Chapter Three: Dent to Kincardine

First there was a blazing fire in a recess of the wall; which in early times was composed of turf and great logs of wood. From one side of the fire-place ran a bench, with a strong and sometimes ornamentally carved back, called a lang settle. On the other side of the fire-place was the Patriarch's wooden and well-carved arm-chair; and near the chair was the sconce adorned with crockery. Not far off was commonly seen a well-carved cupboard, or cabinet, marked with some date that fell within a period of fifty years after the restoration of Charles the Second; and fixed to the beams of the upper floor was a row of cupboards, called fee Catmalism (the cat's curse); because, from its position, it was secure from poor grimalkin's paw. One or two small tables, together with chairs or benches, gave seats to all the party there assembled. Rude though the room appeared, there was in it no sign of want. It had many signs of rural comfort: for under the rafters were suspended bunches of herbs for cookery, hams, sometimes for export, flitches of bacon, legs of beef, and other articles salted for domestic use. Description of a Statesman's home from Adam Sedgwick's *A Memorial by the Trustees of Cowgill Chapel*, 1868.

Growing up in Dent (1828-1850)

Imagine the room described above, full of family, friends and neighbours, the men with a glass of brandy and the women eating bread and sweet butter as they attended the 'Shout'[i] at Rigg End farmhouse to celebrate the birth of William, Richard and Eleanor's eleventh child and a 'leapling,'born on 29th February 1828.[ii]

William entered a large family including eight older siblings, (three girls and five boys) ranging in age from 3 to 21 and three years later yet another brother was born. Then there were his sister Betty's two sons who also lived at the farmhouse: Richard, a year younger than William whom we

shall meet again later, and Robert, nine years younger. It must have been a very noisy and competitive household.

When William was seven his life changed dramatically: His father's inheritance meant the family left Rigg End and moved into West House. For one thing, it would have been far less windy in the valley below than it had been up on the fell. But West House was a mansion and considerably larger and far more luxurious in comparison to the simplicity of the farmhouse. It was situated in a lawn of about two acres, sheltered by trees. There were spacious cellars, two kitchens, store rooms, pantries, three sitting rooms, a large entrance hall, five bedrooms, a dressing room and attics. Outside there was a coach house, two stables for seven horses, harness rooms, a granary, cow houses and hay chambers as well as gardens and pleasure grounds. Remember, William's father had first entered this house as a shoe black and was now the owner.

Main hallway, Whernside Manor (West House) © Jan Bridget, thanks to Elaine Johnson

On entering the impressive building there is a grand hallway with doors leading off into various sitting rooms and the main staircase leading up to the first level (further into the house there is also a servant's staircase). The difference between Rigg End and West House is reflected in the contrast between Wuthering Heights and Thrushcross Grange: the former rough and wild, the latter refinement, and convention.

What a fantastic place for the younger children to play hide and seek, all those attic rooms and cellars. No doubt in summer they would go paddling in the River Dee, or nearby beck, crossing over Nelly-brig or Tummy-brig, two little bridges close by; or they may have gone climbing near Hell's Cauldron, not far from Gibbs Hall where William's brother James was later to live.

> ***…for the river here, overhung with dark masses of trees, falls over some huge steps of the stony bed into a deep and black abyss, where the rending of the rocks and washing up of heaps of debris, shew with what fury that cauldron boils… hollows worn into the very mass of the ledges of rocks over which it passes, one of which, overlooking the abyss, is called the Pulpit, from its form, and in which you may stand.*** *The Rural Life of England,* William Howitt, 1838.

What exciting and scary adventures. But there were also sad occasions. Eight months after William was born his older sister, Ellen, who was only 16, died. Shortly before the family moved to West House, another sister, Mary, died - she was nine. Then, not long after the family moved into the new house, William's twin nephews, Richard and Robert (the children of his uncle Robert and wife Margaret who lived at West House with the family) died in infancy. Six years later yet another sister, Jane, died – she was 25 years old, had not long been married and left behind a one-year old daughter, also called Jane, who was then brought up at West House with the rest of the family. After another gap of six years

William's younger brother, Thomas, died; he was 17 years old. Gosh what a lot of deaths, but we must remember it was common place at this time to have large families and for many to die young from common diseases which are now treatable.

Education

William's oldest two brothers, Richard and Robert did not sign their names on the wedding register suggesting they could neither read nor write.

The National School in Dent, which was free, did not open till 1845; and the old 'free' grammar school near the church was founded a couple of centuries before but parents had to pay for tuition in anything but the classics and there was little call for Latin and Greek in Dent. Only people with money could afford to pay for their children to be educated. In any case, for poor people it was more important that children were available for work.

There were only two sources of schooling for poor children in Dent: the Sunday school, set up by the sisters of Adam Sedgwick - with an emphasis on religious instruction - and the 'Dames' schools, where children learnt the art of knitting and were also taught how to read.[iii]

As William's father became part of the establishment he could afford to send his children to school. He clearly came to respect education by the time he made his will as he specifically left money for the education of his grand-daughter, Jane. Certainly, when the rest of Richard's children married they all signed their names, suggesting they had had some level of education but when William was witness to his nephew Richard marrying Isabella Allen he signed the register in beautiful copperplate which tells us he more than likely attended the local grammar school.

Old Grammar School, Dent, © J. Bridget

> ***The necessities of the country soon led to an extension of the course of teaching at the grammar-school. It had large English classes, in which writing and arithmetic were taught to young persons of both sexes; and there were also itinerant masters, of good repute among the northern dales, who visited certain schools in a regular cycle, and were chiefly employed in teaching writing, arithmetic in all its branches, and the principles of surveying.*** Adam Sedgwick's *A Memorial by the Trustees*

Adam Sedgwick's Influence

It has been suggested Richard Sutton was a protégé of Adam Sedgwick.[iv] If this is the case, Richard's son William may have respected and even admired Adam.

Adam Sedgwick, Painting by Thomas Phillips, R.A.

The Sedgwick's had long been an influential family in Dent, John Sedgwick, brother of Adam, and before him their father, was vicar of St Andrews where members of the Sutton family were married, baptised and buried. When William's father became part of the establishment and a church sidesman, he would have been in regular contact with John Sedgwick.

St Andrews, Dent, © J. Bridget

William was a similar age to John Sedgwick's son and probably attended grammar school at the same time and, like everyone else who grew up in Dentdale, William would have been acutely aware of the landscape, of the particular kind of marble quarried in the area; he may even, like Adam Sedgwick, have collected ***"fossils of the mountain-limestone."***[v] He would certainly be aware of the status of Adam Sedgwick and, perhaps, his reputation as the 'father of geology.'

Is it possible that years later whilst recalling his childhood back in England, William told his children about

about Adam Sedgwick? Could this have influenced Will Sutton's interest in geology? But we are jumping the gun.

Leaving Dent

It was common practice for the younger sons of yeoman farmers to seek their fortunes abroad. William was no exception and would have been aware that his family's inheritance was the result of the Sill family making their fortune from sugar and slavery in Jamaica. So it is no surprise he decides to try his luck overseas.

It is stated, in Richard Sutton's will, that his daughter Betty's son Richard has gone to America (there being little distinction between America and Canada at this time) but it does not say William had also emigrated. Betty's son was more like William's brother than his nephew as there was only a year between them and they were all brought up together; indeed, as noted, William was witness at Richard's marriage to Isabella Allen. It seems likely, therefore, that William left for Canada in 1850 with his nephew Richard, Richard's wife, Isabella, and their daughter, Elizabeth.[vi] Certainly, Canadian sources say William arrived in Penetangore in 1850.[vii] The same source also tells us William Sutton was trained as a saddler, yet he did not pursue this trade. William had grander ideas.

William's father, Richard Sutton, went from being a pauper to becoming part of the establishment and a Tory. This must have influenced William, as would the dichotomy of growing up in a big house with uneducated parents and his father's unstable financial situation. All of this would have underpinned William's drive to acquire land, money and status. Yet William's brothers appear to have accepted their position in English rural society as one was a farmer, another two became game-keepers for aristocratic families and the

fourth a carpenter. William was the most ambitious. What was it that made him different from his brothers? Could it be that being the youngest he had seen the paths his older brothers had taken and wanted something different? Could it be attending grammar school made a difference? Or that leaving his family and the secluded Dentdale, at the age of 22, to sail across the Atlantic to a new world and a new beginning, at a time when imperialist ideals flourished, gave William an outlet for his ambition?

Penetangore/Kincardine (1850-1867)

William and Richard head for Bruce County, Ontario, where the non-indigenous population is made up mainly of Scotch, then Irish, German, English, and French Canadians[viii] – hence most of the places within the County have Scottish or Irish names. First Nation ownership of Bruce County was taken over by treaty in 1836 for £1,250 p.a., for **"*as long as grass grows or water runs*."**[ix]

Within the County of Bruce there are fifteen townships, Kincardine is one of these and within this township lies the village of Penetangore, one of the earliest settled parts of the County, so called after the river of the same name. To confuse matters, Penetangore was renamed Kincardine in 1858 after the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, governor general of North America (1847-1854) – so at this time there was a township Kincardine as well as a village of the same name.[x] It is located along the shore of Lake Huron, about 140 miles northwest of Toronto and 50 miles southwest of Owen Sound.

There are no mountains or significant hills in this part of Ontario – a far cry from Dentdale! When William arrived in Penetangore the colonist[xi] population was 262 whilst back home in the vicinity of Dent there were about 1,630 residents.

It must have seemed tiny by comparison but, for someone with money and ambition, provided lots of opportunities – a big fish in a little pond (within a huge country).

> ***During the period which has elapsed since the red man of this continent came first in contact with his pale-faced brother, he has experienced at the hands of the latter a process whose general trend has been toward the extinction of his race and the spoliation of his territories. To-day we find that his numbers are largely reduced, and his lands, both forest and prairie, have passed from his possession. At times it has been the bloody hand of war that snatched from the Indians their ancestral inheritance. At others this process of divestment was as effectively, but more peacefully, accomplished while sitting in conference at the council fire, smoking the pipe of peace with white men sent to treat with them; there, yielding to plausible and beguiling arguments, the simple-minded Indians have by treaty surrendered their territories for a comparative trifle. Four centuries ago, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, this continent formed the hunting ground of large numbers of Indian tribes. To-day, owing to the causes above recited, supplemented by the ravages of disease and "firewater," the Indians have been dispossessed of their lands while their reduced numbers find ample accommodation and provision in the reservations that have been set apart for them by the governments of Canada and the United States.*** The History of the County of Bruce, Norman Robertson, 1906.

In January 1852 William is living with his nephew Richard and his wife Isabella and their daughter Elizabeth; William and Richard are millers and farmers. They live in a single storey, 20' x 24' hewn log house.

> ***The dwellings of the settlers were largely of two classes. There was the low, flat-roofed shanty, covered with "scoops," or bark, with its "notch and saddle" corners and single-pane windows, the chinks between its bark-covered logs being filled with cedar splints and clay; its one door, a home-made one, had ever the latch-string hanging outside in a hospitably inviting manner. Then there were the more pretentious and larger one storey and attic buildings, of hewed logs and shingled roof, with square, "dove-tailed" corners, which have not yet entirely disappeared, but are still to be seen on all of our concession lines. These latter buildings were warm and far from uncomfortable. The windows were of a fair size, there was a back as well as a front door; while partitions divided the interior into several rooms***. Robertson op.cit.

It is hard to believe William and Richard's house was of the former kind described above given the splendour of where they grew up. In any case, these were often only temporary dwellings and larger houses were usually built within a short space of time.

William Sutton was amongst the first to buy land in Penetangore when crown lands were offered for sale on 5th August 1851[xii] (so he must have already left England before his father's death as this is the day he died).

He wasted no time setting out his stall: William owned 220 acres of land, 15 of which were being cultivated. Back in Dentdale, his father might have had a similar amount or more given he owned four farms. The difference is that back home it was predominantly sheep hill-farming land, whereas William bought land close to the village of Penetangore which had the potential to become building land and therefore worth a lot of money. Most of the settlers had between 50 and 100 acres; William is one of a handful of pioneers who owed 200 acres or more. He probably got 50 acres free and paid 12s 6d per acre for the remainder, amounting to £187.

Hugh Johnstone, the enumerator for the 1851 census (taken the following January), tells us,

> ***Mr William Sutton has erected a Grist Mill on his Lots 12 & 13 Concession A, which grinds 100 bushells of wheat in twenty four hours, cost about £250 and has six feet fall. He is also erecting a saw mill to be completed this spring with 18 feet head valued at £200.***

It looks like William must have emigrated with about £500, perhaps this is why his father had to re-mortgage in

1850? The enumerator says there were two men employed at the grist mill and continues,

This mill is of great benefit to the settlers as they have been put to great inconvenience for want of one being obliged to take their grists to the Garafraxa road Mill, a distance of about 40 miles. It would have been completed long ago had Mr Sutton not lost one of his mill stones last fall. It was supposed to have been rolled into the lake by some ill-disposed person. He sent to Dundas by sleighing for another. The mill is now going and grinding very well.

In *The History of the County of Bruce*, 1906, Norman Robertson tells us more about the mill:

The need of a grist mill was a want keenly felt by the settlers who raised the first harvests of grain in the county of Bruce. [William Sutton] decided to supply this need, and proceeded to construct a dam across the north branch of the Penetangore…and to erect a mill at what still is known as "Sutton's Hollow." The mill was of logs and of modest dimensions.

The required pair of mill stones were in due time landed on the beach, but before they were removed a storm sprang up. The loose sand on which the stones lay was quickly washed from beneath them by the heavy surf, or else transformed thereby into the nature of quicksand, and the stones were "drowned," to use the expressive phrase of an old settler, as he described their disappearance. This serious disaster was productive of delay, but did not diminish the efforts of Mr. Sutton, who purchased another pair of stones, and in 1852 had the first grist mill in the county in operation.

Settlers who before had taken their grists to Durham or Port Albert were now able to dispense with such long journeys. Being, however, the only mill in the county, many a pioneer found he had a long and weary distance to cover before he could get his grist to "Sutton's Mill." It is related of such that while waiting for their grists to be finished they would light a hot fire on one of the large boulders nearby, and when this was sufficiently heated, on it they would bake a cake, made from their newly ground flour and water crudely mixed. Unleavened and unseasoned such a cake certainly was, but to a hungry backwoodsman, tasting the initial harvest of his bush farm, it was delicious.

Mr. Sutton, after running this mill for several years, built, in 1854, a much larger frame one, and in a few years later one of still greater capacity, which he continued to operate as long as he was in the milling business.

This is wonderfully evocative of pioneers and their desperate need for a grist mill. But Robertson also gives a different explanation for the disappearance of the grist stones. The original explanation implies someone purposefully disposed of them whilst Robertson suggests they were lost in quick sand. Given the first story comes from the enumerator of the 1851 census, it is likely to come from William himself, and was written at about the same time the event took place whilst the second source was written just over 50 years later, so it seems more likely the original version is nearer to the truth.

What does this imply? If William did go out to Penetangore with about £500 it is possible some people were jealous and William might have been arrogant – an issue we

shall return to later. Whatever, the setback clearly did not stop him.

Keyworths - Marriage

William was 24 when he married Sarah Keyworth in 1852, the same year she came out to Penetangore. Sarah, who was six years younger, was born in Tuxford, Nottingham, to John and Sarah Keyworth.

The Keyworths originally came from a place called Leverton in Nottinghamshire, where the family name goes back to the beginning of the 17th century. John Keyworth married Sarah Buxton in 1826 at St Nicholas, Tuxford, which is probably where Sarah's family came from. Tuxford is about eight miles south west of Leverton.

John and Sarah lived in Tuxford for twenty-five years until they emigrated to Canada; during this time they had at least eight children. John arrived in Penetangore in 1851 then went back to Britain to bring his family out the following year. Their eldest two girls had married and stayed at home but the other six children, ranging in age from 21 to 7 years, came out to Canada with their parents. You can imagine the scene, Mr. and Mrs. Keyworth, aged 60 and 58 respectively, and their six offspring, travelling on a ship crossing the Atlantic to the new world: exciting for the children but probably very stressful for their parents. They clearly felt there were more opportunities for their children in Canada than in England as it was a big decision, and incredibly brave, to emigrate with a large family at their age. And remember, it would have taken weeks to cross the ocean.

On arrival back in Penetangore John Keyworth discovered the contractor who had been employed to build his grist mill had, ***'so botched his job of framing that the***

building could not be put together or erected.'[xiii] John gave up the idea of milling to concentrate on his store at the mouth of the river - an excellent position to attract customers disembarking from ships.

Robertson tells us the first Church of England services were held in private houses and he, Robertson, remembered attending one such service at John Keyworth's house when John read the service and sermon. John died nine years after emigrating, his wife, Sarah, outlived him by 21 years. The family are buried in Kincardine Cemetery.

John Keyworth owned property, particularly along Huron Terrace and elsewhere in Kincardine. The farmhouse he and his family lived in from 1859 is now part of the Kincardine Heritage Walking Tours – it is 669 Princes Street. Their son, Richard Keyworth, had a house built not too far away at 776 Princes Street; it is classic Italianate in style and also part of the Heritage Walking Tour.

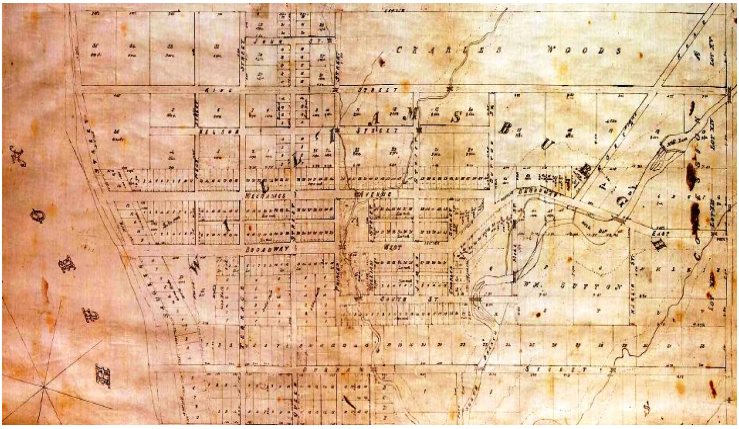
John Keyworth was a business man, like William Sutton, so it comes as no surprise that William married his daughter. Whilst John owned some property, this was nothing in comparison to what William owned.

Williamsburgh

Named after William Sutton, Williamsburgh[xiv] is clearly identified on the 1874 and 1880 maps of Kincardine. It covered about a quarter of the town, eastwards from what is now Highway 21 to Saugeen Street and northwards from South Street to Sutton Park Mall.

On the 1874 map there is an area marked 'Wm. Sutton' which is just south of where William made a dam

over the Penetangore river to build his grist mill and later his saw mill. On top of the dam a road was built which became the main thoroughfare in this part of Kincardine – it is now the bridge which crosses the Penetangore on Broadway Street.



Extract of map of Kincardine showing Williamsburgh, 1874, thanks to Municipality of Kincardine.

William owned all of the land and properties in Lots 12 and 13[xv] and must have made a substantial amount of money both renting and selling plots.[xvi] His total income from rents for 1861, for example, was $1,537.24.[xvii]

By 1867 Kincardine, as it was now known, had five hotels, services and small industries, including cabinet shops, four carriage and wagon shops, water-powered grist mills and saw-mills, two foundries, pearl-ash factories, woollen factories, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, tanneries, harness and saddlery shops, a bakery, confectionery, and a brewery.[xviii]

William still owned land there when he died in 1896 – it is where Goldie Crescent, a small, select, modern housing

estate, was built.[xix] The area is easily identifiable by a large water tower on which is painted the Kincardine lighthouse.

The area of Williamsburgh no longer exists but there are still street names attesting to William Sutton's ownership such as Williamsburg Street, Sutton Street and William Street. There is also a building, now a private house, which has a sign outside, 'Williamsburg School, established 1875.'

Williamsburg School Sign ©Bridget

Reeve (1862-1865)

William's ambitions went far beyond owning land and being rich. He aspired to becoming a politician and he fitted the bill in more ways than one. Politicians were usually wealthy men or successful farmers who had the time to run for office. It was normal practise in this period for politicians to advance their self-interests along with the aspirations of the communities they represented, and William was no exception.[xx] Conflict of interest was not considered a problem.

William was elected reeve[xxi] (the presiding officer) of Kincardine in 1862. Councillors had extensive powers via the establishment of by-laws including, for example, purchasing land and building the town hall, schools; overseeing highways; regulating the duties of township officers and paying them; responsibility for drains, waterways, roads, bridges; controlling inns and taverns; etc. As leader of the town council William also represented Kincardine on the County Council. County councillors were responsible for opening, improving and maintaining major roads, providing grammar schools, regulating ferries, granting licenses to road and bridge companies and so on.[xxii]

Robertson says William Sutton's "***… enterprising, energetic character gave him a prominent position in the settlement, a prominence retained during the forty-three years of his residence in the county....***"

The County Town Question

In 1856 it was agreed to divide the county of Bruce and Heron into two. However, local jealousies about which community should become the county town delayed the process for ten years. The decision would result in big improvements for whichever town was chosen as well as money to be made through contracts for roads, new county buildings and, of course, positions of authority.

William Sutton proposed Walkerton twice, the first time was in 1863 but the warden refused to sign the contract for the new county buildings and refused to vacate his seat. A new chairman was appointed and instructed by the Council to sign the contract. The contracted builder then refused to go ahead without the signature of the warden… and so it went on.

A decision was finally reached in 1865 when William Sutton again proposed Walkerton. The battle had been a dirty one with reeve Valentine of Paisley, who had much to gain if Paisley had been chosen, organising a smear campaign in the local newspaper against Sutton and Brocklebank (reeve of Brant township which included Walkerton) and even taking legal action against the decision. But with government approval for their actions, Brocklebank and Sutton won the legal battle.[xxiii]

The rewards for supporting Walkerton were substantial. Lakeshore counties were given harbour status with money attached, Kincardine getting the most ($10,000). Similarly, supportive townships were given preference when the railway route was decided: a separate railway line was run from Lucknow terminating at Kincardine. Individual reeves were rewarded with contracts and positions of authority. As he played a leading role, William Sutton was rewarded with the position of the new county sheriff which meant William and his family had to leave Kincardine.

Richard Sutton (1829-1883)

Before we move with Sheriff Sutton and his family to Walkerton, it seems right and proper to look at what happened to his nephew Richard and his family, given they had clearly supported William in his early days in Canada.

Richard remained a farmer in Kincardine. He and Isabella had two more children but Richard died on Christmas Day 1883 of stomach cancer; his wife, Isabella, also died of stomach cancer six years later. It makes you wonder whether it was something they were eating? It is worth noting that William Sutton himself died of cancer of the intestines in 1896.

Richard and Isabella's first child, Elizabeth, married Richard Hall, a teacher and they had one child, Earl. Their second child, Alfred, later followed his relatives to British Columbia where we meet up with him again in Chapter Six. Their third child, Edwin James, became a cabinet maker and married Sarah Jane Rea; they remained in Kincardine and had a daughter, Annie. Edwin James followed in the footsteps of William Sutton and became reeve of Kincardine in 1893, one year after William had been sacked as county sheriff.

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[i] See Chapter One.

[ii] The same year that Jules Verne, Henrik Ibsen and Dante Gabriel Rossetti were born.

[iii] Thanks to Diane Elphick for this information.

[iv] Christopher Heywood, *Essays in Criticism*, Jan 1998 v48 n1 p13(22), Yorkshire landscapes in 'Wuthering Heights.'

[v] John Willis Clark & Thomas McKenny Hughes, Life and Letters of the Rev Adam Sedgwick, 1890

[vi] Richard and Isabella were married on 30th March 1850 at St Andrews; Elizabeth was born the same year and baptised on 11th August at Cowgill Chapel.

[vii] Norman Robertson, *The History of the County of Bruce*, 1906.

[viii] The Directory of Bruce County, 1867.

[ix] ibid

[x] In 1999 the municipality of Kincardine was created by amalgamating the town of Kincardine with the townships of Kincardine and Bruce.

[xi] I have been in conflict throughout writing this book not least because I have very different values to those of my distant ancestors. They looked upon themselves as pioneers and colonisers with 'god' on their side. They did not consider the fact that they were stealing the lands of another people; they did not respect the native peoples and they believed whatever resources the land offered was there for them to plunder.

[xii] Robertson, op.cit

[xiii] Robertson, op.cit

[xiv] The original town plot for Penetangore/Kincardine was surveyed by the government in 1850 and is one and a quarter square miles. Robertson says, "***All of that part of the town now known as Williamsburg has been added by a subdivision of lots 12 to 15 of the Lake Range in the township of Kincardine. The name Williamsburg was given by William Sutton, who had these farm lots surveyed into town lots."*** *This survey was made by*

John Denison, P.L.S., in June, 1855 and June, 1856. The Crown patent for lots 12 and 13, Lake Range, was issued ' to William Sutton; for lot 14 to his nephew, Richard Sutton, and for lot 15 to John Monilaus. One George Moffat squatted on the lots afterwards held by William Sutton, and in 1849 he offered to sell his claim for $8 to Robert Rowan, who declined the offer. William Sutton probably purchased from George Moffat his squatter's claim. Robertson op.cit.

[xv] South Street, Broadway and Mechanics Avenue and parts of the streets in-between, including Saugeen Street, Huron Street, Queen Street, Princes Street, William Street, James Street, Charles Street, Mill Street, and Hamlin Street.

[xvi] A deed dated 18th January 1871 shows that he sold two-thirds of an acre of land on the East Side of Queen Street for $900. We know that he was involved in real estate because during the period 1851-1873 he bought and sold at least five Lots in different parts of Kincardine. Wanita Fletcher, Toil, Tears and Triumphs, a History of Kincardine Township, 1990.

[xvii] Thanks to Deb Sturdevant at Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre for research identifying land owned by William Sutton in Assessment Rolls and Land Abstracts.

[xviii] Laura M. Gateman, The History of the Township of Brant, 1854-1979, 1979.

[xix] Lots H-N and Lots 9-11; Royal British Columbia Archives, GR-1304, file 1780-1896.

[xx] Gateman, op.cit.

[xxi] The Municipal Act of 1849 introduced elections for townships and counties. If a township had over one hundred ratepayers it could be incorporated into a municipality. Each township elected five councillors who then elected one of their number to become reeve, the presiding officer. Larger townships also had deputy reeves. The reeves and deputy reeves then formed the county council.

[xxii] Schmalz Peter S. The County Town Question, Walkerton Historical Society, 1983.

[xxiii] Had they lost they would have been financially liable and could have ended up in prison; Schmalz ibid.