

Narrow Gauge 4-4-0s in Quebec's Eastern Townships

Second-Hand or Newly Constructed?

The Mystery Continues

by Donald R. McQueen

The central issue in this mystery is whether the narrow gauge locomotives of the Philipsburg, Farnham & Yamaska Railway and the Lake Champlain & St. Lawrence Junction Railway were second-hand 4-4-0s or newly constructed by the Canadian Engine & Machinery Company (CE&MCo) at Kingston, Ontario.

Interestingly enough, the mystery doesn't begin in the eastern townships of Quebec, but in the hinterland of Toronto, Ontario.

The Toronto & Nipissing Railway

It has long been established that the Toronto & Nipissing Railway (T&NR) had 12 narrow-gauge locomotives - six built in Bristol, England by Avonside and six in Kingston by the Canadian Engine & Machinery Company (CE&MCo) - all twelve between 1870 and 1873.

Incorporated by W. Gooderham in 1867, the T&NR was constructed from Scarborough Jct. to Coboconk by 1872 using a track gauge of 3'6". It was granted running rights on the Grand Trunk Railway and a third rail was laid from Scarborough Jct. into Toronto. The T&NR also leased and operated the Lake Simcoe Junction Railway (LSJR) when it opened in 1877 between Stouffville and Sutton, Ontario. The T&NR was converted to standard gauge in 1881 and became one of the nine companies which formed the Midland Railway of Canada in April 1882.

The six woodburning 4-4-0s [11x18" 42"] ordered from the CE&MCo in either 1869 or early 1870 were believed built under serial (or boiler numbers) #83 to #88. The only entries on page 6 for serials #83 to #88 in the CLC *Locomotive Record* ledger book of 1916¹ are the customer name of 'Toronto Nipissing Ry' and the shipping date of '1870' for serial #85. A later felt pen entry for #88 has '4-4-0' under the heading 'Builders Class'. All other spaces, including road number and specifications, are blank. Until 2000, conventional wisdom (notably Edson & Corley: LGTR p82; Lavallée: NGRC p105; Cooper: NGFU p22 or McQueen & Thomson: CinK p168)² had the Kingston-built locomotives numbered between 1 and 6, with only the name of no. 6 recorded. As strong as the suspicion was that there were more locomotives named than just T&NR 6, the only evidence then available was an 1871 builder's photo - one of CE&MCo's first - which in various forms has had wide publication exposure.³ What is believed to be the only other known photograph of these T&NR 4-4-0s shows the same locomotive at Sutton, Ontario on the LSJR in 1877⁴.

However the publication of *Constructed In Kingston* spurred further investigation and in 2001 long-lost information about the entire Kingston order came to light. The T&NR road numbers and names (below) were listed in an Engineer's Report of August 16, 1872, and had been reproduced in the Toronto *Globe* for September 12, 1872.

CLC#	Number and Name	Arrived
83	T&NR 2 M.C.CAMERON	11-08-1870
84	T&NR 3 R.WALKER & SON	12-14-1870
85	T&NR 4 R.LEWIS & SON	?12- -1870
86	T&NR 5 JOSEPH GOULD	3 -24-1871
87	T&NR 6 UXBRIDGE	?4- -1871
88	T&NR 7 ELDON	?4- -1871

These six Eight-wheel Types may have been delivered from Kingston between November 1870 and April 1871. The newspapers of the time reported the first two arriving on November 8 and December 14, 1870 respectively, and no. 5 on March 24, 1871.

All the Kingston-built 4-4-0s were intended to remain in service up to the time the T&NR was standard-gauged. However fate - in the form of fire - disrupted those plans.

"*FIRE - Uxbridge has been without a fire so long that the one of Sunday last [1-14-1883] was a surprise. The engine-house here of the Midland Railway Co. was burned to the ground and four engines in it almost totally destroyed on Sunday morning about 1 o'clock. No one was in the building at the time of the fire, which is supposed to have caught from a stove. The man engaged as wiper had left not quite an hour before, believing everything apparently safe. The fire, originating inside, had made considerable progress before being noticed by the night operator at the station, who was the first to see it, and when it was found that water could not be obtained to work the fire engine the building had to be given up and all energies directed towards saving adjacent buildings, which was done by throwing snow on the roof and sides. R.W.Ward, the wiper, made an effort to run out the double-header; [no.9] but the smoke was too much for him. The loss to the company will be about \$50,000. The engines destroyed are [CE&MCo] Nos. 2, 4, 5, and [Avonside] 9; all narrow gauge. They will likely be replaced by broad gauge [4'8 1/2"] engines which have now become almost universal on the road, there only being 8 [3 built by*

CE&MCo and 5 by Avonside] of the narrow gauge left on the entire line." [author's commentary in brackets throughout the article]

Uxbridge Journal: January 18, 1883.

The four burned locomotives were reported sold for scrap on February 28, 1883 to the Dominion Bolt Company of Swansea, a community on the Humber River mouth in present-day Toronto. There is no recorded evidence of any parts of these 4-4-0s being re-sold for any other use.

The Disposition Mystery

There currently are at least three schools of thought as to the final disposition of the three remaining Kingston-built narrow gauge T&NR locomotives which survived the 1883 fire. One point of view is that (1) before 1881 none of the T&NR locomotives were sold to another railway company before the T&NR standard gauged; or that (2) T&NR sold, leased or loaned three or four of its Kingston-built locomotives to railways in Quebec's eastern townships between 1875 and 1881; or that (3) the T&NR sold only one or two of the surviving eight; thus implying that at least three, if not four of the narrow gauge 4-4-0s in Quebec were built in Kingston as new locomotives.

The evidence for each of the three interpretations as to the disposition of the T&NR locomotives, and the origins of those used in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, follows:

(1) The T&NR 4-4-0s were never sold to other railways before 1881.

The argument here is that the 12 locomotives stayed on T&NR property until after 1881. The four which were burned in 1883 were sold for scrap, but details of the disposition of the remaining six remain undocumented. The T&NR Annual Report for June 30, 1883 (p17), accounts for 12 by listing 4 burned; 2 sold and 6 for sale.

Even though the dates of disposition or the builder of the remaining six were not given in these reports, the implication is that they were put up for sale after the Midland Railway of Canada [MRC] standard-gauged the T&NR. This process has been recorded in several sources.

THE TORONTO AND NIPISSING.

- The Track to be Made the Standard Gauge.

- LARGE ORDER FOR STEEL RAILS.

It is learned that it has been decided to broaden the gauge of the Toronto and Nipissing Railway from its present width of 3 ft. 6 in. to the standard of 4 ft. 8 1/2 in, by the laying of a third rail. The rails have been ordered from England, the first shipment to be made in July [1881]. The change will be effected in time for the fall [1881] traffic, and by the method adopted no interruption will occur in the operation of the road. The same plan of three rails was pursued with the old Erie Railroad. It is expected that by the fall nearly the whole road will be of steel. The change is rendered necessary by the connection which will be established with the Ontario and Pacific Junction Railway as soon as completed."

Toronto Globe: May 14, 1881.

And in summary, using secondary sources:

"1881, Dec.15 - Third rail had been laid between Scarborough Jct. and Woodville Jct. to allow operation on this date of first standard gauge from Peterborough to Toronto via Millbrook and Woodville Jct. ..."

"Between July 1 1883 and June 30, 1884, the line between Woodville Jc. and Coboconk (Coboconk to Lorneville, Aug.15, 1883) and the Lake Simcoe Junction Ry. (Oct.26, 1883) were converted to standard gauge and the third rail between Woodville Jct. and Scarborough Jct.(Lorneville to Toronto, summer 1883) lifted."

Lavallée: NGRC p105; and Cooper: NGFU p54,153.

The strength of this position is drawn from the fact that because the standard-gauging of the T&NR between 1881 and 1883 occurred after those in the eastern townships of Quebec (see below) the latter would not have need for any narrow gauge locomotives - second-hand or newly constructed.

(2) The T&NR 4-4-0s were used on other Quebec railways before 1881.

The longest-held hypothesis suggests that at least four of the Kingston-built T&NR locomotives (serial numbers unknown) eventually were loaned, leased or resold, and saw service on several railways in southern Quebec. It has been suggested that up to three may have been used by the Philipsburg, Farnham & Yamaska Railway. They were reported leaving Kingston (presumably after being retrofitted) for Quebec in December 1875; others were shipped east between 1876 and 1881 to its successor, the Lake Champlain & St.Lawrence Junction Railway.

There is no doubting the evidence that four Kingston-built narrow gauge 4-4-0s saw service on these Quebec lines. It was circumstantially held that they were all second-hand from the T&NR - the only other extant narrow gauge locomotives built by the CE&MCo.

This assumption was further strengthened by comparing the look-alike appearances of the two groups in contemporary photographs - especially T&NR 6 UXBRIDGE and LC&SLJ 1 ST.PIE (the most current comparison appears in *Constructed In Kingston*, p169, but can also be found in Lavallée: NGRC pp13,28). The circumstantiality of this evidence remained viable mainly because of the lack of any mention of either the PF&Y or the LC&SLJ in the builder's (CE&MCo) documents.

This thesis was originally suggested in 1939 and has been widely used since that time. It first appeared in R.R.Brown: SER p20 (1939); and was cautiously repeated in Lavallée: NGRC p28 (1972); Edson & Corley: LGTR p82 (1982) and McQueen & Thomson: CinK p169 (2000). Other writers have struggled with the enigma, offering a variety of built or acquisition dates, or leaving the origins of the four locomotives unrecorded (cf. Booth: RSQvI pp146-147 (1982); or Lavallée: CPSL p359-361 (1985).

However, even the thesis of a loan or lease (as opposed to a sale) to the Quebec railways mentioned above has not been conclusively substantiated, even though it could account for the T&NR claiming ownership of 12 narrow

gauge locomotives between 1875 and 1883. It has been established that loans and leasing did take place between other Canadian companies during this time period, but no direct links between the T&NR and railway companies in southern Quebec has as yet come to light.

There is, however, documentation to support the notion that at least one of the two locomotives (builders unknown) mentioned as being sold in the T&NR Annual Report of June 30, 1883 may have gone to Quebec. As the MRC completed standard-gauging the T&NR routes between 1881 and 1883, two of the 3'6" locomotives were put up for sale.

One built at Kingston was believed sold to the South Eastern Railway (SER) as 2nd 2 ST.FRANCIS. SER records show it as a standard gauge 4-4-0 [either 13x18" 45" or 14x24" 57"] built in Kingston about 1878 or 1879, and acquired about 1881.

The new owner of the second T&NR/MRC steamer is unrecorded, although some suggest it may have gone to the Lake Champlain & St.Lawrence Junction Railway in 1880, possibly as no.4 L'ANGE GARDIEN (Guardian Angel). This interpretation is based on a contemporary newspaper report.

"A very highly finished locomotive was shipped today from the Ontario Foundry [ie.CE&MCo] for the LC&SLJ." Kingston Daily British Whig: July 16, 1880.

The reference to the 'highly finished' condition of this locomotive could imply either a newly constructed, a reconditioned, or a re-gauged one. If 'new' is extrapolated from the wording of the news item, this could be the L'ANGE GARDIEN. But no documented evidence has been found to support this supposition; nor do any T&NR records indicate whether the second locomotive sold was built in Bristol or Kingston.

Photographic evidence plays a part in this mystery as well. A photo of a Richelieu, Drummond & Arthabaska Counties Railway Co.[1869-1872] 4-4-0 having a similar appearance to the T&NR (or even the TG&B)⁵ and PF&Y/LC&SLJR/SER Kingston-built 4-4-0s raises the speculation that one of this group - or one similar to it - worked on the RD&AC.⁶

Another look-alike appears in a photo of a Canada Southern Railway construction train, likely when the company built from Niagara Falls to Amherstburg via St.Thomas between 1870-1873.⁷ But these are speculative comparisons with no hard evidence to support them other than apparent physical features.

(3) Existence of newly-built 4-4-0s for the PF&Y and LC&SLJ Railways

**Philipsburg Farnham & Yamaska Railway Company;
Lake Champlain & St.Lawrence Junction Railway;
South Eastern Railway.**

Incorporated in 1871 as the PF&Y, the railway finally opened in 1879 as a 3'6" gauge line between Stanbridge and St.Guillaume in Quebec's eastern townships. The company changed its name to LC&SLJ in 1876. When the South Eastern Railway gained control in 1881, it completed

the task of standard-gauging the line. With CPR control of the SER in 1883, the LC&SLJ was leased and operated as the CPR's Farnham Division.

If the T&NR sold only one of its narrow gauge fleet to the SER, the implication is that the four PF&Y and LC&SLJ locomotives were newly-constructed narrow gauge 4-4-0s from the Kingston firm. This would also suggest the locomotives in question were built from plans similar to those used for the T&NR, which would account for the physical similarities between the T&NR and PF&Y/LC&SLJ steamers.

The recently researched evidence which appears below can now be used to substantiate this point of view. It has been taken from several media sources rather than from builder's or railway documentation.

On December 24, 1875 the Kingston *Daily British Whig* reported PF&Y locomotives finished and ready for shipment.

"*CONTRACTS CLOSED: The engines [note the plural] for the Phillipsville, [ie. Philipsburg] Farnham and Yamaska Ry., having been completed by the Canadian Engine & Machinery Works, the foundry is without any orders, and for the time being the establishment will be closed down. The above engines [plural] were forwarded per the Grand Trunk to their destination today. ...*"

Kingston Daily British Whig: December 24, 1875.

These might be PF&Y nos. 1 and 2, although the total number shipped is not known, but this late-in-the-year delivery might account for the 1876 build-date for the locomotives that is suggested by some records. The use of the plural here may well be erroneous - at this time the PF&Y had only about ten miles of track laid, and would really only need one locomotive to operate the line. To strengthen this possibility of only a single locomotive on the roster, a February 1876 item in the St.Hyacinthe *Courrier* reported LC&SLJ no.1 ST.PIE [111/2x18" 39"] in service.

"...M.B. de LaBruère, du *Courrier de St.Hyacinthe*, se dirigerent vers le terminus actuel de la voie ou la locomotive qui a nom "St.Pie", ..."

Courrier de St.Hyacinthe (in a description of the LC&SLJ): February 22, 1876.

Two years later, in July 1878, the St.Hyacinthe *Courrier* reported the purchase of LC&SLJ no.2 ABBOTSFORD [13x18" 45"].

"*CHEMIN DE FER - Une superbe locomotive, ayant nom "Abbotsford", achetée [purchased, not built] à Kingston, Ont., pour la compagnie du chemin de fer de la jonction du Lac Champlain et du St.Laurent, a du être placée sur la ligne Dimanche dernier.*" [7-21-1878]

Courrier de St.Hyacinthe: July 23, 1878.

The following July (in 1879) the St.Hyacinthe *Courrier* again reported the arrival of the LC&SLJ no.3 BEDFORD [13x18" 45"].

"*Une nouvelle locomotive, "Le Bedford" pour la compagnie de chemin de fer du L.C.et S.L., est arrivée en cette ville jeudi.[7-10-1879] Elle a été essayée*

CLC#	Shipped			
(??) PF&Y 1 ST.PIE	12-24-75			
LC&SLJ 1 ST.PIE	by 2-22-76	SER 19 ST.PIE	-81	
		UCR 1	-91	
		QSR 100	7-00	Sc c-06?
(??) (PF&Y 2 ABBOTSFORD)	12-24-75	or if not, then		
LC&SLJ 2 ABBOTSFORD	7- -78	SER 20 ABBOTSFORD	-81	Sc -??
	-or-	SER 2:2nd(?)		
(??) (PF&Y 3 BEDFORD)	12-24-75	or if not, then		
LC&SLJ 3 BEDFORD	7- -79	SER 21 BEDFORD	-81	
		M&A 21	-91	
		OMR 1:1st	-95	Ds 11-97
(??) LC&SLJ 4 L'ANGE	? 7-16-80	SER 22 L'ANGE	-81	
GARDIEN		GARDIEN		
		PRQ COL.BOND	-93	Sc c-11
CLC#	Shipped			
(??) SER 2 :2nd	c. -81	M&A 2	c. -91	
ST.FRANCIS	Sold	OMR 1: 2nd 1898 (1900?)	Sc	c-10

immédiatement sous la surveillance du superintendant M.J.R.Foster. Cette locomotive est la belle que la compagnie possède, et elle a donné pour son voyage d'essai, la plus grande satisfaction."

Courrier de St.Hyacinthe: July 12, 1879.

And finally, the Kingston *Daily British Whig* in June, and again in July 1880, made references to a 'new' and a 'highly finished' locomotive for the LC&SLJ. This might be a reference to the LC&SLJ no.4 L'ANGE GARDIEN [131/2x20" 52"].

"LOCOMOTIVE WORKS - Yesterday an engine for the Lake St.Champlain and St. Lawrence RR [ie. LC&SLJ] arrived at the Ontario Foundry [ie. CE&MCo] for a change in gauge. Three other engines for this line will be remodelled and a new one built. ..."

Kingston Daily British Whig: June 8, 1880.

The change of gauge for the LC&SLJ was announced in the press in 1879:

"It has been decided to change the narrow gauge on the LC&StLJct Railway to a medium gauge and when that change is effected the road will be completed to Philipsburg."

Montreal Daily Witness: August 5, 1878.

The process of re-gauging by laying a third rail was completed on July 20, 1880 and conversion of the narrow gauged 4-4-0s was done at Kingston between June and August, 1880. Readers should note this is earlier than the change of gauge on the T&NR which took place between 1881 and 1883 - thus surplus T&NR locomotives would not be of interest to the LC&SLJ - in terms of taking advantage of their 3'6" gauge.

Accounting for this delivery evidence from the press, the PF&Y/LC&SLJ/SER roster might be revised as in the table above:

Subsequent sales and dispositions of the SER locomotives can be found in the following sources: Lavallée: NGRC; Booth: RSQvI; Lavallée: CPSL; McQueen & Thomson: CinK.

Unfortunately, none of the newspaper sources actually word their reports to indicate whether any of these locomotives from Kingston were 'newly constructed'. Thus the possibility that the CE&MCo could very well have been reconditioning older locomotives is not completely eliminated. All the available records indicate the Kingston firm never applied new serial numbers to any of the locomotives it reconditioned or rebuilt - even those which received new boilers.

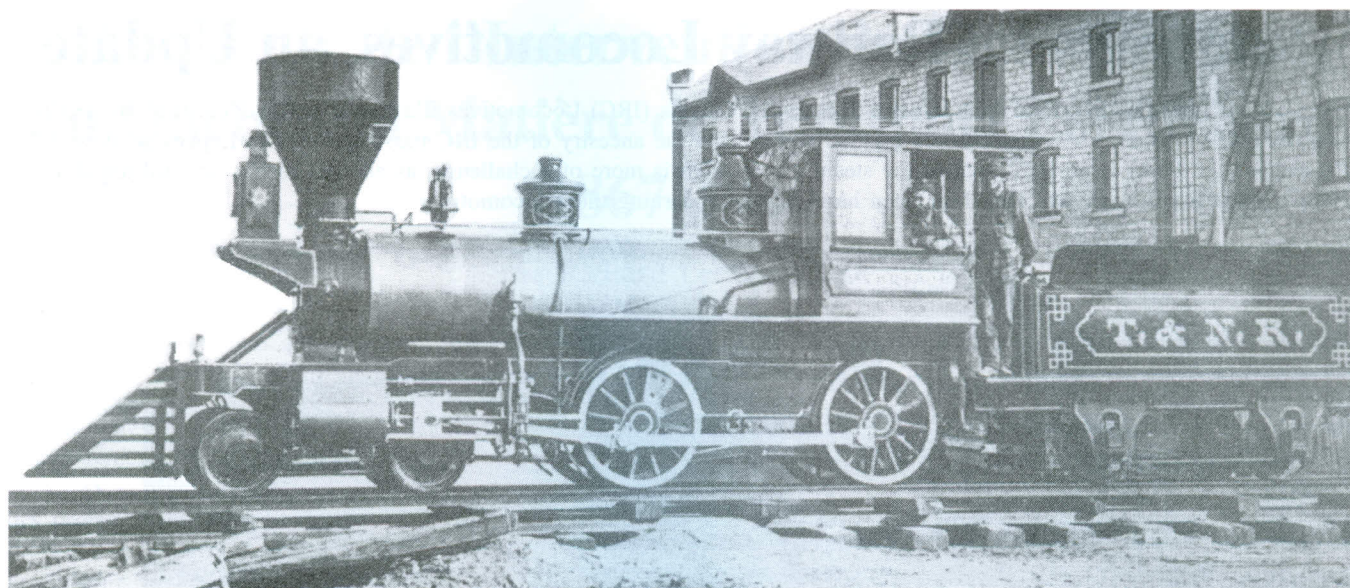
But the notion of 'new construction' begs the question as to whether CE&MCo serial numbers could be assigned to the four narrow gauge PF&Y/LC&SLJ locomotives. The answer is yes. Interestingly enough there are still five serial numbers (#35-39) for which no customer has yet been found (see McQueen & Thomson: CinK p165 for details). Despite the hazy record which survives from that early period of locomotive building at Kingston, four more serial numbers could be assigned, assuming of course, that additional conclusive evidence will warrant such an inclusion into the reconstruction of the builder's production record.

Summary

There the mystery stands: one school suggesting no sales of T&NR took place to Quebec narrow gauge railways except for one to the SER; another suggesting that least four former T&NR 4-4-0s went to the Eastern Townships; and a third suggesting the Quebec narrow gauge locomotives were new products constructed in Kingston.

The issue may never be resolved unless more information comes to light. The data currently at hand are, at best, fragmentary and laconic in its detail, whether it be the builder's existing record, railway records, photographic images, or press reports.

But inherent in all research is the corollary that "new" material is still in existence and will some day be discovered. This supposition has already been demonstrated recently in this case. Hence the search for the full truth in this story continues.



A builder's photo of Toronto & Nipissing No. 6 in 1871.

Footnotes

[1] For detail about the origins of the CLC production ledger, see McQueen & Thomson *Constructed In Kingston* page 159.

[2] Explanations for book title codes is found in the list of sources (below).

[3] At least three versions of the left-hand broadside view of T&NR 6 at the CE&MCo plant in Kingston exist. (See McQueen & Thomson: CinK p169; or Lavallée: NGR p12, or [PA C2604] in Cooper: NGFU p22). Another version (that can be seen in the Kingston Pump House Museum) has the following information underneath the photograph:

[lhs] G.J.Tandy, Superintendent, Kingston, Ont.; [center] Board of Directors R.J.Reekie, President and Managing Director, Montreal; Henry Yates, Vice President, Brantford; George Stephen (of George Stephen & Co.), Montreal; Robert Cassels, Banker, Quebec; John Shedden, Toronto; [rhs] Charles Gilbert, Secretary Treasurer, Kingston, Ont.

And yet another version (used in Eldon & Corley: LGTR p85 top) has an advertisement printed in medieval gothic along the top of the photograph:

***Narrow Gauge Engine (3 feet 6 inches) Built at
Canadian Engine and Machine Company's Works,
Kingston, Ont.***

[4] The rear left hand side of T&NR 6 taken at the opening of the LSJR is identified as an image of *A&D Grant Photographers, Sutton*. This copy from the Hubert Brooks collection can be found in Cooper: NGFU p39.

[5] Toronto Grey & Bruce Railway 3'6" 4-4-0s built by Avonside in 1870-1871 also appear quite similar to the T&NR narrow gauge 4-4-0s. See Lavallée: NGRC p15 for an illustration of one.

[6] The photograph in question is from the *Société d'Histoire de Drummondville*, Quebec and is dated "L'Avenir

16 Août 1871". Besides having very similar physical features to the locomotives in McQueen & Thomson: CinK p169; Booth: RSQvI p81, 82, 84, 96; and Booth: RSQvII p93, 95b,(but not 95t, 97); and Cooper: NGFU p22, 39; it appears to have a builder's plate similar to those used by the Kingston builder between 1878 and 1887.

[7] The photograph can be found in Robert D.Tennant Jr: *Canada Southern Country* p19 and takes on the same appearance of a T&NR Kingston or T&NR/TG&B Avonside 4-4-0.

Acknowledgements and Sources

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The published sources used include the following:

Booth: Railways of Southern Quebec (vol 1 & 2). [RSQ]

Cooper: Narrow Gauge For Us (T&NR). [NGFU]

Corley: Toronto & Nipissing Railway roster and notes (unpublished).

Corley & Lavallée: South Eastern Railway roster & notes (unpublished).

Dorman: A Statutory History of the Steam & Electric Railways of Canada (1837-1937).

Edson & Corley: Locomotives of the Grand Trunk railway. [LGTR]

Hopper: Synoptical History of the CNR.

Lavallée: Canadian Pacific Steam Locomotives. [CPSL]

Lavallée: Narrow Gauge Railways of Canada. [NGRC]

McQueen & Thomson: Constructed In Kingston. [CinK]