

DANIEL C. GUNN
HAMILTON'S
LOCOMOTIVE
BUILDER

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"A THOROUGH MAN OF BUSINESS:" DANIEL C. GUNN OF HAMILTON

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Daniel C. Gunn (1811-1876) had no technical or engineering background, and so was in many ways the least likely of the Canadian locomotive manufacturers to choose that trade. But although the decision to manufacture locomotives proved unfortunate for him, there is some evidence to support an argument that he made the best locomotives of the five firms which operated in the 1850s. Unfortunately, the manufacture of high quality locomotives was not a sufficient qualification for success and survival in the field.

Gunn was born in England on Jan. 31, 1811, and is believed to have come to Canada with his family as a small child.¹ In his diaries, he records first seeing Hamilton from "the mountain" in 1832, and it is clear that the young city captivated his loyalties--for although the ups and downs of his business career took him away at times, his heart remained with Hamilton.² Writing to his financial backer John Young in 1861, Gunn spoke about the loss of his locomotive and machinery business, which he still believed "would be a profitable investment for the shareholders" but perhaps more importantly, "of vast importance to the country and to Hamilton in particular."³

In the 1830s, Gunn began his business career as a wharfinger, operating a freight forwarding business on the waterfront.⁴ Early maps of Hamilton show "Gunn's Wharf" at the foot of James Street, where he also had a warehouse. In 1836 Michael Browne came to Hamilton, after eight years as a wharfinger himself at Kingston, Ont., and the two men became partners.⁵ Gunn & Browne prospered in the wharfage business, but Gunn retired in 1847 to try other fields. Browne's brother Edward replaced Gunn in the wharfage partnership until 1851, and for a time Michael Browne was said to be the largest Canadian shipowner on the Great Lakes. Yet Michael Browne was attracted to new fields too, and from 1860 on held important positions with the Great Western Ry., the Hamilton and Lake Erie Ry., and their successors. His transition to the new medium of commerce was slower, but more successful, than Gunn's.

Before his own long involvement with railways, Gunn first tried his hand at manufacturing:

About this time [1847] Gunn established a small machine shop at the foot of Wellington Street, which prospered from the production of small farming and milling implements.⁶

Thus far we have a picture of the young Daniel Gunn succeeding in two different business lines. But personal ambition and enthusiasm for the development of his adopted city soon led him into an adventure filled with challenge but ending in disappointment.

Perhaps his experience as a freight forwarder on the lakes, or maybe experience of the wretched roads and land transport of the day, led to Gunn's decision to throw himself into railway promotion. (There was a Gunn, not more fully

identified but perhaps Daniel, who won an action for damages in Hamilton in 1852 - the result of an accident caused by the wheel falling off a stage coach.)⁷ He attended a meeting in Hamilton on April 22, 1850, to promote the Great Western Railway and was there appointed to the committee of 60 citizens to obtain new shareholders.⁸ In the 1851 Canada West Census, the 40-year-old Gunn returned his occupation as "agent for the Great Western Ry."⁹ In fact, he worked full-time for the railway in the early 1850s in several capacities, first as a land agent, putting together the real estate for the railway right-of-way and buildings, and then "attending to the transportation and distribution" of the rails, hardware, and rolling stock "to the various points where required for laying the superstructure of the Road," as he himself described his duties.¹⁰ In the first Hamilton city directory, issued in 1853, his occupation is given as "R.R. land agent," and he was still described as "land-agent" in the 1856 city directory.¹¹ But by 1856 Gunn had lost his connection with the Great Western.

This turn of events was certainly a surprise to Gunn, and undoubtedly a bitter disappointment as well. An exchange of correspondence between Gunn and his Great Western Railway superiors during 1853 and 1854 shows that Gunn had what seem to be realistic expectations of a responsible position with the Great Western after construction was completed and normal operations began.¹² More than a century later, we can only speculate that there might have been some personality difference when C. J. Brydges (1827-1889) arrived from England as the designated representative of the British board of directors (the major investors in the Great Western), or perhaps Brydges simply determined to concentrate as much power as possible in his own

hands. In August 1853 Gunn, writing to Brydges to negotiate his own G.W.R. salary, pointed out that he had turned down more lucrative opportunities.¹³ But Gunn said he was not willing to leave Hamilton "for any amount of money." He was willing to moderate his demands and accept a lower current salary than he thought he was worth, "throwing away 500£ for the present year and 250£ for the next" not only to remain in Hamilton, but also in the expectation of growing responsibilities with the railway:

. . . to gratify the desire I have and which has grown with the promise for the past three years of my having to take charge of the transportation business of the road . . .

He felt he had earned this position by diligent and able service of the railway "by night and by day whenever its duties required me for nearly three years past" and had the ability and character to do it well.

Brydges replied one month later, urging Gunn to remain with the G.W.R. and accept the offer of the Board of Directors of an annual salary of £500 for 1853, with a raise of £100 in 1854 and each following year "until his situation in the railway, is, in the opinion of the directors sufficiently remunerated."¹⁴

This exchange certainly seems to have encouraged Gunn in his belief that he had a promising future with the new Great Western Railway. But a year later he received a curt notice from the railway company's Secretary, Brackstone Baker, that the Board had resolved "that the services of Mr. D. C. Gunn may be dispensed with."¹⁵ Brydges himself was taking over the functions that Gunn thought would be his, and Gunn received three months' notice that his connection with the railway was at an end. Gunn responded, "I am somewhat at a loss . . ."¹⁶ Didn't the Board

read his agreement with them? Didn't they realize that he had voluntarily taken a much lower salary than he desired "in expectation of doing better" in the long run. If they were dissatisfied with his performance, why hadn't he ever heard of it? To all of which Baker replied that the Board had received his protest, but "sees no reason to deviate from the resolution communicated to you."¹⁷ We can imagine that Gunn was shocked at this turn of events.

Within a few months, however, Gunn was plunging into a new, railway-related activity. He set about establishing his "LOCOMOTIVE, STEAM ENGINE AND FORGE WORKS," taking over a foundry or small factory that had been vacant since 1853.¹⁸ Originally established by James M. Williams (1818-1890; in his later years an Ontario M.P.P. and pioneer oil refiner) to manufacture railway plant during the construction of the Great Western, it had manufactured dump cars among other things.¹⁹ On May 1, 1856, Gunn obtained this property, including fifteen and a half acres, from James M. Williams for £9,000, mortgaged to Williams for the same amount.²⁰ The property was located at what was then the north end of Wentworth Street, at the head of Sherman's Inlet. (This was then the northern and eastern limits of Hamilton.)²¹ Gunn had by no means lost his faith in the coming importance of railways. Indeed, in June of 1855 he was one of six men appointed to obtain subscriptions for the projected Hamilton and Port Dover Railway.²² So we may presume he optimistically projected a large and growing local demand for railway rolling stock which would enable his new enterprise to market its products successfully.

In his new manufacturing venture, Gunn began with certain debts and obligations. He is said to have paid Williams

\$36,000 for the property, \$4,000 in cash and the rest in the mortgage noted above, and to have taken into partnership two young "Englishmen," one of whom brought \$15,000 capital.²³ The land registry records, however, show two transactions regarding this 15½ acre property after the sale to Gunn in the year 1856.²⁴ The first was an assignment of mortgage from the Hon. Walter H. Dickson to Gunn on 26 May 1856, and the second was a mortgage given by Gunn to Edmund Ritchie and others on 24 July 1856 (but not registered until nearly two years later, on 21 May 1858). In neither transaction is the "consideration," the amount of money involved, recorded.

The land registry records also note a mortgage from Gunn to George W. Burton and N. Merritt for \$24,400 on 30 December 1858, and an assignment in trust of the Locomotive Works to Alfred Booker and E. Browne on 7 March 1859, no consideration reported, with an assignment of the 15½ acres "et al." from Gunn to Booker and Edwd. Browne on the same date for the nominal consideration of five shillings [? - but Canada shifted to decimal currency on 1 Jan. 1858]. The 1858-59 transactions refer to the financial crisis that forced Gunn out of business; it is of interest here, however, that a further mortgage to a Scottish investor was not recorded. The Young papers have a lengthy file of correspondence between John Young (1808-1873), a prominent Hamilton merchant, financier, and railway promoter, and John Torrance of Kilmarnock, Scotland.²⁵ Young's business dealings included offices of his firm in Glasgow, and there he arranged to direct Torrance's investments in Canadian real estate. Torrance complains about his investment in Gunn, arranged by Young, referring to Young's assurances in a letter of 10 March 1855 (emphasis mine; note that this date is more than a year earlier

than Gunn's purchase of the factory) and later letters regarding the security for a mortgage to Gunn. He hadn't wanted to invest in "public works" such as Gunn's manufacturing enterprise and preferred investment in house property. Torrance was certainly not alone at this time in considering investment in the manufacture of railway rolling stock extremely risky; and the experience of the Canadian entrepreneurs of the 1850s shows that the men like Torrance were right, even granting that their attitude had a certain self-fulfilling tendency.

These fragments of information about Gunn's finances aren't enough to give us a good picture now of his business. But they seem to show us a business that began with a heavy debt load which probably increased. The Torrance mortgage was made under Canadian usury laws that limited interest on loans to 6% annually. Gunn had signed pre-endorsed promissory notes to bring the interest he was paying up to 10%, and the Torrance-Young camp had some fearful moments when a court found the agreement null and void for that reason.²⁶ By that time (1860-61) such a decision could only benefit other creditors, not Gunn or his business. Torrance finally got the Gunn property foreclosed (it "now stands in my name") in 1862.²⁷ Capital was scarce and expensive, and Gunn had to pay a price to get it.

Gunn may, in fact, have committed himself to too much, too soon. In 1859 Gunn and several Hamilton businessmen attempted to re-organize the works as a joint-stock company, the Burlington Bay Dock and Ship Building Co., and he offered to sell the works to the new company for \$90,000, "which is less than their actual cost."²⁸ The description also says that the works include "three of Naysmith's powerful steam hammers and boilers (one now in operation and two ready for erection)" [emphasis

mine]. Since he was able to build 16 locomotives in two years using only one steam hammer, it would certainly appear that he had over-invested in acquiring three. One source claims that he had spent \$40,000 in tools.²⁹ It could also be the case that only one of the steam hammers was large enough to be of much use, and that is the reason the others were not erected and put into use. In 1858, Gunn wrote to Allan MacNab that in fitting up the premises he had "put in them upwards of £15,000 worth of tools."³⁰ Even if exaggerated this is a large amount. We are left with the impression that Gunn was imprudently lavish in setting up his works. Since loans and mortgages in his day were customarily for very short terms (Torrance's was originally for three years, normal practice then) this meant Gunn was committing himself to heavy payments at the beginning, when he could not be sure of a correspondingly heavy income.

The reference to the three steam hammers ties in to another problem, the nature of Gunn's firm, which remains a mystery. Were his partners not the two young "Englishmen" of the credit reports, but the two Scottish brothers Kinmond? He certainly had a close relationship with the Kinmonds, who had come from Dundee to Montreal in c. 1851 to try their luck in the locomotive-building business there. They had brought three steam hammers over with them, and it seems likely that these same three Nasmyth hammers were shipped by the Kinmonds to Hamilton, along with their other tools. William Kinmond, the accomplished mechanical engineer, is named in the first public advertisement of the Locomotive, Steam Engine, and Forge Works:³¹

. . . Having secured the assistance of W. L.
Kinmond, Esquire, late of Dundee and
Montreal, who is a thorough, practical, and

experienced Locomotive Engineer, and general Machinist, I beg to solicit a share of any such work required in the country . . .

It is rather odd that the 1856 city directory lists only the other brother, Peter ("Kinmond, P.L., bd. City Hotel").³² The 1858 directory lists only William - "Kindmond (sic), William L., engineer, h. Victoria Ave. n. Railroad."³³

The Kinmonds brought not only their own expertise and experience into Gunn's new enterprise. They also brought their equipment and many of their men. This should have given Gunn a good running start in the locomotive business. The credit agency recorded that Gunn was a "good active businessman very much liked" and would "most likely do well."³⁴ William Kinmond had technical ability, but neither Kinmond brother was esteemed as a businessman. The Gunn-Kinmond combination should have combined these two strengths. Over in Kingston, Ont., in these same years, James Morton and Francis Tutton were making just such a combination, a partnership of a capitalist entrepreneur with a technically competent foundryman, work in the Ontario Foundry. From this distance in time it is conjectural, but it would seem that the Gunn-Kinmond combination had more talent; but Morton-Tutton certainly had more capital. Everything points to Gunn's debt load being the crucial factor.

We should not forget that Gunn was an experienced and successful businessman. In hindsight we can say that he invested too much capital at the beginning, at a greater cost than he proved able to pay. But he had been active not only in railway promotion but in the construction of a large railway, the Great Western. He had some experience of the likely needs and effective demand for railway rolling stock. What really did him

... effects of absentee ownership (both the Great Western and the Grand Trunk were ultimately controlled by their British Boards of Directors, representing the principal investors), the dislocation of the British investment markets during the Crimean War, and the severe American depression beginning in 1857. This made even reasonable forecasting of the short-term demand for locomotives impossible. The Grand Trunk itself forecast in 1857 that it needed 30 freight engines to complete its works, and advertised for bids to supply that many.³⁵ These included the locomotives it ordered from Gunn, possibly twelve but certainly no less than eight. But while Gunn tooled up and began producing locomotives at a rate approaching twelve a year, the Grand Trunk found it could no longer pay for them.

Caught in a financial crisis itself, the Grand Trunk had to cut back its own commitments fairly ruthlessly. So we find the Canadian Board, at its Toronto meeting on 30 October 1857, authorizing the company to pay Gunn for a locomotive just delivered "in accordance with the agreement he had entered into to deliver eight . . . at the rate of \$12,000 each."³⁶ The Board instructed the Assistant Secretary to inform Gunn that "under the existing critical state of all financial operations in this country," it was unlikely that the Grand Trunk would be able to pay for any of "the remaining Six Engines." He would build them at his own risk if he proceeded with them. But the Board instructed its officer:

. . . they nevertheless assuring Mr. Gunn that should he determine upon proceeding with them every effort on the part of the Directors would be made to take them off his hands.

At the same time, the Board made somewhat similar decisions regarding commitments to two American locomotive builders, the Portland Company and the Amoskeag Works. But they were treated somewhat differently. The Amoskeag company, which had a contract with the Grand Trunk for 12 locomotives, was persuaded to accept a modification of that contract:³⁷

. . . in lieu of delivering at specified times twelve Locomotives, the Treasurer of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company is to deliver in March, April, May and June, 2, 3, 4, 5, or Six at his option on the same terms of payment . . .

It appears that at the time of this revised agreement, the Amoskeag firm had two engines "nearly completed." This was a more generous, and a more flexible, arrangement than the Grand Trunk offered to Gunn. But we should remember that the Amoskeag Works were an old and valued supplier and Gunn was an untried new one. Similarly, the Grand Trunk informed the Portland Company, the firm which had provided most of the locomotives of its predecessor companies as well as many Grand Trunk engines, of its predicament. ". . . it would be for them to decide whether they would proceed with the Engines now under construction . . .", but the Grand Trunk offered to pay for three locomotives already completed at Portland in the usual way, "in Company's Notes at three months."³⁸

The Grand Trunk did need these additional locomotives and as traffic and revenues revived, it did acquire and pay for them. The established firms with larger resources (including credit) were able to wait out the depression. Gunn was not. In the end, the Grand Trunk bought all the locomotives it had

originally ordered from Gunn - too late to do him any good, but putting some cash into the pockets of creditors like the Hamilton law firm of Burton & Sadlier, which won control of two locomotives built by Gunn (and subsequently sold to the Grand Trunk) in court cases in 1859 and 1860.³⁹

The agreement with Burton & Sadlier is especially interesting, as it reveals how Gunn tried to rescue himself from the Grand Trunk's disastrous (for him) decision to cancel its contract unilaterally. These men endorsed notes for Gunn "to a large amount," notes held by the Bank of Montreal, and in return had a verbal agreement with Gunn to buy his (final) two locomotives for \$16,000, while he was to finish the locomotives, which were "not half finished" in September 1858. In January 1859 a formal deed confirmed the verbal arrangement, and Burton & Sadlier insured the locomotives as their own property on March 2nd. But on March 7th Gunn "made an assignment" (i.e., went bankrupt) and included the locomotives, which he then valued at \$24,000 - i.e., at the Grand Trunk's original price of \$12,000 each - recording that \$16,000 of this value was already claimed by Burton & Sadlier, but leaving an \$8,000 balance towards debts owing to others. Gunn honestly believed his locomotives were worth and would eventually sell for that much, but needless to say that this transaction, conceived in desperation, muddied the waters considerable (but produced this court record for us).

During a brief period in 1857 and early 1858, the locomotive business prospered and promised great things for Gunn and for Hamilton. He completed his first three locomotives, named "Ham," "Shem," and "Japheth," in the fall of 1856, and delivered them to the Grand Trunk in April 1857.⁴⁰ The Hamilton press, ignorant of the locomotives already built in Toronto,

Montreal, and Kingston, hailed these as the first locomotives built in Canada - to the scorn of (at least) the Kingston press.⁴¹ These were followed by two quite different 0-6-0 freight locomotives delivered to the Great Western Ry. in August, named "Achilles" and "Bacchus."⁴²

While the two locomotives were the only ones the Great Western ever bought from Gunn, they were very well regarded. A year and a half after they were delivered, the Great Western's locomotive superintendent was asked to comment on them for a prospective buyer of another Gunn locomotive. This man, the most brilliant locomotive engineer in Canada in the 1860s and 1870s, was Richard Eaton; and since he wrote his endorsement after Gunn was bankrupt, we can be sure he had no possible motive for flattery in writing about the Gunn engines on the G.W.Ry.:⁴³

In reply to yours of the 24th [Feb., 1859]
requiring my opinion as to the qualities of
the Two Engines made by D. C. Gunn for the
above Company, I beg to state that with the
exception of the Cylinders and Tyres being
rather soft I consider the said Engines to be
equal in every respect to any of our best
English or American Locomotives. They work
very economically both on Fuel and repairs--
and as to the latter shew a lower figure than
the American and English Fret [sic, freight]
engines . . .

In conclusion I wish to state
emphatically that the "Bacchus" & "Achilles"
made by Messr. Gunn & Co. are very good
Engines and from what I have seen during the

past 12 months, I have every reason to think that considerable improvements have been made upon those Engines which have been constructed by them since the Bacchus & Achilles were set to work.

Coming from the premier locomotive expert in Canada, this was high praise indeed.⁴⁴ Gunn's locomotives had been ordered and delivered before Eaton took over his post at the Great Western, so he had no motive to exaggerate or falsify his judgment in order to vindicate the decision to buy them.

Following the sale of these two locomotives to the Great Western, Gunn delivered a series of locomotives to the Grand Trunk.⁴⁵ Two were delivered in November 1857, two more in March 1858, one in May, two in July, and another in September. These were all standard 4-4-0s of current Grand Trunk design. But there was also one sale to another railway, a very small (20 ton) rigid wheelbase 4-4-0 delivered in August 1858 to the Montreal and Bytown Ry. as its No. 2, "Grenville." This may well have been due to the Kinmond influence, as the Kinmond brothers' only sale of a locomotive other than to the Grand Trunk had been to this same small portage railway. The peculiar and undemanding nature of service on this line, which ferried steamboat passengers around a rapids in the Ottawa River on the Montreal to Ottawa route, enabled this Gunn locomotive to work longer than any other Canadian-built locomotive of the 1850s. His "Grenville" remained in service until 1910!⁴⁶ Unfortunately, patriotic enthusiasm saw it cut up for scrap in 1914.

Gunn appears to have tried for other customers. He is said to have written one of his suppliers, a man in Cleveland, Ohio, in January 1858 that he had material on hand to build two

locomotives for the Port Hope & Lindsay.⁴⁷ This was a deal that never materialized. This letter mentions two locomotives delivered to the Grand Trunk (the two delivered in November 1857), two more "finished" and four "about half built." But as we have seen the Grand Trunk was already, in October 1857, refusing to honor its agreement with Gunn. The Kingston locomotive works made a regular practice of simply closing up when it had no orders in hand, but Gunn was not in a position to do this. Although keeping his works going meant that he had to meet his payroll (in 1858 he was the second-largest employer in Hamilton, after the Great Western Railway),⁴⁸ it was the only possible way he could hope to generate some revenue. Closing the shops would end his payroll obligations, but he still had to pay his finance charges and his suppliers. It seems clear that Gunn chose to finish the locomotives he had in hand, hoping he would be able to sell them (what customer would pay for an unfinished locomotive?).

The local credit reporter saw Gunn's difficulty and informed New York in February, 1858, that he "is understood to be embarrassed to a considerable extent at present."⁴⁹ The reason was clear, and for the most part beyond anything Gunn could do or undo: "the expenses of his business have been large, and the depression in trade and the money market has affected him." By May the report was that "his work is at a standstill," and after his bankruptcy in March, 1859, "All to pieces. Worth nothing."⁵⁰ Gunn had been caught in that bane of nineteenth century manufacturers, a credit crisis; he had started his business on credit but couldn't meet his obligations when his customers wouldn't pay him. His collateral in machinery and inventory (the finished locomotives and whatever material he had in hand for

making more) was intrinsically valuable, but almost impossible to turn into cash in the depressed conditions of the time. It is curious and interesting that British observers familiar with the engineering industry in their own country at that time were astonished that the American locomotive manufacturing trade was so dependent on credit: "With the exception of the workmen, who, we believe, are almost always paid in cash . . . the system is one of credit throughout."⁵¹ Gunn was not alone, of course. The Hamilton Daily Spectator noted on March 30, 1859, just as Gunn's affairs reached their nadir:⁵²

SPRING PROSPECTS. - Commercial and
Agricultural. - . . . The country has just
passed through two years of unexampled
financial, commercial and agricultural
depression. Never before in the history of
Canada has been witnessed so total a
prostration of every vital interest.

This simply meant that Gunn's creditors and friends were in no position to help him survive the crisis.

He tried his best. In November he wrote Walter Shanly, the Grand Trunk's General Manager, begging him to take one completed engine and another "that can be ready in a month" for £3,000 each.⁵³ "The sale would be a great convenience, in fact I am fearfully hard up or I would not offer them to you as I do." In January he wrote a creditor, "I really cannot send you any money at present for I have not got any." He went on:

I have two finished locomotives in the shops
and they are shut up since Christmas and all
the hands paid off.

(This certainly seems to indicate that the two engines, the last ones Gunn built, were finished by the end of 1858. Both were sold, in March 1859 and May 1860, by his creditors.)

Gunn had some kind of falling out with William Kinmond, his chief engineer, complaining that Kinmond left him in November 1858, though we find Kinmond involved in getting one of the finished locomotives out to show it to a buyer in March 1859.⁵⁴ Gunn complained to Premier John A. Macdonald that he feared Kinmond, "who has been my Superintendent of Locomotive Works," would try to patent a locomotive truck "got up at our works . . . from an idea of my own . . . altered and amended from time to time by the Locomotive Foreman Peter Thornton and another man . . ."⁵⁵ Perhaps the Kinmonds were not partners, because they seem to have slid out leaving all the bills with Gunn, and they were reported to have a small business cutting files in Dundas after Gunn's locomotive works closed. William Kinmond did eventually obtain a patent for the locomotive truck, but on an application made from Montreal in June 1869.⁵⁶ One wonders to what purpose, since he, like Gunn, was by then ten years out of the locomotive business.

Although Gunn was offended that William Kinmond (who, we notice, still had a key to the factory) opened it up and took out an unsold engine, he cooperated in the sale.⁵⁷ The engine already belonged to Burton & Sadlier, in spite of Gunn's ingenious effort to claim it had an additional value of \$4000 which he could assign to other creditors. Burton and N. Merritt in addition held the big mortgage on his property registered in January 1859, thus beating his old friends Alfred Booker and Edward Browne to the punch in a race for his assets, his assignment of the property to them only being registered on March

8th. So the sale of this engine to the Welland Railway did little to help Gunn.

Ironically, this locomotive was a great success. Francis Shanly (who must have known Gunn from the days when both were involved in land surveys for the Great Western) had already done some business with Gunn.⁵⁸ Now as Chief Engineer for the Welland Ry. he purchased Gunn's locomotive after receiving an enthusiastic appraisal of it from his Locomotive Superintendent on February 3rd, 1859. Here I take the liberty of correcting the superintendent's colorful spelling and punctuation.⁵⁹

On the 2nd Inst. I inspected two Locomotive Engines and Tenders at Mr. Gunn's Works, Hamilton. . . . for Workmanship and good fitting they cannot be beat. The Boilers are well made, furnished with gauge cocks also glass water gauge . . . The Engine Truck is Side Bearing, in addition to [the] Engine Truck is a Safety Frame in case of running off the track it will keep the truck square [this must be the idea that Gunn feared Kinmond would patent] . . . The Main Cranks of [the] Driving Axle has on each a safety band of Iron [which] I consider is a good Improvement, it takes the jar and prevents the crank from Breaking. I am sure the Engines will give any Co[mpany] satisfaction.

In service as Welland Ry. No. 4 "Erie," this locomotive had the most total mileage on the railway by the end of 1860, and had, since it was in operation, averaged 350 more miles per month than the three smaller American-built locomotives which preceeded it into service.⁶⁰

Now Gunn had a masterful and creative idea, which deserved more response than it got. He had been involved with the MacNabs, John Young, Jasper Gilkinson, and others in 1847 in incorporating a joint-stock company, the Burlington Bay Dock and Ship-Building Company.⁶¹ The act of incorporation permitted the firm to "construct a harbor, wharf, with a wet-dock, dry-dock, and railway . . ."[meaning a marine railway, for hauling ships out for repairs]. But the Hamilton entrepreneurs who proposed the company seemingly were too busy with their other affairs to get it going. In April 1853 they secured another act from the provincial parliament to "remove doubts" about the company "by reason of failure of the persons therein mentioned . . . to cause Directors to be elected . . ."⁶² In spite of this evidence of good intentions, the company still remained inactive and unborn in 1859. No doubt the principal reason was the scarcity of capital, combined with the great reluctance of those Canadians of the 1850s who did have capital to invest it in anything so risky as joint-stock companies or industrial enterprises. Gunn appears to have been the moving spirit in an attempted revival of this enterprise, re-oriented to take over his locomotive works and, with sufficient new capital, make a success of heavy engineering manufacture.

Beginning on November 17, 1858, and running to March 24, 1859, The Daily Spectator and Journal of Commerce of Hamilton carried a long advertisement, "PROSPECTUS of the BURLINGTON BAY DOCK & SHIP BUILDING CO."⁶³ The advertisement frankly admitted that the company's charter had been issued "some years ago" and the business not started. But now "a singularly favorable opportunity is offered for carrying its purposes into operation." And what was that singularly favorable opportunity? It was, of

course, Daniel Gunn's singular bad luck. "D. C. GUNN, Esq., being willing to dispose of the premises at present occupied by him as Locomotive, Engine and Forge Works." The text then describes Gunn's works, 15½ acres site, a substantial stone building 440 by 66 feet, a wooden building 100 by 50 feet, an engine house, a powerful driving engine, shafting, "every description of tool requisite for the construction of all kinds of machinery," all of which "is in the best working order."

One great advantage of the present enterprise is that no preliminary expenses are necessary, all the requisite machinery and tools being upon the premises and in the most perfect working order; a number of first-class locomotives and other machinery have already been turned out, a business is actually established, a set of excellent mechanics are now working on the premises; nothing is wanted, in fact, beyond capital sufficient to carry on the business . . .

[emphasis mine]

The promoters proposed to limit the company to the manufacture of machinery to begin with. They proposed to issue 4,000 shares valued at \$50 each for a total capital stock of \$200,000 and pointed out that investors would not have to put up all of this money at once. Gunn offered to sell his works to the new company for \$90,000 ("which is less than the actual cost"), "of which sum \$30,000 to \$35,000 would be taken up at once in paid-up shares." This, I presume, is the value that the promoters were willing to assign Gunn for the business assets he was making available.

This would leave only \$31,000 or \$36,000 to be paid immediately in cash and short-dated bonds, while:

\$24,000 would remain payable by installments of \$4,000 per ann., with interest half-yearly, from 1st May 1858, that being the balance of the original purchase money of the premises. [emphasis mine]

Poor Gunn had made no headway at all in paying off his original mortgage! But this is not surprising, really, considering the difficulties he had encountered. The Burlington Bay Dock and Ship Building Company promoters go on to envisage that allowing for the value of the existing premises and so on, only about \$20 per share would remain to be called in over the following twelve months "part of which, if necessary, could be temporarily borrowed under powers contained in the charter."

The prospectus takes a rather rosy view, and in fact the company failed to get started on this occasion as well. But it was a logical attempt to solve Gunn's most serious problem:

The experience of Mr. GUNN during the past two years has clearly proved that, with a paid-up capital of even \$90,000, profits in excess of ten per cent. could easily have been obtained from the Works as they now exist.

This proposal and its wording show that Gunn's contemporaries continued to respect his ability and judgment in spite of his misfortune. More than that, it shows that the business community understood his problem to be an inadequate capital base, and a willingness to try a different organizational form to solve that problem. The sentence quoted above, that Gunn's experience shows a good possibility of profit with adequate capital, is followed by this one:

That such should have been the result of his experience, during a period of universal commercial depression, affords the best reason for anticipating that a similar rate of profit can at least be declared upon an increased amount of paid-up capital.

But apparently this is Gunn's optimism reflected in the prospectus, and not enough people were willing to put up enough money to give Gunn this second chance. Some of his fellow promoters were men who made their own money in that greatest of all Canadian industries, land speculation; and there is a reasonable suspicion that two of the most prominent among them had used clients' funds for their speculations.⁶⁴ With such examples of easier money to be had, it probably should not surprise us that few wished to take shares in a relatively untried economic activity. Even the prospectus concluded with a reversal of the usual emphasis on private gain first for public good second: " . . . under the conviction that the investment will not only prove of the greatest advantage to the city, but will likewise, under judicious management, yield remunerative dividends to the shareholders."

Gunn's own investors lost. It seems the 1859 assignment to Burton & Sadlier was in security for "a subscription in cash to start the works," possibly to keep him going during his final crisis.⁶⁵ An 1861 letter from Burton, Sadlier & Bruce to John Young mentions "Mr. Gunn's unfortunate affairs" and gives particulars of three subscribers who lost heavily. M/s Brown & Adam paid \$10,000, had to accept \$625; Kerr, Browne & Co. paid \$750, accept \$50; another firm the same. Note that these persons only got back 1/16th and 1/15th of their investment.

What of those skilled workers, some of whom may have followed the Kinmonds from Dundee to Montreal and Hamilton? One of them at least was working in 1860 at a locomotive factory that was selling locomotives to the Grand Trunk. But he was in Birkenhead, England at the "Canada Works" put up by Peto & Brassey specifically to manufacture railway plant for their Grand Trunk contract. He wrote to protest claims that the Great Western Railway's first shops-built locomotive of that year was the first locomotive ever built in Hamilton.⁶⁶ "E.M." wrote that "several of the best engines now running" on the Grand Trunk and Great Western were "built entirely at Hamilton," and he not only lived there at the time but "made the greater part of the working drawings myself for their construction." At Gunn's peak of operation in 1858, some 123 persons identified themselves in the city directory of that year as working for Gunn's Factory.⁶⁷ I can't identify "E.M." among these, and indeed this list clearly understates the actual total. For example, 5 Gunn employees are listed as boarding at the Castle Inn, Wentworth and the G.W.R. tracks - right across from the factory. So most likely the machinist living there (with no employer listed) was also a Gunn employee, and there are a number of moulders, boiler makers, machinists, and engine fitters listed in that directory who also give no employer. Many of them resided in the vicinity of the factory. They could have been unemployed, or in the G.W.R. shops, but a few must have worked for Gunn, since in May 1858 he reported himself that he had "say 140 men and boys" then employed. The probably imperfect list that can be made from the 1858 city directory does highlight some interesting points about the locomotive builders of the 1850s:

-- Gunn

Gunn's employees in 1858

Supervisors: 6

(Gunn; William L. Kinmond, engineer; 4 foremen - Peter Thornton, Alexander Burns - boiler dept., George Elder - blacksmiths' dept., William Lauder, Sr. - turners' dept.)

Clerical: 2

(bookkeeper, 1; storekeeper, 1)

Skilled Labour: 92

(pattern maker, 1; carpenter, 1; joiner, 3; turner, 9; planer, 4; brass founder, 1; brass moulder, 2; engine smith, 1; engine fitter, 35; iron finisher, 2; striker, 1; blacksmith, 13; boilermaker, 14; machinist, 3; file cutter, 1; nut cutter, 1)

Unskilled Labour: 21

(screwdriver, 2; laborer, 19)

The obvious points which this list reveals are that there was a very low ratio of supervisors to productive workers, and a very high ratio of skilled workers to unskilled. These were typical features of steam locomotive production throughout the North American historical experience.⁶⁸ Steam locomotives were never mass-produced (indeed, only in the twentieth century and even then exceptionally did Canadian builders get orders for as many as fifty or more identical locomotives in one batch; compare this with automobiles or sewing machines where a production run in the thousands became normal). Furthermore, making many of the component parts of a locomotive demanded a high level of individual skill in the pattern shop, the foundry, the forge shop, the tool and die shop, and the light and heavy machine shops. Men with the required level of skills were most

often scarce, correspondingly well-paid (in the nineteenth century, usually getting at least double the wages of unskilled workers), and accustomed to working with a great deal of initiative. The fact of "E.M." working for Gunn in Hamilton and two years later for Brassey in Birkenhead illustrates too how mobile such highly-skilled workers could be.

Gunn attempted to get employment with either railway or government in the following years. A Hamilton acquaintance reports him "still doing nothing" in October 1860,⁶⁹ but by January 1861 he had at least a temporary job with the Great Western Ry., organizing the paperwork concerning its construction which had been "left in a jumble" by the English accountants.⁷⁰ This was followed by a brief stint as G.W.R. agent in Sarnia, from which he was transferred to Oswego, New York, as the Great Western's agent there.⁷¹

His period of business failure in Hamilton also coincided with many personal difficulties, his first wife, eldest son, a daughter, and his mother all died in the locomotive building era.⁷² He buried his second wife in Oswego in 1870.⁷³ In the 1860s and early 1870s he made a very minimal living in Oswego and tried for more suitable or at least better-paying work in Hamilton, Toronto, Kingston, Port Arthur, Buffalo, Cleveland, Duluth - and other places.⁷⁴ He wrote John A. Macdonald seeking appointment as postmaster, customs collector, vice-consul;⁷⁵ he applied in desperation for an advertised position as warden of the Kingston penitentiary, not seriously expecting to be considered.⁷⁶ In his last years, his diaries reflect an immense frustration.⁷⁷ "I am too old and too slow. He wants an active Young Man he says." - ". . . do not see the shadow of a chance of any employment." - ". . . do not really know which way to turn or

what to do for a living . . ." - "I am almost driven to madness by my various disappointments as to getting something to do . . . I am ashamed to meet parties in the Street that I.O. a few \$ to, I have disappointed them & broken promises so often . . ."

The most revealing of these entries is one he wrote for April 7, 1870: ". . . at various places about employment. No shadow of a chance. I really do not know how to occupy my time, I feel so mortified to think that I, a thorough man of business, able and willing to make myself useful can not get anything to do through the influence of my numerous old friends in Canada and here." [emphasis mine] Daniel Gunn was indeed a "thorough man of business," with proven ability - but unlucky in the timing of his biggest venture. In the summer of 1873 he gave up the effort, retired at age 62, and returned to Hamilton to live with his son.⁷⁸ Gunn died in 1876. His former factory was sold in 1863 to the Ontario Packing House, which processed pork in the 1860s.⁷⁹ From 1885, a firm named Waddell and Carpenter moulded sewer pipe in the building.⁸⁰ The old stone building was still standing in recent years, much disguised by modern siding covering the original stone and brick.⁸¹

A mellowing Daniel Gunn in his last years recorded a repeat trip on New Year's Day 1874: ". . . walked with Willie [his young son] high up the Mountain and had a very fine view of the City, a wonderful growth since I first saw it from the same Hill in 1832." And a year before he died on 19 Sept. 1876, he reports another trip, ". . . the day very fine, had a drive to Lands' Old Wharf & to the old Locomotive work shops, wonderfull changes all around."⁸² His locomotives turned out to be as good as or better than any others supplied to the Grand Trunk in the 1850s. The mileage figures supplied in Samuel Keefer's reports

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provide a very interesting comparison. Gunn's locomotives averaged more miles of service per month for the calendar year 1860 than those of any other Canadian supplier or than the Birkenhead products, and their monthly average over their entire service life up to December 31, 1860 was even more favorable.

Grand Trunk Ry. locomotive mileage⁸³

| | aver. monthly miles/loco: year 1860 | service life (to 31.XII.60) |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 12 Gunn-built locomotives | 1524.46 | 1537.14 |
| 16 Kingston-built locomotives | 1460.63 | 1127.65 |
| 50 "Canada Works"-built loco.s | 1435.24 | 1322.60 |
| 6 James Good-built locomotives | 1095.88 | 669.58 |
| 10 Kinmond (Montreal)-built loco.s | 760.19 | 896.14 |

So Daniel Gunn was probably right when he assessed his experience to John Young in 1861:⁸⁴

. . . There is one thing however that I would prefer above all such work and that is that . . .

I had the Stock all taken and my workshops in operation. Vessels and propellers are wanted as well as all sorts of Engines & Machinery and from what I made while the shops were working I know it would be a profitable investment for stockholders and of vast importance to the country and to Hamilton in particular[;] but I should be very sorry to start it again unless the premises and

tools were all paid for--it was the amount due and falling due on them that ruined me. The business itself is a good and profitable one, with Capital there is no better in Canada

Gunn was a manufacturer at heart, in an age when the smart money was in land speculation and other deals that might have been equally risky, but promised unequally big rewards. Gunn saw the opportunity in manufacturing machinery, but couldn't sell his vision to sufficient others to make it come true for him in the 1850s.

Tentative List of Locomotives built by Gunn

note: serial numbers are unofficial, but begin with 13 as it is generally believed that Gunn continued the Kinmond works numbers.

13 Grand Trunk Ry. 168, "Ham" Apr. 1857 4-4-0 15x21, 66

14 Grand Trunk Ry. 169, "Shem" Apr. 1857 4-4-0 15x21, 66

15 Grand Trunk Ry. 170 "Japeth" Apr. 1857 4-4-0 15x21, 66

weight: 59,600 lbs. All three withdrawn by 1874

16 Great Western Ry. 87 "Achilles" Aug. 1857 0-6-0 16x22, 60

17 Great Western Ry. 88 "Bacchus" Sep. 1857 0-6-0 16x22, 60

rebuilt 4-4-0 by 1860; renumbered 1862: 56, 57;

rebuilt 1870; withdrawn by 1873

18 Grand Trunk Ry. 195 Nov. 1857 4-4-0 15x21, 66

19 Grand Trunk Ry. 196 Nov. 1857 4-4-0 15x21, 66

weight: 59,600 lbs. withdrawn by 1874

20 Grand Trunk Ry. 197 Mar. 1858 4-4-0 15½x21, 66

21 Grand Trunk Ry. 198 Mar. 1858 4-4-0 15½x21, 66

22 Grand Trunk Ry. 199 May 1858 4-4-0 15½x21, 66

23 Grand Trunk Ry. 200 July 1858 4-4-0 15½x21, 66

24 Grand Trunk Ry. 201 July 1858 4-4-0 15½x21, 60

weight: 59,600 lbs. all withdrawn by 1874

25 Montreal & Bytown 2 "Grenville" 8/1858 4-4-0 12x18, 57

rigid frame (no truck), 20 tons, withdrawn 1910(sc.'14)

26 Welland Ry. 4 "Erie" Mar. 1859 4-4-0 15½x24, 66

1860 re-named "Amazon." withdrawn by 1873

27 Grand Trunk Ry. 202 Sep. 1858 4-4-0 15½x21, 60

weight: 59,600 lbs. withdrawn by 1874

28 Grand Trunk Ry. 212 May 1860 4-4-0 15x21, 66

weight: 49,600 lbs. withdrawn by 1874

Principal Source: William D. Edson with Raymond F. Corley,
"Locomotives of the Grand Trunk Railway," Railroad History 147,
Autumn 1982, pp. 42-183.

Board of Railway Commissioners of Canada; Report of Samuel
Keefer, Esq.; Inspector of Railways, for the years 1859 and 1860.

Robert R. Brown, "Early Canadian Rolling Stock," Railway and
Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin No. 56, October 1941, pp.
30-54.

The Francis Shanly papers, Provincial Archives of Ontario, refer
to 16, 17, 26.

Footnotes - "A Thorough Man of Business": Daniel Gunn

1 Acknowledgement - I am very grateful to the generous help and sharing of information on Daniel Gunn given by Mr. Don Oliphant of Hamilton. Gunn's biographical data may be found in the article, "Daniel Charles Gunn," Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, T. M. Bailey, ed. (Hamilton, 1981), vol. I, pp. 88-89. Hereafter cited as Dict.Ham.Biog.

2 Daniel Gunn diaries for 1870-75, entry 1 Jan. 1874. Hereafter cited as "Gunn diaries." These diaries are in the possession of Gunn's great-grand-daughter, Mrs. Margaret Ambrose of Hamilton, who most generously permitted me to examine them through her nephew John Evans. I am indebted to them both for this courtesy.

3 Hamilton Public Library, Special Collections, John Young Papers, pp. 181-183, Gunn to John Young, 17 Jan. 1861. Hereafter cited as HPL, Young Papers.

4 Dict.Ham.Biog., loc. cit.

5 "Michael Wilson Browne," Dict.Ham.Biog., I, p. 28.

6 "D. C. Gunn," Dict.Ham.Biog.; Don Oliphant, "The Man Who Built Locomotives," Hamilton Spectator, 15 Jan. 1977.

7 Upper Canada, Queen's Bench Reports, vol. 10, U.C.R. 461, Gunn v. Dickson, Playter, Elgie & Bell.

8 Public Archives of Ontario [hereafter cited as PAO], Jasper Tough Gilkison papers, printed "Address of the Directors of the Great Western Rail Road . . . Meeting . . ."

9 PAO, 1851 Canada West Census, microfilm reel C-989, f. 91.

10 Public Archives of Canada [hereafter cited as PAC], MG 24, D 16, Buchanan Papers, vol. 5, Gunn to C. J. Brydges, 9 August 1853, pp. 2832-2834.

11 HPL, Special Collections, microfilm reel #1. This reel contains copies of Hamilton city directories from 1853 to 1869.

12 PAC, MG 24, D 16, Buchanan Papers, pp. 2832-2839.

13 Ibid., 2832-2834.

14 Ibid., 2835.

15 Ibid., 2837.

16 Ibid., 2837-2839.

17 Ibid., 2839.

18 Notice, for example, Gunn's advertisement in The Globe, Toronto, 2 Jan. 1857 (and other dates), offering locomotives, high pressure engines, boilers, and "a great variety of articles suitable for Stationary Engines, Saw, Grist, and Planing Mills," using this name for his business.

19 Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), p. 196; Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914 (Montreal, 1979), p. 14; "James Williams," Dict.Ham.Biog.

20 Abstract entries for Lot 10, Concession 1, Barton Municipality, fol. 40, in Land Registry Office, Registry Division of Wentworth, Hamilton. Hereafter cited as "Land Registry Records, Wentworth County."

21 Note a contemporary map of Hamilton showing "Gunn's Locomotive Works." Hamilton, C.W., drawn by G. S. Rice, lithographed by Endicott & Co., N.Y., 1859. There is a copy in the HPL Special Collections.

22 PAO, Gilkison papers, undated clipping from Hamilton Spectator reporting meeting held 11 June 1855.

23 The contemporary R. G. Dun & Co. credit reports on Gunn are quoted by Katz, op.cit., pp. 196 and 199, and by Palmer, op.cit. I have not been able to see the originals.

- 24 Land Registry Records, Wentworth County.
- 25 HPL, Young Papers, pp. 2042-3, 2080, 2084, 3004, 3011-12, 3014, 3017-18, 3021-26.
- 26 Ibid., pp. 105-107, 3017-3018.
- 27 Ibid., p. 3014.
- 28 Hamilton Spectator, 17 Nov. 1858 and following dates.
- 29 Katz, op.cit., p. 199.
- 30 The late Robert R. Brown quoted a number of letters from a Daniel Gunn letterbook or letterbooks which he saw while writing his article, "Canadian Locomotive Builders, Part II - Dan. C. Gunn, Hamilton, 1857-60," Canadian Railway Historical Association, Bulletin, c. Jan. 1954. Diligent searching for six years has not located the originals, but I have confirmed two of his letters from other collections in the PAC and PAO, and so believe that he did see an authentic letterbook. This letter, Gunn to Allan MacNab,
- 31 Daily Globe, Toronto, ad. running 24 Sept. 1856 through December.
- 32 HPL, Special Collections, microfilm city directories, 1856 edition.
- 33 Ibid., 1858 edition.
- 34 R. G. Dun & Co. credit reports, quoted Katz, op.cit., p. 199.
- 35 PAC, RG 30, vol. 1002, Grand Trunk Ry., Minute Book, London Board, pp. 388-9, due to "urgent need for locomotives" authorized the Canadian Board to see if locomotives were available from firms in Canada and the U.S.A., 4 Feb. 1857. Provincial Parliament of Canada, 1857, Sessional Papers, vol. 15, appendix 6, notes Grand Trunk Ry. estimates 30 freight engines at £2,500 each needed to complete its works. The Kingston, Ont., Daily

News, 3 and 4 June 1857, editorials "Canadian Locomotives and the Grand Trunk," refers to a public advertisement by the G.T.Ry. inviting tenders for 12 locomotives and rumors that the contract is to be given to a U.S. firm.

36 PAC, RG 30, vol. 1000, Grand Trunk Ry., Minute Book No. 1, Canadian Board, p. 167, 30 Oct. 1857.

37 Ibid., p. 169, 25 Nov. 1857.

38 Ibid., p. 167. See RG 30, vol. 1002, p. 101 (5 Sept. 1854); vol. 1003, pp. 122-130, 272, 295, 301-2, 307, and 309 for rather more sympathetic treatment of British locomotive builders by the London Board during 1860-61.

39 Upper Canada, Queen's Bench Reports, vol. 20, U.C.R. 60 Burton et al. v. Bellhouse; and vol. 20, U.C.R. 555, Bellhouse v. Gunn.

40 Grand Trunk Ry. records show dates locomotives went into service. See W. D. Edson and R. F. Corley, "Locomotives of the Grand Trunk," Railroad History 147, Autumn 1982, passim. These are not necessarily the date when locomotives were manufactured, especially if there were problems of payment, shipping, or manufacture. The Hamilton Spectator, 12 Nov. 1856, reports "Shem" completed.

41 Hamilton Spectator, 12 Nov. 1856; Kingston, Ont., Daily News, 22 Nov. 1856 and 2 Dec. 1856.

42 R. R. Brown, "Canadian Locomotive Builders," op.cit. See also Eaton letter cited in next footnote.

43 PAO, Francis Shanly Papers, MU 2748, Box 81, Series A: Rich. Eaton to F. Shandly (sic), 25 March 1859.

44 Richard Eaton, b. England (? , date unknown), Locomotive Supt. of the G.W.Ry., 1858-62; of the Grand Trunk Ry., 1862-72; d. Montreal 29 Aug. 1878; was issued 9 patents by the Province and then Dominion of Canada between 1859-1877.

[Welland Ry.] £130.9.6 for "putting new malleable iron
----(illegible)", certified correct by F. Shanly. The article on
Shanly in Dict.Ham.Biog. mentions his G.W.Ry. land surveys.

59 PAO, F. Shanly Papers, MU 2748, Box 81, Series A, A. Wilson,
Loco. Foreman, to F. Shanly, Chief Engineer, 3 Feb. 1859. Wilson
gives the dimensions of the two Gunn engines examined as if they
were identical, although the printed reports give them slightly
different dimensions. Wilson reported inside cylinders (as on
all of Gunn's locomotives - this made it too costly to convert
them when the owner railways converted to standard gauge in the
early 1870s) 15½" diam. x 21" stroke; cast [iron] driving wheels,
wrought [iron] tyres, 66" diam.; driving axles 6½" diam. at
bearings; truck wheels 33" diam.; boiler 10' 9" long x 3' 9½"
diam. with 160 tubes, 1 7/8" diam.; firebox 3'8" x 3'8" x 4'7"
height above fire bars; heating surface total 953 sq. ft.; tender
tank capy. 1600 gals.

60 PAO, Board of Railway Commissioners of Canada; Report of
Samuel Keefer, Inspector of Railways, Canada, for 1860, p. 185.

61 Statutes of Canada, 1847, 10-11 Vict., cap. 84.

62 Ibid., 1853, 16 Vict., cap. 112.

63 Hamilton Spectator, 17 Nov. 1858, running until 24 March
1859. The wording of some passages in this advertisement
suggests that Daniel Gunn was their author.

64 See Dict.Ham.Biog. entries for Gunn's fellow promoters such
as Alfred Booker, Colin Ferrie, Jasper Gilkison, Richard Juson,
Archibald Kerr, the MacNab brothers, John Young, and others.
Note the suggestion that Ferrie, chairman of the Burlington Bay
Dock and Shipbuilding Co. (and first mayor of Hamilton in 1847)
apparently used bank funds for his private land speculations;
notice also the account of Allan MacNab's land and business
dealings.

65 HPL, Young Papers, Burton, Sadlier & Bruce to Young, 1 Aug. 1861, pp. 3030-3031.

66 E.M., "Locomotives in Canada," The Engineer, 16 March 1860, p. 173, referring to "Canadian-Built Locomotives," The Engineer, 9 March 1860, p. 155. The Engineer has a description of "The 'Canada Works' at Birkenhead," 22 Nov. 1861, p. 309.

67 HPL, microfilm city directories, 1858 ed.

68 John H. White, A Short History of American Locomotive Builders in the Steam Era (Washington, 1982), p. 9.

69 HPL, Young Papers, James McIntyre to Young, 11 Oct. 1860, pp. 1512-1519.

70 Ibid., Gunn to Young, 17 Jan. 1861, pp. 181-183.

71 Ibid., Gunn to Young, 24 June 1871, pp. 184-187, from Oswego, "I have now been here a week transferred from Sarnia . . ."

72 Ibid., James McIntyre to Young, 6 Dec. 1860, tells him about death and funeral of Alfred Gunn (the eldest son); Gunn to Young, 17 Jan. 1861, pp. 181-183, acknowledges condolences on death of Gunn's mother, now his son Alfred: "poor fellow he died quite contented and happy feeling that he was going to a better world, where he would meet his dear Mother & sister . . . the little Boys and Myself miss him very much . . ."

73 Gunn diaries, 15 Oct. 1870 (and funeral 18 Oct. 1870).

74 Gunn diaries, many entries, e.g. 21 May 1870, leaving Oswego by ship to Port Dalhousie to seek work in Toronto, Hamilton, and if unsuccessful, to Buffalo, Cleveland, and Duluth. He tried shipping, insurance, selling newspaper subscriptions, dealing in tea and coffee, agencies for various firms, managing in a bank, dealing in grain, etc.

75 PAC, John A. Macdonald Papers, Letter Book 6, p. 74; 7, pp. 365-6; 11, pp. 496 and 538; and vol. 243A/244, pp. 109453-4.

76 Gunn diaries, 2, 3, and 9 May 1870: ". . . no chance for wardenship of Kingston Penitentiary, hardly expected there would be but thought I might as well ask for it as it kept me before my friends."

77 Gunn diaries, various entries, esp. 10 March 1870, 29 March 1870, 31 March 1870, 20 April 1870 for direct quotations here.

78 Ralph Leeming Gunn (26 Dec. 1846 - 3 Oct. 1918), at that time a clerk in the Great Western Ry. audit dept., but shortly afterwards a partner in a Hamilton firm of chartered accountants. See HPL, microfilm city directories; Gunn family monuments, Christ Church Cathedral cemetery.

79 Don Oliphant, op.cit.; Hamilton Spectator, 2 Feb. 1865, and 9 Aug. 1865.

80 "Robert Russell Waddell," Dict.Ham.Biog., I, 207.

81 Don Oliphant, op.cit. I am grateful to Mr. Oliphant for taking me to the site and showing me the building.

82 Gunn diaries, 1 Jan. 1874; 22 July 1875.

83 Samuel Keefer report, op.cit., pp. 168-177.

84 HPL, Young Papers, Gunn to Young, 17 Jan. 1861, pp. 181-183.

April 4 1914

Saturday Musings



Is it possible that the long winter months are coming to a close, and that the vernal days of spring have returned, with their milder atmosphere, budding trees, the city gardener's bulbs in the parks peeping up through the frozen earth to catch a gleam of sunshine, and the chirpy robins twittering their song of delight that for the next few months at least the Lady of the Snows will be on her best behavior and make us dear old town once more a desirable place in which to live? The old stagers will remember the long ago when it was winter for three-fourths of the year even in Western Canada, and the other few weeks or months were divided between spring and autumn, with a few warm days sandwiched in to make them believe that summer had come. Probably we didn't feel the cold in our youth like we do now that the years have come upon us; for you remember the sleigh rides when the thermometer had dropped down to almost Manitoba depths and your nose and ears would tingle. Ah! those happy days of youth that have passed forever; we can only realize them as a dream, or live them over again in watching the enjoyment of the young with whom we come in daily contact. But it is not to be all sunshine yet, for the closing days of March, with its cold winds and occasional outbursts of temper, and April, with its tears to brighten up the grass and bring life into the bulbs that have been snuggling down in mother earth during the long winter months, are being heard from. The weather is about as changeable as is our humanity, and while we may be able to control our own actions, it is a blessing that we can have no hand in shaping the seasons. It is a grand old world which has been given to us as a heritage, and it is up to us to make it bright, not only for ourselves, but for those with whom we come in daily contact. It has been a hard winter for those who have not been prepared for it. After several years of prosperity for the in-

Colonel Bertram, of Dundas, who is now living in Montreal, feels so much interest in the ancient history of Hamilton that he persuaded James Connell to write some reminiscences of the long ago, when Hamilton had its locomotive works and built Shem, Ham and Japhet, three locomotives for the Great Western railway. Later Bacchus and Achilles were built. Probably these five were the first locomotives built in Canada, although Mr. Connell speaks of a small shop in Toronto that built one or two locomotives about the same time. D. C. Gunn had a small engine shop down at the foot of Wentworth street before the Great Western road was built, and, having more ambition than capital, he started in to build railway locomotives, as there was no shop of that kind in Canada at that time. He built some twelve or fifteen engines, but as his plant was not equal to the work required it did not prove profitable. Mr. Connell was foreman of the works, and as his lieutenants he had a number of very able machinists. The panic of 1857 came sweeping over Canada as well as the United States, and as there was no protective duty in those days to help the infant industry, Mr. Gunn had to close down, losing about everything he had invested as well as the labor of years. Like an honest man, Mr. Gunn protected the men who worked for him, and every one got to the last cent what was coming to him. Those were dark days in Hamilton as well as everywhere in Canada. The little flurry of the past winter is not to be compared with what the workmen of nearly sixty years ago had to pass through. Not many of the old-timers who were born in the early fifties, when the Great Western railway was built, are living now, but the few who are left will remember the men named by Mr. Connell in his brief, but very interesting reminiscence.

Montreal, March 11, 1914.

Mr. Butler, editor Saturday Musings, Hamilton Spectator.
I am enclosing you a letter from Mr. James Connell, of Kingston, Ont., and for your information would state that Mr. Connell was foreman in our works at Dundas for over thirty years. Since his retirement he has lived in Kingston, where his son, Dr. J. C. Connell, dean of Queen's university, is now living.
When in Kingston the other day I called upon my foreman and had a conversation about his early history. The enclosed letter is a production from him, which I thought would be of interest to you, and that might

"77" FOR COLDS, INFLUENZA, COUGHS, SORE THROAT GRIP

One dose of Humphreys' "Seventy-seven" taken at the first sneeze or shiver, at the first feeling of having taken cold, is worth a dozen doses taken, after your bones begin to ache, after the cold runs into Grip, becomes stubborn and hangs on—when it may take longer to break up.

Pleasant pellets, ready to take, handy to carry, two sizes, 25c. and \$1.00—at all drug stores or mailed.

Humphreys' Homeo. Medicine Co., 155 William street, New York. Advertisment.

than I. That was fifty-eight years ago.

W. L. Kinmond was superintendent. He went around in a fine black coat and silk hat. Peter Thornton was foreman in the erecting shop. His coat was always off, and he was among the men. Wm. Lauder was in charge of the lathes and rated one himself, a plan I found, in later years, was not commendable. Alex. Burns looked after the boiler shop and always helped with the flanging, all hammer work at that time. I well remember one of the men, James Black, a real true sample of a Scotchman. I heard he was boiler inspector on the G. T. R. for many years, and I am sure the boilers were quite safe in his hands, for if any one violated a rule they might be sure there would be something doing. Sandy Cunningham looked after the tender department and worked the same as the other men. George Edwards worked a lathe like myself, and we were bed-fellows for a time. All those men were excellent workmen, but a little bit slower than the average Canadian.

In reference to the three engines I mentioned. They were all named in those days, the numbering having not yet started, Shem, Ham and Japheth. The next two that came out were named Achilles and Bacchus. That name was quite appropriate, as all those men I have mentioned could take a little drop. A Scotsman in those days was considered no good if he could not.

There has been a tremendous change in the design of the locomotive. They were mostly inside cylinders at that time, and you know what it meant to finish the cranks with only a compound rest worked with a ratchet from an overhead shaft. It was a long job, but we thought it was all right, as we did not know of any better. Six weeks was considered good time to get out one engine. Fifteen was the total output. That number would not keep going six weeks in Kingston.

One reason for the stoppage of the works was a commercial depression,

of date, of course.

One thing I ought to mention is the engine frames were boiler plate, with 34 to 4-inch oak between, closely riveted. It made a strong job, but would not do to-day. They did not have a molding shop, the castings being finished by Fisher & McQuiston; later L. A. & J. Sawyer; now Massey-Harris, I think.

There were a few locomotives built in Toronto a little earlier than the time I mentioned in Hamilton. James Good had a shop on Sherbourne street somewhere. It was in 1853, I think, that he built one which was used in hauling the first regular train in the province, the trip being made on May 16, 1853. Mr. Good turned out a few more after that. The names I remember were: Simcoe, Hercules, Samson, George Beatty and Cumberland. The two latter were used to draw the royal train when the Prince of Wales, the late King Edward, visited Canada in 1860. However, the business became a lost art previous to 1860 by the two shops I mention.

By this time lots of engines were coming in from the United States, and were a much better looking article, with a great deal of polishing, brass mountings and outside cylinders. Some were also coming from England. The men to run them. Some of the names I remember were: George Stephenson, Kinmond, Ruby Emerald, Sapphire, Caistor, Polux—the two latter were heavy engines for freight. I saw them pass the shop every day and in this way remembered the names. They went so slow in those days that no one was ever run over.

The Bacchus and Achilles were on the road between Hamilton and the Niagara Falls Bridge, then the Great Western. We could always tell when these two engines were coming, by the whistle. The boys were sure to be on the look-out. One would say, "I bored the cylinders;" another would claim the connecting rods, and the writer could swear to the crank pins, whistle and bell.

They had no system, whatever, no standard gauges, no time cards. Time was no object; in fact, if one got dry on a warm day, there was a hotel at the gate, and it was quite safe to slip out any time. I know it was a daily custom because I boarded at the place until I found a better one. I could relate some queer doings at that time, whisky was only fifty cents a gallon; but I won't say any more on that subject.

In speaking of William Lauder, he had three sons, William, David and Fergie, and I believe they moved to Montreal. I well remember there was a small creek near Barton and Wentworth street, we had to cross on a plank to reach the house. All that part of the city in those days was commons, with cattle feeding. We wore a rough lot of Scotsmen; but no matter what the conduct was during the week, they were always in the kirk on Sunday. There was a small frame church near the shop. I was Sunday school superintendent, session clerk and treasurer. The minister's name was Mason, and a fine fellow. We paid him all the collection, which was not much. I was under great temptation at that time. Everywhere I went the whisky was there, but I never once yielded to temptation, and

has been given to us. It is up to us to make it only for ourselves, but for those with whom we come in daily contact. It has been a hard winter for those who have not been prepared for it. After several years of prosperity for the in-

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I have given you a fair idea of how we did work at that time and compare it with the methods of to-day. Of course, it has taken over half a century to bring it about, and I would not venture to say what the next fifty years will do, but certainly, electricity will play an important part. But whether that will take the place of the heavy locomotives of the present day is doubtful.

JAMES CONNELL.

HAMILTON CONSERVATORY OF MUSIC

Wednesday, April 15, marks the closing of the spring term and the management and faculty have every reason to be satisfied with the attendance and general interest shown. The Easter vacation commences Good Friday extending to Tuesday morning, when the regular teaching will be resumed. February and March proved to be very full months for the recital hall—patrons expressing their approval and pleasure at the changes and improvements made in that department. The faculty and management look forward to a good summer term and trust that all students contemplating entering the school for this term may register promptly.

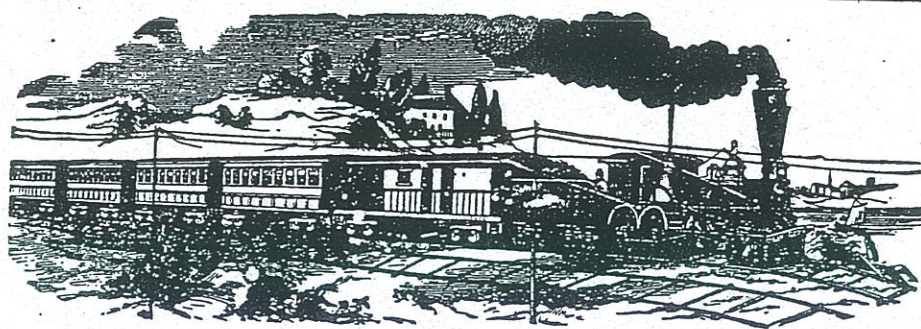
BIG DIAMOND DEAL

British Firm Buys 900,000 Carats at Cost of Million Pounds

London, April 3.—A great diamond deal has just been completed by L. Bretmeyer and company, London, who bought German South-west African uncut diamonds to the amount of 900,000 carats for approximately £1,000,000. Other large firms in England and on the continent have been competing for the diamonds, which are of moderate size, and in bulk would almost fill an ordinary travelling trunk. They will be forwarded to England in parcels labelled according to the size of the stones. Transactions of this kind are carried out for the cost of the estimated value of the rough diamonds. One, in German South-west Africa, in 1913, involved £12,000,000. The stones, which are sold through the government, are found by the shore, where they are knocked into shape by heavy winds which cause the sand to rub against them. After a gale they can be found on the surface.

MORE ICE THAN FOR 50 YEARS

Sarnia, April 3.—According to the oldest residents along the shore of Lake Huron, there is more ice in the lake now than has been seen at this season of the year in the past half-century. The lake was clear yesterday, and a few hours later the whole lake was covered as far as the eye could see. The ice was from ten to fourteen feet deep and grounded at the mouth of the river, thus causing a jam. The steamers Alpena and Seranton, which are now between here and Alpena, may have a severe time in getting to this port.



ONE OF THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVES BUILT IN HAMILTON

dustries of the city, the bottom seemed to drop out of everything, and the factories that could not find hours enough in the twenty-four to keep men and machinery busy had sudden to come to a halt, shortening up the hours of employment, and even cutting off one or two days in the week besides. The homes that were not prepared for the sudden change have had a hard time of it; and even those who had a balance in the savings bank to fall back upon have had to see it dwindling less and less as the weeks passed by. Let us hope that with the return of spring new life may come to the factories and workshops and that the wheels of industry may hum as cheerfully as ever. These hard times lessons seem to be needed periodically to straighten things out and teach us that the sun of prosperity pops behind a cloud now and then.

This is the season of the year when the rural school directors advertise for teachers for country schools. They expect the pedagogues to have first-class certificates, for which the directors offer the liberal salary ranging from \$400 a year to \$700. What an inducement for young men and young women to spend years in qualifying themselves for the high and responsible position of training the intellects and the morals of the future fathers and mothers of Canada! Hamilton pays a street laborer more money for a day's work when employed than is offered an educated young man or woman to wear their lives out in a school-room. The chauffeurs who drive the motor cars in our streets would not think of accepting \$75 a month to run a car. It is not very encouraging for one to acquire an education to become a teacher when brains are below par compared with untutored muscle. The country school director seems to have but little appreciation of the people to whom he entrusts the mental training of his children; and if he can only save a little on the school tax he does not bother his head how the teacher has to live. It is not much better in the towns and cities, though as a general thing school directors are more liberal in the matter of salaries than are their country cousins. Muscular labor can organize trade unions to better its condition, but modest brains has to run its chance and take whatever the directors choose to pay.

aid you in a write-up in the Spectator regarding the early history of locomotive manufacture in those years. Since I have received this letter I have met a number of the sons of the men mentioned in this correspondence here in Montreal. In most cases they are all doing well, and corroborate the statements made by Mr. Connell to myself. I might state that he is now in good health at the age of 81, and his recollection of events is clear and correct as regards the names and dates. Should you require any further detail I think probably I could look it up for you. This is a matter of history, and probably others in the city could freshen your memory. One gentleman I have in mind is Mr. W. A. Robinson, who, I believe, was superintendent of the old Great Western shops.

ALEX. BERTRAM.

Kingston, Ont., Feb. 4, 1914. Lieut. Col. A. Bertram:

Dear Sir: After we looked through the locomotive works in Kingston, on your recent visit, I was very forcibly reminded of the building of the first engines in Canada. Our attention was called to a few small locomotives under way, for the use of contractors in construction work, and they seemed to be about the same dimensions as the first locomotives built in Canada, in which I had a hand in building. This took place away back in 1853 and 1854, at the foot of Westworth street, Hamilton, Ont., in a long one-story building, owned by D. C. Gunn. I was fortunate in getting my first job in Canada with him, as he was just starting up, having three engines under way.

I took notice that the whole plant was old and badly used up, but later I found out that it was the whole outfit of a shop in Dundee, Scotland, most of which was poor. Some of the lathes had wooden beds and hand compound rests, one of which fell to my lot to work. What a contrast, coming from the best tool shops in Scotland! If I were to tell you that I was not homesick, it would be a lie. However, I got over that disease in a few months.

Along with the plant from Dundee, came a lot of men, mostly Scotsmen for all the different departments. I can name them all, but they must have all passed away by this time, as they were all much older

much, the same as exists at present, and want of capital. If I am not mistaken, the bank took over the last two or three engines that were finished. We all got our wages, but toward the end we had to wait six weeks on more than one occasion for our wages. It looked to me as though the bank advanced the money as soon as the engines were completed. Still, no one grumbled; but it was a lot of money when we got it. That would not work to-day. The average wage a good machinist got was \$1.50; a very few would go as high as \$2 per day (ten hours). But on the other hand, I have bought a pair of boots and a pair of overalls for \$3, and everything else in proportion.

I might give you one more reason for the stoppage of the concern—inferior work. You have sufficient knowledge to infer from the sort of plant they had what the work would be like. I know what came through my hands then would not pass now.

What a contrast there is to-day! When I look into the works in Kingston and see how the same work is finished now, and each time I notice some new device for increasing the output, many of which are furnished by your firm at Dundee, and some which the writer took part in constructing. You furnished tools to the Kingston locomotive works forty years ago. I tried to find some of them the other day, but was informed they had gone to the scrap pile, out-

To Absorb Freckles And Other Blemishes

Every spring numerous inquiries are made by girls seeking some reliable recipe for removing freckles. Last year very favorable reports were received from many who had used mercurized wax during the freckling season. The wax seems to possess unusual properties which completely absorb the freckles with no harmful effect. The complexion improves wonderfully, becoming as soft as a rose petal, and as delicately tinted. Get an ounce of mercurized wax at any drugist's, spread a thin layer of it over the entire face every night for awhile, washing this off in the morning. For rough, spotty skin, sallowness, blackheads, pimples, and all cutaneous blemishes, this treatment is superior to any other. Springtime also brings wrinkles to many sensitive skins that are much exposed to winds and changing temperatures. To a half pint whisky add an ounce of powdered exfolite, which quickly dissolves. Rub the mixture in gently. The effect on a wrinkled skin is remarkable.

April 4 1914

what to do for a living . . ." - "I am almost driven to madness by my various disappointments as to getting something to do . . . I am ashamed to meet parties in the Street that I.O. a few \$ to, I have disappointed them & broken promises so often . . ."

The most revealing of these entries is one he wrote for April 7, 1870: ". . . at various places about employment. No shadow of a chance. I really do not know how to occupy my time, I feel so mortified to think that I, a thorough man of business, able and willing to make myself useful can not get anything to do through the influence of my numerous old friends in Canada and here." [emphasis mine] Daniel Gunn was indeed a "thorough man of business," with proven ability - but unlucky in the timing of his biggest venture. In the summer of 1873 he gave up the effort, retired at age 62, and returned to Hamilton to live with his son.⁷⁸ Gunn died in 1876. His former factory was sold in 1863 to the Ontario Packing House, which processed pork in the 1860s.⁷⁹ From 1885, a firm named Waddell and Carpenter moulded sewer pipe in the building.⁸⁰ The old stone building was still standing in recent years, much disguised by modern siding covering the original stone and brick.⁸¹

A mellowing Daniel Gunn in his last years recorded a repeat trip on New Year's Day 1874: ". . . walked with Willie [his young son] high up the Mountain and had a very fine view of the City, a wonderful growth since I first saw it from the same Hill in 1832." And a year before he died on 19 Sept. 1876, he reports another trip, ". . . the day very fine, had a drive to Lands' Old Wharf & to the old Locomotive work shops, wonderfull changes all around."⁸² His locomotives turned out to be as good as or better than any others supplied to the Grand Trunk in the 1850s. The mileage figures supplied in Samuel Keefer's reports

provide a very interesting comparison. Gunn's locomotives averaged more miles of service per month for the calendar year 1860 than those of any other Canadian supplier or than the Birkenhead products, and their monthly average over their entire service life up to December 31, 1860 was even more favorable.

| Grand Trunk Ry. locomotive mileage ⁸³ | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| | aver. monthly miles/loco: year 1860 | service life |
| | | (to 31.XII.60) |
| 12 Gunn-built locomotives | 1524.46 | 1537.14 |
| 16 Kingston-built locomotives | 1460.63 | 1127.65 |
| 50 "Canada Works"-built loco.s | 1435.24 | 1322.60 |
| 6 James Good-built locomotives | 1095.88 | 669.58 |
| 10 Kinmond (Montreal)-built loco.s | 760.19 | 896.14 |

So Daniel Gunn was probably right when he assessed his experience to John Young in 1861:⁸⁴

. . . There is one thing however that I would prefer above all such work and that is that . . .

I had the Stock all taken and my workshops in operation. Vessels and propellers are wanted as well as all sorts of Engines & Machinery and from what I made while the shops were working I know it would be a profitable investment for stockholders and of vast importance to the country and to Hamilton in particular[;] but I should be very sorry to start it again unless the premises and

-- 5 ----

tools were all paid for--it was the amount due and falling due on them that ruined me. The business itself is a good and profitable one, with Capital there is no better in Canada

Gunn was a manufacturer at heart, in an age when the smart money was in land speculation and other deals that might have been equally risky, but promised unequally big rewards. Gunn saw the opportunity in manufacturing machinery, but couldn't sell his vision to sufficient others to make it come true for him in the 1850s.

Tentative List of Locomotives built by Gunn

note: serial numbers are unofficial, but begin with 13 as it is generally believed that Gunn continued the Kinmond works numbers.

- 13 Grand Trunk Ry. 168, "Ham" Apr. 1857 4-4-0 15x21, 66
- 14 Grand Trunk Ry. 169, "Shem" Apr. 1857 4-4-0 15x21, 66
- 15 Grand Trunk Ry. 170 "Japeth" Apr. 1857 4-4-0 15x21, 66

weight: 59,600 lbs. All three withdrawn by 1874

- 16 Great Western Ry. 87 "Achilles" Aug. 1857 0-6-0 16x22, 60
- 17 Great Western Ry. 88 "Bacchus" Sep. 1857 0-6-0 16x22, 60

rebuilt 4-4-0 by 1860; renumbered 1862: 56, 57;

rebuilt 1870; withdrawn by 1873

- 18 Grand Trunk Ry. 195 Nov. 1857 4-4-0 15x21, 66
- 19 Grand Trunk Ry. 196 Nov. 1857 4-4-0 15x21, 66

weight: 59,600 lbs. withdrawn by 1874

- 20 Grand Trunk Ry. 197 Mar. 1858 4-4-0 15½x21, 66
- 21 Grand Trunk Ry. 198 Mar. 1858 4-4-0 15½x21, 66
- 22 Grand Trunk Ry. 199 May 1858 4-4-0 15½x21, 66
- 23 Grand Trunk Ry. 200 July 1858 4-4-0 15½x21, 66
- 24 Grand Trunk Ry. 201 July 1858 4-4-0 15½x21, 60

weight: 59,600 lbs. all withdrawn by 1874

- 25 Montreal & Bytown 2 "Grenville" 8/1858 4-4-0 12x18, 57

rigid frame (no truck), 20 tons, withdrawn 1910(sc.'14)

- 26 Welland Ry. 4 "Erie" Mar. 1859 4-4-0 15½x24, 66

1860 re-named "Amazon." withdrawn by 1873

- 27 Grand Trunk Ry. 202 Sep. 1858 4-4-0 15½x21, 60

weight: 59,600 lbs. withdrawn by 1874

- 28 Grand Trunk Ry. 212 May 1860 4-4-0 15x21, 66

weight: 49,600 lbs. withdrawn by 1874

Principal Source: William D. Edson with Raymond F. Corley,
"Locomotives of the Grand Trunk Railway," Railroad History 147,
Autumn 1982, pp. 42-183.

Board of Railway Commissioners of Canada; Report of Samuel
Keefer, Esq.; Inspector of Railways, for the years 1859 and 1860.

Robert R. Brown, "Early Canadian Rolling Stock," Railway and
Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin No. 56, October 1941, pp.
30-54.

The Francis Shanly papers, Provincial Archives of Ontario, refer
to 16, 17, 26.

Footnotes - "A Thorough Man of Business": Daniel Gunn

1 Acknowledgement - I am very grateful to the generous help and sharing of information on Daniel Gunn given by Mr. Don Oliphant of Hamilton. Gunn's biographical data may be found in the article, "Daniel Charles Gunn," Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, T. M. Bailey, ed. (Hamilton, 1981), vol. I, pp. 88-89. Hereafter cited as Dict.Ham.Biog.

2 Daniel Gunn diaries for 1870-75, entry 1 Jan. 1874. Hereafter cited as "Gunn diaries." These diaries are in the possession of Gunn's great-grand-daughter, Mrs. Margaret Ambrose of Hamilton, who most generously permitted me to examine them through her nephew John Evans. I am indebted to them both for this courtesy.

3 Hamilton Public Library, Special Collections, John Young Papers, pp. 181-183, Gunn to John Young, 17 Jan. 1861. Hereafter cited as HPL, Young Papers.

4 Dict.Ham.Biog., loc. cit.

5 "Michael Wilson Browne," Dict.Ham.Biog., I, p. 28.

6 "D. C. Gunn," Dict.Ham.Biog.; Don Oliphant, "The Man Who Built Locomotives," Hamilton Spectator, 15 Jan. 1977.

7 Upper Canada, Queen's Bench Reports, vol. 10, U.C.R. 461, Gunn v. Dickson, Playter, Elgie & Bell.

8 Public Archives of Ontario [hereafter cited as PAO], Jasper Tough Gilkison papers, printed "Address of the Directors of the Great Western Rail Road . . . Meeting . . ."

9 PAO, 1851 Canada West Census, microfilm reel C-989, f. 91.

10 Public Archives of Canada [hereafter cited as PAC], MG 24, D 16, Buchanan Papers, vol. 5, Gunn to C. J. Brydges, 9 August 1853, pp. 2832-2834.

11 HPL, Special Collections, microfilm reel #1. This reel contains copies of Hamilton city directories from 1853 to 1869.

12 PAC, MG 24, D 16, Buchanan Papers, pp. 2832-2839.

13 Ibid., 2832-2834.

14 Ibid., 2835.

15 Ibid., 2837.

16 Ibid., 2837-2839.

17 Ibid., 2839.

18 Notice, for example, Gunn's advertisement in The Globe, Toronto, 2 Jan. 1857 (and other dates), offering locomotives, high pressure engines, boilers, and "a great variety of articles suitable for Stationary Engines, Saw, Grist, and Planing Mills," using this name for his business.

19 Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), p. 196; Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914 (Montreal, 1979), p. 14; "James Williams," Dict.Ham.Biog.

20 Abstract entries for Lot 10, Concession 1, Barton Municipality, fol. 40, in Land Registry Office, Registry Division of Wentworth, Hamilton. Hereafter cited as "Land Registry Records, Wentworth County."

21 Note a contemporary map of Hamilton showing "Gunn's Locomotive Works." Hamilton, C.W., drawn by G. S. Rice, lithographed by Endicott & Co., N.Y., 1859. There is a copy in the HPL Special Collections.

22 PAO, Gilkison papers, undated clipping from Hamilton Spectator reporting meeting held 11 June 1855.

23 The contemporary R. G. Dun & Co. credit reports on Gunn are quoted by Katz, op.cit., pp. 196 and 199, and by Palmer, op.cit. I have not been able to see the originals.

- 24 Land Registry Records, Wentworth County.
- 25 HPL, Young Papers, pp. 2042-3, 2080, 2084, 3004, 3011-12, 3014, 3017-18, 3021-26.
- 26 Ibid., pp. 105-107, 3017-3018.
- 27 Ibid., p. 3014.
- 28 Hamilton Spectator, 17 Nov. 1858 and following dates.
- 29 Katz, op.cit., p. 199.
- 30 The late Robert R. Brown quoted a number of letters from a Daniel Gunn letterbook or letterbooks which he saw while writing his article, "Canadian Locomotive Builders, Part II - Dan. C. Gunn, Hamilton, 1857-60," Canadian Railway Historical Association, Bulletin, c. Jan. 1954. Diligent searching for six years has not located the originals, but I have confirmed two of his letters from other collections in the PAC and PAO, and so believe that he did see an authentic letterbook. This letter, Gunn to Allan MacNab,
- 31 Daily Globe, Toronto, ad. running 24 Sept. 1856 through December.
- 32 HPL, Special Collections, microfilm city directories, 1856 edition.
- 33 Ibid., 1858 edition.
- 34 R. G. Dun & Co. credit reports, quoted Katz, op.cit., p. 199.
- 35 PAC, RG 30, vol. 1002, Grand Trunk Ry., Minute Book, London Board, pp. 388-9, due to "urgent need for locomotives" authorized the Canadian Board to see if locomotives were available from firms in Canada and the U.S.A., 4 Feb. 1857. Provincial Parliament of Canada, 1857, Sessional Papers, vol. 15, appendix 6, notes Grand Trunk Ry. estimates 30 freight engines at £2,500 each needed to complete its works. The Kingston, Ont., Daily

News, 3 and 4 June 1857, editorials "Canadian Locomotives and the Grand Trunk," refers to a public advertisement by the G.T.Ry. inviting tenders for 12 locomotives and rumors that the contract is to be given to a U.S. firm.

36 PAC, RG 30, vol. 1000, Grand Trunk Ry., Minute Book No. 1, Canadian Board, p. 167, 30 Oct. 1857.

37 Ibid., p. 169, 25 Nov. 1857.

38 Ibid., p. 167. See RG 30, vol. 1002, p. 101 (5 Sept. 1854); vol. 1003, pp. 122-130, 272, 295, 301-2, 307, and 309 for rather more sympathetic treatment of British locomotive builders by the London Board during 1860-61.

39 Upper Canada, Queen's Bench Reports, vol. 20, U.C.R. 60 Burton et al. v. Bellhouse; and vol. 20, U.C.R. 555, Bellhouse v. Gunn.

40 Grand Trunk Ry. records show dates locomotives went into service. See W. D. Edson and R. F. Corley, "Locomotives of the Grand Trunk," Railroad History 147, Autumn 1982, passim. These are not necessarily the date when locomotives were manufactured, especially if there were problems of payment, shipping, or manufacture. The Hamilton Spectator, 12 Nov. 1856, reports "Shem" completed.

41 Hamilton Spectator, 12 Nov. 1856; Kingston, Ont., Daily News, 22 Nov. 1856 and 2 Dec. 1856.

42 R. R. Brown, "Canadian Locomotive Builders," op.cit. See also Eaton letter cited in next footnote.

43 PAO, Francis Shanly Papers, MU 2748, Box 81, Series A: Rich. Eaton to F. Shandly (sic), 25 March 1859.

44 Richard Eaton, b. England (? , date unknown), Locomotive Supt. of the G.W.Ry., 1858-62; of the Grand Trunk Ry., 1862-72; d. Montreal 29 Aug. 1878; was issued 9 patents by the Province and then Dominion of Canada between 1859-1877.

45 W. Edson & R. Corley, op.cit.

46 R. R. Brown, "The Last Broad Gauge," Canadian Railroad Historical Association Bulletin No. 18, Oct. 1954, p. 6.

47 R. R. Brown - Gunn letters, Gunn to unnamed supplier in Cleveland, Ohio, Jan. 1858.

48 HPL, microfilm city directories, analysis of 1858 ed.

49 R. G. Dun & Co. credit reports, quoted Katz, op.cit., and Palmer, op.cit.

50 Ibid.

51 "Locomotive Making," The Engineer (London), vol. 12, 22 Nov. 1861, pp. 315-316. "The money to pay the men is borrowed from the banks and elsewhere, at from 7 to 10 per cent. per annum, and the materials are purchased on credit at prices equal to the inclusion of 10 per cent. interest on their value."

52 Hamilton Spectator, 30 March 1859.

53 R. R. Brown letters - Gunn to W. Shanly, 4 Nov. 1858.

54 R. R. Brown, "Canadian Locomotive Builders," op.cit.

55 R. R. Brown letters - Gunn to John A. Macdonald, 16 Dec. 1858. The PAC's Macdonald papers do not include this letter but do have five other letters to or from Gunn.

56 Dominion of Canada patent 39 issued 11 Sept. 1869, "Kinmond's Safety Truck," specification and drawings signed by W. L. Kinmond on 21 June 1869, Montreal.

57 R. R. Brown letters - Gunn to F. Shanly, 29 March 1859. The original of this letter is in the PAO, F. Shanly Papers, Box 81, Welland Ry., which also has another letter from Gunn on the same subject, 8 April 1859.

58 PAO, F. Shanly Papers, MU 2707, A-42-c, Env. 1, contains an invoice from Gunn, Locomotive Stm. Engine & Forge Works, Hamilton, 2 Sept. 1856, to the Port Dalhousie & Thorold Ry.,

Saturday Musings



Is it possible that the long winter months are coming to a close, and that the vernal days of spring have returned, with their milder atmosphere, budding trees, the city gardener's bulbs in the parks peeping up through the frozen earth to catch a gleam of sunshine, and the chirpy robins twittering their song of delight for the next few months at least? The Lady of the Snows will be on her best behavior and make her dear old town once more a desirable place in which to live? The old stagers will remember the long ago when it was winter for three-fourths of the year even in Western Canada, and the other few weeks or months were divided between spring and autumn, with a few warm days sandwiched in to make them believe that summer had come. Probably we didn't feel the cold in our youth like we do now that the years have come upon us; for you remember the sleigh rides when the thermometer had dropped down to almost Manitoba depths and your nose and ears would tingle. Ah! those happy days of youth that have passed forever; we can only realize them as a dream, or live them over again in watching the enjoyment of the young with whom we come in daily contact. But it is not to be all sunshine yet, for the closing days of March, with its cold winds and occasional outbursts of temper, and April, with its tears to brighten up the grass and bring life into the bulbs that have been snuggling down in mother earth during the long winter months, are being heard from. The weather is about as changeable as is our humanity, and while we may be able to control our own actions, it is a blessing that we can have no hand in shaping the seasons. It is a grand old world which has been given to us as a heritage, and it is up to us to make it bright, not only for ourselves, but for those with whom we come in daily contact. It has been a hard winter for those who have not been prepared for it. After several years of prosperity for the in-

Colonel Bertram, of Dundas, who is now living in Montreal, feels so much interest in the ancient history of Hamilton that he persuaded James Connell to write some reminiscences of the long ago when Hamilton had its locomotive works and built Shem, Ham and Japheth, three locomotives for the Great Western railway. Later Bacchus and Achilles were built. Probably these five were the first locomotives built in Canada, although Mr. Connell speaks of a small shop in Toronto that built one or two locomotives about the same time. Dr. C. Gunn had a small engine shop down at the foot of Wentworth street before the Great Western road was built, and, having more ambition than capital, he started in to build railway locomotives, as there was no shop of that kind in Canada at that time. He built some twelve or fifteen engines, but as his plant was not equal to the work required it did not prove profitable. Mr. Connell was foreman of the works, and as his lieutenants he had a number of very able machinists. The panic of 1857 came sweeping over Canada as well as the United States, and as there was no protective duty in those days to help the infant industry, Mr. Gunn had to close down, losing about everything he had invested as well as the labor of years. Like an honest man, Mr. Gunn protected the men who worked for him, and every one got to the last cent what was coming to him. Those were dark days in Hamilton as well as everywhere in Canada. The little flurry of the past winter is not to be compared with what the workmen of nearly sixty years ago had to pass through. Not many of the old-timers who were born in the early fifties, when the Great Western railway was built, are living now, but the few who are left will remember the men named by Mr. Connell in his brief, but very interesting reminiscence.

Montreal, March 11, 1914.

Mr. Butler, editor Saturday Musings, Hamilton Spectator.
I am enclosing you a letter from Mr. James Connell, of Kingston, Ont., and for your information would state that Mr. Connell was foreman in our works at Dundas for over thirty years. Since his retirement he has lived in Kingston, where his son, Dr. J. C. Connell, dean of Queen's university, is now living.

When in Kingston the other day I called upon my foreman and had a conversation about his early history. The enclosed letter is a production from him, which I thought would be of interest to you, and that might

than I. That was fifty-eight years ago.

W. L. Kinmond was superintendent. He went around in a fine black coat and silk hat. Peter Thornton was foreman in the erecting shop. His coat was always off, and he was among the men. Wm. Lauder was in charge of the lathes and rated one himself, a plan I found, in later years, was not commendable. Alex. Burns looked after the boiler shop and always helped with the flanging, all hammer work at that time. I well remember one of the men, James Black, a real true sample of a Scotchman. I heard he was boiler inspector on the G. T. R. for many years, and I am sure the boilers were quite safe in his hands, for if any one violated a rule they might be sure there would be something doing. Sandy Cunningham looked after the tender department and worked the same as the other men. George Edwards worked a lathe like myself, and we were bed-fellows for a time. All those men were excellent workmen, but a little bit slower than the average Canadian.

In reference to the three engines I mentioned. They were all named in those days, the numbering having not yet started, Shem, Ham and Japheth. The next two that came out were named Achilles and Bacchus. That name was quite appropriate as all those men I have mentioned could take a little drop. A Scotsman in those days was considered no good if he could not.

There has been a tremendous change in the design of the locomotive. They were mostly inside cylinders at that time, and you know what it meant to finish the cranks with only a compound rest worked with a ratchet from an overhead shaft. It was a long job, but we thought it was all right, as we did not know of any better. Six weeks was considered good time to get out one engine. Fifteen was the total output. That number would not keep going six weeks in Kingston.

One reason for the stoppage of the works was a commercial depression.

of-date, of course.

One thing I ought to mention is the engine frames were boiler plate, with 3/4 to 4-inch oak between, closely riveted. It made a strong job, but would not do to-day. They did not have a molding shop, the castings being finished by Fisher & McQuesten; later L. A. & P. Sawyer; now Massey-Harris, I think.

There were a few locomotives built in Toronto a little earlier than the time I mentioned in Hamilton. James Good had a shop on Sherbourne street somewhere. It was in 1853, I think, that he built one which was used in hauling the first regular train in the province, the trip being made on May 16, 1853. Mr. Good turned out a few more after that. The names I remember were: Simcoe, Hercules, Samson, George Beatty and Cumberland. The two latter were used to draw the royal train when the Prince of Wales, the late King Edward, visited Canada in 1880. However, the business became a lost art previous to 1860 by the two shops I mention.

By this time lots of engines were coming in from the United States, and were a much better looking article, with a great deal of polishing, brass mountings and outside cylinders. Some were also coming from England. The men to run them. Some of the names I remember were: George Stephenson, Diamond, Ruby Emerald, Sapphire, Castor, Pollux—the two latter were heavy engines for freight. I saw them pass the shop every day and in this way remembered the names. They went so slow in those days that no one was ever run over.

The Bacchus and Achilles were on the road between Hamilton and the Niagara Falls Bridge, then the Great Western. We could always tell when these two engines were coming, by the whistle. The boys were sure to be on the look-out. One would say, "I bored the cylinders;" another would claim the connecting rods, and the writer could swear to the crank pins, whistle and bell.

They had no system, whatever, no standard gauges, no time cards. Time was no object; in fact, if one got dry on a warm day, there was a hotel at the gate, and it was quite safe to slip out any time. I know it was a daily custom because I boarded at the place until I found a better one. I could relate some queer doings at that time, whisky was only fifty cents a gallon; but I won't say any more on that subject.

In speaking of William Lauder, he had three sons, William, David and Fergie, and I believe they moved to Montreal. I well remember there was a small creek near Barton and Wentworth street, we had to cross on a plank to reach the house. All that part of the city in those days was commons, with cattle feeding. We were a rough lot of Scotsmen; but no matter what the conduct was, during the week, they were always in the kirk on Sunday. There was a small frame church near the shop. I was Sunday school superintendent, session clerk and treasurer. The minister's name was Mason, and a fine fellow. We paid him all the collection, which was not much. I was under great temptation at that time. Everywhere I went the whisky was there, but I



ONE OF THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVES BUILT IN HAMILTON

dustries of the city, the bottom seemed to drop out of everything, and the factories that could not find hours enough in the twenty-four to keep men and machinery busy had suddenly to come to a halt, shortening the hours of employment, and even cutting off one or two days in the week besides. The homes that were not prepared for the sudden change have had a hard time of it; and even those who had a balance in the savings bank to fall back upon have had to see it dwindling less and less as the weeks passed by. Let us hope that with the return of spring new life may come to the factories and workshops and that the wheels of industry may hum as cheerfully as ever. These hard times lessons seem to be needed periodically to straighten things out and teach us that the sun of prosperity pops behind a cloud now and then.

This is the season of the year when the rural school directors advertise for teachers for country schools. They expect the pedagogues to have first-class certificates, for which the directors offer the liberal salary ranging up from \$400 a year to \$700. What an inducement for young men and young women to spend years in qualifying themselves for the high and responsible position of teaching the intellects and the morals of future fathers and mothers of Canada! Hamilton pays its street laborers more money for a day's work when employed than is offered an educated young man or woman to wear their lives out in a school-room. The chauffeurs who drive the motor cars in our streets would not think of accepting \$75 a month to run a car. It is not very encouraging for one to acquire an education to become a teacher when brains are below par compared with untutored muscle. The country school director seems to have but little appreciation of the people to whom he entrusts the mental training of his children; and if he can only save a little on the school tax he does not bother his head how the teacher has to live. It is not much better in the towns and cities, though as a general thing school directors are more liberal in the matter of salaries than are their country cousins. Muscular labor can organize trade unions to better its condition, but modest brains has to run its chance and take whatever the directors choose to pay.

aid you in a write-up in the Spectator regarding the early history of locomotive manufacture in those years.

Since I have received this letter I have met a number of the sons of the men mentioned in this correspondence here in Montreal. In most cases they are all doing well, and corroborate the statements made by Mr. Connell to myself. I might state that he is now in good health at the age of 81, and his recollection of events is clear and correct as regards the names and dates. Should you require any further detail I think probably I could look it up for you. This is a matter of history, and probably others in the city could freshen your memory. One gentleman I have in mind is Mr. W. A. Robinson, who, I believe, was superintendent of the old Great Western shops.

ALEX. BERTRAM.

Kingston, Ont., Feb. 4, 1914.

Lieut. Col. A. Bertram.

Dear Sir: After we looked through the locomotive works in Kingston, on your recent visit, I was very forcibly reminded of the building of the first engines in Canada. Our attention was called to a few small locomotives under way, for the use of contractors in construction work, and they seemed to be about the same dimensions as the first locomotives built in Canada, in which I had a hand in building. This took place away back in 1855 and 1856, at the foot of Wentworth street, Hamilton, Ont., in a long one-story building, owned by D. C. Gunn. I was fortunate in getting my first job in Canada with him, as he was just starting up, having three engines under way.

I took notice that the whole plant was old and badly used up, but later I found out that it was the whole outfit of a shop in Dundee, Scotland, most of which was poor. Some of the lathes had wooden beds and hand compound rests, one of which fell to my lot to work. What a contrast, coming from the best tool shops in Scotland! If I were to tell you that I was not homesick, it would be a lie. However, I got over that disease in a few months.

Along with the plant from Dundee, came a lot of men, mostly foremen for all the different departments. I can name them all, but they must have all passed away by this time, as they were all much older

never once yielded to temptation, and was called a mean sucker because I would not go up to the bar.

I have given you a fair idea of how we did work at that time and compare it with the methods of to-day. Of course, it has taken over half a century to bring it about, and I would not venture to say what the next fifty years will do, but certainly, electricity will play an important part. But whether that will take the place of the heavy locomotives of the present day is doubtful.

JAMES CONNELL.

much the same as exists at present, and want of capital. If I am not mistaken, the bank took over the last two or three engines that were finished. We all got our wages, but toward the end we had to wait six weeks on more than one occasion for our wages. It looked to me as though the bank advanced the money as soon as the engines were completed. Still, no one grumbled; but it was a lot of money when we got it. That would not work to-day. The average wage a good machinist got was \$1.50; a very few would go as high as \$2 per day (ten hours). But on the other hand, I have bought a pair of boots and a pair of overalls for \$3, and everything else in proportion.

I might give you one more reason for the stoppage of the concern—inferior work. You have sufficient knowledge to infer from the sort of plant they had what the work would be like. I know what came through my hands then would not pass now.

What a contrast there is to-day! When I look into the works in Kingston and see how the same work is finished now, and each time I notice some new device for increasing the output, many of which are furnished by your firm at Dundas, and some which the writer took part in constructing. You furnished tools to the Kingston locomotive works forty years ago. I tried to find some of them the other day, but was informed that they had gone to the scrap pile, out-

The first Locomotive built at the establishment of D. C. Gann, Esq., at Hamilton, was tested on Friday last, before Mr. Braid, mechanical superintendent of the G. W. R., and a party of locomotive drivers on the road. The engine, which is called the "Bhem," drew a train of sixteen loaded freight cars up the heavy grade to the east of Hamilton station, a feat which could not be accomplished by any other engine on the road — thus proving the superiority of the home-made over the imported article. The establishment of Mr. Gann is under the superintendence of Mr. Wm. Kimmond, late of Dundee, Scotland. It is said locomotives can be built better and cheaper at Hamilton than any that can be imported.

November

1857

LOCOMOTIVE STEAM ENGINE

—AND—

FORGE WORKS,

*Wentworth Street, Eastern Limits of City, North of G. W.
R. R. Track, Hamilton.*

THE advertiser has now for sale:—

- 6 First class Locomotives. One complete and ready for work, the others could be delivered at the rate of one each month.
- 4 High pressure engines of different powers,
- 8 Boilers, of different dimensions,
- 60 Traversing Screw Jacks,
- 8 Crab Wrenches,
- 8 Fanners, for Forges,

—AND—

A great variety of articles suitable for Stationary Engines
Saw, Grist, and Planing Mills.

The works now being complete and in full operation, and having in use a large assortment of the very latest and best tools for the economical execution of any branch of the business, the utmost despatch will be given to all orders for work.

D. C. GUNN.

Hamilton, Dec. 8, 1856.

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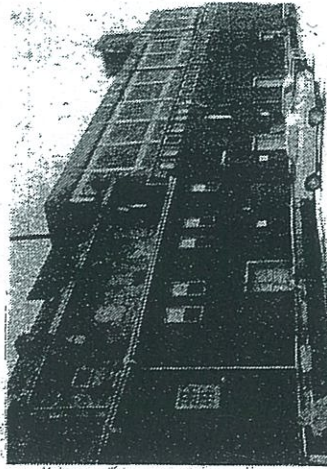
TORONTO
GLOBE
February 20, 1857

QUESTIONS & OPINIONS

● Daniel Charles Gunn took a chance in Hamilton 120 years ago and lost. Meet the industrialist who was ahead of his time.

● A new book about the Roosevelt gives a different slant to behind-the-scenes revelations in recent biographies.

● How can we cope with the uncertainties of 1977?



The past peeks through the present in this building on Wentworth Street North. When a pioneer locomotive manufacturer went broke in 1863, the building was sold to a packing house, destroyed by fire and rebuilt in 1865. Remnants from that era are visible at upper left.

The man who built locomotives

Railroad fever was in the air in 1856 when D. C. Gunn purchased a vacant factory on the east side of Wentworth Street and went into business building locomotives. One of them was later involved in the worst train disaster in Canada's history.



Street North, the first two left a legacy. First, called Ham, was sold to the City of Toronto and in Quebec where it served faithfully until the early morning run of June 29, 1884. Pulling a tender, five baggage cars and six passenger coaches packed with German immigrants bound for western Canada, this engine became involved in the worst train disaster in Canada's history. Driven by a totally inexperienced man who failed to heed a red warning signal, Ham pulled this ill-fated train into a black abyss left by an open drawbridge which had collapsed in the dark, cold water of the Blouin River at St. Hilaire, Quebec. Ninety-eight

By DONALD M. OLIPHANT

Hamilton is Canada's industrial city. Over the past 100 years its foundries, steel mills and other related industries have employed tens-of-thousands. The foundation of this city is inextricably linked to this multitude of industries. But when was this foundation laid and by whom? Hamilton's early builders were MacNab and McCusker are well known, but what of the others?

About the time of the 1833 Act of Incorporation that made Hamilton an official town, one of the 1,400 residents was a man with a vision, a man who sensed that Hamilton was a city of the future.

Railroad fever

Early Charles Gunn, just in his mid-twenties, the owner of a wharf and warehouse at the foot of James Street. He was classified as a forwarder. Merchandise from the early sailing vessels that plied Lake Ontario was unloaded at his dock and goods were loaded onto the horse and wagon were loaded onto the ships. D. C. Gunn, in operation even before the advent of steam,

was one of Hamilton's earliest wharfingers. As Hamilton expanded, other areas of business appeared. Gunn left his wharf and became involved in the general mercantile business with a shop building next with a building of general merchandise and mill equipment. Had he stayed in this business, located on Wellington Street north where the present CNR tracks cross, he would probably have prospered. But railroad fever was in the air and Gunn's friend, Sir Allan MacNab, was bringing the Great Western Railroad to Hamilton. And railroads needed locomotives.

The spring of 1856 was a time of decision for Gunn. If his dream came true, he would take his place among the great industrialists of the time. His name would be known throughout North America. He purchased the vacant factory of J. M. Williams that was situated on a 15½ acre point that jutted into the Sherman Inlet on the east side of the Wentworth Street just north of the present CNR. He extensively renovated the 400-foot main building and added the latest tools and equipment. Importing almost all of its forgings, tubes and castings and the engine parts were made by boys, the Gunn Locomotive Works began production.

Of the 16 locomotives assembled at Gunn's plant on Wentworth



Detail from building on site of pioneer Gunn Locomotive Works shows craftsmanship of 19th century tradesmen, Teacher Donald Oliphant says early industrialists need to be studied to learn why Hamilton developed into industrial giant.

The building that housed the Gunn Locomotive Works was purchased in 1863 by the Ontario Packing House and used for meat processing. It was destroyed by fire and rebuilt in 1865. Remnants of the rebuilt building are still visible on the property of the former Essex Packers Ltd. on Wentworth Street North.

A man of the future

Daniel Charles Gunn disappeared from the Hamilton scene soon after his last locomotive was sold. He reappeared in the 1870s but only a shadow of his former self. In poor health and deeply concerned about the welfare of his family he spent his final days in his city of the future.

Daniel Charles Gunn was a man before his time. While Hamilton was still a small town, he was developing a commercial city. He was one of a few opening the door to our present development — the industrial city. Gunn and others like him need to be studied to appreciate their contributions to the development of our city and to gain insight into how and why we have developed into Canada's industrial city.

(Mr. Oliphant is a teacher at Robert Land school. His hobby is Hamilton history and his article was based on original research.)

turned to the station a high speed run was suggested. All the cars were unhooked and with just the tender and locomotive this twenty-eight ton engine was clocked at an astounding fifty-five miles per hour.

Business looked good until the end of 1857 when a disastrous recession struck North America. Unemployment was high, many businesses closed and even the city went bankrupt.

End of a dream

Gunn had just assembled eight locomotives for the Grand Trunk but they were also experiencing deep financial trouble and were unable to pay him. At the same time, Gunn's creditors and employees were demanding payments. He searched, unsuccessfully, for other buyers for his engines and even tried to resurrect the charter for the Burlington Bay Dock and Ship-building Company to no avail. In the autumn of 1858, disappointed, Mr. Klummond left "his high" and by Christmas of the same year the Gunn Locomotive Works was closed and all hands were paid off.

Shortly after, an advertisement appeared in a local paper offering to sell the premises and everything in it. Gunn's dream had come to a grinding halt.

Eventually all the locomotives were sold, the last in the spring of 1860.

Fond memories of an extraordinary man

WALTER FORD CONNELL, Meds'29, LLD'73, was a physician *extraordinaire*, a pioneer cardiologist, a beloved and gifted teacher to generations of medical students, and a fervent Queen's man.

The Connells were of Irish-English-French origin. In 1845, John Connell, his wife and nine children emigrated from Ireland in 1845, settling near Prescott, Ont. Their second oldest son, Walter Thomas, born in 1873, became a famed physician and the father of Walter Ford Connell. The lives and careers of the father and son physicians are so closely connected in every sense that one cannot tell the story of one without some reference to the other.

W.T. graduated from Queen's with the Medal in Medicine in 1894, studied in London, and returned to Queen's at the instigation of Principal Grant in 1895. At age 22 he was appointed Professor of Pathology. He became Chair of the Department of Medicine in 1919, a post he held for 22 years. In 1931, W.T. and Dr. "Blimy" Austin were among the founders of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada.

The Connells lived at 11 Arch Street, just a stone's throw from Kingston General Hospital (KGH). Walter Ford Connell was born in the Arch Street house on August 24, 1906. He grew up, raised his own family, and lived there until 1996.

Ford graduated from Queen's in 1929 with the Medal in Medicine, the Honour of the Medal in Surgery, and many other awards. When he was denied the Robert Bruce Scholarship at an earlier stage of his medical education because the conditions of the award required the winner to be "of Scotch extraction" his father remarked that Ford might have "Scotch by absorption but not by extraction."

While interning at Toronto General Hospital, Ford met Merle Bruce whom he later married and whom many of us remember as the warm and gracious chatelaine of 11 Arch Street for some 55 years. When Ford returned to Queen's

in 1935 after postgraduate studies overseas, he was appointed Assistant Professor of Medicine. He started the Department of Cardiology at KGH, purchasing himself an early electrocardiograph machine. In 1942, Ford enlisted in the army medical corps, but was shortly returned to Queen's to organize and expedite the accelerated and intensified training of young medical officers. He became a professor and chair of the Department of Medicine and Physician-in-Chief of KGH. In 1943, Ford was the influential member of a small committee that recommended that women again be admitted to the medical school after an absence of more than 50 years. Following the war, Ford set about rebuilding the Department of Medicine with emphasis on teaching, service, and research, and he attracted a brilliant staff who worked alongside him.

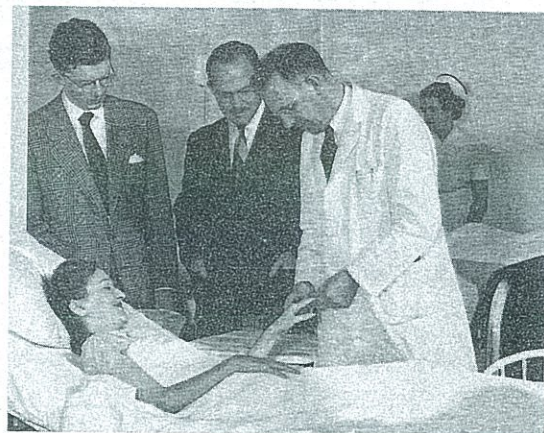
Ford was always a hurricane of activity, but no matter how busy he was he always had time to care for and listen to his patients (and his residents.) And housing, transport, passports and whatever was required for the relatives and friends of his patients was arranged by his office lieutenants. This was real patient care, not the pious lip service we often encounter at medical gatherings and in press releases. Ford was in command of all the disciplines of medicine in a way that's no longer possible today. And he was a superb cardiologist and teacher. To us, his admiring residents and colleagues, Ford was more than the Real Doctor among doctors; he was also the good shepherd who guided, counselled and watched over us.

Many honours from alumni organizations, learned medical societies, and his own alma mater came to Ford Connell both before and after his 1968 retirement. He continued his consulting practice for some years, and after that could be seen visiting former patients ("my friends," he called them) at KGH.

The Connell's three children—Queen's graduates all—grew up in the house on Arch Street. Bruce, Meds'62, is a consultant internist in Ottawa. Dou-

glas, Arts'64, is a business executive in Victoria, and Patricia (Foster), Arts'56, lives in Vancouver.

A lingering illness came upon Merle Connell in the late 1980s. When she, of necessity, entered the Providence Manor nursing home, Ford came to visit her at 7:30 a.m. every morning, stayed until evening, and brought her two fresh roses each day until she quietly slipped away in the summer of 1991. In 1996, Ford,



Dr. W. Ford Connell (white coat), always a hurricane of activity, was a superb cardiologist and teacher, who taught "real patient care."

too, entered Providence Manor, and on the morning of Oct. 8, 1998, he was up early, as usual, fully dressed and reading the *Globe & Mail* when he suddenly died of cardiac arrest. His good friend and colleague Dr. Stuart Vandewater noted, "No distress, no fuss, [he] just ran out of gas."

Dr. W. Ford Connell may be gone, but he is certainly not forgotten, for as the dean of Health Sciences Dr. David Walker, Meds'71, says, "[He] taught us all many things about medicine and his lessons were timeless. . . . As these values live on, so will his memory." Q

The above is an abridged version of a longer article by Dr. Bruce Cronk, with a foreword by Dr. David Walker, dean of the Faculty of Health Sciences. The full text of this article is available from the Review, 1-800-267-7837, or on the Review website at http://advance.ment.queensu.ca/alumni_review/index.html.