lachine	cnfo	5.7	12.1	20.1	20.8	17.5	33.0	40.9	nd	47.2	40.7
	(cnfo = canal not fully operational; nd = no data available)										

commercial dominance of the Great Lakes hinterland. In 1819, Montreal businessmen started construction of a canal at Lachine<sup>13</sup> but the firm went bankrupt within two years. The venture was taken over by the Lower Canada government and the canal was completed in 1825.

In 1826, work began on the Rideau canal, an undertaking designed to provide a secure route to Upper Canada by avoiding the American border along the south bank of the St. Lawrence west of Montreal<sup>14</sup>. The route led up the Ottawa River to the site of Canada's future capital and then down the new canal to Lake Ontario at Kingston. A number of other smaller canals were built along both the lower Ottawa and the section of the St. Lawrence between Lake Ontario and Montreal<sup>15</sup>.

In a C&SL context, canal developments toward the south were more significant. As early as 1815, proposals had appeared for a canal between St. Johns and Chambly to avoid the Chambly rapids. Government funding eventually appeared, starting in 1827, though the canal was not completed until 1843<sup>16</sup>. South of St. Johns, an important event was the 1823 opening of the Champlain canal linking the southern part of Lake Champlain to the Erie Canal and the Hudson River. This development on the American side of the border provided St. Johns with an uninterrupted direct water route to the port of New York.

#### Railway Route Options In Or Near Montreal

In the 1820s, the geography, economics, and demographics of Montreal and its environs all indicated that if there was immediate potential for the use of rail technology, it was in settings which complemented the waterway system. The most obvious potential locations were ones to bypass the river obstacles mentioned previously or to provide more efficient service than could be offered by existing or planned canals. Any of these locations would have been relatively short and none faced any major geographic impediment as long as bridging the St. Lawrence was not considered. To assess the options for the location of Canada's first railway, however, we must also consider a critical factor, availability of and prospects for traffic.

For the route ultimately adopted for the C&SL and other potential lines running south from Montreal, the primary data available are from the St. Johns Customs House. St. Johns was the only official port of entry on the American border and all recorded cross-border traffic was captured there. There are problems of data comparability since some goods were recorded by value, some by weight, and some by quantity. As a result, the data require both assumptions and exclusions before any estimates of potential rail traffic can be generated.

An estimate of potential traffic based on St. Johns Customs data misses two components. Smuggling was common and we can't estimate how much cross-border traffic chose to avoid the Customs House. Customs House data also exclude domestic traffic between Montreal and the American border. There is no obvious source of data to measure these two forms of potential traffic though they could have been estimated by the original C&SL promoters<sup>17</sup>.

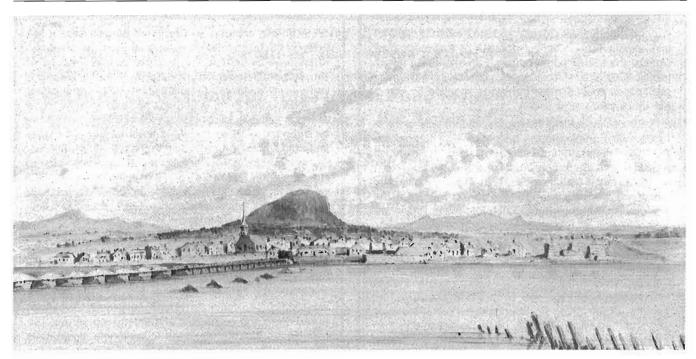
Other possible southern rail routes, all of which were being promoted before construction of the C&SL began in early 1835, included a St. Johns - Chambly line to carry traffic around the Chambly rapids, a route from Chambly toward Montreal as an alternative to one from St. Johns, and lines down both the Richelieu and St. Francis valleys to the St. Lawrence. There are no sources to document traffic on these routes but there are no reasons to assume they would have attracted more or even as much traffic as the St. Johns - Montreal route<sup>18</sup>.

With the Lachine rapids to the west and the navigable St. Lawrence to the east, we can reasonably assume anyone contemplating building a railway east and/or west from Montreal on the north side of the river would look first at the western options, either a short line around the Lachine rapids, or longer lines going beyond Lachine to the mouth of the Ottawa or still further westward to a navigable harbour on the upper St. Lawrence or Lake Ontario.

For these routes, there again is one core data source to provide a basis for estimating traffic potential. From 1825, Lachine canal records provide a baseline indication of traffic moving immediately west of Montreal though it is impossible to estimate how much more chose to avoid the canal tolls. The Lachine data, like that from St. Johns, are a mix of values, weights, and volumes with inherent risks in conversion to tonnage measures.

Within the limitations to the methodology, the following are estimates of potential freight revenue sources for railways on routes south or west from Montreal. They include grain and flour, foodstuffs and fish, ashes, liquor, tobacco, and other merchandise normally shipped by the barrel, box, or other container appropriate for rail-based handling. Excluded are bulk goods, particularly timber and other wood products, which would have been difficult to handle by rail at competitive rates, and categories like livestock for which weight estimates are impossible.

Lachine canal data record passenger traffic for the years after 1824 but comparable estimates about passenger traffic to and from the south are not available. The only piece of data located about passenger traffic to/from the south is an estimate of 5000 passengers on stages running between St. Johns and the St. Lawrence during 1831. This estimate



A watercolour painting of St. John's done in March 1838 by William Robert (1818-1845). The town then looked much as it had when the railway was first promoted, a decade before.

National Archives of Canada, photo No. C-40032.

was offered by Jason Peirce of St. Johns in testimony before an Assembly Committee on behalf of the C&SL project in late 1831. For comparison, Lachine canal data for 1831 show 11,000 passengers on vessels using the canal<sup>20</sup>.

Based on these estimates, all other things equal, one would have expected those considering building a railway during this period to favour a route westward from Montreal rather than a line toward the south. But all other things were not equal.

#### A New Technology For Lower Canada

The Canadas had very limited experience with tramways and inclined planes before 1836. There is evidence of three used in conjunction with British military engineering or ordnance projects, one at the Quebec Citadel in the 1820s, one near the north end of the Rideau Canal also in the 1820s, and one on the Niagara escarpment in the period pre-1790<sup>21</sup>. There are also hints of two private lines in the 1820s. A tramway may have been used for timber transport at Kingsey in the St. Francis valley east of St. Johns though the evidence supporting the claim is rather thin<sup>22</sup>. Another tramway, which I have not seen referred to in any secondary source, may have been operated at John MacPherson & Company's freight-forwarding facility on the Lachine canal. Evidence documenting the existence of this line is equally slim - a single newspaper reference<sup>23</sup>.

If it existed, the MacPherson tramway was the only one of the five near Montreal. The military-related lines were all at distant locations in the world of the 1820s, 160 miles down the St. Lawrence at Quebec City, 120 miles northwest at the site which became Ottawa, and 330 miles southwest on the Niagara frontier. The St. Francis valley line, if it existed, was equally remote in terms of a Montreal

perspective. No evidence has been found to indicate that any of these had any particular effect on public perceptions, the press, the C&SL, or any of the other proposals for locomotive-powered railways. These earliest Canadian<sup>24</sup> examples of rail-based transport seem to have been as obscure in their own time as they are in the modern record of Canada's railway history.

The earliest identified Canadian references to locomotive-powered railways are, of course, in press accounts of developments in Britain<sup>25</sup> though these were soon complemented by reports from the USA. Coverage of the new technology was erratic at best, and reports from overseas appeared weeks after the event. Newspapers focused on headline events (such as the openings of the Stockton & Darlington in 1825 or the Liverpool & Manchester in 1830<sup>26</sup>) and generally failed to provide continuing reports on ongoing stories or critical analysis of developments.

In the winter of 1824-25, several references appeared in the Montreal  $Gazette^{27}$  to the potential for railways in Lower Canada and, in mid-1825, we see the first indication that someone was considering acting on the idea. On June 11, 1825, the Gazette reported that 'enterprising and spirited individuals' were advocating construction of a railway from St. Johns to Longueuil on the south shore of the St. Lawrence directly opposite Montreal and a short distance downstream from Laprairie.

The principals were not identified nor were any details offered save for the proposed route. The project may have been just an idea in the mind of the editor though the *Gazette* assured readers that 'we have heard it confidently asserted that measures are being taken.' Without further detail, however, any relationship to the origins of the C&SL remains unknown.

The Montreal *Gazette* and the *Herald* of the 24th inst. expatiate upon the advantages of Rail-roads over Canals, the former paper contains an interesting letters [sic] from Mr. Gray of Nottingham, shewing the advantage such roads posses when carriages impelled by steam are employed...

Notwithstanding the manifest superiority of these roads over Canals and the benefits which may accrue from their general introduction in Britain, the expense attendant on their construction, (which the Herald estimates in this country at £2000 to £4000 per mile, and which we imagine is under the mark) must, for the present, prevent their introduction into these Provinces. It should also be taken into consideration in estimating the advantages of Rail roads over water-carriage, that the principal Rivers of Britain are but small meandering streams when compared with the St. Lawrence or the Ottawa, whose majestic waters pursue nearly a strait course, interrupted, it is true, by rapids and shallows; but capable of furnishing an abundant supply of water to any artificial navigation it may be necessary to construct in those parts where the impediments of the natural River cannot otherway be overcome. This essential distinction between the water communications of Britain and those of Canada, excites a doubt with us whether, on the line of our principal rivers, Rail-roads would be attended with that vast advantage, which some of our brother Editors in Montreal appear to contemplate, even if the commerce of the country was sufficient to defray the cost attendant upon the establishment and support of such a vast extent of Rail-roads as would be necessary to connect the distant parts of these Provinces; but in entering into this discussion, we are, perhaps, anticipating a state of advancement which the Canadas will be many years in attaining. Would it not therefore be more profitable to direct our views to those benefits immediately within our reach? Since we may be assured that the most certain means of attaining that prosperity which will enable us to realize these grand speculations, will be found in a sedulous attention to the improvement, as far as present resources will permit, of those advantages which the natural situation of these Provinces so conspicuously offers. - Quebec Mercury.

The great railway debate of 1824. During 1824 occurred the first serious consideration of the possible construction of railways in British North America. This was the year before the Stockton & Darlington opened in England, and five years before the Rainhill Trials. Interest was heightened by a book entitled "Observations on a General Iron Rail-Way" by Thomas Gray. The fourth addition of this work, greatly enlarged, appeared in 1824 and was read with much interest in North America. The Montreal Gazette printed several editorials and comments on the subject, and, in its issue of December 1 1824, published these two editorials, one in favour of railways, the other, copied from the Quebec Mercury, against. That in favour expressed the Gazette's own opinion. The comment about cutting the railway if there was an invasion from the United States addressed a definite concern of many Canadians, for the War of 1812 had ended less than ten years before.

In our columns will be found the remarks of the Editor of the Quebec Mercury on the subject of Rail-roads, wherein he states that the expense of these means of conveyance "must for the present prevent their introduction into these Provinces". On this subject in a former paper we showed that there is perhaps no country in the world exceeds Canada for its facility of erecting Rail-roads, or for the convenience of working them when once made, and nothing has yet been said to induce an alteration of that opinion. As to the idea of erecting Rail-roads "on the line of our principal rivers", and where they are navigable we believe that would be considered as an unnecessary waste of time, labour and money. But it does not follow from this that the obstructions in those places where the navigation is impeded by shoals or rapids may not be overcome by this improvement; and in this way, perhaps more cheaply and effectually surmounted than by any other method. From what has been done proof of this assertion may be gathered. The locks at the Cascades were first built an immence expence [sic], found too narrow, pulled down and built again, and are still too narrow. The impediment they are designed to overcome, could have been as effectually surmounted by a Rail-road, and the latter could have been built at a less expence than all this pulling down and building up has cost. The lock at the Coteau-Du-Lac is equally if not more objectionable than them, and must incur the double expense of rebuilding before it be effective for any vessel exceedind a common Batteau in size. The La Chine Canal has already cost upwards £60,000 which is more than would have constructed a rail-road of the same extent even at the highest rate of expence, say £4000 per mile. The same may be said of the Military Canal at Grenville; and the same will occur in many places on the rapids of our rivers. Instead therefore of the adoption of Rail-Roads in such places being too expensive for our present resources, it will perhaps be found from the natural advantages our country possess for this description of conveyance, that they are the cheapest which can be resorted to. We have a well written paper on this subject in our possession, where the writer objects to over coming our rapids by Rail-Roads, from the time this plan would require to load and unload the boats. This difficulty may be easily over come, a mechanical apparatus could be so contrived as to raise a boat with her whole cargo on board and place her on a machine upon the Rail-Road waggon at once.

If this description of conveyance be examined with the eye of an experienced Engineer, it will present advantages for the frontier of an enemies' country which belong to no other. When the subject of a water conveyance by a Canal from Lake Champlain to the river St. Lawrence, was agitated some years ago, the more violent opponents of that measure in searching for arguments against it, opposed the plan on the principle of its opening too ready access into the heart of the country, should a war ever take place with the United States. But it is obvious by a Rail-Road from above St. Johns to the deep water below Laprairie where the country is level, all the benefits of easy conveyance could be embraced, while in the event of hostilities, the communication could be cut off by breaking up the Rail-Road on the shortest notice.

DUBLIC NOTICE is hereby given that the Subscribers on behalf of themselves and the public, will at the next session of the Provincial Parliament, Petition for leave to make and maintain a good RAIL ROAD between the Town of St. Johns and the River St. Lawrence, under such rules and modifications as may be deemed necessary for the said object.

C: W. GRANT. PETER MGILL. HORATIO GATES.

Montreal, 23d October, 1828.

The announcement that began it all. This notice appeared in the Montreal Gazette starting on October 23, 1828. The notice continued to appear for the remainder of October and well into November. The actual item was only one column wide; it is reproduced here larger than actual size.

National Library of Canada

#### The Roots Of The C&SL, 1826-1828

In 1826, at least one of the primary roots of the C&SL appeared. Horatio Gates and other Montreal businessmen attempted to get legislative approval for a canal from St. Johns to either Laprairie or Longueuil<sup>28</sup>. Gates'efforts were unsuccessful that year or in 1827 when a second attempt was made but they demonstrate his interest in transportation links between St. Johns and the St. Lawrence. Despite the rejections, Gates tried again in 1828, this time with a proposal for a railway to address the transport problems between the upper Richelieu and the St. Lawrence<sup>29</sup>.

During the summer of 1828, an extensive series of reports and letters about local railway possibilities appeared in Montreal and Quebec City newspapers<sup>30</sup>. These focused on alternate routes from St. Johns to either the St. Lawrence or to Chambly, options which would direct traffic from the south toward either Montreal or the lower Richelieu and Quebec City. A letter to the Montreal *Gazette* from 'A Merchant'<sup>31</sup> noted the rivalry between the cities, stating that 'each is enflamed by the desire of drawing the commerce of Lake Champlain to itself.' The writer also recognized the limits to the appeal any short portage railway would have, suggesting that shippers of timber and bulk cargo would prefer all-water routes without transfers and their associated additional costs.

Two important things are missing from the press coverage. There is nothing to clarify why the focus was on a route toward Lake Champlain nor were the principals promoting the routes identified. We can only assume that the St. Johns - St. Lawrence project was Gates' rail-based successor to his canal proposals of 1826-27 since the new concept soon became a matter of public record.

First Steps Toward The Formation Of A Company, 1828-1830

On October 23, 1828, the Montreal *Gazette* carried a notice from Gates, C.W. Grant and Peter McGill indicating they would apply to the legislature 'to make and maintain a good Rail Road between the town of St. Johns and the River St. Lawrence<sup>32</sup>.' As a distinct undertaking, the C&SL goes back at least as far as that notice<sup>33</sup>.

Horatio Gates was a leading Montreal retailer and one of the largest exporters of ashes and grain. He had interests in shipping, had been involved with the Bank of Montreal from its foundation in 1817, and was President of the bank in 1826 and from 1832 till

his death in 1834. His commercial ties into the USA in the late 1820s appear to have been centered on the area south of Lake Ontario rather than the Lake Champlain region and there is no obvious explanation for his interest in a canal or rail route toward Lake Champlain unless it was simply seen as an investment opportunity.

Grant did have a personal interest in the route. The Grant family held the barony of Longueuil, an estate of about 100 square miles on the west bank of the Richelieu surrounding St. Johns. A railway from St. Johns to the St. Lawrence would likely go through this land and certainly increase its value. Grant's significance to the project is hard to assess, however, since his involvement seems to have diminished after the 1828 petition.

Peter McGill's personal business interests appear to have been centered on east-west and transatlantic trade rather than links to the USA. He was an important retailer, a major figure in the timber trade, and also had interests in shipping. Like Gates, he was an influential director of the Bank of Montreal, and he succeeded Gates as President of the bank. Presumably he too saw potential in the southern route as an investment but there is no evidence of any direct personal interest in that route.

Gates, Grant, and McGill (and others for whom they may have been the publicly identified representatives) may have been influenced by a number of factors in their decisions to build a railway and choose a route leading toward the United States.

As noted previously, the Champlain canal's opening in 1823 provided a direct water route from St Johns all the way to New York. It also represented a potential threat to Montreal business interests. The year before this canal was fully operational, an American survey of canal development noted that it "diverts a valuable trade carried on from Vermont

to Montreal.<sup>34</sup> The Erie canal had opened in 1825 and started to draw traffic from the Lake Ontario basin that had previously used the St. Lawrence route through Montreal<sup>35</sup>. By 1828, the Oswego canal (from the eastern end of Lake Ontario to the Erie system) was approaching completion and presented an additional threat to Montreal since it could attract traffic from the Canadian side of Lake Ontario. Other American canals loomed on the horizon. For example, starting in 1825, there were proposals for a canal to connect the American shore of Lake Ontario directly to Lake Champlain<sup>36</sup>.

The fullest Montreal response to these American threats would have been to undertake major improvements on the St Lawrence between Lake Ontario and Lachine in order to maintain the traditional role of the river as the primary economic artery. That however, was beyond the financial capacity or political will available in Lower Canada. In a much more limited way, though, the development of a rail link to serve both Montreal traffic and goods coming down the St Lawrence could have been seen as a limited form of competition with the American canal ventures.

At the same time, Quebec City was resisting Montreal's quest for commercial dominance. In 1827, spurred by the Quebec City business community, the Lower Canada government had started work on a canal at Chambly, a development that would have tended to pull trade crossing the border at St. Johns down the Richelieu toward Quebec City<sup>37</sup>. A St. Johns - Chambly railway, also being promoted by 1828<sup>38</sup>, would have had a similar adverse effect on Montreal's position. There were also ongoing proposals for improved navigation on the lower Richelieu<sup>39</sup>. The Quebec City Committee of Trade actively supported these projects in recognition of their importance in that city's rivalry with Montreal<sup>40</sup>. The C&SL project would certainly have been seen in Montreal as a means to offset this challenge from Quebec City.

By the mid-1820s, calls for a shift in British trade policy away from the traditional colonial-mercantilist tradition in the direction of "free trade" were starting to gain support in the corridors of power in London. The Montreal business community may have sensed that the UK-Canadian trading relationship based on Imperial preference (which they tended to support very strongly) was about to change dramatically. One result of such a change would have been a commercial future for Montreal dependent on connections with the USA. While they tried to defend the economic status quo, it is possible that improving communication with the United States was a form of insurance against the future the Montreal businessmen saw looming<sup>41</sup>. A north-south route may have been accepted by default by the C&SL promoters in 1828 based on the assumption that a east-west railway would not be able to or would not be permitted to compete with the governmentoperated Lachine canal.

A final possibility is that the C&SL was not planned in isolation; it may have been a north-south project conceived in tandem with plans for another railway to run west from Montreal, a project which appeared on the scene in 1833 and which will be discussed below.

The focus here has been Montreal since no evidence has been found of St. Johns participation at this point. St. Johns participants played important roles starting in 1831 but initially the C&SL appears to have been a Montreal-based undertaking.

It would be three and a half years after the 1828 notice before the Champlain & St. Lawrence achieved incorporation on the third attempt. The struggle over the bill is interesting in a political context because some of the factors involved seem to have been related to conflicts that contributed to the Rebellions of 1837-38<sup>42</sup>, but the difficulties over incorporation are not really relevant to the focus of this paper. During the quest for incorporation, however, important details appeared about the evolution of the group behind the project and simultaneous developments within the Montreal commercial scene shed much additional light on the railway's origins.

## The Wider Context Of The C&SL Project, 1830-1832

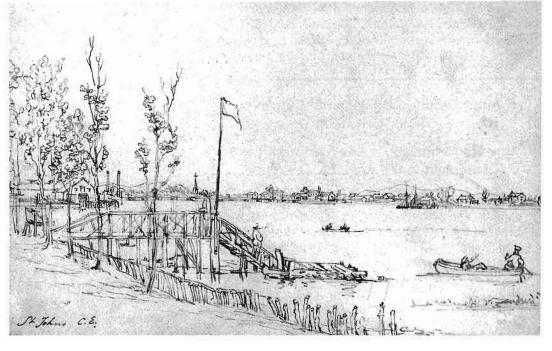
When the second attempt at incorporation was started in 1830<sup>43</sup>, the publicly identified group of supporters had expanded. While Grant's name was not attached to the public notice this time<sup>44</sup>, Gates and McGill were joined by a number of important new players. George Moffatt was a major force in both mercantile and staples trades. John Redpath had become Montreal's leading contractor as a result of his work on the Lachine and Rideau canals. Both had interests in shipping and held directorships at the Bank of Montreal. Thomas Phillips, a partner of Redpath's on the canal projects, led efforts in February and March, 1831 to get the C&SL bill through the Assembly<sup>45</sup>.

Four leading French-Canadian businessmen also joined the group. Joseph Masson, one of the wealthiest men in Montreal, had commercial interests including trade in the Richelieu valley. Francois-Antoine Larocque had connections to Masson and interests including shipping on the Richelieu. Both were Bank of Montreal directors. Tancred Bouthelier and Phillipe de Rochblave do not appear to have been as influential as Masson or Larocque but they had a variety of interests including retail trade as well as grain and timber exporting. Recruitment of these four may well have been partly for ethno-political reasons since French-English rivalries underlaid opposition to the C&SL in the French-Canadian dominated Assembly. But if their involvement was designed to expedite legislative success, the idea did not work. The second bid for incorporation died in Committee when the Assembly rose in March of 1831.

Over this period, other business developments offer context for the C&SL project. In December of 1829, a proposal had appeared to establish steamship service between Montreal, Quebec City and key ports in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The original Montreal committee established to promote this project included McGill, Moffatt and C.W. Grant<sup>46</sup> who were joined by Gates and others as shareholders when the Quebec and Halifax Steam Navigation Co. was founded in 1831<sup>47</sup>. Of interest in this wider context is the presence, among the non-Montreal shareholders, of Samuel Cunard of Halifax who played a leading role in the introduction of trans-Atlantic steamship service<sup>48</sup>.

In late 1830, Gates led a move to establish a company to construct a basin for cargo transfers and warehousing on the Lachine canal49. He was joined by William Forbes, who would be involved with the third C&SL attempt at incorporation, and seven others, three of whom would be included among the list of 74 C&SL founders whose names were included within the C&SL statute in 183250.

The next year, Gates, McGill, Masson, Larocque, Bouthellier, and Phillips sought incorporation of a company to build a canal from Lachine to the Lake of Two



This view of St. John's was drawn by an unknown artist in the 1840s. Although the railway was then in operation, the general scene was little changed from what it was like in the early 1830s. National Archives of Canada, photo No. C-40152.

Mountains on the lower reaches of the Ottawa<sup>51</sup>. They were joined by James Logan, an important figure in the retail trade who would also be a member of the first C&SL board, and Andrew White, a member of the Redpath-Phillips group on the Lachine and Rideau canal projects and a promoter of the Montreal-west railway in 1833.

In the spring of 1831, Gates and Moffatt aquired another common interest as joint trustees of the Inland Assurance Company offering insurance for shipping and cargo on the upper St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario<sup>52</sup>. This firm was renamed Canada Inland Forwarding and Insurance and, after Gates' death, a restructured group of principals included John Frothingham, Joseph Shuter, and Charles Brooke<sup>53</sup>.

Frothingham was President of the City Bank, a C&SL founder, and member of the audit committee established after the railway's opening. Gates and Masson had been closely involved with the establishment of the City Bank<sup>54</sup> and Larocque was one the new Bank's founding directors. Vice President at City Bank was John Molson Jr, son of the man who became the largest C&SL shareholder. Shuter was a prominent merchant, a C&SL founder and early member of the railway's board, a Bank of Montreal director, and Peter McGill's father-in-law. Shuter and John Molson Jr would also be among the promoters of the Montreal-west railway project. Brooke was on the Bank of Montreal board and a C&SL founder.

In 1831, the Ottawa Steamboat Company was established to operate on the Ottawa between Montreal and

the soon-to-open Rideau canal. Initial principals included Gates, McGill, and John Molson Sr. In 1835, the firm became the Ottawa & Rideau Forwarding Company with John Molson Sr, McGill, Redpath, Frothingham, and Phillips identified as owners<sup>55</sup>.

These ventures illustrate the scope of the business connections at work among key figures involved in the C&SL project and demonstrate that the line grew out of a context which went far beyond an isolated idea of building a small railway.

Despite continued opposition to the C&SL project in the Assembly, interest in railways heated up during the winter of 1830-31. In December of 1830, Peter Fleming, who had previously suggested building a railway instead of the Chambly canal, advocated a railway from Montreal westward through Lachine, across the mouth of the Ottawa, and beyond it to Brockville<sup>56</sup>. The Montreal *Gazette* offered strong support for Fleming's idea though his proposal did not take a more tangible form until 1833.

While reporting on Fleming's proposal for the Brockville line, the *Gazette* also noted that two more railway projects for the south shore of the St. Lawrence had appeared since 1828<sup>57</sup>. 'Public attention has been occupied for some time with the plan for a railway from St. Johns to Laprairie, of another from St. Johns to Stanstead<sup>58</sup>, of a third from St. Johns to Chambly<sup>59</sup>, and of a fourth from Chambly to Longueuil.' Knowing if any principals in the latter three projects<sup>60</sup> had ties to the C&SL group would be highly desirable but no details have been located.

The preamble to the act incorporating the Champlain & St. Lawrence consists of one long sentence of 1388 words (not 1453 words as some accounts state). It is quoted in full below. The Latin heading translates to "Second year of William IV, Chapter 58". The preamble lists all 74 of the original incorporators, and Horatio Gates (soon to become president of the Bank of Montreal for the second time) leads the list, with John Molson immediately after. Jason C. Peirce is well down the list.

## Anno Secundo Gulielmi IV - Cap. LVIII (Feb. 25th 1832)

# An Act for making a Rail-road from Lake Champlain to the River St. Lawrence.

Whereas the facilitating and dispatching the carriage and conveyance of goods, passengers, etc., between the navigable waters of Lake Champlain and the River St. Lawrence, opposite to the city of Montreal, by means of a Rail-road, will be of great public advantage, and will afford a more easy, cheap and expeditious conveyance for all goods, wares, commodities, passengers, etc., and generally increase the trade and commerce of this Province, and in other respects be of great public utility: and whereas the several persons hereinafter named are desirous, at their own cost and charges, to make and maintain the said Rail-road, but cannot effect the same without the aid and authority of the Provincial Parliament; wherefore for obtaining and perfecting the good effects and purposes aforesaid: be it therefore enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Lower Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, entitled 'An Act for making more effectual provision for the Government of the Province of Lower Canada'; and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that Horatio Gates, John Molson, Samuel Gerrard, Samuel Gale, Peter McGill, John Frothingham, Thomas Blackwood, Adam L. Macnider, Joseph Donegani, John E. Mills, James Holmes, Jean D. Bernard, William Guild, James Logan, John McKenzie, William Peddie, Frederick Griffin, Benjamin Hart, Samuel A. W. Hart, Isaac Gregory, Benjamin Lewis, Abner P. Herley, George J. Holt, William L. Coit, Samuel McLure, George Brush, William Hedge, John Torrance, James Millar, William Edmonstone, Lewis Betts, Smith Sanborn, Campbell Sweeney, Benjamin Brewster, Cyrus Brewster, William Brewster, Joseph Shuter, Turton Penn, George Davies, Joseph Masson, Joseph T. Barrett, J. A. Cartier, Henry Joseph, Thomas S. Brown, Norman Williams, David Torrance, Louis Marchand, Cyrus Carlton, Stephen Field, Orlin Bostwick, Hosea B. Smith, Jason C. Peirce, Walter Benny, John Try, James Henderson, Jeth L. Weatherley, William Lymon, J. Glennon, Robert Jones, Joshua Hobart, Roswell Corse, John Matthewson, Charles S. Delorme, Charles Brooke, E.M. Leprohon, T. Bouthillier, Dwight P. Janes, Joshua Bell, Noah

Shaw, William Spier, William Freeland, John Thompson, William Forbes, Oliver Wait together with such person or persons as shall under the provisions of this Act, become subscribers to and proprietors of any share or shares in the Rail-road hereby authorized to be made, and the several and respective heirs, executors, administrators, curators and assigns, being proprietors of any share or shares in the Rail-road hereby authorized to be made, are and shall be, and be united into a Company for the carrying on, making, completing and maintaining the said intended Rail-road, according to the rules, orders and directions hereinafter expressed, and shall for that purpose be one body politic and corporate, of the name of "The Company of Proprietors of the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad"; and by that name shall have perpetual succession, and shall have a common seal; and by that name shall and may sue and be sued, and also shall and may have power and authority to purchase lands, tenements and hereditaments for them and their successors and assigns, for the use of the said Railroad, without His Majesty's Lettres d'Amortissement; saving nevertheless to the Seigneur or Seigneurs within whose censive the lands, tenements and hereditaments so purchased may be situate, his and their several and respective droits d'indemnite, and all other seigneurial rights whatever, and also to sell any of the said lands, tenements and hereditaments purchased for the purposes aforesaid; and any person or persons, bodies, politic or corporate, or communities, may give, grant, bargain, sell or convey to the said Company of Proprietors, any lands, tenements or hereditaments for the purposes aforesaid, and the same may re-purchase of the said Company without Lettres d'Amortissements, and the said Company of Proprietors and their successors and assigns shall be, and are hereby authorized and empowered from and after the passing of this Act, by themselves, their deputies, agents, officers, workmen and servants, to make and complete a Rail-road, to be called the "Champlain and St. Lawrence Rail-road", from, at or near the village of Dorchester, commonly called St. Johns, in the District of Montreal, in as direct a line as may be found practicable, and as local situation, as circumstances and the nature of the ground will admit, to the River St. Lawrence, opposite or nearly opposite to the city of Montreal: provided always, that the commencement of the said Rail-road from, at or near Dorchester aforesaid, shall not be at a greater distance from the lower extremity of the Port thereof upwards than half a mile; and provided also that the termination of the said Rail-road on the River

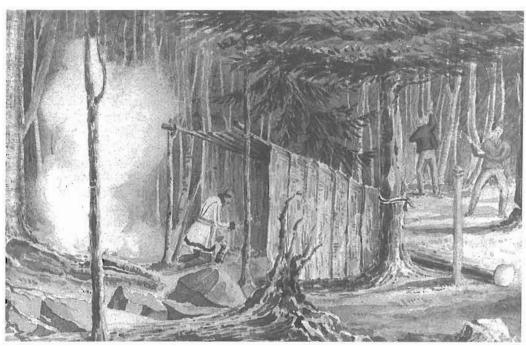
St. Lawrence shall be at the village of Laprairie inclusively, or at some point between the village of Laprairie and the head or upper end of the Island of St. Helen; and for the purposes aforesaid the said Company of Proprietors, their deputies, servants, agents and workmen, are hereby authorized and errpowered to enter into and upon the lands and grounds of the King's Most Excellent Majesty, or of any person or persons, bodies politic, corporate or collegiate, or communities whatsoever, and to survey and take levels of the same, or any part thereof, and to set out and ascertain such parts thereof as they shall think necessary and proper for making the said intended Rail-road, and all such other works, matters and conveniences as they shall think proper and necessary for making, effecting, preserving, improving, completing, maintaining and using the said intended Rail-road and other works, and also to bore, dig, cut, trench, get, remove, take, carry away, and lay earth, clay, stone, soil, rubbish, trees, roots of trees, beds of gravel or sand, or any other matters or things which may be dug or got in making the said intended Rail-road or other works, or out of the lands or grounds of any person or persons adjoining or lying convenient thereto, and which may be proper, requisite or necessary for making or repairing the said intended Rail-road, or works incidental or relative thereto, or which may hinder, prevent or obstruct the making using or completing, extending or maintaining the same respectively, according to the intent and purpose of this Act; and to make, build, erect and set up in or upon the said intended Rail-road, or upon the lands adjoining or near the same respectively, such and so many houses, warehouses, toll-houses, watchhouses, weighing beams, cranes, fire engines, steam engines, or other engines, either stationary or locomotive, inclined planes, machines, and other works, ways, roads, and conveniences, as and when the said Company of Proprietors shall think requisite and convenient for the purposes of the said Rail-road; and also from time to time to alter, repair, divert, widen, enlarge, and extend the same, and also to make, maintain, repair and alter any fences or passages over, under or through the said intended Rail-road, and to construct, erect, make and do all other matters and things which they shall think convenient and necessary for the making, effecting, extending, preserving, improving, completing and easy using of the said intended Rail-road and other works, in pursuance of and according to the true intent and meaning of this Act; they, the said Company of Proprietors, doing as little damage as may be, in the execution of the several powers to them hereby granted, and making satisfaction in manner hereinafter mentioned to the owners or proprietors of, or the persons interested in the lands, tenements, hereditaments, waters, water-courses, brooks, or rivers respectively, which shall be taken, used, removed, prejudiced, or of which the course shall be altered, or for all damages to be by them sustained in or by the execution of all or any of the powers of this Act; and this Act shall be sufficient to indemnify the said Company of Proprietors and their servants. agents or workmen, and all other persons whatsoever for what they, or any of them, shall do by virtue of the powers hereby granted, subject nevertheless to such provisions and restrictions as are hereinafter mentioned.

In the fall of 1831, notice was given of the intent to again seek incorporation of the C&SL<sup>61</sup>. This notice was placed by William Forbes, involved with Gates and his colleagues in the Lachine Basin project, and Oliver Wait, a contractor associated with Redpath, Phillips, and White on the Lachine and Rideau canals. This time, the Montreal Gazette mounted a vigorous campaign of support. Much of this took the form of accounts of American railway developments<sup>62</sup> but, in case the subtle message was missed, the paper could be explicit. For example, on October 6, the Gazette commented that 'Our enterprising neighbors in the United States have become sensible of the great advantages to be derived from the construction of railroads and, unlike the sages who sit in our legislature, are disposed to grant every facility to those who wish to embark on such undertaking.'

With this third attempt, despite continued uncertainties about the intent of the C&SL promoters<sup>63</sup> and a petition from the Chambly area asking for improvements to the road system instead of approval for the railway project<sup>64</sup>, the legislative effort succeeded and the railway bill received Royal Assent in February, 1832. A much larger group of promoters had joined the project but the outcome

appears ultimately a result of a decision by Papineau to support the bill<sup>65</sup>, a decision for which there is no clear explanation.

What was perhaps most significant about the group finally empowered to build the railway was the addition of two men from St. Johns who would ultimately play key roles. Jason Peirce was a freight forwarder and agent for Lake Champlain steamboats<sup>66</sup>. Robert Jones was a Legislative Councilor with business interests including a toll bridge built across the Richelieu at St. Johns in 182667. Both had been involved in an unsuccessful 1829 attempt to gain approval for a turnpike road from St. Johns to the St. Lawrence<sup>68</sup>. In that effort, Peirce and Jones had been joined by others including William Lindsay and William MacRae, senior officers at the St. Johns Customs House. Lindsay also had interests in shipping on the Richelieu. MacRae was a member of the Board of Commissioners for the Chambly canal<sup>69</sup> and was a brother-in-law of George Moffatt<sup>70</sup> from the C&SL group in Montreal. Neither Lindsay nor MacRae were included in the group of 74 founders named in the C&SL statute, but they soon joined Peirce and Jones within the project with Lindsay becoming the senior manager of the C&SL in November of 183471.



This painting, done about 1836, is entitled "Preparing for a Railroad Through the Woods, Lower Canada". It must, therefore refer to the Champlain & St. Lawrence, and so is the earliest known view of railway construction in Canada. Note the dense woods that existed before the land was cleared; so different from the same countryside today. National Archives of Canada, photo No. C-40332.

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Even after the Champlain & St. Lawrence was open for business, not all the stock that had been subscribed had been paid for. This receipt, dated August 26 1836, was for the tenth and final installment of £12 / 10 Halifax Currency (equal to \$50.00) on five shares subscribed for by Robertson Masson Strang & Co. at £25 (\$100) per share.

Collection of Fred Angus

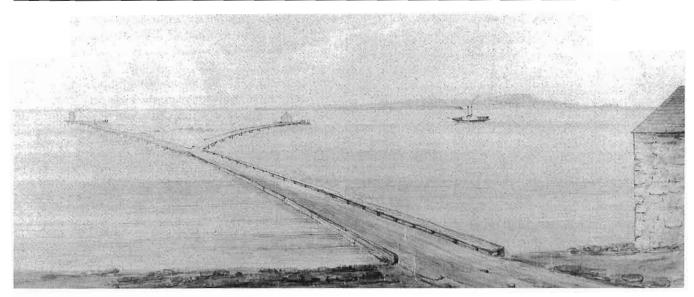
# The Period Of Dormancy, 1832-1834

On May 1, 1832, a C&SL committee headed by Gates opened the book for share subscriptions72 but the timing was unfortunate. Within weeks, Lower Canada was caught up in an international cholera epidemic and close to 2000 died out of Montreal's population of 32,000. Among the dead were John Fleming, President of the Bank of Montreal, and Oliver Wait from Gates' C&SL committee.

The next year, there was an unusually poor harvest and cholera hit again in 1834. The prolonged business slump was described as a 'very great and unparalleled depression in trade<sup>73</sup>' by Jason Peirce at the first C&SL general meeting in late November of 1834.

Economic circumstances may explain some of the problems encountered in placing C&SL shares though Peirce's comment about depression and literature assumptions about a shortage of capital may be somewhat misleading. During 1833, for example, the City Bank placed £40,000 of new shares with little trouble74 and the Bank of Montreal continued to post record profit levels75.

Distractions likely affected several of the key players. Gates had become President of the Bank of Montreal following John Fleming's death. At the same time, in mid-1832, McGill and Moffatt got involved in a major land development and migration venture, the British American Land Company. McGill attended the



The wharf of the Champlain & St. Lawrence Rail Road at Laprairie as it appeared after the terminus had been moved to St. Lambert in 1852. National Archives of Canada, photo No. C-34156.

organizing meeting in London and he and Moffatt became Canadian Commissioners for the firm<sup>76</sup>. Both invested considerable time on this company's difficulties with the Assembly before approval was given in 1834 for the acquisition of 850,000 acres east of the Richelieu<sup>77</sup>.

Still another possible explanation for a delay lurks in the background. The relationship of the Montreal-to-Brockville railway project, originally proposed by Peter Fleming in 1830, to the C&SL is uncertain but the large number of promoters involved in both undertakings raises important questions that need to be answered.

Notices appearing in the Montreal *Gazette* in 1833 and 1834<sup>78</sup> name 20 promoters of the proposed Montreal-to-Brockville line. Of the 14 about whom some details have been located, 12 had either direct personal involvement in the C&SL project prior to opening day in 1836 or very close connections to key figures in the C&SL group.

Frederick Griffin was secretary of Gates' 1832 committee to raise the C&SL's capital. Joseph Shuter became a member of the C&SL Board in December, 1835. Benjamin Holmes was cashier (general manager) of the Bank of Montreal and would also be a member of the first C&SL Board in November, 1834. Thomas Phillips had been active in attempts to get the C&SL bill passed in 1831. Robert Nelson (physician to John Molson Sr) would also become a member of the first C&SL Board'9. John Torrance (best known for his interests in St. Lawrence shipping and his role as a director of the Bank of Montreal), Benjamin Brewster, and Samuel Gale were all founders named in the C&SL statute.

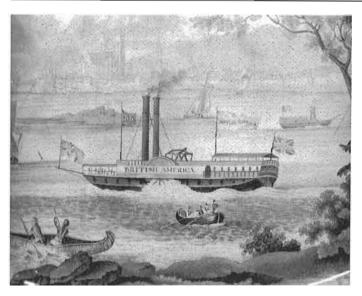
Stanley Bagg (on the City Bank Board with Phillips) and Andrew White were contractors who had been partners of John Redpath and Phillips. White had also been associated with Gates, McGill, Phillips, et al in the Lake of Two Mountains canal project. John Molson Jr (also on the City Bank Board) would inherit his father's C&SL shares in early 1836 and be the largest shareholder when the C&SL opened.

Henry Griffin was notary for John Molson Sr and a brother of Frederick Griffin who, as indicated, had close connections to the C&SL.

Though this is highly speculative, it seems possible that the C&SL project could have been deliberately delayed for a time while legislative approval for the railway west from Montreal was being sought so that the two lines could be built and opened at the same time. If that had been the objective, it was not achieved. The Brockville venture did not get legislative approval though efforts continued to at least the autumn of 1836<sup>80</sup> by which time the C&SL was operational.

Consideration of possible influence of the Brockville proposal on the C&SL merits further exploration for another reason in addition to the presence of the significant number of interlocking promoters. Starting in 1833, the rivalry on the St Lawrence between the Torrance-owned Montreal Tow Boat Company and Molson's St Lawrence Steamboat Company began to change. That year, the two firms launched a new vessel as a jointly-owned venture. It appears that competition on the river was very quickly replaced by a Torrance-Molson cartel with additional jointly-owned vessels, co-operation in scheduling, and elimination of price competition<sup>81</sup>. With both Torrance and Molson interests in both the C&SL and Brockville railway projects, it seems logical to wonder if the "co-operative" model launched on the river in 1833 may not have also been considered for the railways being planned at the same time.

While we do not have enough evidence to do more than speculate about the significance of the ties between the C&SL project and the Brockville proposal<sup>82</sup>, it is interesting to note that other questions of this nature apply to this same period. Peirce and Lindsay, two of the C&SL players from St. Johns, were also members of a St. Johns committee promoting a rail-way from St. Johns eastward to Lake Magog in 1835<sup>83</sup>.



The "British America", built in 1829, was one of the Torrance steamboats. We see it here, pictured on a china platter made in England about 1835. The Montreal skyline and a rival Molson boat appear in the background. Note the towers of Notre Dame, not yet built, but depicted as they would be after 1843. Collection of Fred Angus.

Examination of these possible factors involved in the lack of action on the C&SL project over the period 1832-34 has obviously been based on the assumption that the time lag was unexpected or abnormal. There is no evidence about the pace of activity expected by the C&SL group when incorporation was achieved other than the deadlines in the statute<sup>84</sup>.

There is, however, evidence from the USA which provides some context for progress on the C&SL. During the period 1831-1837, eight railways were opened in northern New York relatively close to the Canadian border. Their chronological data, drawn from von Gerstner's 1838-39 survey of American railways<sup>85</sup>, closely parallel the C&SL experience.

Table 2 RR Charters & Openings, Northern New York State, 1826-37							
	Chartered	Opened	Years Delay				
Mohawk & Hudson	1826	1831	5				
Ithaca & Oswego	1828	1834	6				
Saratoga & Schenectady	1831	1833	2				
Tonowanda	1832	1837	5				
Rensselaer & Saratoga	1833	1835	2				
Utica & Schenectady	1833	1836	3				
Buffalo & Niagara Falls	1834	1837	3				
Lockport & Niagara Falls	s 1834	1837	3				
Average of the 8 lines			3.6				

When this New York pattern is considered, particularly with its trend of decreasing delays over the decade, passage of four years between incorporation and the opening of the C&SL does not appear especially extraordinary. Regardless of the reasons that led to a lack of action for more than two years, the clock was running and by the summer of 1834, the December 1st deadline for completion of a survey and organization of the company loomed ever larger. Gates had died in April of 1834<sup>86</sup> but Jason Peirce of St. Johns seems to have filled the leadership vacuum.

By the autumn of 1834, enough C&SL shares had been subscribed to permit formal organization of the firm<sup>87</sup>. There are uncertainties about Peirce's role in placing shares during this period<sup>88</sup>, but he and Robert Jones saved the C&SL in one critical respect. On their own accord, they ordered a survey of a potential route to meet the terms of the statute. At the organizational meeting on 29 November, decisions were made to accept route and specifications recommendations coming out of the survey, bring in the funds subscribed, and start construction when weather permitted in early 1835<sup>89</sup>. The dormant project soon turned into a railway under construction and by mid-1836 the line would be open for business.

#### Conclusions

The goal of the research reported here has been to provide a better understanding of the vicissitudes surrounding the origins of Canada's first locomotive-powered railway. The results are mixed.

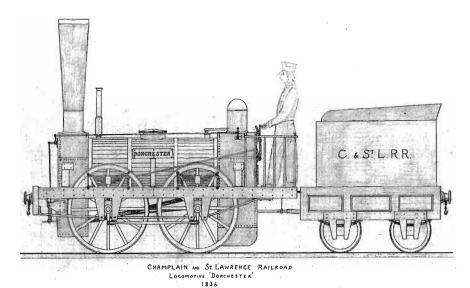
The origins of the C&SL have been pushed back three years to 1828 and it now seems that primary credit for establishing the railway should probably go to Horatio Gates. The evolution of the project over the period 1828-34 has been found to be closely connected to other commercial developments and the relationships among the C&SL promoters and across various business undertakings have been revealed in some detail. Vital questions remain, however.

Many potentially significant details are missing about both the C&SL and the Brockville railway project of 1833-36 as well as about other business undertakings at this time. At the top of this list are the complete lists of names from the first two C&SL petitions and the two Brockville project petitions since the original petitions have not been located. It also seems likely that there were other important personal and business linkages about which not even a hint has yet been uncovered. The basis for selecting the St. Johns - Laprairie route has been assessed but answers about the choice are still speculative, as are the explanations for the lull in activity by the C&SL promoters over the two years following incorporation in 1832.

While the missing first chapter on the C&SL has been started, it is still far from complete.

## **Notes**

- 1 R.R. Brown, 'The Champlain & St. Lawrence,' Bulletin of the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society (BRLHS), 39 (1936) 6-62; Lucien Brault, 'Le Premier Chemin de Fer Canadien,' Bulletin des Recherches Historique, 1936, 526-537; N.& H. Mika, Canada's First Railway (Belleville, 1985); F.F. Angus, ed. 1836-1986: A Tribute to Canada's First Railway on Its Sesquicentennial (St. Constant, 1986); [The Angus volume includes all papers dealing with the origins of the C&SL which have appeared in the journal Canadian Rail]; L.F. Gillam, The Champlain & St. Lawrence Railroad (Rotherham, S Yorks, nd (c.1986)); F. Cinq-Mars, L'Avenement du Premier Chemin de Fer au Canada (St. Jean sur Richelieu, 1986); see also G.J.J. Tulchinsky, The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-53 (Toronto, 1977).
- 2 See A. Shortt on Horatio Gates, Journal of Canadian Banking (JCB), 30 (1922-23) 44, and on Peter McGill, JCB, 31 (1923-24) 306. In the Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB), see J.-C. Robert on Horatio Gates, vol. VI (1987) 278, and A. Dubuc on John Molson, vol. VII (1988) 620. The book by Cinq-Mars (1986) does reveal some of the pre-1831 roots but there has not been any more recent literature in English to reflect Cinq-Mars' work or recognize the significance of the references in the four biographies.
- 3 Brown, for example (1936, 10), refers to possible influence of the Rainhill trials on the Liverpool & Manchester in 1829 but goes on to state that "it is much more likely that the opening of the Mohawk and Hudson Railroad was the real deciding factor." Gillam (c.1986, 9) was even more more explicit when he stated, "Doubtless the opening ... (of the Mohawk and Hudson) ... proved to be the turning point."
- 4 Two exceptions are references by Robert, DCB, vol. VI (1987) 278, to the evolution of Horatio Gates' interest from a canal to the C&SL project, and by Cinq-Mars (1986) to some of the common business interests among the C&SL promoters.
- 5 This subhead is based on the title of D.G. Creighton's seminal study, The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850 (Toronto, 1937).
- 6 See H.A. Innes, The Fur Trade in Canada (New Haven, 1930).
- 7 The major studies are those of A.R. Lower, The Assault on the Canadian Forest (New Haven, 1938) and Great Britain's Woodyard (Montreal, 1973).
- 8 See H.I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America (Toronto, 1961), tables I III, 288-90.



ABOVE: A drawing, by Robert Brown, showing the "Dorchester", the first locomotive of the Champlain & St. Lawrence.

BELOW: The "Dorchester's" name plate.

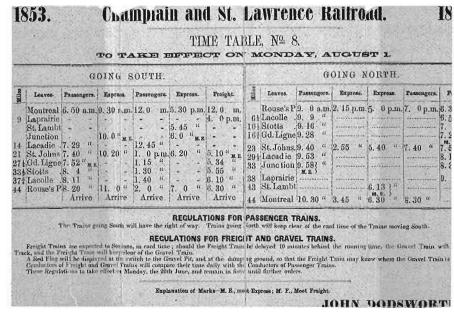


- 9 See 'Census and Statistical Returns for Lower Canada,' Journals of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada (JHALC), vol. 41 (1831-32), Appendix Volume, unnumbered appendix.
- 10 By the 1830s, the wheat and flour being exported was coming primarily from Upper Canada; see F. Ouellet, Lower Canada, 1790 -1840 (Toronto, 1980), 120-21 and table 86, 388.
- 11 See M. Denison, Canada's First Bank: A History of the Bank of Montreal, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1966/67).
- 12 See G.H. Wilson, The Application of Steam to St. Lawrence Valley Navigation, MA Thesis, McGill University, 1961, and F. Mackey's recent Steamboat Connections: Montreal to Upper Canada, 1816-43, (Montreal, 2000).
- 13 See G.J.J. Tulchinsky, The Construction of the First Lachine Canal, MA Thesis, McGill University, 1960.
- 14 Before the final decision to build the Rideau canal, serious consideration had been given at high levels in Whitehall to building a tramway rather than a canal. This idea came out of proposals from James George of Quebec City for a tramway to deal with the problems associated with the St. Lawrence route; see R.W. Passfield, 'Ordnance Supply Problems in the Canadas: The Quest for an Improved Military Transport System, 1814-1828,' HSTC Bulletin: Quarterly Newsletter for the History of Science and Technology of Canada, vol. 5, no. 2, May, 1981, 187-209.

- 15 See J.P. Heisler, The Canals of Canada, (Ottawa, 1973) and R.F. Leggett, Canals of Canada (Vancouver, 1976) for general surveys. For more detail on specific geographical sections, see Leggett's Rideau Waterway (Toronto, 1955) and his Ottawa River Canals (Toronto, 1988).
- 16 See P.-A. Sevigny, Trade and Navigation on the Chambly Canal (Ottawa, 1983).
- 17 The two senior officers of the St. Johns Customs House in the late 1820s, W.D. Lindsay and William MacRae, ultimately became involved in the C&SL project though only, it seems, after the decision had been made by the original promoters to focus on a route from St. Johns to the St. Lawrence.
- 18 This assumption is supported by observations within the Assembly debate on the C&SL, 21 January 1832, that the St. Johns Montreal route was "the greatest and most frequented route between the United States and Montreal," and that "the greatest part of the articles that came that way from the States were for the consumption of Montreal," Quebec City Mercury, 4 February 1832; see also the letter from 'S' in the Montreal *Gazette*, 22 May 1828. Strong criticism of the proposed St. Johns St. Lawrence route came from Quebec City interests as soon as it became public knowledge; see for example the series of letters from "Observer" in the Quebec City *Mercury*, 12 April, 26 April, and 27 May, 1828.
- 19 Lachine estimates are based on data from annual reports of the Lachine Canal Commission in Tulchinsky (1960) appendices 1-2, 116-17; St. Johns estimates, 1824-26, are based on data quoted in J. Bouchette, The British Dominions in North America (London, 1831) vol. 1, 451-52; St. Johns estimate, 1827, is based on JHALC, vol. 38 (1828-29) Appendix C; St. Johns estimates, 1829-31, are from evidence to a Legislative Assembly Committee by Jason Peirce of St. Johns when appearing on behalf of the C&SL promoters, JHALC, vol. 41 (1831-32) Appendix Volume, Minutes of Evidence, 30 December 1831; St. Johns estimates, 1832-33, are based on data in Montreal Gazette, 24 December 1833.
- **20** St Johns estimate in JHALC, vol. 41 (1831-32) Appendix Volume, Minutes of Evidence, 30 December 1831; Lachine data appear in Tulchinsky (1960) 117.
- 21 R.R. Brown, 'Canada's Earliest Railways,' BRLHS, 78 (1949) 50-55. It should be noted that only one, the Rideau Canal line, was a level-ground tramway; the other two were inclined planes. The Quebec plane was steam-powered while the Niagara plane was operated by a capstan. While the Quebec City and Rideau lines had been constructed in the 1820s, the Niagara incline had been used by the British military during the previous century and abandoned when the Americans assumed control of the land on the east side of the Niagara river in the 1790s.
- 22 Brown's 'Canada's Earliest Railways' (52-55) also deals with the "Kingsey" tramway. His references to James George and Kingsey as a location both appear open to question, especially in the absence of reference to George or to Kingsey in the passage in the Halifax Acadian Recorder which is his primary evidence for the tramway's existence. The Recorder's

- detail (13 February 1830) is limited to stating that "an experiment ... has been tried in the woods 120 miles from Quebec." Given the evidence, I am not convinced that the Kingsey line actually existed.
- 23 The Quebec City Mercury, 9 January 1830, stated that "a short piece of Rail-Road made by Messrs MacPherson & Co... which is of three-inch plank with a small edge, has been in use for three or four years ..." It is interesting to note that the reference to this tramway appeared first in a Quebec City paper and was reprinted in the Montreal Gazette nine days later. No Montreal-sourced reference to the MacPherson line has been found. While the evidence for this line is limited, it seems better than that available for the "Kingsey tramway." David MacPherson, a member of the family firm became an important player when the Grand Trunk was organized in the early 1850s; see 'The Hon. David Lewis MacPherson,' in J.C. Dent's The Canadian Portrait Gallery (Toronto, 1881).
- 24 "Canada" in this context excludes the eastern colonies, specifically Nova Scotia, where the General Mining Association opened three short tramways at coal mines at Albion Mines in Pictou County and both Sydney Mines and Bridgeport on Cape Breton Island at the beginning of the 1830s.
- 25 Montreal: *Gazette*, 30 October and 24 November, 1824, 12 February 1825.
- 26 The Montreal *Gazette* carried eight reports on the L&M between 7 December 1829 and 4 November 1830.
- 27 Montreal Gazette, 24 November and 1 December, 1824.
- **28** Montreal *Gazette*, 11 February 1826 and 19 April 1827; Journals of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada [JLCLC] (1826) 43.
- **29** See Montreal *Gazette*, 4 December 1824, 16 August and 30 August 1830 for reference to problems with the roads between St. Johns and the St. Lawrence.
- **30** See Montreal *Gazette*, 10 April, 21 April, 12 May, 22 May, 5 June, 9 June, and 10 July for a total of 11 reports and letters, a number of which appeared first in the Quebec City Mercury and/or the Quebec City *Star*.
- 31 Montreal Gazette, 5 June 1828.
- 32 The petition was presented in the Legislative Council on 5 December 1828, JLCLC (1828-29) 45 and in the Assembly five days later, JHALC, vol. 38 (1828-29) 122.
- 33 Many details about individuals here and in following section are not footnoted. Three major sources have been used: the Montreal *Gazette*, 1824-1840 inclusive; biographical studies in DCB, vols.VI-X inclusive; and Tulchinsky's River Barons which served as inspiration and model for much of my research.
- 34 'The New York Canals,' in *North American Review*, vol. 14, no. 34, January, 1822, 249.
- **35** Montreal *Gazette*, 6 March 1824, 7 April 1824, 14 and 21 May 1825, 23 October 1826.

- 36 Montreal Gazette, 7 May 1825.
- 37 Montreal *Gazette*, 21 September 1829 and 21 April 1831.
- 38 Among its supporters was Peter Fleming, the first engineer on the Chambly canal; JHALC, vol. 40 (1831) 156.
- **39** Montreal *Gazette*, 12 May and 9 June 1828.
- 40 Montreal Gazette, 23 November 1828.
- 41 See for example the flow of reports reflecting fears about the future of the timber trade to the UK in Montreal *Gazette*, 5 and 12 February 1831, 14, 21 and 23 April 1831, 12 November 1832, and 4 March 1834, and in the Quebec City *Mercury*, 15, 18, and 22 January 1831, and 22 February 1831.
- 42 Reference should be made, however, to one of the most interesting contemporary accounts of the opening of the C&SL. The Montreal *Vindicator* of
- 26 July 1836 contains a lengthy letter from "TSB," presumably T.S. Brown, the paper's founder, a supporter of the reform movement who became one of the leaders of the patriote rebellion which broke out the next year. His account presents the C&SL within the context of the ongoing political struggle in Lower Canada. Most of the Montreal C&SL promoters were on the opposite side of the political fence and vigorously opposed the reform movement.
- 43 Montreal Gazette, 23 December 1830.
- 44 While Grant's name was not on the public notice in the fall of 1830, he spoke on behalf of the project before an Assembly committee in February of 1831; JHALC, vol. 41 (1831-32) Appendix Volume, Minutes of Evidence, 24 February 1831. The reason for his lowered public profile is uncertain. Perhaps it was because his position as a Legislative Councilor was seen to be in conflict. For example, in February of 1830, he had presented four petitions in the Legislative Council from residents in the St. Johns Laprairie region seeking action to improve roads in the district. JLCLC (1830) 35. Another possibility is that his political profile might have been seen as disadvantageous to the C&SL project. When the C&SL bill was finally passed in 1832, Grant's name was not included among the 74 men who were empowered to build the railway.
- 45 See Montreal *Gazette*, 22 February 1831 for Phillips' public notice (required because of a change to the petition while it was before the House), and 5 April 1831 for a letter from 'A Friend To Public Improvement' which refers to the fate of the bill in the Assembly. The Quebec City *Mercury* of 5 April 1831 refuted suggestions that Quebec City influence had caused the failure of the bill while carefully recognizing that there was strong opposition to the C&SL from "those who are interested in the Chambly canal." See also JHALC, vol. 40 (1831) 273, 302, 356, 364.



A Champlain & St. Lawrence timetable of 1853, after the line had been extended to Rouse's Point. CRHA Archives, Donation from J. Norman Lowe

- 46 Montreal Gazette, 21 December 1829.
- 47 Public Statutes of Lower Canada (PSLC), 1 Will. IV, ch. 33, 1831.
- 48 Three other interesting names appear in sequence in the Q&H statute, "Andrew Belcher, George Rundell, James Bridge." I suspect that errors were made in transcribing the second and third names and that these two were London goldsmiths, Edmund Rundell and John Bridge. Andrew Belcher, another Nova Scotian, had business ties to Cunard and in 1829 was Nova Scotia's Agent in London. At this time Belcher was also on the Board of the General Mining Association where Rundell and Bridge were the dominant shareholders; (see General Mining Association Deed of Settlement, 1829, Guildhall Archives, London, ms 24, 532). In the late 1830s, following its initial involvement with tramways referred to in footnote 24, this company would build the Albion Mines Railway, the second locomotivepowered railway in British North America; (see my paper on this line in Canadian Rail, # 474, January-February, 2000. 3-12).
- **49** JHALC, vol. 40 (1831) 55; Montreal *Gazette*, 4 November 1830.
- 50 See PSLC, 2 Will. IV, ch. 58, 1832; the 74 "founders" who were named were collectively authorized to establish the company and build the line. At the time of incorporation, no shares had been issued and it is not certain if all members of the group of 74 actually took shares when the company was formally set up in late 1834. The most readily available copy of the list is that in Mika, (1985) 16. It also appears in the preamble quoted on page 48 of this article.
- 51 Montreal Gazette, 6 October 1831.
- 52 Montreal Gazette, 26 May 1831.











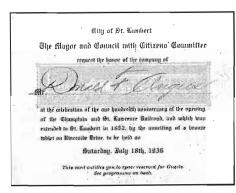






In 1936 the centennial of the opening of the Champlain & St. Lawrence was celebrated by Canadian National Railways, the successor to the C&StL. These tickets were for special trips as part of the celebrations; St. Lambert and St. John's on July 18, and Laprairie on July 19. Collection of Donald F. Angus.

- 53 Montreal Gazette, 20 December 1834.
- 54 Montreal Gazette, 1 October 1829.
- 55 Montreal Gazette, 5 March 1835.
- **56** Montreal *Gazette*, 13 December and 30 December 1830; Brockville, on the upper St. Lawrence, offered rapid-free navigation into Lake Ontario.
- 57 Montreal Gazette, 13 December 1830.
- **58** Stanstead is about 50 miles east of St. Johns and very close to the American border.
- **59** See the letter by 'Columbus' in Quebec City *Mercury*, 30 January 1830.
- **60** A Chambly Longueuil canal was also being promoted at this time; again no details have been found to identify the principals involved; JHALC, vol. 40 (1831) 97.
- 61 Montreal Gazette, 22 September 1831.
- **62** Montreal *Gazette*, 6 October, 11 October, 13 October, 20 October, 22 October, 1 November, and 5 November 1831.
- 63 The all-too-brief summary of committee hearings indicates that the C&SL group was still uncertain or non-committal about the use of locomotive power. Oliver Wait was asked about the use of locomotives and his recorded reply was a terse, "We have not exactly determined." JHALC, vol. 41 (1831-32) Appendix Volume, Evidence, 26 December 1831. Discussion in the Assembly on 20 January 1832, reported in the Quebec City *Mercury*, 4 February 1832, shows that no commitments had been made by the promoters about a precise route or a northern terminus for the line.
- 64 JHALC, vol 41 (1831-32) 196.
- questions about the promoters' plans, the support of Papineau, Speaker of the Assembly and undisputed leader of the patriote group, assured passage of the bill this time; see Quebec City Mercury, 4 February 1832, regarding Papineau's statements on 21 and 23 January. References to Papineau such as that by Brown (1936, 29) as a "strong supporter" of the C&SL project fail to take into account the fact that his support had not been forthcoming during the first two attempts at incorporation. No explanation can be offered about why Papineau's support was won over the third time around.
- 66 Montreal *Gazette*, 3 April 1828. There has been some discussion about the spelling of Peirce's name. All references I have seen in the press and in Legislative Journals, 1828-36, have been to "Pierce", however it appears that he himself spelled his name "Peirce", including on his tombstone, so



# PROGRAMME SATURDAY, JULY 18TH. 1936 2.20 Opening of Celebration on arrival of train from Montreal. 2.30 Procession in motor cars around part of the City to Mooumeat site on Riverside Drive. 2.40 Welcome by Mayor G. F. Aucrum. 2.50 Short address by President S. J. Hungerford of the Canadian National Rly, and unveiling of Tablet by Lady Mayoress. 3.00 Short address by President John Loye of the Canadian Railroad Historical Association. 3.01 Short address by President Member, Vincent Openia, K.C., M.P. Return to Station by way of Victoria Avenue.

The President and Members of Council of the Antiquirizan and Ammiamatic Society of Atontreal request the honor of the company of Ma. Dayara A. A. Dayara A. Dayar

ABOVE LEFT AND CENTRE: The invitation and program for the celebrations by the City of St. Lambert on July 18, 1936.

ABOVE RIGHT: An exhibition was held in the Chateau de Ramezay in Montreal, commemorating the centennial of the C&StL. This exhibition was the first major undertaking by the CRHA.

Both items from the collection of Donald F. Angus.

we have used that spelling. This question could be answered definitively by the evidence of original documents bearing his signature.

- 67 PSLC, 6 Geo IV, ch. 29, 1826.
- 68 Montreal Gazette, 24 September 1829.
- 69 Montreal Gazette, 21 September 1829.
- 70 A. Shortt, 'George Moffatt,' JCB, 32 (1924-25) 179.
- 71 Lindsay's initial title was "clerk," see Montreal *Gazette*, 4 December 1834, but references to his activity by the time construction was under way in 1835-36 clearly indicate his role was that of "general manager."
- 72 Montreal Gazette, 2 April 1832; the others were Peirce, Wait, Forbes, Bouthelier, John Mills and Frederick Griffin. Griffin was a prominent Montreal lawyer and Mills was on the City Bank Board with Phillips, John Molson Jr, and Andrew White.
- 73 Montreal Gazette, 4 December 1834.
- 74 Denison, vol. 1 (1966) 297.
- 75 Denison, vol. 1 (1966) 292.
- 76 Montreal Gazette, 2 April and 17 May 1832.
- 77 Montreal Gazette, 15 February 1834.
- **78** Montreal *Gazette*, 22 October 1833 and 18 September 1834.
- 79 Nelson's status as a member of the Montreal establishment collapsed when he joined the patriote cause. After the outbreak of the 1837 rebellion, he became a key figure in the leadership and one of the most prominent exiles of 1838; Nelson's brother, Wolfred, led the force which won the only patriote military victory at the Battle of St Denis.
- 80 Montreal *Gazette*, 18 July and 12 November 1835, 16 July and 20 September 1836. No explanation can be offered for the failure of the Brockville project to gain Assembly approval though one obvious possibility is that the line would have provided competition to the government-owned Lachine canal. It would be over a decade before the Montreal & Lachine laid the first rails along the easternmost part of

the proposed route to Brockville.

- 81 Tulchinsky (1977) 52-53.
- 82 An interesting sidebar to these connections is the fact that Horatio Gates & Co appears to have had only one facility outside Montreal a warehouse in Brockville; see Montreal *Gazette*, 26 May 1831 and 13 June 1831.
- 83 Montreal *Vindicator*, 2 October 1835; nothing has been found to indicate if there were any connections between this project and the St. Johns Stansfead line being promoted in 1830.
- 84 These were extended in 1833 by an amendment (PSLC, 3 Will IV, ch.7, 1833) which gave the promoters to 1 December 1834 to complete survey work, raise capital and formally organize the company. The railway itself was to be completed by August of 1837.
- 85 F.C. Gamst, Early American Railways (Stanford, 1997), table 2.31, 282-83, (with correction of von Gerstner's inaccurate 1832 date for the opening of the M&H).
- 86 See Montreal *Gazette*, 12 April, 15 April, and 17 April 1834 for obituaries of Gates; see also 'Obituary notices of the late Hon. Horatio Gates,' (Montreal, 1834), CIHM microfiche series, #89116.
- 87 The Montreal *Gazette*, 18 November 1834, reported that more than 500 of the 1000 authorized shares were subscribed for; all remaining shares were placed during 1835-36.
- 88 Mika (1985) 21, Cinq-Mars (1986) 91, and Gillam (c.1986) 12, all credit Peirce with convincing John Molson Sr to take 20 per cent of the shares. This seems to have first appeared in G.R. Stevens, Canadian National Railways, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1960) 26. Stevens cites Brown (1936) as his source regarding the C&SL and offers no other documentation regarding Molson's decision. Brown, however, had not linked Peirce to Molson's investment decision. As a result, the alleged Peirce-Molson "connection" appears questionable.
- 89 Montreal *Gazette*, 4 December 1834, provides a detailed account of this meeting with extensive attention to Peirce, Jones and the completion of the survey. The importance of the survey was noted again at the C&SL annual meeting at the end of 1835; see Montreal *Gazette*, 17 December 1835.

# Two Days and Two Seasons from VIA Rail's *Lake Superior*

by Daryl Adair



An excited group watches the "Lake Superior" pull alongside the Sudbury station.

One of Canada's last Rail Diesel Car services, VIA Rail Canada's *Lake Superior* works on the Canadian Pacific main line between Sudbury, and White River, on a tri-weekly schedule, in almost anonymity. Rail Travel Tours organized the first "fall colours" tour in the fall of 2002 and a group from Southern Ontario travelled round trip from Toronto on one of Canada's most well know trains, the *Canadian*, to Capreol and transferred to Sudbury, Ontario to spend a couple of evenings, followed by two days travelling between Sudbury and White River, Ontario on the *Lake Superior*. Our group experienced a great Canadian rail experience with some unique weather, which all made for a memorable trip.

#### **SATURDAY OCTOBER 5, 2002**

appro Zida r

with:

In the hotel lobby of Sudbury's Quality Inn, a favorite of railfans as the hotel overlooks the Canadian Pacific main line and Sudbury station/yards, everyone in the group was quite excited about travelling through the Canadian Shield on the last regularly scheduled passenger train on the Canadian Pacific Main line. The hotel shuttle transported a few members of the group to the former CPR, now VIA, station while the majority decided to walk the short distance to the depot. Once there a few noticed that the house tracks that

the Toronto section of the *Canadian* arrived and were stored on, when the train ran on the CPR line have been removed. Since 1955, prior to the schedule "rationalization" of 1990, the Montreal and Toronto sections met and departed here for their respective journeys. Today this unique piece of Canadian rail history is a fading memory but the majestic brick Sudbury station, at mile 79 of the Cartier sub remains.

Inside the group enjoyed the station's large waiting room (if only it could tell stories) talking with staff and fellow travellers and stretched their legs on the platform enjoying the morning sun. It was here the group had the pleasure of meeting the train's conductor Mr. James Cockburn who introduced himself to the group and told them there would be a delay in departing today. Our train was in the yard but not ready to go as the three cars that made up the train this day, we would find out later, were marshaled incorrectly. The baggage car RDC 4 #6250 was located in the middle of the two passenger units and the crew was switching the units to put the RDC 4 baggage car (one of only 14 built) at the end of the train. With the procedure done the consist with 6215 in the lead, followed by 6205 and 6250 pulled in front of the station. This is the first time since the Budd cars recent overhaul in Moncton,



The "Lake Superior" at Devon Siding.

New Brunswick that all three have travelled together. The overhaul has seen a considerable amount of work done on their electrical systems and in the cars interiors that now feature new seats and a light blue interior, replacing the former VIA red coloured interior. According to Mr. Cockburn the cars are a "breath of fresh air" and have been well received by all the passengers who regularly ride the train. The group is quick to find their seats in the lead car and all that was left was for Mr. Cockburn to yell "All Aboard" and we were on our way moving west through Sudbury.

The train travelled through the unique landscape of the Sudbury basin, believed to be the site of a meteorite crash millions of years ago, producing the area's prized nickel and copper. As we were hunting fall colours we did not realize that this was the first Saturday of moose hunting season and many hunters, with all their gear, loaded up on the train in Azilda. The route of the train services many isolated communities and hunting shacks and the hunters were in full force today. A westbound freight train saw us take the siding in Levack and once on our way we quickly arrived at the end of the Subdivision in Cartier, Ontario. Located here is another historic station still used today for the purpose it was built for, CPR offices and a passenger waiting room. We loaded up more hunters and our conductor Mr. Cockburn received the lineup of trains and this was indeed to be a busy day on the rails.

While the fall colours were not in full force the scenery did not fail to disappoint as the train passed the Spanish River Valley, which is popular with canoeists in the summer months. Stopping at a number of hunting cabins we put our schedules away as we were not going to need them for this

journey. We also stopped at the community of Biscotasing that once was the home of famed naturalist Grey Owl, believed to be an aboriginal who after his death was found out to be Englishman Archibald Stanfield Belaney! It was also the home of Allan Crossley who grew up here and was on the tour. Even though we were just here long enough to take on passengers Mr. Cockburn made sure Mr. Crossley had a chance to stand on the platform opposite the station shelter for a brief homecoming. After a picture we load up and are on our way, not before noticing the station shelter is the same beige colour of the Biscotasing General Store, located right next to the shelter. One wonders if an energetic painting team did the job of painting the shelter with left over paint.

We start making good time as the Budd cars move swiftly through northern Ontario when we are put into the siding at Devon, at mile 130, to await an eastbound train. Nobody seems to mind as one of the engineers and baggage man has come back to mingle with the group and talk about their job and explain what it is like to drive the Budd cars and work for the Canadian Pacific Railway. As well, the tracks divide Loon Lake and there are picturesque scenes to both the north and to the south. After a short delay, the freight train moving at track speed roars past our train and we receive permission to continue with Chapleau, and the end of the Cartier sub only a few miles away.

In Chapleau the train makes a stop at a refueling stand before moving ahead to the modern station building in this northern community. While the early station is long gone there is still a monument to the CPR in this community that owes its existence to the railway. During our extended stop



CPR/VIA Conductor James Cockburn talks to the group about the route.

everyone has time to stretch their legs in Centennial Park, adjacent to the station, to view preserved CPR Steam locomotive No. 5433. Once this is done there are a few moments to visit the Loeb Grocery store or visit the Chapleau museum before boarding the train and taking a head count before departing.

Once on our way, on the White River Subdivision, we cross the Chapleau River and the CPR mainline now makes up the southern border of the Chapleau Crown Game Reserve. We also learn we have a new conductor and engine crew, but Mr. Cockburn has stayed with us to be our guide and point out route highlights. The scenery continues with views of Lake Windermere and Dog Lake and sharp eyes watching the low swampy areas for more moose. Before the sun sets for the day the train slows for the diamond of the Algoma Central at Franz and everyone can see the few buildings left of this railway community across Hobon Lake. The concrete base for the CPR water tower still remains and can be quickly seen on the north side of the tracks before approaching the ACR. Near the tracks we are greeted by a green board and we cross the north south tracks of the "Route of the Black Bear" and member of the group, local author Dale Wilson tells the group about the once vibrant community of Franz and its railway history. Shortly after our visit to Franz with the sun gone all we can see outside our windows is a trickle of rain as we make good time, and surprisingly meet no more freight trains as we continue on to White River.

After a time, with Mr. Cockburn keeping everyone entertained with stories about the stretch of track (especially the odd occurrences at mile 107) we are traveling on, lights can be seen outside our windows again and the train approaches White River's unique two-story brick station. The rain has stopped and on hand to meet us is the Mayor of White River Angelo Bazzoni, he welcomes our group before we walk to the White River Seniors Harmony Club centre. Here the seniors of this club have prepared a fantastic supper

for our group consisting of three different types of chicken, lasagna, scalloped potatoes, salads, greens and an almost endless amount of desert items. Keys to the Continental Motel are distributed among the group and many, after thanking the ladies of the seniors club for the wonderful dinner, walk to the hotel while others are shuttled by local people to the hotel to collapse in bed after an exciting but long day on the rails.

## SUNDAY OCTOBER 5, 2002

The next morning, there is no rush for breakfast at the Continental Motel restaurant on this lazy Sunday morning as there is a temporary schedule change due to track maintenance and the train is not scheduled to depart until noon. This gives us ample time to visit

the White River Museum, which was planned for the evening before. Volunteers here told us more about the areas rail history and learn more about the community's most famous former resident, Winnie the Pooh. It was here that Captain Harry Colebourn while traveling on the CPR from his hometown of Winnipeg to Valcartier, Quebec and from there to the battlefields of World War I purchased a bear cub that became famous in A.A. Milne's children stories. The orphaned bear was purchased while he stretched his leg along the platform here in White River and the same platform today found our group loading up and awaiting our noon departure.

The warm interior of the train is welcoming as the group dries off inside the cars. A few brave ones put on rail gear to capture some unique photos of our train in the rain next to White River's two story brick station and are not upset at the results. Once underway we learned that the track was washed out just west of here and a load of ballast cars, among a number of halted westbound freights, was in the yard to help to get the line re-opened. A safe guess would be that we will have no freight meetings on this section of track.

Not long after departing White River, which is known for once recording minus 72 degrees Fahrenheit, the rain turns to heavy snow. Everyone on the tour is enjoying it thoroughly, especially the photographers, as they get great pictures where the tracks cross the White River. The snow continues and the crew explains that, while the train never passes the great lake to the south it is named for, the same lake definitely has an effect on the area's weather patterns.

With nothing but green boards in front of us the train makes great time, stopping along the way at some very isolated camps to pick up some very disappointed, and soaked to the bone, moose hunters. We do stop in Esher, just west of Chapleau for a westbound freight that we were told would be diverted onto the Algoma Central and transfer to the CN main line to continue west. Our journey east continues with much of the same scenery experienced the

day before, although, everyone has switched sides for a different perspective.

After the sun goes down there is a surprise. We know that Michael and Jan Gauthier are taking the trip to celebrate a one year wedding anniversary and a cake is sneaked on board the train at Chapleau. After a few words from the happy couple everyone on the train enjoys the cake and we arrive at Sudbury a while later. The rain won't dampen our spirits as the Quality Hotel shuttle is ready, with a few cabs, to transfer everyone to the hotel. Some brave souls still walk and all are glad to climb into the beds of the rooms of the Quality Hotel Sudbury. If they did stay up looking out of their windows facing the yard they would see the

Budd cars quietly depart the station to transfer to the NRE Alco Loco Company of Capreol where they are stored and maintained.

The following day the group enjoyed a visit to the Northern Ontario Railroad Museum in Capreol and was shown every corner of this community railway museum by some great volunteers. Before long the southbound



White River station and the "Lake Superior" in the rain.

Canadian arrived in Capreol and the group boarded for the return day trip to Toronto ending an enjoyable fall colours journey to Northern Ontario. Building on last years success, this tour, which begins and ends in Toronto, has been arranged again for Thursday October 2 to Monday October 6, 2003. For further details or reservations on this tour while space is still available, contact Rail Travel Tours at 1-866-704-3528.



Eastbound "Lake Superior" in the snow.

# Making tracks Rail travel promoter opens door to North

by Bill Redekop



The "Hudson Bay" at The Pas the evening of July 20, 2001. Photo by Fred Angus

JOE BRYSKA / WINNIPEG FREE PRESS Riding the rails on the Hudson Bay Line. Tour operators have blinders on when they see Churchill in the North and that's it, says rail fanatic Daryl Adair.

ON THE HUDSON BAY LINE - Maggie's husband died last year, she said as the scenery stroked by her rail car window. So she sold off all the cattle from their ranch in New South Wales, Australia, and followed her wanderlust to see the world.

In Canada, she purchased a Via Rail pass and found herself here, on the Hudson Bay Line to The Pas, she said as darkness fell and yard lights shone in the distance.

That's train travel. It's like a Eugene O'Neil play where the set shrinks with each act to focus attention on the characters' lives. Random conversations are struck, lives are revealed, confessions made.

And you watch the fenceposts go by, and the mile markers, and the bushes and trees....

Daryl Adair, who operates Rail Travel Tours, hopes to revive the mystery and allure of train travel. Adair, 31, is a rail fanatic. He got the bug from watching trains go by on the CPR main line at a family cottage in Lac Lu, near Minaki.

In 1997-98, he travelled halfway round the world by train: from Winnipeg to Toronto, then around Europe, including Stockholm and Paris, then to Moscow, then to Bejing on the Trans-Siberian Line, and finally Hong Kong.

Adair is banking that he's not the only one with a yen for train travel. "I started the business last fall when I had a Grey Cup train to Edmonton, like the Grey Cup Specials they had in the 1950s and '60s. It went over very well," he

said. He also ran a train special through northern Ontario called Superior Colours, a scenic tour of the fall colours along Lake Superior.

Adair's latest venture is rail travel into Manitoba's north on the Hudson Bay Line. He hopes to bridge north and south. Adair hosted a trip to The Pas for the 56th Trappers' Festival, Feb. 13-17. He is also running a rail travel tour to Churchill in July to see the Beluga Whales, as well as other northern communities. "Tour operators have blinders on where they see Churchill in the North, and that's it. I see more, so much more," said Adair.

"Here's this wonderful festival in the centre of Manitoba, The Pas Trappers' Festival, which people come all the way from the Northwest Territories to see, and people in the south go, 'What's the big deal?'" he said frustrated. "The festival is the history of the fur trade coming alive. And then there's the famous northern hospitality."

The Hudson Bay Line starts in Winnipeg and bends northwest from Portage la Prairie up to Dauphin. Then it's west through Roblin and into Saskatchewan, then north through memorable Saskatchewan town names like Mikado, Amsterdam, Tall Pines and Hudson Bay, and back into Manitoba to The Pas. The line continues to Churchill.

I travelled in a sleeper, a comfortable cubicle full of stainless steel drawers and cabinets, and powder blue walls. There is an adjoining bathroom, and a three-panel mirror to see yourself in triptych. There's a reading lamp over the bed, and a fan mounted on the wall, and three attendant buttons. The sleepers were originally built in the 1950s, and refurbished in the early 1990s.

Travellers can have trouble sleeping the first night, mainly because they're too excited. As the steel wheels push and pull against the steel rails, your thoughts venture to outside your window. You can lie on your elbow in the dark in your berth and just watch the world go by. Even at night, you can see a surprising amount outside.

We left Thursday evening and arrived at about 9 a.m. Friday morning in The Pas. A pine coffin was being loaded onto a freight car as we got off. "Someone's last trip," an onlooker remarked.

The Trappers' Festival is not fully appreciated, said Adair. What separates it from some other winter festivals is its authenticity. "People come off the trap line for the competition, and then go right back out to the trap line after the festival's over," said Adair. The men are not so much from a time when men were men, but from a time when men were bears. These guys are tough.

While watching the contestants carry 500 pounds of flour on their backs is amazing, it's just as amazing to watch them make a fire, as if down to their last match, and boil some tea; or watching them immaculately filet a fish with frozen fingers and frosty breath. The King and Queen Trapper contests extend over two days. There are 21 events for the men.

Adair's enthusiasm for the festival is infectious. He strides around town with the biggest fur hat of all. It's more the size of the box the hat came in, and is reddish like a peach flambée.

Our tour followed the dog races by bus, with an experienced musher providing the play-by-play.

Then there's the museum. Most travellers would expect to see a typical pioneer museum, with a little timber kitchen table and log sidings and kerosene lamps and snowshoes hanging from a nail. But the Sam Waller Museum is much different. It should be named the Sam Waller's Northern Museum of Weird Stuff.

It's not just the mounted two-headed calf, born near The Pas, or the albino Canada Goose. It's not even the collection of Mexican jumping beans, or the Mexican fleas dressed up in wedding gowns and tuxedos (you can see their little hairy feet poking out the sleeves).

What takes the cake, and it isn't always on display, is the stuffed head of Tobey, the lead musher dog of Emile St. Goddard. Goddard won the Trappers' Festival dog sled races five straight years in the late 1920s, a feat only matched this year by Kevin Cook. Then some cad put an end to his winning streak by poisoning his beloved Tobey. So Goddard, in honour of his memory, had him stuffed. We were allowed to go into storage to view the head. Waller collected everything. So besides the usual pioneer and trapper memorabilia, there are collections of stuffed parakeets, stuffed native song birds, Ukrainian eggs, pipes, belt buckles, barbed wire, African butterflies, much of it hidden in wedge drawers, and much, much more. The museum is in the old 1917 courthouse and still has the women's jail cells in the basement for viewing.

Whoever said people are nicer farther north, got it right. Longtime trapper Walter Koshel drove me out of town to his home just to show me a stuffed wolverine and a 17,000-

year-old buffalo skull, and other discoveries from his trapping career.

One gets the impression Koshel would do the same for any tourist if it meant them going home with a favourable impression of The Pas.

And town Mayor Gary Hopper scrounged up tickets so everyone on tour could see the Opaskwayak Cree Nation Blizzard hockey team win its 28th or 29th consecutive game; people seem to have lost count. The Blizzard are in the Manitoba Junior Hockey League. Their home games are an experience with their raucus fans, who are constantly blowing air horns and banging on side boards.

At one game, American travel writers Yvette Cardozo and Bill Hirsch were welcomed over the public address system, and a referee stopped play to hand them two souvenir pucks. Blizzard tickets could be part of a future rail package, if there's interest, said Adair.

Meanwhile, Maggie, who is a pensioner and wears a wide-brimmed Australian outback hat that holds back her long greying hair, went all the way to Churchill. We met up with her again on the way back. She loves the north, even though she's from balmy Australia. (Her ranch is on higher elevation and gets frost, she said.)

She also loves Winnipeg. She stayed at the Ivy House Hostel while in our city. Maggie was wearing a T-shirt that said The Ulysees Club, and underneath that was the motto: "Grow Old Disgracefully." It's for motorcycle riders over 50 years of age, she explained. Maggie is clearly a woman who does what she wants, not like Daisy Goodwill Flett in Carol Shields' novel The Stone Diaries who does what's expected of her.

Maggie planned to travel by rail all the way to the West Coast, then down through the United States, and be in South America by late summer.

## The Trappers Train

(3 days and 4 nights)

When: Thursday, Feb. 12, 2004 to Monday, Feb. 16, 2004. Cost: From \$1,095 (Cdn) or \$745 US, per person for double

compartment.

How far: 930 miles

What: Travel the Hudson Bay Line to The Pas Trappers' Festival. King and Queen Trapper competitions. Dog sled races. The Sam Waller Museum. The Annual Mushers' Banquet. Aseneskak Casino.

## The Northern Manitoba Explorer

(9 days and 8 nights)

When: Sunday July 13, 2003 to Monday July 21, 2003.

Cost: Per person on double occupancy: \$1,745 CDN.

How far: 1,784 miles

What: Travel the Hudson Bay Line to Churchill to see the Beluga Whales. Later stops in Gillam to see Kettle Dam, and Thompson, Lynn Lake, and The Pas.

Who: Rail Travel Tours 1-204-897-9551; Toll free: 1-866-

704-3528; Web: railtraveltours.com

# **Electric Trains to Rawdon**

# by Glenn F. Cartwright

At a time when there has not been regular passenger service to Rawdon, Quebec since the 1950s, it seems hard to imagine that the village was once served from Montreal by an electric train. In 1924, Canadian National Railways took possession of six new storage battery cars (numbered 15794-15799) ordered from the International Equipment Company of Montreal, agents for the Railway Storage Battery Car Company, and built at Canadian Car & Foundry, Montreal (cf. Clegg, 1962). Each weighed some 30 tons and was similar to number 15796 pictured here. Sister car 15795 was received April 30th 1925 and was assigned to the Montreal-Rawdon route. The car, designated class ES-53A, had an Edison (250 cell) motor, was 53' 2" long, weighed 73,800 pounds, and seated 50 passengers. The car was built on a steel underframe with steel superstructure, with a wooden roof covered with canvas embedded in white lead (Canadian Railway and Marine World, January, 1924, p. 19). Though powered by storage battery, it was heated by a coal stove.

In those days, the car would leave St. Catherine Street East (Moreau Street) Station on the l'Assomption Subdivision (Montreal Division, Quebec District) and stop at Maisonneuve and Pointe-aux-Trembles before rumbling off the eastern end of Montreal island over the bridge to Charlemagne. After l'Assomption, the car would turn onto the Rawdon Subdivision for the remainder of the trip to Rawdon, a total trip distance of 41.2 miles. Though the assignment of this single car to the route suggests a pattern of light passenger traffic, the car made two round trips a day, leaving Montreal at 7 am with the last return trip from Rawdon at 5 pm. On Sundays between June 15th and September 7th, the service was supplemented by a conventional steam train (Canadian Railway and Marine World, June, 1924). Battery power had its limitations: one was the restriction of range, another the problem of operating through heavy snow, and another the 7 to 8 hours to recharge the batteries fully though this could be spread over two or three shorter charges in a 24-hour period. It is not known if the car's storage batteries were recharged in Rawdon but this was probably unlikely. The car was equipped for doubleended operation obviating the need for turning the car on the "Armstrong" turntable at Rawdon. Neither end of the car appears to have had windshield wipers.

Few photographs are available of the operations at Rawdon but one that has often been reproduced (cf. Brady, 1987) shows a single car at the quaint Rawdon station. Though the photographer and date of the photo are unknown, it is now possible to interpret the picture in the light of Rawdon's electric car. Since only one car was assigned to Rawdon, commencing in May 1924 and terminating by September of that year (Canadian Railway and Marine World,



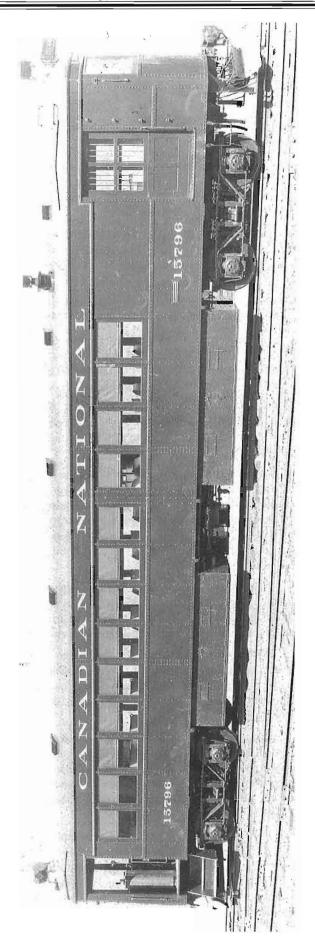
June, 1924, p. 511), it is likely that the photograph was taken during that period and that the car pictured is indeed 15795. It is supposed that either the inauguration or termination of the service might have been an occasion for a photograph, with the inauguration being more likely. Thus, the photograph may be tentatively dated May 1924. [The editor apologizes for the poor quality of the photograph, but it was the only one available, and is better than no photo at all].

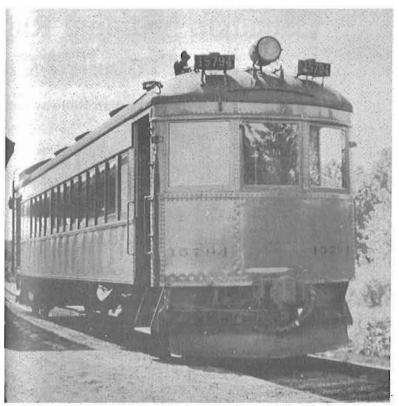
The cost of running the battery cars was of some interest to the members of the Commons Committee on Government Railways and was estimated to be approximately 40 cents a mile according to Mr. S. J. Hungerford, Vice President, Operation and Construction Departments. This compared favourably with the cost of running gasoline cars at between 30 and 50 cents a mile, including depreciation. Compared with the capital cost of diesel cars, the battery cars cost slightly less.

Another sister car, 15794, shown here in 1941 after conversion to gas-electric propulsion, is pictured here at Calumet Beach, Quebec.

Rawdon's electric car 15795 was replaced by gasoline motor car 15816 which made twice daily trips (except Sunday) and once on Sunday until it was withdrawn on July 14, 1925 (Canadian Railway and Marine World July, 1925, p.335). By June 1926 the Rawdon car is shown on the Blackrock-Bridgeburg, Ontario route (Canadian Railway and Marine World, June, 1926, p.288) where it made 10 roundtrips a day (12 on Saturday and some on Sunday) on the 0.8 mile line. By December 31st, 1938 it was listed as a spare kept in Toronto. The car was retired in October 1939 and converted to Trailer 15770 in 1940. Rawdon's electric train was no more.

ABOVE: Photo of what is likely 15795 at Rawdon in 1924. OPPOSITE LEFT: A builder's photo of 15796 in May, 1924. CRHA Archives, Can-Car Collection, photo No. C-1866. OPPOSTIE RIGHT: 15794 at Calumet Beach, Que. in 1941. CRHA Archives.





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Canadian Railway and Marine World (June, 1925). Self Propelled Cars on Steam Railways. P. 280b.

Canadian Railway and Marine World (July, 1925). Self Propelled Cars on Steam Railways. P. 335.

Canadian Railway and Marine World (June, 1926). Self Propelled Cars on Steam Railways. P.288.

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# Canadian National Railways. Assignments of Self-Propelled Cars, May 2, 1926

From Canadian Railway and Marine World, June 1926

Effective with the May 2, 1926 change of time, the C.N.R.'s gasoline, gas-electric, storage battery and oil electric self propelled cars were assigned to run as follows:

Battery car 15,792 between Bathurst and Campbellton, on Bathurst Subdivision, Campbellton Division, Atlantic Region, 62.97 miles, as trains 329 and 330.

Battery car 15,793 between New Glasgow and Pictou, on Mulgrave and Pictou subdivision, New Glasgow Division, Atlantic Region, 12.24 miles, as trains 264, 265, 266 and 267.

Battery car 15,795 between Bridgeburg and Black Rock, Dunnville Subdivision, Stratford Division, Southwestern Ontario District, Central Region, 0.86 mile.

Battery car 15,796 between Kitchener and Elmira, Waterloo Subdivision, Stratford Division, Southwestern Ontario District, Central Region, 11.73 miles, as trains 623, 625, 627, 629, 631, 372, 374, 376, 378 and 380.

Battery car 15,798 between Lunenburg and Mahone Bay, on Lunenburg Subdivision, Halifax Division, Atlantic Region, 7 miles, giving all passenger service.

Battery car 15,799 between Fredericton and St. John, on Centreville Subdivision, Edmundston Division, Atlantic Region, 83.16 miles, as trains 53 and 54.

Battery car 15,800 between Winnipeg and Transcona, Winnipeg Terminal Division, Manitoba District, Western Region, 7.1 miles, giving all local passenger service.

Battery car 15,801 between Toronto and Beaverton, Bala Subdivision, Nipissing Division, Northern Ontario District, and Toronto Terminals Division, Southwestern Ontario District, Central Region, 64.3 miles, as trains 315 and 316.

Battery car 15,802 between Halifax and Windsor Jct., on Bedford Subdivision, Halifax Division, Atlantic Region, 15.87 miles, as trains 173-178 inclusive.

Battery car 15,804 between Toronto and Weston, Brampton Subdivision, Stratford Division. Southwestern Ontario District, and Toronto Terminals Division, Southwestern Ontario District, Central Region, 8.41 miles, giving all local passenger service. Also between Toronto and Oakville, Oakville Subdivision, London Division, and Toronto Terminals Division, Southwestern Ontario District, Central Region, 21.14 miles, as trains 619 and 620.

Gasoline electric car 15,805 between Port Huron and Jackson, Mich., Mount Clemens and Jackson Subdivisions, Chicago Division, Grand Trunk Western Lines, 125.39 miles, as trains 46 and 47.

Gasoline car 15,811 between Cross Creek and Stanley, on Nashwaak and Stanley Subdivisions, Edmundston Division, Atlantic Region, 5.73 miles, giving all passenger service.

Gasoline car 15,812 between Victoria, Cowichan Lake and Youbou, Cowichan Subdivision, Vancouver Island Lines, Western Region, 83 miles, as trains 351, 352, 355 and 356.

Gasoline car 15,813 between Victoria, Cowichan Lake and Youbou, Cowichan Subdivision, Vancouver Island Lines, Western Region, 83 miles, as trains 351, 352, 355 and 356.

Gasoline car 15,814 between Picton, Trenton and Trenton Jet., on Picton Subdivision, Ottawa Division, Northern Ontario District, Central Region, 30.6 miles, as trains 301, 304, 305 308, 309 and 310.

Gasoline car 15,816 between Parry Sound and Capreol, Sudbury Subdivision, Capreol Division, Northern Ontario District, Central Region, 127 miles, as trains 317 and 318.

Articulated oil electric car 15,817 between Palmerston and Southampton, Southampton Subdivision, Stratford Division, Southwestern Ontario District, Central Region, 58.94 miles, giving all passenger service. Also between Palmerston and Guelph, Southampton Subdivision, Stratford Division, Southwestern Ontario District, Central Region, 42.58 miles, as trains 652 and 653.

Articulated oil electric car 15,818 between Palmerston and Kincardine, Newton and Kincardine Subdivisions, Stratford Division, Southwestern Ontario District, Central Region, 75.37 miles, giving all passenger service.

60 ft. oil electric car 15,819 between Hamilton, Brantford, Guelph and Fergus, on Dundas, Southampton and Harrisburg Subdivisions, Stratford and London Divisions, Southwestern Ontario District, Central Region, 60.48 miles, as trains 640, 641, 642 and 645.

60 ft. oil electric car 15,820 between Saskatoon, North Battleford and Edmonton, Saskatoon Terminal and Langham Subdivisions, Saskatoon Division, Saskatchewan District, Western Region, and Blackfoot, Vegreville and Edmonton Terminal Subdivisions, Edmonton Division, Alberta District, 350.3 miles, as trains 77 and 78.

60 ft. oil electric car 15,821 between Truro and Sackville, Springhill Subdivision, Monteon Division, Atlantic Region, 86.67 miles, as train 17, between Sackville and Oxford Jct., on same subdivision, 39.92 miles, as train 18, and between Oxford Jct. and Truro, same subdivision, 46.75 miles, as train 296.



A builder's photo of 15834 when new in September, 1929.

CRHA Archives, CanCar Collection, photo No. C-3150.

60 ft. oil electric car 15,822 between Saskatoon, North Battleford and Edmonton, Saskatoon Terminal and Langham Subdivisions, Saskatoon Division, Saskatchewan District, Western Region, and Blackfoot, Vegreville and Edmonton Terminal Subdivisions, Edmonton Division, Alberta District, 350.3 miles, as trains 77 and 78.

60 ft. oil electric car 15,823 between Tignish and Charlottetown, on Tignish and Kensington Subdivisions, Island Division, Atlantic Region, 115.17 miles, as trains 205 and 206.

60 ft. oil electric car 15,824 between Montreal and Waterloo, Granby Subdivision, St. Lawrence Division, and Montreal Terminals Division, Montreal District, Central Region, 66.96 miles, as trains 303 and 304.

60 ft. oil electric car 15,825 between Ottawa and Pembroke, Hurdman and Beachburg Subdivisions, Ottawa and Capreol Divisions, Northern Ontario District, Central

Region, 86.7 miles, giving all local passenger service.

Gasoline car 15,826 between Picton, Trenton and Trenton Jet., on Picton Subdivision, Ottawa Division, Northern Ontario District, Central Region, 30.6 miles, as trains 301, 304, 305 308, 309 and 310.

Gasoline car 15,827 between Brockville and Westport, Westport Subdivision, Ottawa Division, Northern Ontario District, Central Region, 40.3 miles, as trains 311, 312, 313 and 314.

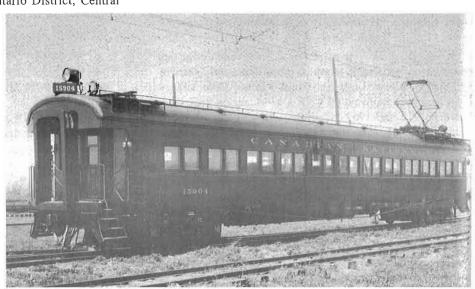
Gasoline car 15,828 between Stellarton and Sunny Brae, Mulgrave and Sunny Brae Subdivisions, New Glasgow Division, Atlantic Region, 16.17 miles, as trains 231, 232, 233 and 234.

Multiple unit car 15,903 between Montreal and St. Eustache, Mount Royal and L'Orignal Subdivisions, Montreal Division, Quebec District, Central Region, 17 miles, giving all local passenger service.

15,903 also operates between Montreal and Cartierville, Mount Royal and L'Orignal Subdivisions, Montreal Division, Quebec District, Central Region, 8.2 miles, giving all local passenger service.

Multiple unit car 15,904 between Montreal and St. Eustache, Mount Royal and L'Orignal Subdivisions, Montreal Division, Quebec District, Central Region, 17 miles, giving all local passenger service.

15,904 also operates between Montreal and Cartierville, Mount Royal and L'Orignal Subdivisions, Montreal Division, Quebec District, Central Region, 8.2 miles, giving all local passenger service.



One of Montreal's first multiple-unit cars. 15904, built by CNR in 1925 from a Grand Trunk Pacific coach of 1909.

# **Donations From J. Norman Lowe**

by Peter Murphy and Josée Vallerand



An Atlantic & St. Lawrence £100 stock certificate. The design of this certificate remained virtually unchanged for almost 100 years. This one bears an embossed British revenue stamp dated 1938. Note that the lease to the Grand Trunk expires in the year 2852! CRHA Archives, donation from J. Norman Lowe

We are very pleased to inform our members of a generous donation of books, timetables and documents by Mr. Norman Lowe. For those who don't remember, Norman Lowe was CN's historical officer and was our contact at CN during the years when numerous railway excursions were organized and operated. Mr. Lowe also travelled in business car Canada (private car of Charles Melville Hays, presently in the CRHA collection) for four years promoting railway history across Canada.

His donation consists of research files and documents on various subjects some of which relate to the early years of the Quebec Railway Light and Power, Quebec Montmorency and Charlevoix Railway, all CNR Quebec region timetables between 1912 and 1962, brochures and plans of buildings and rolling stock, tickets and all sorts of related documents. This donation has been evaluated at over \$ 11,000.00. Of special interest is an employee timetable of the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad dated 1853 (see page 57).

This donation will certinly enrich our archive collection which has been lacking in Quebec City area archives.

We wish to sincerely thank Mr. Norman Lowe for his generous donation and we take this opportunity to remind our members that the CRHA archives always welcomes further donations. Special thanks to our archivist Josée Vallerand with help from Daniel Laurendeau for arranging this donation from Mr. Lowe.

Nous avons le plaisir d'annoncer la généreuse donation de documents et de livres de monsieur Norman Lowe. Pour ceux qui ne se souviennent pas, Norman Lowe travaillait au CN et organisait les excursions de train pour les membres de l'association. Monsieur Lowe a aussi voyagé quatre ans sur la voiture Canada (voiture privée de Charles Melville Hays) à promouvoir l'histoire ferroviaire à travers le Canada.

Sa donation consiste en dossiers de recherche sur divers sujets dont quelques uns sur le Quebec, Railway and Power Co., et le Quebec, Montmorency & Charlevoix Railway; toutes les timetables du CN pour la région de Québec entre 1919 et 1962, des brochures, des plans de bâtiments et de matériels roulant, des billets et beaucoup d'autres documents. Sa donation est évaluée à plus de 11,000\$.

Cette nouvelle donation vient enrichir notre centre d'archives qui était un peu pauvre pour ce qui concerne la région de Québec.

Nous espérons que d'autres membres comme monsieur Lowe, suivront ce geste et nous appèlerons un jour pour nous offrir leurs archives.

Encore une fois merci!

Copies of this Tariff most be posted in two conspicuous places at forwarding Stations in the United States.

GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY.

INTERSTATE

# FREIGHT TARIFF,

No. G.

Cancelling Tariffs Nos. G.M. and G.M.

TO POINTS ON THE

# INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY,

And Connecting Roads, via Chaudiere Junction,

AND TO

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY STATIONS, via LENNOXVILLE.

TAKING EFFECT OCTOBER 1st, 1891.

The rates on this tariff are subject to the Canadian Joint Freight Classification (except as stated) and to the General Rules and Conditions of Carriage adopted by the Grand Trunk Railway, and may be cancelled with or without notice.

Cortago. These rains include collection and delivery of all traffic creatly carried by the Grand Trunk Bailway, Company, as per regulations on Causdian Tariffs and Chandrasine, within, the quant carrage limits, at Vallay-field, Comwall, Kingston, Don Teconics, North Periodale, Cartion, Hamilton, St. Catharines, Brantined, Guejob, London, St. Thomas, Chathan, Sarain and Wideley. When traffic other than the above is carried by the Company's Cartage Agents, the expense of the same is no be added and collected in addition to the rate.

On Interstate Traffic, Agents must not quote or use a higher rate for a shorter than for a longer distance over the same line in the same direction, the shorter being wholly included within the longer distance.

No Agents at Stations marked (\*). Freight unist be prepaid.

J. BURTON, General Proight Agent.

Tomes at Montreal, Sept. 15th, 1591.

Respectfully Presented by the Railroad Company

QUEBEC SENCY \*\*

MONTMORE AND

CHARLEVOIX

RAILWAY

SHRINE OF ST. ANNE AT BEAU'RE

NEAR QUEBEC, CANADA

QUEBEC

General Printing Office A. COTÉ & Co.
1897

# RECOMPENSE

La Compagnie du Chemin de fer de QUE-BEC, MONTMORENCY & CHARLEVOIX paiera \$200.00 (deux cents piastres) de récompense à celui qui découvrira celui ou ceux qui a ou ont placé des pièces de bois sur les rails du chemin au Sault Montmorency, Mardi le 22 Octobre 1889, dans le but d'arreter les trains de la Compagnie.

> GEO. S. CRESSMAN, Gérant.

iébee, 23 Oct. 1889.

ABOVE LEFT: A Grand Trunk freight tariff of 1891 listing rates to points on the Intercolonial and the Canadian Pacific.

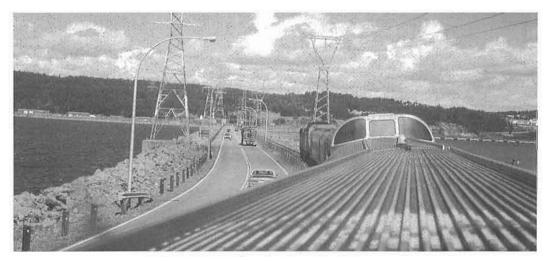
ABOVE RIGHT: An 1897 guide book to the Quebec Montmorency and Charlevoix Railway. The QM&C was then a steam railway, but in 1899-1900 it was electrified and became the Quebec Railway Light & Power interurnan electric line.

LEFT: A poster announcing a \$200 reward for the capture of the person or persons who put pieces of wood on the tracks of the QM&C at Montmorency Falls on October 22, 1889. This was the year the line opened.

All items from CRHA Archives, donation from J. Norman Lowe

# Cape Breton Update (as at 23 March 2003)

by Herb MacDonald



Three views of the Bras d'Or taken on August 22, 2000.

Photos by Fred Angus

The January-February issue's article on early Cape Breton railways referred to the scheduling of an imminent end to rail service between St.Peter's Jct and Sydney. A last-minute deal brokered by the Nova Scotia government between Nova Scotia Power and Rail America (the operators of the Cape Breton & Central Nova Scotia RR since



Canadian National abandoned its line east of Truro) has provided at least a temporary reprieve for the Sydney

subdivision.

Preliminary details indicate the arrangement provides for shipments of coal from Sydney to NSP's Point Tupper power plant at a rate of 4400 cars per year. This volume would make up almost 90 % of the 5000 cars per year traffic level which the operator says is needed to make the line viable. Within their application for abandonment, the company indicated that the Cape Breton section of the line had been producing losses of \$50,000 per month.

Existing traffic for other local shippers or Newfoundland is expected to continue to provide enough business to bring volumes over the critical 5000 cars per year level. VIA Rail has indicated intent to continue operation of their tourist train, Bras d'Or, on the line during the summer

months (see VIA Rail's web site http:// www.viarail.ca/trains/ en\_trai\_atla\_hasy.html). References have also appeared to other potential business from other sources such a recentlyopened Georgia-Pacific gypsum mine at Melford in southern Inverness County which has thus far been shipping its output to dockside by truck.

The rescue package also provides for a million dollars in public funding

to be used toward maintaining and upgrading the line. Civic leaders and the Cape Breton business community have of course breathed a collective sigh of relief over news of the deal. Less optimistic observers note the absence of any long-term guarantees since the agreements reached are apparently valid only to the end of 2004.

Comments about the last-minute timing of the deal have also noted that the provincial government is poised to call an election. Questions have been asked about the extent to which the efforts made on behalf of the rail line may have been driven by short-run political interests. CRHA members who have been thinking about a ride on the Cape Breton tourist train, the Bras d'Or, as a future activity are well advised to plan to take the trip sooner rather than later. Despite the interim reprieve, the future of any form of rail service to and from Sydney seems far from secure.



# Revised Schedule for CPR 2816



CPR Photo

The schedule for CPR 2816's trip to the east, printed in our last issue, was incorrect. The revised schedule is shown below. It is correct as of the compiling of this issue, April 6 2003. The editor apologizes for any trouble caused by the publication of the incorrect schedule.

# CPR Empress 2003 Tour schedule

Medicine Hat, AB Sat., May 24 Swift Current, SK Sun., May 25 Moose Jaw, SK Mon., May 26 Broadview, SK Tues., May 27 Brandon, MB Wed., May 28 Winnipeg, MB Thurs., May 29 Kenora, ON Fri., May 30 Thunder Bay, ON Sat., May 31 Schreiber, ON Mon., Jun 2 Chapleau, ON Tues., Jun 3 Sudbury, ON Wed., Jun 4 Mactier, ON Thurs., Jun 5 Hamilton, ON Mon., Jun 9 London, ON Tues., Jun 10 Windsor, ON Wed., Jun 11 Woodstock, ON Thurs., Jun 12 Oshawa, ON Fri., Jun 13

Milton, ON Sat., Jun 14 Parry Sound, ON Sun., Jun 22 Cartier, ON Mon., Jun 23 Chapleau, ON Tues., Jun 24 White River, ON Wed., Jun 25 Nipigon, ON Thurs., Jun 26 Thunder Bay, ON Fri., Jun 27 Ignace, ON Sat., Jun 28 Kenora, ON Sun., Jun 29 Winnipeg, MB Tues., July 1 Portage, MB Tues., July 1 Virden, MB Wed., July 2 Broadview, SK Thurs., July 3 Regina, SK Fri., July 4 Swift Current, SK Sat., July 5 Medicine Hat, AB Sun., July 6 Calgary, AB Tues., July 8

# Exporail Construction Report April, 2003 Rapport de construction Exporail, Avril 2003

M. Peter Murphy





Two views of the new building, taken by Steve Cheasley in March 2003.

Phase three of the Exporail construction project is drawing to a close; we are now in the final phases of preparation for the opening on May 31, 2003.

There remains work to be done namely the completion of the second floor archive and office areas, as well as some remaining walls and finishing on the ground floor. These works will only be undertaken when funding is in place, hopefully this fall.

In the meantime we are in urgent need of volunteers to help us prepare for opening day. With limited financial resources we must clean the site, clean and paint indoors, prepare the displays and exhibits for presentation.

Meanwhile we have hired Coyle Enterprises to augment our volunteers and lay tracks from the three newly installed switches on the Candiac spur to the doors of the pavilion. Because of the urgency and lack of funds, only three leads will be constructed at this time. These three leads will be shoo-flied so that each lead can service four bays. The full yard will be constructed on a less urgent basis as time and money permit. Indoor trackage is complete with the exception of the Saint Henri carbarn special work whose installation is now nearing completion.

Now that the scaffolding and plastic sheeting are removed one can fully appreciate the architectural beauty of this pavilion.

Our fundraising efforts continue, the Iraq war and the economic situation are not making this task any easier. Hopefully funds will be available to fully complete the pavilion this fall.

Nous sommes présentement à finaliser la phase 3 de la construction d'Exporail. Toutefois, quelques petits travaux, tels que la finition de certains murs du rez-dechaussée, restent à faire avant l'ouverture prévue au 31 mai 2003.

Les espaces à bureaux et les archives, situés au deuxième étage, devront être aussi complétés. Ces travaux ne pourront être terminés que lorsqu'un nouveau financement sera trouvé. Nous espérons continuer les travaux cet automne.

D'ici à l'ouverture d'Exporail, nous avons un urgent besoin de volontaires. Nous devons, avec des ressources financières très limitées, nettoyer le site extérieur, nettoyer l'intérieur du pavillon et peindre plusieurs murs et, finalement, préparer les comptoirs et mettre en place les expositions.

Nous avons, entre-temps, retenu les services de la compagnie de Voies ferrées Coyle pour installer les voies qui relient les trois nouveaux aiguillages de l'embranchement Candiac jusqu'aux portes du pavillon. L'urgence des travaux, et nos ressources financières, nous oblige à n'installer que trois voies. Ces dernières seront glissées d'une série de portes à l'autre afin de permettre l'entrée de la quarantaine de véhicules sélectionnés pour la grande Galerie. Nous compléterons l'aménagement de la cours de triage plus tard cette année, en fonction du financement recueilli. Outre l'installation de l'aiguillage du hangar Saint-Henri, les voies ferrées intérieures sont complètement terminées.

Les passants peuvent aujourd'hui admirer la beauté architecturale du pavillon Exporail maintenant que les échafaudages et le recouvrement de plastique ont été enlevés.

Notre campagne de levée de fonds se poursuit malgré tout, même si la situation économique et la guerre en Irak ralentissent nos efforts. Nous espérons sincèrement pouvoir amasser suffisamment de fonds pour compléter le pavillon cet automne.



A close-up of the entrance of the new building on March 22, 2003.

Photo by James Bouchard

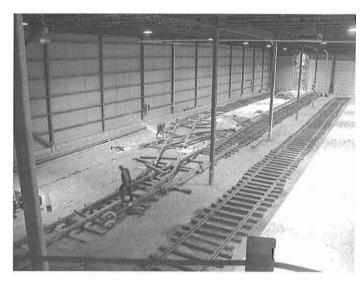


Another view, also taken on March 22, 2003. Photo by James Bouchard



ABOVE, ABOVE RIGHT AND RIGHT: Three views of volunteers laying track in the new building. The tramways track is from the former St. Henri carbarn. Photos by James Bouchard







LEFT: Tracklaying at the rear of the new building on April 10, 2003. Photo by Fred Angus



The latest additions to the CRHA collection are two Rail Diesel Cars. CPR 90, formerly 9069, was donated by CP and shipped on a flat car. It was built by Budd in June 1957.

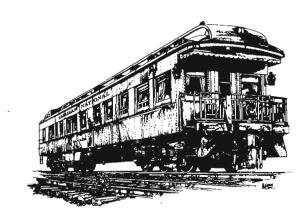
Former CPR 9250, a rare RDC-4, was donated by D.A. Walmsley. It was built by Budd in July 1956.

These three photos were taken at the Museum on April 10, 2003.

Photos by Fred Angus



# The Business Car



#### RAILWAY HERITAGE SOCIETY FORMED

Orangedale, N.S. - The newly-formed Nova Scotia Railway Heritage Society held its first annual general meeting at the historic railway station here March 22, and has already been able to report success in its initial venture to promote the province's railway venues to tourists.

The group - composed of tourism operators of railway-themed attractions like the Orangedale Railway Museum, the Halifax & Southwestern Railway Museum, commercial operations like the Train Station Inn at Tamagouche, and individuals interested in the province's rich railway past - has already hosted a web site which may be found at www.novascotiarailwayheritage.com, to compliment the release of a brochure describing the location and importance of more than 30 stations (including the three still currently in use for passenger service by VIA Rail), museums and tourist attractions featuring railway equipment like engines and cabooses.

The brochure, supported in part by the Nova Scotia Museum's Strategic Development Initiative Fund, was released prior to the annual meeting by Nova Scotia Tourism & Culture Minister, Rodney MacDonald. It will be made available at the railway heritage sites and visitor information centers throughout Nova Scotia this summer, and eventually at out-of-province visitor information centers. The brochure will also be a valuable tool in promoting the history of Nova Scotia's railways and the important part they played in the development of the province. For this reason they will be made available to schools for their history classes.

Future projects include the acquisition of artifacts and assets to assist in preserving and interpreting Nova Scotia's Railway lore, the production of a video, and the concept of a national or Atlantic regional railway conference which will be used as a means of stimulating interest in railway heritage and the sharing of information among tourism and museum operators. The format might include railway excursions, seminars, and tours of the various locations being preserved and promoted by the organization.

The society's founding directors are Jimmie LeFresne of Tatamagouche Railway Station (president), Martin Boston

of the Orangedale Railway Museum (vice-president), Bill Linley, railway photographer and author of Halifax (secretary-treasurer) and directors Janice Woollam of the French Village railway station and Lauren Tutty of the Liverpool railway station. Two new directors, David Othen, and Duane Porter of the Halifax & Southwestern Railway Museum were added at the first annual meeting in Orangedale. The society will next meet immediately following the popular Truro model railway show on October 18.

#### HAMILTON MAY SEE MORE GO TRAINS

More trains are coming to Hamilton if the money flows. There's speculation that the federal and provincial governments are on the verge of announcing increased funding for rail service improvements. These could bring all-day GO Trains for Hamilton and also a new VIA station and passenger service for the city. Reports, from unidentified government sources, say about \$1.2 billion in new federal and provincial funding will be announced soon. Gary McNeil, manager director of GO Transit, says GO has asked for \$40 to \$70 million to build a third track into Hamilton. Because the two existing tracks are currently heavily booked for freight traffic, it's been impossible to provide all-day service beyond Burlington to Hamilton. "Freight occupies all the time slots," he says. Increased funding for rail service has been talked about for years but it appears the federal and provincial governments are finally agreeing on cost sharing. Both VIA and GO have made proposals that would improve service in the Greater Toronto area, including Hamilton. VIA trains currently only stop at Aldershot Station although trains travel through Hamilton on their way to Niagara Falls and New York City. Catherine Kaloutsky, spokesperson for VIA, says the railway is encouraged by reports of pending funding and awaiting details. Although VIA has outlined improvements to the government, it was not prepared to outline how service to the Hamilton area could be affected, she said. A third track would allow VIA to offer rush-hour passenger service for Hamilton and there has been talk of building a new VIA station in the Stuart Street area. "The Amtrak train goes through Hamilton and it's kind of dumb that it doesn't stop," GO's McNeil says. In the short-term, GO Transit is exploring adding one additional early morning train from Hamilton to Toronto. There are currently three Toronto-bound morning GO trains and four Hamilton-bound trains in the evening. The third track to increases passenger capacity is needed in the areas known as the Bayview junction and Burlington junctions where the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific lines come together. The anticipated funding over five years could also bring about the extension of GO service beyond Milton to Cambridge and service between Toronto and Brampton which would serve Lester B. Pearson Airport. GO rail service may also be restored between Toronto and Barrie. McNeil at GO Transit says funding announcements have been made before but he hopes the actual money will soon flow.

Toronto Star, Mar. 27, 2003.

#### ALL ABOARD FOR BARRIE?

Just mention the possibility of regular GO train service to Toronto from Barrie to those who must make that trip, and their eyes widen as if to say "When?" followed by "Don't tease." "I'd love it," said Diana Borowski, a collection rep who awakens at 4:30 a.m. in Barrie to make the hour-and-ahalf commute to work. She must drive to Bradford to hop on the GO train where she pays \$220 a month for the daily commute.Rail service will be a reality with word that Ottawa and Queen's Park are giving GO nearly \$1 billion to expand the service's rail line to points such as Barrie, Peterborough, the Niagara Region and Cambridge. "I think the people in Barrie can be optimistic that in the not-so-distant future, they're going to get some of the service they've been pining for," GO chairman Gordon Chong said. It will take two, maybe three years to get the Barrie-Toronto train on track, he added. Barrie is Canada's sixth fastest-growing municipality, second in Ontario only to Vaughan. At 103,701 at last count in the 2001 census, Barrie is expected to add about 7,000 residents annually. An awful lot of those residents - about 30,000, according to Barrie Mayor Jim Perri - work outside the city, most heading south on a clogged and often dangerous Highway 400. "This is intracity transit," Perri said. "We need to reduce the number of vehicles on the highways." Hard lobbying and forethought by Barrie were key to making GO rail service a go. When Queen's Park cutbacks in the mid-1990s led to an across-the-board reduction of GO service, Barrie lost its daily rail commute to Toronto. Only a handful of GO buses serviced the area. CN, which owned a 35kilometre rail link from Barrie to Bradford, was going to break up the tracks. "We didn't want to lose the link south to Toronto for future expansion of rail services," Perri said. "If we didn't buy it, there would never be a rail link to Barrie." So the city anted up \$4 million for the line and waited. And waited. When the province looked at ways to alleviate highway congestion in the area, it considered widening and expanding highways: the 427 northbound and an east-west 400-series highway near Bradford. But Perri urged Queen's Park to look at alternatives, including rail. "We felt that they should do a bit of visioning for the future and get into rail transportation, that they can't continue to just build highways. They need to get people out of their car and on to transit." Barrie wasn't alone in lobbying Ottawa and Queen's Park for increased service. Most communities within two hours of Toronto wanted improved rail service, either GO, VIA, or both, recognizing how clogged highways can be. But they're getting bus service until a business case can be made for rail. "We see the future of transportation is by rail," said St. Catharines Mayor Tom Rigby, whose community would initially get a bus service. "It is a start. It's probably the more efficient way of starting, with buses connecting to Burlington and the GO system and build from there and see how it goes." GO's service to Peterborough would start as a bus ride to Oshawa, joining with the Lakeshore line. But rail service to Toronto, abandoned by VIA in the 1990s, is what Peterborough Mayor Sylvia Sutherland is after. "From an economic point of view, development and attracting people to the community, we need it," Sutherland said.

Toronto Star

#### **NEW COIN DEPICTS CNR 9400**



As a part of its continuing series of \$20 sterling silver coins depicting historic landmarks in the history of Canadian transportation, the Royal Canadian Mint has produced a coin depicting Canadian National Railways FA-1 diesel locomotive 9400. This is the fourth in the series of historic locomotives (the other three were the "Toronto", the "Scotia" and a CPR D-10), and the first to show a diesel. There is another difference in this year's coin; the locomotive itself is gold plated by a special mint process known as "selective gold plating", which makes the entire effect extremely attractive. While the previous three year's coins bore a hologram showing the side view of the locomotive, this one shows 9400 as an intricate sterling silver cameo. Despite the gold plating, the price of these coins, including a sturdy case and plastic protective encapulation, remains the same, \$59.95 plus tax. They are obtainable from the mint or at major post offices.



9400 itself has been preserved and is now at the Canadian Railway Museum. Recently it has been restored to its green and gold CNR paint scheme, as can be seen by the above photo taken by Fred Angus on April 10, 2003.

#### A NEW BOOK ON THE OTTAWA CAR COMPANY



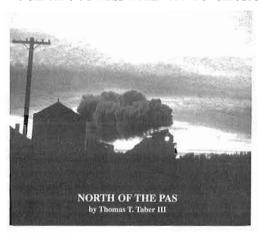
Most electric railway enthusiasts in Canada know that the Ottawa Car Company built cars for many street railways and interurban lines throughout Canada and even in other countries. Few were the Canadian electric railway systems that did not have at least one Ottawa-built car in its roster, and some companies used Ottawa cars almost exclusively. Most notable of these was, as would be expected, Ottawa itself, but in other cities, more than two thirds of their cars, in the early twentieth century, were products of the factory at Kent and Slater Streets in Canada's capital.

In this 36-page soft-cover book, David C. Knowles gives a brief history of the Ottawa Car Company, followed by a bibliography of books which tell of systems that used Ottawa-built cars. The book is dedicated to the men and women of Ottawa Car who built the nearly 1700 streetcars that carried Canadians in the first half of the twentieth century.

The next section takes up most of the book and is the most interesting. There are 29 very clear photos, almost full page, depicting cars built by Ottawa. These are in chronological order, ranging from Winnipeg Electric Railway No. 6, built in 1892, to Ottawa Electric Railway No. 1003, constructed in 1947. Along the way we see cars for Saint John, Edmonton, Montreal, Toronto, St. John's Newfoundland, Saskatoon, Windsor, as well as interurbans and even gasoline-powered cars for the CPR. The covers bear full-colour photos, that on the back being Ottawa 802 after its retirement in 1959.

Published by the Bytown Railway Society, the book is also available from the CRHA at 110 rue St. Pierre, St. Constant, Que. J5A 2G9 for \$17.60 postpaid. Allow 4 weeks for delivery.

#### NEW BOOK ABOUT THE RAILWAY TO CHURCHILL



Mr. Thomas Taber of Muncy Pa., has sent a very interesting book entitled "North of The Pas". In an accompanying letter, Mr Taber says:

"I have just completed the enclosed which should be interest to some of your members. Basically it is a semi history of the railroads to Churchill, Flin Flon and Lynn Lake plus my memoirs of spending the winter on the Churchill line 50 years ago with a follow-up in 1994. Emphasis is given to the tremendous changes that had taken place in 42 years. A major problem is marketing it in Canada. Sending international money orders can be done and checks on banks that have a U.S. affiliation. Visa, etc I do not have. I hope you find it interesting. You may feel that the cover photo is the best thing about it. I think it is tremendous. Pure luck by the photographer. He never took any other train pictures up there."

This is indeed a very interesting 82-page book, containing 114 photos (many of which do indeed show locomotives and other pieces of railway rolling stock), 8 maps, plus several tables. Reading it, one gets the "feel" of what it was like on the Churchill line in the first half of the twentieth century, and how things have changed. Anyone interested in railroading in the north should have this book.

The price is \$10 U.S. which includes \$1.34 postage. Available from:

Thomas T. Taber III 504 S. Main St. Muncy, Pa, 17756 U.S.A.

E,mail: thomtaber@chilitech.net Fax & phone: (570) 546-8346

BACK COVER TOP: The early morning mist is rising from the river at Swastika Ontario as Ontario Northland's vintage wooden dining car "Pineland" brings up the rear of the overnight train from Toronto to Cochrane on May 15, 1967. This veteran passenger car was built in 1911 and may have been the last wooden diner in service on a main line railway in North America. It was retired only a few months later.

BACK COVER BOTTOM: Victoria B.C. was the location as CPR Baldwins 8000 and 8003 stand outside the engine house on August 27, 1964. Both locomotives were built in 1948, and 8003 was scrapped in 1975. However 8000 was preserved by the CPR for historical reasons.

Both photos by Fred Angus

