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The Sulphur Springs Bathhouse: the Early Days and the Charles Dunnett Years

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London showing Thames River, Sulphur Springs & jail Turrets c1880s. Barron's Artistic Series of Canadian Views - PG E72. Ivey Family London Room, London Public Library, London, Ontario.

Three Thousand Barrel Flowing Well! – A heavy vein of water was struck at the City of London Well on Friday night, at the depth of 106 feet, the clear, crystalline element flowing up in immeasurable quantities. It has a strong sulphurous taste, and cannot be imbibed with any sort of satisfaction. It is estimated that the flow is over 3,000 barrels per day. At all events, the brook formed a rather moderate Niagara at a breach in the river bank, and created no little noise in the descent. Numerous visitors were present all Saturday morning. It is the purpose of the operators to drill deeper and shut off the water by putting down smaller piping. This enormous flow of water will hinder work most materially.¹

Thus the local newspaper, the *London Free Press*, reported the discovery of sulfur water at the Forks of the Thames River in London, Ontario on April 20, 1866.

Eyewitness C. Arnold Stone described it this way: “[E]verything went up with a bang – boards, water, and mud.”²

Responses to the discovery were mixed, from enthusiasm to dismay. A number of questions present themselves: Who was drilling at the forks of the Thames? Why were they drilling? What became of the project?

The Forest City Oil Company

On July 30, 1865, Amelia Harris, the matriarch of Eldon House, wrote in her diary, “Mr Portman, Edward & I had a long talk about oil and Mr. Portman and Edward are much inclined to use their best efforts to get up a company and to enter onto the oil business.”³ (Edward was Amelia’s son, while Mr. Portman was one of her numerous sons-in-law.) This resolve came against the background of the southwestern Ontario oil boom. In 1858 James Miller Williams had struck oil at Oil Springs, near Sarnia⁴, thus setting off a frenzy of prospective drilling and speculation. Everyone who was anyone wanted to get in on the profit, including the Harrises and the rest of London’s codfish aristocracy. Thus, by November of 1865, people were anxious to invest their money into oil. Mrs. Harris wrote on November 6, “Edward got a letter from Mr. Portman who wishes him to go to England immediately about getting up an oil company. Edward says he will endeavour to go in a fortnight.”⁵

Less than a week later, on November 10th, oil was struck at Hicks’ well, approximately one mile downstream from the forks of the Thames. Response to the news was immediate and enthusiastic. Amelia

Harris wrote that as soon as the news arrived in town – at about 8 p.m. – staid and serious businessmen:

made a rush out and got horses, buggies & any conveyance that was at hand and started for the well... When they came within a quarter of a mile of the well they left their horses etc. & made a rush through the woods yelling ‘Oil, Oil,’ tumbling over logs & stumps. When they arrived at the well they found that the oil was a fact and then Edward said it was the funniest thing he ever beheld, singing, dancing, drinking, with the chorus of ‘Oil, Oil.’⁶

As a consequence, Mrs. Harris was to record, that very day, that endeavours were made for another well, this time near the forks of the Thames River, “The stock for the test well below the jail was all taken in a very short time and was at 75 percent premium at night.”⁷ The *Free Press* added that, “The land secured on which to sink the well is situated on the banks of the Thames, between Dundas and King Street, and is as likely a spot as any that can be found. It is anticipated that the derrick will be up and the engine in place in about two weeks.”⁸

Two days later, the paper reported,

A meeting of the stockholders of this Company, to the number of about fifty, met on Saturday night at the Tecumseh Hotel for the despatch of preliminary business. Hon. John Carling was appointed chairman, and Mr. D.C. Macdonald secretary. The limited number of shares, 300, \$20 each, amounting to \$6,000, have all been taken up.

A committee, consisting of Hon. Mr. Carling, and Messrs. Chas. Hunt, Henry Benjamin, Jas. M. Cousins, and E. W. Harris, was appointed to manage the affairs of the institution until a charter is regularly obtained from Parliament.

It was resolved that the stockholders petition the City council for permission to acquire the ungranted Crown Lands lying from King street to the outer limits of the city.⁹

The Honorable John Carling, besides being the local Member of Parliament, owned Carling Brewery. The other committee members were all solid businessmen: Charles Hunt owned a mill on Ridout Street, James Cousins was a manufacturer of pumps, while Edward Harris was a lawyer. Henry Benjamin, appears in London as early as 1864, as an "oil dealer."¹⁰

The new London City Oil Company did not dawdle. On November 30, 1865, the *Free Press* reported,

The tenders in connection with the test well proposed to be sunk by the City of London Oil Company, have been all let. Mr. A. Campbell is to erect the derrick and inside fixtures of woodwork. Messrs. Lovett & Park, have contracted to put the well down 1,000 feet, if required. Mr. J. Crooks will perform the blacksmithing, while Hon. E. Leonard will furnish the engine (which is to be of 25 horsepower) and also the heavy cast iron pipes. It will be observed that the whole of the above contracts have

been taken by our own townsmen.¹¹

The derrick was up by January 22, 1866¹², and operations commenced in earnest by February 5th, 1866, by which date the well had been dug to a depth of 20 feet.¹³ Meanwhile, the oil at Hicks' Well had petered out, and voices were being raised accusing the owners of the well of "Yankee swindling."¹⁴ By April 3rd, the Harrises had also nearly given up hope of finding oil.¹⁵ Nevertheless, drilling continued. On April 20th, they struck sulphur water – a bitter disappointment to the investors. The stress of it led to a huge blow-up at Eldon House, causing Mrs. Harris to temporarily move in with Amelia Griffin, her married daughter.¹⁶ Nor could the news be kept from family investors in England; on May 18th, "Edward got very disagreeable letters from Mr. Portman & Scott about the oil company. If Edward could only make lots of money for them all they would be content..."¹⁷ A copy of Edward Harris' response to Maurice Portman is preserved in the J.J. Talman collection of Western University. It is virtually indecipherable, though the handwriting bears witness to emotional turmoil on the part of the writer.¹⁸ By June 9th of the same year, Edward Harris was on the carpet for alleged mismanagement of the oil company.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the decision was made to continue drilling for oil.

The Sulphur Water

Meanwhile, members of the general public who had not invested their life's savings in the oil company had other ideas about the well that had been dug near the forks of the Thames River. Watering the streets to keep the dust down was one suggested use. Other suggestions were to

use the water for bathing or firefighting. But the one that received the most support was to use the water for medicinal purposes. Indeed, the *Free Press* reported that “many invalids and rheumatic persons in this city having drank the water since its discovery, express themselves as much improved in health from its use,” and “We know at all events that hundreds visit the well daily for the purpose of drinking it as a beverage.”²⁰

Each of these options was pursued in turn. “Korn Kobb, Jr.,” the satirical columnist Robert J. Devlin of the *Free Press*, wrote a humorous column praising the healing qualities of the sulphur water,²¹ while the more serious Henry Benjamin proposed to organize a joint stock company in order to develop the artesian well into a health spa.²²

The plan in contemplation is to erect a large enclosed public bath, 170 feet in length by 70 in width, with about sixty dressing rooms or boxes. The maximum depth of the water to be seven feet six inches, and the minimum four feet six inches, the former for experienced swimmers, and the latter for learners. Besides this, a number of private baths are proposed, after the manner of fashionable bathing rooms.²³

Some people did not wait for a company to be organized.

A number of urchins who are anxious to make a speculation upon anything that might turn up, have “struck oil” at the London City Well. The plan is to stand near the stream with little tin cups and to importune all visitors to the well to [use their drinking vessels]

at so much per drink. The present staff consists of a boy five years old and two little girls.²⁴

Meanwhile, City Council explored the option of using the water from the artesian well to supply the public water tanks kept for firefighting. A rise of 40 feet from the wellhead was required for the project to be feasible. As it transpired, the maximum height reached by the water under natural pressure was only 36 feet, and thus the idea was abandoned.²⁵

Watering the streets with the sulphur water had already been attempted in May, 1866, to the vociferous complaints about the stench from people frequenting the streets so watered.²⁶ Thus, there was a strong feeling against using the water for that purpose the following year.²⁷

Winding up the London City Oil Company

In spite of controversy and financial troubles, drilling continued at the Forks²⁸. The shareholders decided to sink the well to the depth of 1,000 feet in the hope of at least striking salt.²⁹ At the end of April 1867, having run out of money and incurring \$1,100 in debt, the Oil Company appealed to London City Council for funding, and was turned down.³⁰ Thus, with the well at a depth of 1,008 feet and still no oil, the investors threw in the towel.

On June 28, 1867, the *Free Press* reported,

Yesterday the engine and boiler, derrick, well and land of this Company was sold at public auction

by Mr. P.C. Barnard. The engine, a 25-horsepower by Leonard, a splendid piece of machinery, fetched \$800, the purchaser being Mr. McHattie of the chemical works. The land, derrick and well brought \$1,400, a far larger price than had been anticipated. Mr. Beddome bought this lot on account of another party.³¹

Having invested \$6,000, and gone \$1,100 into debt, the shareholders of the City of London Oil Company recouped less than twenty cents for every dollar invested in the scheme. So much for getting rich quick.

The Mystery Buyer – Charles Dunnett

For nearly five months, the *London Free Press* was silent on the fate of the sulphur spring property. Finally, on November 22, 1867, it ran a fulsome article:

Mr. Charles Dunnett is conducting his Sulphur Bath scheme, with energy, to completion. Besides purchasing the building and grounds of the old City of London Well, he has rented a large plot of ground adjacent, and is rapidly giving shape to his plans. The medicinal waters which have been allowed to run to waste for more than a year past will henceforth be diverted into economical channels and made to serve a variety of purposes for the benefit of the world at large. The old derrick will be lined, ceiled and generally repaired, and fitted with bathrooms and aquatic facilities of the most approved modern kind. For the

present, the house will be divided into thirty compartments, fifteen on each side, with a passage running between them. The rooms on one side will be devoted to the use of the ladies, those on the other to gentlemen. Should circumstances warrant, in course of time an extensive addition will be made, the accommodation being doubled, while overhead will be fitted up as an office and drawing room, with perhaps the attraction of a billiard table. A refreshment apartment may also be added. This shows Mr. Dunnett to be fully alive to the presumed wants of the community, and should there be a demand the supply will be on hand. He is now going on a tour to the old country and the United States, for the purpose of looking at the various foreign institutions of the kind. An open swimming pond is being built immediately west of the building, forty feet long, and twenty wide, being eight feet deep at one end and five at the other. At this end a shower will be contrived, so that parties may enjoy either a shower bath or a swim, as they please. A little north of the building, on the river bank, is a large excavation, intended for a curling pond in the winter, and a swimming pond for boys in summer. Its dimensions are 160 x 25 feet; depth at one end 5 ft. 6 in., at the other 4 ft.; then a skating and curling rink is being formed a little to the east of this, 240 x 60 ft. The grounds will be enclosed by a high fence, and beautifully laid out with walks and shrubs. The fame of these mineral waters has spread far

and wide, and they may be heard favorably spoken of in many parts of the United States. Indeed, Mr. Derby, of the Tecumseh House, has been communicated with by a large number of his Southern friends, who intimate their intention of spending next summer in London, for the special purpose of testing the beneficial effects of our sulphur baths.



Sulphur Springs Bathing House, watercolour and ink on paper, by George F. Durand, c.1868
The London Advertiser, Nov. 10, 1880

A most enterprising gentleman – but who was “Mr. Charles Dunnnett”? Charles Dunnnett (or Dunnit) first appeared in the *London City Directory* in 1864. In the 1868 issue, which was published in late 1867, he was listed as a tanner and leather dealer, “CHARLES DUNNETT’S TANNERY is situated on Fullarton Street, in which a number of hands are employed. A large amount is turned out annually.”³² In the section indicating names submitted too late for insertion in the alphabetical listing, the following description was found: “SULPHUR SPRINGS, swimming and private baths, sulphur baths, curling and skating rink, bowling green and boating pond, C. Dunnnett, proprietor, foot of Dundas

Street.”³³ The tannery must have been doing rather well if Dunnnett could afford to branch out into the spa and related businesses.

Little is known about Dunnnett’s origins. His obituary indicated that he was born in Caithness, Scotland, and was 54 years old when he died in 1878.³⁴ That would put his age at mid-forties when he took over the task of making a name for London Ontario’s sulphur spring. He had a wife, Mary (nee Macfie), and four daughters: Jessie, Nena, Isabella and Violet. They lived on the southwest corner of Talbot and York streets.³⁵ Even though this was right across from Talbot Street Baptist Church (now First Baptist),³⁶ which was on the southeast corner, the Dunnetts did not go there; being Scots, they went to St. James Kirk on the northeast corner of Richmond and Bond (Princess Avenue) streets.³⁷ He appeared to have been an ambitious man, as evident from his multifarious activities in London.



Sulphur Springs Bathhouse, prior to 1880s. Photo courtesy of Jack Plant and John Lisowski.
Source unknown.

The Sulphur Springs Bathhouse

Mr. Dunnett worked like a beaver on his business venture, and by June 4, 1868, the Sulphur Baths were opened to the public.³⁸ Within a week, there had been a stabbing at the bathhouse³⁹ -- an exciting start! From here on, the announcement of the "Grand Re-opening" of the Sulphur Baths became an annual event. In 1869 it happened in late May.⁴⁰

Charles Dunnett's fondest hope appeared to be realized when, on August 20, 1869, Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, the American railway tycoon, appeared in town. Unfortunately, instead of partaking in the rejuvenating waters of the sulphur springs, Vanderbilt checked into the Tecumseh Hotel and stayed there.

MINERAL SPRING WATER
FROM
London, Ontario.

THE WONDERFUL MEDICINAL
qualities of these Springs have long been known, and the popularity and great success they have achieved has induced the proprietor to offer it to the public as the

Best and Most Efficient Mineral Water on the Continent.

Use only the London Mineral Water, and avoid the deleterious effects of dangerous drugs unskillfully prepared. The water is pronounced by the

HIGHEST MEDICAL AUTHORITY
To be equal to any other Mineral Water in the world, and recommended as a remedy and cure for Scrofula, disorganized state of Digestive Organs, Nausea and Nervousness caused by debauch, Hemorrhoids or Piles, Indigestion, Costiveness, Dyspepsia, Liver Complaint, General Debility, Heartburn, Biliousness, Loss of Appetite, Fullness of Blood to the Head, Cancerous Affections, Headache, Acute and Chronic Rheumatism, Affection of Kidneys.

As a pleasant and cooling draught it cannot be excelled. May be obtained fresh from the Springs at all the leading Druggists.

CHAS. DUNNETT,
Proprietor.
2091-4

London, Aug. 15, 1870.

The London Free Press, June 11, 1868, 3:8

SULPHUR BATHS!

THE UNDERSIGNED
Begs to announce that the
GENTLEMAN'S DEPARTMENT
AND THE
Swimming Pond
WILL BE
OPEN TO THE PUBLIC
ON AND AFTER
THURSDAY, 4th inst.,
WHEN
HOT & COLD BATHS
MAY BE HAD FROM
6 A.M. TO 8 P.M.
WITH ATTENDANCE.

THE LADIES' DEPARTMENT
will be ready within a few days, of which
due notice will be given.

Quarterly Tickets, or Tickets for single
Baths, may be had of Mr. Ross, on the premises,
or of the Proprietor, at his Leather Store, Rich-
mond-street, next door to Clarke's Machine-
Shop.

London, June 4, 1868.

The London Advertiser, Aug. 19, 1870, 3:3

Far from coming to London for the water cure, Vanderbilt had come here to get married out of the limelight and far from the attentions of the paparazzi.⁴¹ Yet for some reason the myth persisted that the great Vanderbilt had come to London for the sake of the water cure. No doubt the story was good for Dunnett's business, even though it wasn't true.



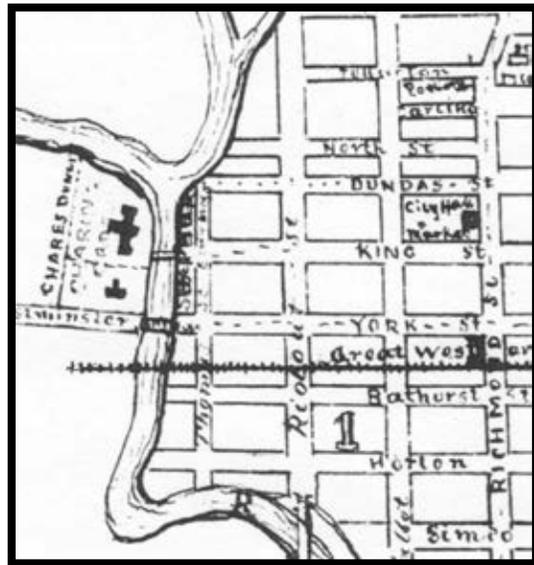
White Sulphur Springs (London District Postcard Club)

Nothing daunted, Dunnett continued advertising the Sulphur Springs bathhouse with enterprise and vigour. In 1870, the annual “Grand Reopening” occurred on May 21st, amid great fanfare and announcement of improvements to the premises and the grounds. That year, the entrepreneur bought four acres of land just across the river, in the vicinity of Becher Street. His plan was to connect the two parts of his property with a foot bridge, and to build a large boarding house for the American tourists he hoped to attract to his spa.⁴²



Sulphur Springs property including the footbridge. Guide to the City of London, Ontario, Canada. London Printing & Litho. Co., 1892. Western Archives, Western University.

On July 1 of the same year, the new pleasure grounds were opened. A foot-bridge had been erected to connect the bathhouse property with the property on the Westminster Township side of the river, and a dam was constructed (presumably across the south branch of the Thames) in order to permit boating. The popular band of the 7th Fusiliers Battalion played at the event, and in spite of rain, a “goodly number” of people turned out, including the requisite number of politicians giving speeches.⁴³



Portion of map showing Charles Dunnett’s Charings Cross Hotel (1871). Western University, Map & Data Centre, Map Cabinets, # C33:D03.

On Dominion Day, Amelia Harris recorded in her diary that “the foundation of the new hotel which is to be built opposite the Sulphur Springs was laid with great ceremony.”⁴⁴ The *London Free Press* called the place “Riverview,” though on the map which was placed inside the corner-stone of the building, it was referred to as the “Charing Cross Hotel.”⁴⁵ For reasons not recorded, the hotel was never finished.



The London Disaster – Dawn at Sulphur springs – identifying the dead. Postcard depicting the Victoria Day disaster. Reverse indicates The Last Trip of the Victoria, R. Clark Cheap Book Store, 397 Richmond St, London, Ont. Established 1800s. Keepsake card courtesy of Doug Mercer.



River Thames with Sulphur Springs building at left. Real photo postcard courtesy of Doug Mercer.



River Thames and Clubhouse. Some of the Sulphur Springs building is visible at center left.
Published by Rumsey & Co. Postcard courtesy of John Aitken.



Foot of Dundas Street, with portions of Sulphur Springs Bathhouse at back right.
Postcard courtesy of John Aitken.

Meanwhile, the Sulphur Springs grounds became more than just a place to bathe in sulphur water. For the Civic Holiday on August 9, 1871, Dunnett hosted games and engaged a string band to entertain visitors to the grounds.⁴⁶ For the rest of that summer moonlight concerts with dancing were held.⁴⁷ The Sulphur Springs Bathhouse is not mentioned in London newspapers again until May, 1873.⁴⁸ Once again there were special events on Dominion Day. The *Free Press* mentioned briefly that “the pity is that Mr. Dunnett’s enterprise does not meet with greater reward.”⁴⁹ Clearly, the Sulphur Springs complex was not quite as popular as the hype he had created.



Thames River c.1880 (background Sulphur Springs). RC40185, Western Archives, Western University.

Endeavouring to diversify, Charles Dunnett made the swimming pool at the spa available as a curling rink during the winter.⁵⁰ Yet another “Grand Reopening” took place in May 1874.⁵¹ Again, events were organized for Dominion Day⁵² and the Civic Holiday.⁵³ But by the end of September, Dunnett was ready to sell out. The *Free Press* ran an ad announcing the upcoming sale of the Sulphur Springs Bathhouse at public auction on September 30, 1874.⁵⁴ Yet nothing came of it.



White Sulphur Springs, c.1875. The centre tower was originally an oil drilling rig. RC41359, Western Archives, Western University.

In July, 1875, “Dunnett’s Sulphur Baths” is mentioned as a landmark.⁵⁵ In August, the *Free Press* noted tersely “a very large falling off in the number of visitors to watering places.”⁵⁶ Later it was reported that “Mr. Dunnett is having proper curling pads put in,”⁵⁷ and in 1876, the Sulphur Springs was not mentioned at all. In May 1877, the Sulphur Springs Baths were again fitted up for the season,⁵⁸ and that winter, curling took place at “Dunnett’s Rink.”⁵⁹



Docks at the Sulphur Springs c.1880s. London Public Library.

Sometime between 1871 and 1877, Dunnett changed the name of the Sulphur Springs Bathhouse to the White Sulphur Springs, perhaps as a result of the several improvements he made to his business model during those years. References to the Sulphur Springs also appear as the Ontario White Sulphur Springs.⁶⁰



Sulphur Springs postcard c1880s. London Public Library.

DISEASES

Treated and benefitted by the use of the baths and waters.

Rheumatism Gout, Scrofula, Skin Diseases,
 Diarrhoea in all its forms,
 Diseases of the Liver, Stomach, Kid-
 neys and Urinary Organs,
 Haemorrhoids or Piles,
 Nervous Prostration from abuse
 of stimulants and opiates,

FEMALE DISEASES

As a class are greatly benefitted by the use of the waters and baths.

CAUTION TO INVALIDS.

Recklessness is sometimes manifested among visitors in the use of the baths, they frequently do violence to themselves in bathing without proper knowledge of their use. The baths are powerful curative agents if properly employed, but terrible for evil if improperly used. The directions in each case must vary according to the disease, sex, age, temperament and physical strength of the patient. The very best hotel and boarding accommodation for visitors and invalids can be had at reasonable rates in the city. The springs can be reached from all parts of the Continent by rail, being on the lines of the Great Western and Grand Trunk Railways of Canada.

CHARLES DUNNETT,
 Proprietor.
DR. HINES,
 Resident and Consulting Physician.
 Ontario White Sulphur Springs.

OFFICE—At the Springs.
 London, May 17, 1879. Doneed

ONTARIO

WHITE

SULPHUR SPRINGS

LONDON ONTARIO,
 CANADA.

THIS WONDERFUL ARTESIAN
 Spring is situated on the Bank of the River Thames, in the City of London, Ont. The well is one thousand and eight feet deep, and flows without ceasing at the rate of

One Million Gallons of Pure Sulphur Water per Day.

The Medical virtues of these waters have been fully tested by the ablest

MEDICAL MEN,

And found to possess the most valuable curative power yet discovered for dispelling many diseases.

THE GROUNDS

Are beautifully laid out with Walks, Summer Houses, Fish Ponds, and every convenience and comfort for invalids, as well as the pleasure-seeking public. There are

BATH ROOMS

NICELY FITTED UP FOR

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

HOT AND COLD,

SWIMMING BATH, SHOWER BATH, SITTING, SPRAY AND WASH BATHS, ETC.

Above and left:
 The London Advertiser, Aug. 18, 1870, 3:4

It is clear, then, that the Sulphur Springs bathhouse was a seasonal operation which was only open during the summer months, though Charles Dunnett did his best to generate a return on his investment during the rest of the year.

Charles Dunnett's Other Activities

Even though being the proprietor of the Sulphur Springs Bathhouse brought Charles Dunnett the most recognition, it was by no means his only business venture. By 1871, he had left the tanning business and was listed as a "soap and candle maker," as well as the proprietor of the Sulphur Springs.⁶¹ He also ran a ferry between the foot of Dundas Street and Kensington (or London West).⁶²

In September, 1870, Dunnett won the lucrative contract to build the Customs House on the northeast corner of Richmond and North (Queens Avenue) streets,⁶³ and thereafter had himself listed as "builder" in the city directories.⁶⁴

He also continued to be involved with watering the streets to keep the dust down, using, of course, the water from his artesian well.⁶⁵ In addition, during 1866, Dunnett was in partnership with Ellis W. Hyman at one time and with one of the Lymans at another time.⁶⁶ As a builder Dunnett tendered a bid, and won the contract for the bridge abutments on the Victoria Bridge at the foot of Ridout Street, close to what is today Thames Park.⁶⁷

A few months prior to his death, he had joined with London stone cutter Thomas J. Heard in the manufacturing of monuments, mantels, etc. Clearly Dunnett was working his position as the proprietor of the Sulphur Baths to rise above the status of mere artisan.

Then, on February 9, 1878, the *Free Press* ran this brief announcement:

There was a large attendance of citizens and others at the funeral of the late Mr. Chas. Dunnett yesterday afternoon.⁶⁸

The rival newspaper, the *Advertiser*, was slightly more informative, writing,

Died. In this city, on the 6th inst., at his family residence, No. 19 York Street, Mr. Charles Dunnett, native of Caithness, Scotland, aged 54 years. The funeral will leave his late residence, York Street, Friday, 8th inst., at 2 o'clock p.m. friends will please accept this invitation.⁶⁹



City of London map. Western University, Map & Data Centre, Map Cabinets, # C33:D03.

That was it. No more was said about the successful entrepreneur. He was buried at Mount Pleasant Cemetery and, over a year later, his friends took up a collection to erect a fitting tombstone for him.⁷⁰

Following Charles Dunnett's death, his widow and daughters continued to carry on the business for another four decades.



Dunnett family plot. (photo Helga Ruppe)

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² Spicer, Elizabeth, *A Miscellany of London – Part III*, London Public Library: London, ON, 1980, pg. 41.

³ Harris, Amelia Ryerse, *The Eldon House Diaries*, July 30, 1865, Toronto: Champlain Society, 1994, pg. 257.

⁴ *Wikipedia*, “Petrolia,” consulted June 30, 2014.

⁵ *Eldon House Diaries*, pg. 261.

⁶ *Eldon House Diaries*, pg. 261.

⁷ *Eldon House Diaries*, pg. 262.

⁸ *London Free Press*, Nov. 11, 1865, pg. 3.

⁹ *LFP*, Nov. 13, 1865, pg. 3.

¹⁰ *City Directory*, 1864 ff.

¹¹ *LFP*, Nov. 30, 1865, pg. 3.

¹² *LFP*, Jan 22, 1866, pg. 3.

¹³ *LFP*, Feb 5, 1866, pg. 3.

¹⁴ *LFP*, Jan 30, 1866, pg. 3.

¹⁵ *Eldon House Diaries*, April 3, 1866, pg.

¹⁶ *Eldon House Diaries*, pg. 266.

¹⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁸ *Letters and Papers of Harris & Magee, Barristers, London, 1854 – 1910*, B4061-4062.

¹⁹ *Eldon House Diaries*, pg. 268.

²⁰ *LFP*, May 2, 1866.

²¹ *LFP*, May 5, 1866, pg. 3.

²² *LFP*, May 14, 1866, pg. 3.

- ²³ *LFP*, May 16, 1866, pg. 3.
- ²⁴ *LFP*, July 7, 1866, pg. 3.
- ²⁵ *LFP*, November 10, 14, 27, 1866, pg. 3.
- ²⁶ *LFP*, May 3, 1866, pg. 3.
- ²⁷ *LFP*, April 15, 1867, pg. 3.
- ²⁸ *LFP*, October 12, 1866, pg. 3.
- ²⁹ *LFP*, January 30, 1867, pg. 3.
- ³⁰ *LFP*, April 30, 1867, pg. 3.
- ³¹ *LFP*, June 28, 1869, pg. 3.
- ³² *London City Directory*, 1868 issue.
- ³³ *Ibid.* pg. xxiv.
- ³⁴ *London Advertiser*, February 7, 1878.
- ³⁵ Cf. *London City Directory* 1868 ff.
- ³⁶ William Sherwood Fox, *A Century of Service; a History of The Talbot Street Baptist Church, 1845 – 1945*, London, Talbot St. Baptist Church, 1945.
- ³⁷ *City Directory*, 1872.
- ³⁸ *LFP*, June 4, 1868, pg. 3.
- ³⁹ *LFP*, June 11, 1868, pg. 3.
- ⁴⁰ *LFP*, May 14, 1869, pg. 3.
- ⁴¹ *LFP*, August 23, 1869, pg. 3.
- ⁴² *LFP*, May 21, 1870, pg. 3.
- ⁴³ *LFP*, July 4, 1870, pg. 3.
- ⁴⁴ *Eldon House Diaries*, pg. 312.
- ⁴⁵ A copy of this map is in the Map and Data Collection at Western University.
- ⁴⁶ *LFP*, August 8, 1871, pg. 3.
- ⁴⁷ *LFP*, August 22, 31, September 6, 8, 1871.
- ⁴⁸ *LFP*, May 30, 1873.
- ⁴⁹ *LFP*, July 3, 1873.
- ⁵⁰ *LFP*, November 29, 1873.
- ⁵¹ *LFP*, May 18, May 23, 1874.
- ⁵² *LFP*, June 30, 1874.
- ⁵³ *LFP*, August 13, 1874.
- ⁵⁴ *LFP*, September 30, 1874.
- ⁵⁵ *LFP*, July 6, 1875.
- ⁵⁶ *LFP*, August 7, 1875.
- ⁵⁷ *LFP*, November 13, 1875.
- ⁵⁸ *LFP*, May 21, 1877.
- ⁵⁹ *LFP*, November 12, 1877.
- ⁶⁰ Brock, *Fragments from the Forks: London, Ontario's Legacy*, pg. 106-107.
- ⁶¹ *London City Directory*, 1871 – 72.
- ⁶² *LFP*, July 27, 1870.
- ⁶³ *LFP*, September 8, 1870.
- ⁶⁴ *City Directory*, 1874 – 75.
- ⁶⁵ *LFP*, May 9, 1874.
- ⁶⁶ London General and Business Directory, 1866-7., Woodstock, Sutherland & Co., 1866, pg. 46, 56, 102.
- ⁶⁷ *LFP*, April 28, 1875.
- ⁶⁸ *LFP*, February 9, 1878.
- ⁶⁹ *Advertiser*, February 7, 1878.
- ⁷⁰ *LFP*, July 9, 1879.

